

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
 Contested Materials Collection
 Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 42 | 1 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Post election survey. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Post election Poll. With survey attached. 21pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Final newspaper polls. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Fred Malek. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Post election Survey. 10pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten notes. RE: Surveys. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Post election survey. 22pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Post-election survey. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Electoral vote survey. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: California field poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Bruce Kehrli. RE: Analyses for the California trip. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: The President. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: North Carolina. 4pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 42 | 1 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Electoral Vote Survey. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/25/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | 1972 Electoral Vote Forecast. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: California. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: North Carolina. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Presidential visit to New Mexico. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: The President. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: Illinois. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: The President. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: Illinois. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Detroit News Poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Ehrlichman Access to Teeter Poll briefings. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Illinois Briefing. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Oklahoma. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Rhode Island. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Illinois Briefing. 3pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 1 | 10/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Washington Poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Washington Poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Report of the states polls. 7pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/27/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: The President. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: Briefing on States represented at Chicago Event. 6pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/27/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: The President. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: Michigan. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/25/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Bruce Kehrli. RE: Teeter's analysis of Kentucky. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Trial heats: California, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/27/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Presidential visit to Ohio. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Commitment Ballot. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Opinion Survey. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Campaign Polling - Response to McGovern Releases. 6pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Polling. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Michigan. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/24/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Kentucky. 2pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 1 | 10/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Addendum to Teeter Memo. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/23/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert. M. Teeter. RE: Phone Polls. Copy of memo attached. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/20/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Teeter Briefing for Chapin and Parker. Copy of memo attached. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Turnout. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/19/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Clark MacGregor RE: Turnout memo from Robert M. Teeter. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Future Polling. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Addendum to Teeter Memo. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten Notes. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | RE: Questionnaire and interviews table, by state. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten notes. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/17/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Final Polling. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/12/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Future Polling. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten notes. 1pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 42 | 1 | 10/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Clark MacGregor. RE: Gallup and Harris sample and filter procedures memo from Robert M. Teeter. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/16/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Ron Ziegler. From: Dwight L. Chapin. RE: Trip and New York and Ohio. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten notes. Rolling Wave schedule. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/12/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: California Telephone poll. 6pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Opinion survey. 3pgs. Two copies attached. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/12/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Future Polling. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: New Jersey phone poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Telephone survey - Rolling Wave. Illinois. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/8/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Telephone survey - Rolling wave. Ohio. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Minnesota Phone Poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Opinion Survey. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave. New Jersey. 10 pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/9/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Gordon Strachan. From: L. Higby. RE: Teeter telephone polls. 1pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 1 | 10/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: New Jersey phone poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Minnesota phone poll. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/9/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Illinois and Iowa polls. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Phone polls. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Trial Heats. Maryland. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: California and Michigan telephone polls. With reports attached. 9pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/7/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Trial heat data. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Polling schedule. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Maryland Rolling Wave. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Polling Schedule. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Gordon Strachan. From: L. Higby. RE: Polling strategy. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Rolling Wave polls. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Rolling wave polling sample sizes. 1pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Polling matters. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 9/30/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Trial Heats Report. Wisconsin. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 9/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Trial Heats report. Missouri. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Phone Polls. With article attached. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Telephone polling. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Polling Matters. 13pgs. |
| 42 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | | Handwritten Notes. 1pg. |
| 42 | 1 | 10/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert M. Teeter. RE: Phone Polls. 1pg. |

Ⓟ
Rolling
Wave

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Post Election Survey

Clark MacGregor accepted the Bob Teeter suggestion of a post election survey. MacGregor told Teeter he might talk to you about the best way to approach Stans for the money (40,000).

The rough draft questionnaire from Teeter is attached. There are no question on tax reform and alternative budget cuts to stay within the 250 billion budget. Teeter will develop these questions.

The only people who know of the survey are MacGregor, Reiser, Teeter, and Magruder. You may want to discuss the subject with Ehrlichman and ask him if he wants particular substantive issues explored.

Teeter hopes to get your comments, re-submit a final questionnaire, and obtain final approval Wednesday so that interviewing can begin Thursday and Friday. The bulk of the interviewing would be done over the weekend. The wrap-up questionnaires to assure demographic balance would be done during the week of November 13. The results would be available by December 1.

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

November 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *raw*
SUBJECT: Post Election Poll

Attached is a draft questionnaire for the national after election study.

It is obviously too long to actually be done in the field. It was designed to give us an opportunity to look at several different areas and types of questions. Virtually all of the candidate and issue questions are the same as we asked in Wave II and or III so that we can identify trends.

In addition to this questionnaire which will be used for the national we will administer a short form to those individuals we find who are registered but did not vote. We will also use a shorter form of this questionnaire to do the four state panels MOR is going to do.

We should meet sometime early Wednesday a.m. to finalize the questionnaire so we can begin interviewing Thursday and Friday.

Hello, I'm _____ of Market Opinion Research. We are making a study of the recent national election and I would like to ask you a few questions.

1. Were you registered to vote in the election last Tuesday? YES.....
NO

(IF YES, GO TO QUESTION 2, IF NO TERMINATE)

2. Did you vote in the election last Tuesday? YES.....
NO

(IF YES CONTINUE, IF NO ADMINISTER YELLOW QUESTIONNAIRE)

3. Did you vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican, or George McGovern the Democrat for President? RICHARD NIXON.....
GEORGE MC GOVERN.....
OTHER.....
REFUSED

4. (IF VOTED FOR NIXON ASK) Would you say you voted more for Nixon or against McGovern? FOR NIXON.....
AGAINST MC GOVERN.....

(IF FOR NIXON ASK a, IF AGAINST MC GOVERN, ASK b)

a. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote for Nixon? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

b. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote against McGovern? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

5. (IF VOTED FOR MC GOVERN ASK:) Would you say you voted more for McGovern or against Nixon? FOR MC GOVERN.....
AGAINST NIXON

(IF FOR MC GOVERN ASK a, IF AGAINST NIXON ASK b)

a. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote for McGovern? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

b. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote against Nixon? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

6. Again, looking back at the whole presidential campaign, when did you finally make up your mind how you would vote for the President?

(MARK APPROPRIATE CATEGORY, READ CHOICES ONLY IF RESPONDENT NEEDS HELP)

Interviewer Information:

Democratic Convention - July 10-13
Republican Convention - August 21-24

- BEFORE EITHER OF THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS..... _____
- AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION..... _____
- AFTER THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION..... _____
- DURING SEPTEMBER..... _____
- DURING THE LAST HALF OF OCTOBER..... _____
- DURING THE LAST WEEK BEFORE THE ELECTION..... _____
- ON THE DAY BEFORE OR ON ELECTION DAY..... _____

7. Did you at any time during the campaign change your mind about who you were going to vote for?

- YES..... _____
- NO..... _____

(IF YES ASK a AND b)

a. When did you change your mind?

b. What caused you to change your mind?

(ASK ONLY IF THERE WAS A U.S. SENATE RACE IN STATE IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING, CONSULT INSTRUCTION)

8. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator?

- REPUBLICAN..... _____
- DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- OTHER..... _____

(ASK ONLY IF THERE WAS A GOVERNOR'S RACE IN STATE IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING, CONSULT INSTRUCTION)

9. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Governor?

- REPUBLICAN..... _____
- DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- OTHER..... _____

10. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congress in your district? REPUBLICAN..... _____
DEMOCRATIC..... _____
OTHER..... _____

11. Now thinking about all of the races on the Ballot in the election last Tuesday, which answer on this card best describes how you voted?
(HAND POLITICAL CARD)

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC..... _____
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC..... _____
A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS..... _____
ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES..... _____
A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS..... _____
MOSTLY REPUBLICAN..... _____
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

12. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a Nation at this time (PROBE)

13. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States (CIRCLE JUST ONE OF THE ABOVE)

a. What do you think should be done about it?

14. Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction today, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track? RIGHT DIRECTION..... _____
WRONG TRACK..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

15. I'd like to hand you a group of cards. On each card is a problem or issue facing our country. I'd like you to hand me the card that was most important to you in deciding how to vote for President this fall. Then hand me the card with the problem that was second most important to you, and continue handing me the cards in order of their importance until you have handed me all of the cards. (HAND ISSUE CARDS AND BE SURE TO ROTATE THEM.)

(LIST PROBLEMS IN THE ORDER THEY ARE HANDED BACK TO YOU 1, 2, 3, 4,.....)

- Drugs _____
- Taxes _____
- Health Care _____

- Vietnam _____
- Unemployment _____
- Racial Problems _____

- Foreign Policy _____
- National Defense _____
- Crime _____

- Inflation _____
- Pollution/Environment _____
- Busing _____

- General Unrest _____
- Welfare _____
- Corruption _____

16. Now, I'd like to read through the list of problems and issues again and as I mention each one I'd like you to rate President Nixon on his ability to handle each one. (HAND ABILITY CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

| | Extremely Well | Very Well | Fairly Well | Not Very Well | Not at All Well |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Drugs | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Taxes | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Health Care | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Vietnam | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Unemployment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Racial Problems | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Foreign Policy | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| National Defense | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Crime | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Inflation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Pollution/Environment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Busing | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| General Unrest | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Welfare | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Corruption | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

17. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate George McGovern on his ability to handle each problem. (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

| | Extremely Well | Very Well | Fairly Well | Not Very Well | Not at All Well |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Drugs | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Taxes | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Health Care | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Vietnam | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Unemployment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Racial Problems | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Foreign Policy | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| National Defense | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Crime | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Inflation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Pollution/Environment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Busing | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| General Unrest | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Welfare | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Corruption | | | | | |

18. Did the developments in the Vietnam War peace negotiations during the last few days of the campaign make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote?

RICHARD NIXON..... _____
 GEORGE MC GOVERN..... _____
 NO DIFFERENCE..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

19. Regarding Vietnam, do you think the peace terms now being discussed are more favorable to the Communist side, more favorable to the U.S. and South Vietnamese side, fair to both sides, or don't you know?

FAVORS COMMUNISTS..... _____
 FAIR TO BOTH SIDES..... _____
 FAVORS U.S. AND VIETNAM.. _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

20. The charge has been made that President Nixon could have made the Vietnam peace settlement long ago and that he delayed it just to help his reelection. Do you agree or disagree with this charge?

AGREE..... _____
 DISAGREE..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

21. After the U.S. finally withdraws all its forces from Vietnam, do you expect South Vietnam to remain a non-communist country or do you think it is likely that the communists will take it over?

REMAIN NON COMMUNIST.... _____
 COMMUNISTS WILL TAKE IT OVER..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

22. After the war is over do you think the United States should or should not help rebuild Vietnam?

SHOULD _____
 SHOULD NOT..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

23. Some people have said that having a strong national defense at least equal to the Russians and Chinese is the best hope for peace. Others have said that we have more important needs in our own country and that we should spend more of our money on domestic programs even if it means that our military strength would be less than some other countries. On this scale card 1 would represent those people who believe we should have a national defense at least as strong as the Russians and Chinese and 7 would represent those who think we should spend less on national defense and more on domestic programs even if it leaves our military strength less than some other country. (HAND SCALE CARD 22)

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b, c.)

Strong National Defense Spend At Home and Less Strong Defense

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____

24. Do you think that we should spend more, about the same amount, or less money on national defense in the next few years as we are now?

- 1 Spend less
- 2 About the same amount
- 3 Spend more
- 0 Don't know

25. There has been some discussion lately of amnesty, that is, forgiveness, for those who have left the country or gone to prison to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War. Which of the courses of action on this card would you most like to see the government take?

- 1 GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY NOW
- 2 GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER AND OUR PRISONERS OF WAR HAVE BEEN RETURNED
- 3 GRANT AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, BUT REQUIRE TWO YEARS OF SOME TYPE OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE
- 4 GRANT AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, BUT REQUIRE AN APPROPRIATE PENALTY
- 5 NOT GRANT AMNESTY AT ALL
- 6 DON'T KNOW

a. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think Richard Nixon favors?

(Record number of response)

b. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think George McGovern favors?

(Record number of response)

26. Considering the whole economic situation, which one of these concerns you most -- unemployment, inflation, or taxes?

UNEMPLOYMENT _____

INFLATION _____

TAXES _____

DON'T KNOW _____

27. Generally speaking, do you believe the steps taken by President Nixon have slowed inflation?

YES _____

NO _____

DON'T KNOW _____

28. Some People say that giving certain tax breaks to business will create more jobs. Others say that business now receives too many tax breaks. (HAND SCALE CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b AND c)

Create More Jobs

Too Many Tax Breaks

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____

b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale _____

c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale _____

29. Some people have said that the governmental and economic systems in our country are no longer able to solve our problems and need to be changed drastically. Other people have said that while we have many problems that need to be solved our basic economic and governmental systems are good ones and should not be changed.

(HAND SCALE CARD)

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b AND c)

Governmental and Economic Systems Need Drastic Change

Governmental and Economic Systems Do Not need Change

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____

30. Have you read or heard anything about someone breaking into the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate Building in Washington? YES..... _____
 NO..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

(IF YES ASK:)

a. From what you have read or heard, who do you think was responsible for this? (INTERVIEWER: ASK AS AN OPEN END QUESTION. DO NOT READ RESPONSES. CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE OR WRITE IN OTHER ANSWER.)

REPUBLICANS..... _____
 PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMPAIGN/THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT..... _____
 OTHER..... _____
 (specify) _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

31. Do you think that President Nixon himself knew anything about the incident before it occurred? YES..... _____
 NO _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

32. Did this incident make you more likely to vote for McGovern, more likely to vote for Nixon, or not make any idfference to you in deciding how to vote? MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR MC GOVERN..... _____
 MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR NIXON..... _____
 NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE.. _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

33. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about President Nixon?

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

b. Is there anything else?

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

d. Now, is there anything else?

e. Is that good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

34. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about George McGovern?

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

b. Is there anything else?

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

d. Now is there anything else?

e. Is that good or bad? GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

35. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President? APPROVE..... _____
DISAPPROVE..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

36. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? APPROVE..... _____
DISAPPROVE..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

37. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with economic conditions in this country? APPROVE..... _____
DISAPPROVE..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

38. Is your impression of Richard Nixon better or worse, or no different, than it was 1 year ago? BETTER..... _____
WORSE..... _____
NO DIFFERENT..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

(IF BETTER OR WORSE ASK:)

a. Why is your impression _____

39. Is your impression of George McGovern better or worse, or no different, than it was 1 year ago? BETTER..... _____
WORSE..... _____
NO DIFFERENT..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

(IF BETTER OR WORSE, ASK:)

a. Why is your impression _____

40. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information the Federal government in general gives the public?

ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD _____
NO OPINION..... _____

41. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information President Nixon gives the public?

ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD..... _____
NO OPINION..... _____

42. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information Senator McGovern gives the public?

ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD..... _____
NO OPINION..... _____

(GO TO GREEN SCALES)

43. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the campaign. What do you think was the main idea or message the Nixon campaign tried to get across to convince people to vote for him?

44. What do you think was the main idea or message the McGovern campaign tried to get across to convince people to vote for him?

45. Where did you get your most useful information about Richard Nixon?

46. Where did you get you most useful information about George McGovern?

47. Now, I would like to mention a number of the ways people get information about the candidates and issues, and have you tell me whether or not you recall getting any information from each one?
(IF YES ASK a. AND b.)

a. What do you remember about it? (RECORD BELOW)

b. How useful was the information to you? (RECORD ABOVE)

| | | | b. | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|----|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | Very Useful | Somewhat | Not Very | Don't Know |
| Radio Commercials | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Television Commercials | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Newspaper Advertisements | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Letters/direct mail | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Telephone call | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Personal visits by campaign worker | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Campaign literature | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Meetings | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Radio newscasts | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Television news | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Magazines | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Special television programs | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Newspaper news columns | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Newspaper editorials | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Talking with husband/wife | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Talking with neighbors/co-workers | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |

a. Radio Commercials _____

a. Television Commercials _____

a. Newspaper Advertisements _____

a. Letters/direct mail _____

a. Telephone call _____

a. Personal Visits by campaign worker _____

a. Campaign literature _____

a. Meetings _____

a. Radio newscasts _____

- a. Television news _____
- a. Magazines _____
- a. Special television programs _____
- a. Newspaper news columns _____
- a. Newspaper editorials _____
- a. Talking with husband/wife _____
- a. Talking with neighbors/co-workers _____

48. Did you personally participate in the campaign by working for any candidate?

YES..... _____
 NO..... _____

49. Now, I would like to mention a number of events that took place during this campaign and as I mention each one have you tell me whether you recall the event or not

(IF YES ASK:)

a. Did it make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern, or did not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote.

| | Yes | No | More Likely Nixon | More Likely McGovern | No Difference |
|--|-----|-----|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| President Nixon's trip to China | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| President Nixon's trip to Russia | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The Humphrey/McGovern debate in the California primary | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The shooting of Governor Wallace | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The bombing of North Vietnam | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| Senator McGovern's nomination | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| Nomination and dropping of Senator Eagleton from the Democratic ticket | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The nomination of Sargent Shriver as Democratic Vice President candidate | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The Republican National Convention | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The nomination of Spiro Agnew as Republican Vice President candidate | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>More likely Nixon</u> | <u>More likely McGovern</u> | <u>No Difference</u> |
|--|------------|-----------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| The Watergate incident and political spying by Republicans | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |

(HAND CARD _____)

50. From the people on this list, who would have been your first choice to be President?

- HUBERT HUMPHREY..... _____
- EDWARD KENNEDY..... _____
- GEORGE MC GOVERN..... _____
- EDWARD MUSKIE..... _____
- RICHARD NIXON..... _____
- JOHN SCHMITZ..... _____
- GEORGE WALLACE..... _____

51. Now, that the campaign is over, I would like to ask you a few questions about the future. Do you think that the United States as a nation will be better off, worse off, or in about the same shape a year from now as it is today?

- BETTER OFF..... _____
- WORSE OFF..... _____
- ABOUT THE SAME..... _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

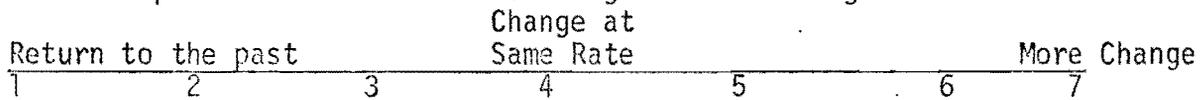
a. Why do you say that?

52. Do you think that you and your family will be better off, worse off, or in about the same position a year from now as you are today?

- BETTER OFF..... _____
- WORSE OFF..... _____
- ABOUT THE SAME..... _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

a. Why do you say that?

53. Some people have complained that things in our country are changing too fast, while others say our country's problems are because there is not enough change. Others would like to return to the way the United States used to be. On this scale card 1 would represent those people who believe we should return to the way we used to be, and 7 would represent those who are calling for more change.



- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale?

54. Now that President Nixon has been re-elected what one thing would you most like to see him accomplish during his second term as President?

a. Is there anything else? (PROBE)

55. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

REPUBLICAN.....
DEMOCRAT.....
INDEPENDENT.....
OTHER.....
DON'T KNOW.....

56. (IF REPUBLICAN) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican

STRONG.....
NOT VERY STRONG....
DON'T KNOW.....

57. (IF DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

STRONG.....
NOT VERY STRONG....
DON'T KNOW.....

58. (IF INDEPENDENT) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

REPUBLICAN.....
DEMOCRAT.....
NEITHER.....

59. Thinking back to the last few elections before this year, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC..
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC....
A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN
REPUBLICANS.....
ABOUT EQUALLY FOR
BOTH PARTIES.....
A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS
THAN DEMOCRATS.....
MOSTLY REPUBLICAN....
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..
NEVER VOTED.....
DON'T KNOW.....

60. Thinking ahead to the next few elections, which answer on this card best describes how you will vote for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

- STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC.. _____
- MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC.... _____
- A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS..... _____
- ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES..... _____
- A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS..... _____
- MOSTLY REPUBLICAN.... _____
- STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN.. _____
- DON'T KNOW _____

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

- NIXON..... _____
- HUMPHREY..... _____
- WALLACE..... _____
- DIDN'T VOTE..... _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

62. What is your occupation? _____

a. (IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD) What is the occupation of the head of this household? _____

63. What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

- 34-35-01 17-20
- 02 21-24
- 03 25-29
- 04 30-34
- 05 35-39
- 06 40-44
- 07 45-49
- 08 50-54
- 09 55-59
- 10 60-64
- 11 65 and over
- 00 Refused

64. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- 36-1 Grade school or less (grades 1-8)
- 2 Some high school
- 3 Graduated high school (grades 9-12)
- 4 Vocational/Technical school
- 5 Some college
- 6 Graduated college
- 7 Post graduate work
- 0 Refused

65. What is your religion?

- 37-1 Roman Catholic
- 2 Protestant (eg. Baptist, Methodist, etc)
- 3 Jewish
- 4 Other (SPECIFY) _____

66. (BY OBSERVATION) Race:

- 39 1 White
- 2 Negro
- 3 Oriental
- 4 Spanish-American
- 5 Other (SPECIFY) _____

67. What is your nationality?

- 10 American/U.S
- 20 Italian
- 30 Irish
- 40 Polish

East European

- 50 Czechoslovakia
- 51 Estonia
- 52 Hungry
- 53 Latvia
- 54 Rumania
- 55 Russia
- 56 Ukraine
- 57 Yugoslavia
- 59 Other East European

Scandinavia

- 60 Denmark
- 61 Finland
- 62 Norway
- 63 Sweden

West European

- 70 Austria
- 71 Belgium
- 72 English, British
- 73 France
- 74 Germany
- 75 Netherlands
- 76 Scottish
- 79 Other West European

Spanish

- 80 Mexico
- 81 Portugal
- 82 Spain
- 89 Other South American

90 Other _____

(Specify)

00 Don't know

68. Are you a labor union member?

- 43- 1 Yes
- 2 No

a. (IF "NO" ASK:) Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

- 44- 1 Yes
- 2 No

69. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- 45- 1 Male
- 2 Female

70. (SHOW INCOME CARD) Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

- 46- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 and over
- 0 Refused

SCALE CARD

Now I'd like to have you do something different. There are many ways you can judge a political candidate. He can be good or bad, interesting or uninteresting, liberal or conservative, and many other things.

We will be judging two candidates in several ways.

Let's take the liberal-conservative rating below as an example. There are three spaces on each side of the box which is exactly in the middle. If you feel the candidate is very liberal or extremely liberal, choose one of the spaces towards the word liberal, and mark the space with an : X :. If you feel the candidate is neither conservative nor liberal, mark the middle box X /. Use the conservative spaces in the same way.

Move quickly down a page. You should do a page in about one minute.

Now let's start with yourself as the example. Rate yourself on this scale . . .

YOURSELF

Liberal _____ : _____ : _____ X / _____ : _____ : _____ Conservative

*** TURN TO NEXT PAGE ***

SCALE SHEET
RICHARD NIXON

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|--------------------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---------------|
| warm | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | cold |
| experienced | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | inexperienced |
| closed-minded | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | open-minded |
| trained | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | untrained |
| bold | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | timid |
| dishonest | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | honest |
| introverted | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | extroverted |
| safe | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | dangerous |
| uninformed | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | informed |
| meek | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | aggressive |
| just | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | unjust |
| incompetent | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | competent |
| frank | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | reserved |
| sense of humor | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | Lacks humor |
| old-fashioned | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | up-to-date |
| tense | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | relaxed |
| tough | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | soft |
| liberal | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | conservative |

SCALE SHEET

GEORGE McGOVERN

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|---|-------|---|--------------------------|---|-------|---|-------|---------------|
| rm | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | cold |
| experienced | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | inexperienced |
| closed-minded | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | open-minded |
| trained | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | untrained |
| bold | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | timid |
| dishonest | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | honest |
| introverted | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | extroverted |
| safe | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | dangerous |
| uninformed | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | informed |
| meek | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | aggressive |
| just | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | unjust |
| incompetent | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | competent |
| frank | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | reserved |
| sense of humor | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | lacks humor |
| old-fashioned | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | up-to-date |
| tense | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | relaxed |
| tough | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | soft |
| liberal | _____ | : | _____ | : | <input type="checkbox"/> | : | _____ | : | _____ | conservative |

Committee for the Re-election of the President

(F)
Rolling
Wave

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Emp Res NARS, Date 5-22-80

November 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Final Newspaper Polls

Listed below are the final results from the various newspaper polls from around the country.

CALIFORNIA Poll*
(Los Angeles Times)
October 30 - November 1, 1972
766 Telephone Interviews

| | |
|-----------|----|
| Nixon | 49 |
| McGovern | 35 |
| Other | 2 |
| Undecided | 14 |

COLORADO Poll
(Denver Post)
October 25 - November 2, 1972
1,334 Personal Interviews

| | |
|-----------|----|
| Nixon | 66 |
| McGovern | 26 |
| Other | 1 |
| No Choice | .7 |

ILLINOIS POLL*
(Chicago Tribune)
October 27 - 30, 1972
1,541 Telephone Interviews

| | |
|-----------|----|
| Nixon | 58 |
| McGovern | 30 |
| Undecided | 12 |

CONFIDENTIAL

ILLINOIS Poll
(Chicago Sun Times)
Finished Interviewing November 3, 1972
24,907 Personal Interviews (Forced Undecided)

Nixon 60
McGovern 40

IOWA Poll*
(Des Moines Register)
October 28 - 30, 1972
889 Personal Interviews

Nixon 58
McGovern 33
Other 1
Undecided 8

MASSACHUSETTS Poll*
(Boston Globe)
October 31 - November 2, 1972
700 Telephone Interviews

Nixon 39
McGovern 49
Undecided 12

MICHIGAN Poll
(Detroit News)
October 27 - 31, 1972
1,000 Personal Interviews

Nixon 49
McGovern 42
Other 1
Undecided 8

MINNESOTA Poll*
(Star Tribune)
October 27 - 29, 1972
701 Likely vote (1000 Personal Interviews)

Nixon 56
McGovern 39
Undecided 5

OHIO Poll
(Cleveland Plain Dealer)
October 30 - November 3, 1972
1200 Personal Interviews

Nixon 54
McGovern 34
Schmitz -
Hall -
Undecided 12

- Less than 0.5%

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WEST VIRGINIA Poll
(Charleston Gazette- private poll)
Forced undecided - no information available on method.

| | |
|----------|----|
| Nixon | 59 |
| McGovern | 41 |

* In the past these polls have been statically
the most reliable.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *S*
SUBJECT: Post Election Survey

Attached is the memorandum I sent to Bob before the election. He approved the project under Teeter's direction if MacGregor concurred. MacGregor deferred, indicating he has no interest. Bob has withdrawn his support of the project if Teeter is involved. Further, Bob has no interest in the post election survey. However, he would not object and if someone (you or Magruder) would approach Stans, he would neither encourage or discourage the project. The post election survey must survive or die on its merits. I am in favor of it.

In addition to the materials submitted by Teeter, I have talked with John Davies, my contact at Gallup, and Charles Roll, an independent consultant. They propose 600 Democrats who supported the President and 1,000 independents, selected from the 3,500 respondents in the key precincts that Gallup used in his last pre-election survey. The cost (30-40,000) is the going rate for a 1,600 interview personal interview survey.

The time frame for the project is:

November 13 -- approval of project
November 20 -- Approval of questionnaire
November 27 -- preparation of visuals and pretest
December 1-15 -- field interviewing
January 1 -- final report.

Please advise me if you have any interest in pursuing this project. If not, I will turn it completely off because the "half-life" of post-election survey information terminates next week if the project is not begun.

NS

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Post-Election Survey

Bob Teeter has submitted a proposal to MacGregor for funds to conduct a post-election survey.

The arguments for such a survey are persuasive. Many new techniques were used in Campaign '72 (direct mail, telephones, issue appeals by demographics, etc.) which should be tested to see if they influenced votes. The cost of the survey is only 40,000, or .1% of the campaign budget. If the New Majority is to be consolidated, a careful analysis should be made of who actually comprises it.

The arguments against the survey are: too costly, Survey Research Center in Michigan will do one anyhow, and the Gallup Survey will conduct a post-election survey.

However, the money from the Campaign is available according to Tom Evans who says there will be a surplus. The other post-election surveys will not have the political focus necessary to be of value.

The hard question is whether Teeter and MOR or Benham and ORC should conduct the survey. In spite of reservations about Teeter's political advice, he and his polling staff have been intimately involved in the planning and detail strategy implementation. They are familiar with what many of the techniques tried to do and should be the ones to test whether the techniques worked. Although Benham and ORC would be more objective, their phrasing of the questions and analysis would not go after the information as well as Teeter.

Recommendation:

That you approve a post-election, nationwide field survey conducted by Tester and MOR subject to questionnaire approval by you.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments _____

Tester's proposal is attached.

GS/jb

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

November 3, 1972

By Empire, Date 5-22-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: Post Election Analysis

In addition to the internal analysis of the campaign you asked for I think that our post election analysis should contain two other components. The most important of these is a post election survey. While post election data is useful after most campaigns there are several reasons why I think it is important for this one.

- 1) We have spent something close to 45 million dollars this year. We put a great deal more emphasis on techniques such as mail and telephone than has been done in previous presidential campaigns. We should find out which of the techniques were effective and why.
- 2) It appears that this campaign is going to create some significant new voting patterns. We should find out what the important factors were in attracting these new voters and how we can keep them.
- 3) The 18 year old vote brought a large new segment of voters into the electorate. We should find out what affected them and how to approach them in the future.
- 4) The campaign and the election undoubtedly have had an effect on the mood of the country, the issue structure, and the perception of the President and the administration. Data on the President and the issues would be useful to him and the White House staff in planning the Inaugural, their congressional proposals, and the staffing of the second administration.

The basic element of such a study should be a national sample of at least 1500 personal interviews.

Along with this national poll, it would also be useful to sample a few precincts where our campaign was active organizationally and with the mail and telephone programs.

The general areas this study would cover are:

- National issue structure
- Perception of the candidates
- Perception of the campaign
- Sources of information
- Impact of campaign techniques -- advertising, mail, telephone
- Key elements of voting decisions
- Timing of voting decisions
- Expectations of a second Nixon administration

This project would cost \$40-50,000 which represents .1% of the total budget for evaluation.

Also, MOR is going to do three or four state after election panel studies for their own use. These could be tied to the national study to give us a comparison of some of the key states and the national data. They are definitely going to do Michigan and will pick other states on the day after the election.

We need a decision on the national poll by Sunday or Monday to begin interviewing immediately after the election. If you approve it, I will draft a questionnaire for you this weekend; we can finalize it on Wednesday, and begin interviewing Friday or Saturday.

The second component I think should be added to our post election analysis is a detailed voting analysis to see where we did change voting patterns. A preliminary analysis can be done as soon as we get county returns. A more detailed analysis will have to wait until precinct data is available. This will undoubtedly be at least the first of the year. If you agree with this part of the proposal, I will prepare a detailed description of the analysis that should be done after the election.

It would be a mistake for us to close down the campaign and not have our evaluation include an analysis of the actual result.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Post Election Survey

Attached is the memorandum I sent to Bob before the election. He approved the project under Teeter's direction if MacGregor concurred. MacGregor deferred, indicating he has no interest. Bob has withdrawn his support of the project if Teeter is involved. Further, Bob has not interest in the post election survey. However, he would not object and if someone (you or Magruder) would approach Stans, he would neither encourage or discourage the project. The post election survey must survive or die on its merits. I am in favor of it.

In addition to the materials submitted by Teeter, I have talked with John Davies, my contact at Gallup, and Charles Roll, an independent consultant. They propose 600 Democrats who supported the President and 1,000 independents, selected from the 3,500 respondents in the key precincts that Gallup used in his last pre-election survey. The cost (30-40,000) is the going rate for a 1,600 interview personal interview survey.

The time frame for the project is:

November 13 -- approval of project
November 20 -- Approval of questionnaire
November 27 -- preparation of visuals and pretest
December 1-15 -- field interviewing
January 1 -- final report.

Please advise me if you have any interest in pursuing this project. If not, I will turn it completely off because the "half-life" of post-election survey information terminates next week if the project is not begun.

GS/jb

- A. If it became necessary to either raise taxes or cut Government spending, which would you prefer be done?

If Government spending, here's a list (HAND CARD ___) of the major areas of Government spending. In which of these areas do you think spending should be cut first?

- a. In which of these areas do you think spending should be cut second?
 - b. In which of these areas do you think spending should be cut third?
 - c. Are there any other of these areas where you think Government spending should be cut?
- B. Now I'd like to mention several other areas and proposals that have been made to you and as I mention each one I'd like you to tell me whether or not you would be willing to have your taxes increased if the money were used for that activity.
- C. If it became absolutely necessary to raise taxes would you prefer this be done by raising the income tax, raising property taxes, or raising sales taxes?
- D. Generally do you think the tax structure in our' country is fair or not fair to the average person?
- (IF NO, ASK a)
- a. Do you think national, state or local taxes are least fair?
 - b. Do you think the problem is primarily that the whole tax system is unfair and needs to be changed or that there are too many loopholes that let some people get by without paying their fair share?
- E. Are you in favor of retaining local property taxes as the primary means of financing education or would you favor replacing local property taxes with a value added tax which is a type of national sales tax?

These are responses to

Mass Transit
Pollution Control
Aid to Senior Citizens
Welfare
Economic Aid to Under-developed Countries
National Defense
Federal Aid to Public Education
Federal Aid to Colleges and Universities
Medical Research
Housing
Farm Subsidies

- A. If it became necessary to either raise taxes or cut Government spending, which would you prefer be done?

If Government spending, here's a list (HAND CARD ___) of the major areas of Government spending. In which of these areas do you think spending should be cut first?

- a. In which of these areas do you think spending should be cut second?
 - b. In which of these areas do you think spending should be cut third?
 - c. Are there any other of these areas where you think Government spending should be cut?
- B. Now I'd like to mention several other areas and proposals that have been made to you and as I mention each one I'd like you to tell me whether or not you would be willing to have your taxes increased if the money were used for that activity.
- C. If it became absolutely necessary to raise taxes would you prefer this be done by raising the income tax, raising property taxes, or raising sales taxes?
- D. Generally do you think the tax structure in our country is fair or not fair to the average person?
- (IF NO, ASK a)
- a. Do you think national, state or local taxes are least fair?
 - b. Do you think the problem is primarily that the whole tax system is unfair and needs to be changed or that there are too many loopholes that let some people get by without paying their fair share?
- E. Are you in favor of retaining local property taxes as the primary means of financing education or would you favor replacing local property taxes with a value added tax which is a type of national sales tax?

These are responses to

Mass Transit
Pollution Control
Aid to Senior Citizens
Welfare
Economic Aid to Under-developed Countries
National Defense
Federal Aid to Public Education
Federal Aid to Colleges and Universities
Medical Research
Housing
Farm Subsidies

Davis + Roll

20,000 - names + addresses
surveyed before elec.
+ 1600 sample interviewed
now.

Argue that get people
you're familiar w/
media motivation test
- use well done visuals
- people don't remember,
so
- photos of direct mail,
Unaided & aided recall.

Security

1500 - natl + 250 re -
interviews
- series of ?'s could
eliminate bias of
past vote
- similar to turnout
scale

add ?'s re Fed Bureau
- dimension of concern
How many es does DOD
have?

add Free + Control ladder
? re future - Roll here
county has more positive view

Pol Surveys + Anal one ^{owned by} in Gallup
Gal Affil
Gal Interviewers
Gal Sample
Gal staff coding + processing
Reid + Baker
Gal Facilities avail to pd work
5 cap companies
All in same bldg.

Dec One Man - Dr Gal in Pol Area
Only ^{quits} Roll + Harris write report +
access.
Paul Perry - boss of Roll but no
access.

Cost: 1500 - for 1/2 hr interview

$\frac{26}{30,000 - 40,000}$

Must Begin in 2 wks.

Take Final Present - 3500 -
1600 - DFN + 1000 ind - T/S
Wend before election

1600 Post Elec Survey - to us. T/S.

Time frame:

Mon - go

1 week level ?s + /

approval

Pretest + Visuals

2-3 weeks

- To Field 12/1 - prols w/intew
- Out of Field 12/15 -
- Jan 1

1/2 at Field

1/2 out

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

S

SUBJECT:

Post Election Survey

Clark MacGregor accepted the Bob Teeter suggestion of a post election survey. MacGregor told Teeter he might talk to you about the best way to approach Stans for the money (40,000). *Not me!*

The rough draft questionnaire from Teeter is attached. There are no questions on tax reform and alternative budget cuts to stay within the 250 billion budget. Teeter will develop these questions.

The only people who know of the survey are MacGregor, Reisner, Teeter, and Magruder. You may want to discuss the subject with Ehrlichman and ask him if he wants particular substantive issues explored.

Teeter hopes to get your comments, re-submit a final questionnaire, and obtain final approval Wednesday so that interviewing can begin Thursday and Friday. The bulk of the interviewing would be done over the weekend. The wrap-up questionnaires to assure demographic balance would be done during the week of November 13. The results would be available by December 1.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

November 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*
SUBJECT: Post Election Poll

Attached is a draft questionnaire for the national after election study.

It is obviously too long to actually be done in the field. It was designed to give us an opportunity to look at several different areas and types of questions. Virtually all of the candidate and issue questions are the same as we asked in Wave II and or III so that we can identify trends.

In addition to this questionnaire which will be used for the national we will administer a short form to those individuals we find who are registered but did not vote. We will also use a shorter form of this questionnaire to do the four state panels MOR is going to do.

We should meet sometime early Wednesday a.m. to finalize the questionnaire so we can begin interviewing Thursday and Friday.

Hello, I'm _____ of Market Opinion Research. We are making a study of the recent national election and I would like to ask you a few questions.

1. Were you registered to vote in the election last Tuesday? YES.....
NO

(IF YES, GO TO QUESTION 2, IF NO TERMINATE)

2. Did you vote in the election last Tuesday? YES.....
NO

(IF YES CONTINUE, IF NO ADMINISTER YELLOW QUESTIONNAIRE)

3. Did you vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican, or George McGovern the Democrat for President? RICHARD NIXON.....
GEORGE MC GOVERN.....
OTHER.....
REFUSED

4. (IF VOTED FOR NIXON ASK) Would you say you voted more for Nixon or against McGovern? FOR NIXON.....
AGAINST MC GOVERN.....

(IF FOR NIXON ASK a, IF AGAINST MC GOVERN, ASK b)

a. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote for Nixon? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

b. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote against McGovern? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

5. (IF VOTED FOR MC GOVERN ASK:) Would you say you voted more for McGovern or against Nixon? FOR MC GOVERN.....
AGAINST NIXON

(IF FOR MC GOVERN ASK a, IF AGAINST NIXON ASK b)

a. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote for McGovern? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

b. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote against Nixon? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

6. Again, looking back at the whole presidential campaign, when did you finally make up your mind how you would vote for the President?

(MARK APPROPRIATE CATEGORY, READ CHOICES ONLY IF RESPONDENT NEEDS HELP)

Interviewer Information:

Democratic Convention - July 10-13
Republican Convention - August 21-24

- BEFORE EITHER OF THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS..... _____
- AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION..... _____
- AFTER THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION..... _____
- DURING SEPTEMBER..... _____
- DURING THE LAST HALF OF OCTOBER..... _____
- DURING THE LAST WEEK BEFORE THE ELECTION..... _____
- ON THE DAY BEFORE OR ON ELECTION DAY..... _____

7. Did you at any time during the campaign change your mind about who you were going to vote for?

- YES..... _____
- NO..... _____

(IF YES ASK a AND b)

a. When did you change your mind?

b. What caused you to change your mind?

(ASK ONLY IF THERE WAS A U.S. SENATE RACE IN STATE IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING, CONSULT INSTRUCTION)

8. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator?

- REPUBLICAN..... _____
- DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- OTHER..... _____

(ASK ONLY IF THERE WAS A GOVERNOR'S RACE IN STATE IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING, CONSULT INSTRUCTION)

9. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Governor?

- REPUBLICAN..... _____
- DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- OTHER..... _____

ask only?

ask only?

10. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congress in your district? REPUBLICAN..... _____
DEMOCRATIC..... _____
OTHER..... _____

11. Now thinking about all of the races on the Ballot in the election last Tuesday, which answer on this card best describes how you voted?
(HAND POLITICAL CARD)

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC..... _____
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC..... _____
A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS..... _____
ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES..... _____
A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS..... _____
MOSTLY REPUBLICAN..... _____
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

12. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a Nation at this time (PROBE)

→ mor
Need for Trends

13. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States (CIRCLE JUST ONE OF THE ABOVE)

ORC

a. What do you think should be done about it?

14. Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction today, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track? RIGHT DIRECTION..... _____
WRONG TRACK..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

15. I'd like to hand you a group of cards. On each card is a problem or issue facing our country. I'd like you to hand me the card that was most important to you in deciding how to vote for President this fall. Then hand me the card with the problem that was second most important to you, and continue handing me the cards in order of their importance until you have handed me all of the cards. (HAND ISSUE CARDS AND BE SURE TO ROTATE THEM.)

(LIST PROBLEMS IN THE ORDER THEY ARE HANDED BACK TO YOU 1, 2, 3, 4,.....)

- Drugs _____
- Taxes _____
- Health Care _____

- Vietnam _____
- Unemployment _____
- Racial Problems _____

- Foreign Policy _____
- National Defense _____
- Crime _____

- Inflation _____
- Pollution/ Environment _____
- Busing _____

- General Unrest _____
- Welfare _____
- Corruption _____

16. Now, I'd like to read through the list of problems and issues again and as I mention each one I'd like you to rate President Nixon on his ability to handle each one. (HAND ABILITY CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

| | Extremely Well | Very Well | Fairly Well | Not Very Well | Not at All Well |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Drugs | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Taxes | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Health Care | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Vietnam | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Unemployment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Racial Problems | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Foreign Policy | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| National Defense | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Crime | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Inflation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Pollution/Environment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Busing | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| General Unrest | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Welfare | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Corruption | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

17. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate George McGovern on his ability to handle each problem. (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

| | Extremely Well | Very Well | Fairly Well | Not Very Well | Not at All Well |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Drugs | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Taxes | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Health Care | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Vietnam | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Unemployment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Racial Problems | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Foreign Policy | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| National Defense | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Crime | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Inflation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Pollution/Environment | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Busing | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| General Unrest | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Welfare | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Corruption | | | | | |

18. Did the developments in the Vietnam War ^{weeks} peace negotiations during the last few ~~days~~ of the campaign make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote?

RICHARD NIXON..... _____
 GEORGE MC GOVERN..... _____
 NO DIFFERENCE..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

19. Regarding Vietnam, do you think the peace terms now being discussed are more favorable to the Communist side, more favorable to the U.S. and South Vietnamese side, fair to both sides, or don't you know?

FAVORS COMMUNISTS..... _____
 FAIR TO BOTH SIDES..... _____
 FAVORS U.S. AND VIETNAM.. _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

20. The charge has been made that President Nixon could have made the Vietnam peace settlement long ago and that he delayed it just to help his reelection. Do you agree or disagree with this charge?

AGREE..... _____
 DISAGREE..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

21. After the U.S. finally withdraws all its forces from Vietnam, do you expect South Vietnam to remain a non-communist country or do you think it is likely that the communists will take it over?

REMAIN NON COMMUNIST.... _____
 COMMUNISTS WILL TAKE IT OVER..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

22. After the war is over do you think the United States should or should not help rebuild Vietnam *economically?*

SHOULD _____
 SHOULD NOT..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

23. Some people have said that having a strong national defense at least equal to the Russians and Chinese is the best hope for peace. Others have said that we have more important needs in our own country and that we should spend more of our money on domestic programs even if it means that our military strength would be less than some other countries. On this scale card 1 would represent those people who believe we should have a national defense at least as strong as the Russians and Chinese and 7 would represent those who think we should spend less on national defense and more on domestic programs even if it leaves our military strength less than some other country. (HAND SCALE CARD 22)

Travel

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b, c.)

Strong National Defense

Spend At Home and Less Strong Defense

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____

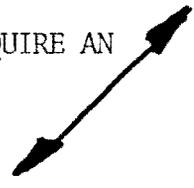
24. Do you think that we should spend more, about the same amount, or less money on national defense in the next few years as we are now?

- 1 Spend less
- 2 About the same amount
- 3 Spend more
- 0 Don't know

25. There has been some discussion lately of amnesty, that is, forgiveness, for those who have left the country or gone to prison to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War. Which of the courses of action on this card would you most like to see the government take?

Trend

- 1 GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY NOW
- 2 GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER AND OUR PRISONERS OF WAR HAVE BEEN RETURNED
- 3 GRANT AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, BUT REQUIRE TWO YEARS OF SOME TYPE OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE
- 4 GRANT AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, BUT REQUIRE AN APPROPRIATE PENALTY
- 5 NOT GRANT AMNESTY AT ALL
- 6 DON'T KNOW



a. (REFER TO *CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think Richard Nixon favors?

(Record number of response)

b. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think George McGovern favors?

(Record number of response)

26. Considering the whole economic situation, which one of these concerns you most -- unemployment, inflation, or taxes?

- UNEMPLOYMENT _____
- INFLATION _____
- TAXES _____
- DON'T KNOW _____

?

27. Generally speaking, do you believe the steps taken by President Nixon have slowed inflation?

- YES _____
- NO _____
- DON'T KNOW _____

?

28. Some People say that giving certain tax breaks to business will create more jobs. Others say that business now receives too many tax breaks. (HAND SCALE CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b AND c)

Create More Jobs

Too Many Tax Breaks

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____

b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale _____

c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale _____

29. Some people have said that the governmental and economic systems in our country are no longer able to solve our problems and need to be changed drastically. Other people have said that while we have many problems that need to be solved our basic economic and governmental systems are good ones and should not be changed.

(HAND SCALE CARD)

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b AND c)

Governmental and Economic Systems Need Drastic Change

Governmental and Economic Systems Do Not need Change

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____

30. Have you read or heard anything about someone breaking into the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate Building in Washington?

- YES..... _____
- NO..... _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

Water

(IF YES ASK:)

a. From what you have read or heard, who do you think was responsible for this? (INTERVIEWER: ASK AS AN OPEN END QUESTION. DO NOT READ RESPONSES. CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE OR WRITE IN OTHER ANSWER.)

- REPUBLICANS..... _____
- PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMPAIGN/THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT..... _____
- OTHER..... _____ (specify)
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

at end

Watergate

31. Do you think that President Nixon himself knew anything about the incident before it occurred?

- YES..... _____
- NO..... _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

Watergate

32. Did this incident make you more likely to vote for McGovern, more likely to vote for Nixon, or not make any idfference to you in deciding how to vote?

- MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR MC GOVERN..... _____
- MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR NIXON..... _____
- NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE.. _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

33. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about President Nixon?

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

b. Is there anything else?

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

d. Now, is there anything else?

e. Is that good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

34. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about George McGovern?

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

b. Is there anything else?

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD..... _____
BAD..... _____
NEITHER..... _____

d. Now is there anything else?

e. Is that good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....

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

APPROVE.....
DISAPPROVE.....
DON'T KNOW.....

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

APPROVE.....
DISAPPROVE.....
DON'T KNOW.....

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

APPROVE.....
DISAPPROVE.....
DON'T KNOW.....

38. Is your impression of Richard Nixon better or worse, or no different, than it was 1 year ago?

BETTER.....
WORSE.....
NO DIFFERENT.....
DON'T KNOW.....

(IF BETTER OR WORSE ASK:)

a. Why is your impression _____

- add: What's the 1st thing you remember learning about Geo McG? -

39. Is your impression of George McGovern better or worse, or no different, than it was 1 year ago?

BETTER.....
WORSE.....
NO DIFFERENT.....
DON'T KNOW.....

(IF BETTER OR WORSE, ASK:)

a. Why is your impression _____

40. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information the Federal government in general gives the public?

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD _____
- NO OPINION..... _____

41. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information President Nixon gives the public?

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD..... _____
- NO OPINION..... _____

42. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information Senator McGovern gives the public?

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD..... _____
- NO OPINION..... _____

- add UN Credibility

(GO TO GREEN SCALES)

43. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the campaign. What do you think was the main idea or message the Nixon campaign tried to get across to convince people to vote for him?

44. What do you think was the main idea or message the McGovern campaign tried to get across to convince people to vote for him?

45. Where did you get your most useful information about Richard Nixon?

46. Where did you get your most useful information about George McGovern?

47. Now, I would like to mention a number of the ways people get information about the candidates and issues, and have you tell me whether or not you recall getting any information from each one?
(IF YES ASK a. AND b.)

- a. What do you remember about it? (RECORD BELOW) *not in DM*
 b. How useful was the information to you? (RECORD ABOVE)

*- Similar to DM I
 - Commercials
 - Direct Mail
 - Telegram
 - Telephoned
 - Answer*

| | b. | | b. | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|----|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | Very Useful | Somewhat | Not Very | Don't Know |
| Radio Commercials | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Television Commercials | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Newspaper Advertisements | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Letters/direct mail | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Telephone call | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Personal visits by campaign worker | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Campaign literature | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Meetings | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Radio newscasts | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Television news | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Magazines | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Special television programs | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Newspaper news columns | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Newspaper editorials | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Talking with husband/wife | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Talking with neighbors/co-workers | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |

- a. Radio Commercials _____
- a. Television Commercials _____
- a. Newspaper Advertisements _____
- a. Letters/direct mail _____
- a. Telephone call _____
- a. Personal Visits by campaign worker _____
- a. Campaign literature _____
- a. Meetings _____
- a. Radio newscasts _____

- a. Television news _____
- a. Magazines _____
- a. Special television programs _____
- a. Newspaper news columns _____
- a. Newspaper editorials _____
- a. Talking with husband/wife _____
- a. Talking with neighbors/co-workers _____

48. Did you personally participate in the campaign by working for any candidate?

YES..... _____
 NO..... _____

49. Now, I would like to mention a number of events that took place during this campaign and as I mention each one have you tell me whether you recall the event or not

(IF YES ASK:)

*- Use +/who blame
 Sen /
 - Was P. still comp more*

Answers
 ↓

a. Did it make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern, or did not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote.

| | Yes | No | More Likely Nixon | More Likely McGovern | No Difference |
|--|-----|-----|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| President Nixon's trip to China | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| President Nixon's trip to Russia | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The Humphrey/McGovern debate in the California primary | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The shooting of Governor Wallace | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The bombing of North Vietnam | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| Senator McGovern's nomination | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| Nomination and dropping of Senator Eagleton from the Democratic ticket | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The nomination of Sargent Shriver as Democratic Vice President candidate | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The Republican National Convention | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| The nomination of Spiro Agnew as Republican Vice President candidate | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |

*The UN settlement
 announcement of the tentative*

54. Now that President Nixon has been re-elected what one thing would you most like to see him accomplish during his second term as President?

a. Is there anything else? (PROBE)

55. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

REPUBLICAN.....
DEMOCRAT.....
INDEPENDENT.....
OTHER.....
DON'T KNOW.....

56. (IF REPUBLICAN) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican

STRONG.....
NOT VERY STRONG....
DON'T KNOW.....

57. (IF DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

x check for replies

STRONG.....
NOT VERY STRONG....
DON'T KNOW.....

58. (IF INDEPENDENT) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

REPUBLICAN.....
DEMOCRAT.....
NEITHER.....

59. Thinking back to the last few elections before this year, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC..
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC....
A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN
REPUBLICANS.....
ABOUT EQUALLY FOR
BOTH PARTIES.....
A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS
THAN DEMOCRATS.....
MOSTLY REPUBLICAN....
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..
NEVER VOTED.....
DON'T KNOW.....

60. Thinking ahead to the next few elections, which answer on this card best describes how you will vote for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

- STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC.. _____
- MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS..... _____
- ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES..... _____
- A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS..... _____
- MOSTLY REPUBLICAN..... _____
- STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN.. _____
- DON'T KNOW _____

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

- NIXON..... _____
- HUMPHREY..... _____
- WALLACE..... _____
- DIDN'T VOTE..... _____
- DON'T KNOW..... _____

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

62. What is your occupation? _____

a. (IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD) What is the occupation of the head of this household? _____

63. What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

- 34-35-01 17-20
- 02 21-24
- 03 25-29
- 04 30-34
- 05 35-39
- 06 40-44
- 07 45-49
- 08 50-54
- 09 55-59
- 10 60-64
- 11 65 and over
- 00 Refused

64. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- 36-1 Grade school or less (grades 1-8)
- 2 Some high school
- 3 Graduated high school (grades 9-12)
- 4 Vocational/Technical school
- 5 Some college
- 6 Graduated college
- 7 Post graduate work
- 0 Refused

65. What is your religion?

- 37-1 Roman Catholic
- 2 Protestant (eg. Baptist, Methodist, etc)
- 3 Jewish
- 4 Other (SPECIFY) _____

66. (BY OBSERVATION) Race:

- 39 1 White
- 2 Negro
- 3 Oriental
- 4 Spanish-American
- 5 Other (SPECIFY)

67. What is your nationality?

- 10 American/U.S
- 20 Italian
- 30 Irish
- 40 Polish

East European

- 50 Czechoslovakia
- 51 Estonia
- 52 Hungry
- 53 Latvia
- 54 Rumania
- 55 Russia
- 56 Ukraine
- 57 Yugoslavia
- 59 Other East European

Scandinavia

- 60 Denmark
- 61 Finland
- 62 Norway
- 63 Sweden

West European

- 70 Austria
- 71 Belgium
- 72 English, British
- 73 France
- 74 Germany
- 75 Netherlands
- 76 Scottish
- 79 Other West European

Spanish

- 80 Mexico
- 81 Portugal
- 82 Spain
- 89 Other South American

90 Other _____

(Specify)

00 Don't know

68. Are you a labor union member?

- 43- 1 Yes
- 2 No

a. (IF "NO" ASK:) Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

- 44- 1 Yes
- 2 No

69. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- 45- 1 Male
- 2 Female

70. (SHOW INCOME CARD) Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

- 46- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 and over
- 0 Refused

SCALE CARD

Now I'd like to have you do something different. There are many ways you can judge a political candidate. He can be good or bad, interesting or uninteresting, liberal or conservative, and many other things.

We will be judging two candidates in several ways.

Let's take the liberal-conservative rating below as an example. There are three spaces on each side of the box which is exactly in the middle. If you feel the candidate is very liberal or extremely liberal, choose one of the spaces towards the word liberal, and mark the space with an : X :. If you feel the candidate is neither conservative nor liberal, mark the middle box X /. Use the conservative spaces in the same way.

Move quickly down a page. You should do a page in about one minute.

Now let's start with yourself as the example. Rate yourself on this scale . . .

YOURSELF

Liberal _____ : _____ : _____ / _____ : _____ : _____ Conservative

*** TURN TO NEXT PAGE ***

SCALE SHEET
RICHARD NIXON

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|--------------------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---------------|
| warm | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | cold |
| experienced | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | inexperienced |
| closed-minded | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | open-minded |
| trained | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | untrained |
| bold | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | timid |
| dishonest | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | honest |
| introverted | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | extroverted |
| safe | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | dangerous |
| uninformed | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | informed |
| meek | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | aggressive |
| just | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | unjust |
| incompetent | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | competent |
| frank | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | reserved |
| sense of humor | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | Lacks humor |
| old-fashioned | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | up-to-date |
| tense | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | relaxed |
| tough | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | soft |
| liberal | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | conservative |

SCALE SHEET

GEORGE McGOVERN

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|--------------------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---------------|
| rm | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | cold |
| experienced | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | inexperienced |
| closed-minded | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | open-minded |
| trained | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | untrained |
| bold | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | timid |
| dishonest | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | honest |
| introverted | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | extroverted |
| safe | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | dangerous |
| uninformed | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | informed |
| meek | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | aggressive |
| just | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | unjust |
| incompetent | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | competent |
| frank | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | reserved |
| sense of humor | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | lacks humor |
| old-fashioned | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | up-to-date |
| tense | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | relaxed |
| tough | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | soft |
| liberal | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | : | _____ | : | _____ | conservative |

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

65

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Post-Election Survey

Bob Teeter has submitted a proposal to MacGregor for funds to conduct a post-election survey.

The arguments for such a survey are persuasive. Many new techniques were used in Campaign '72 (direct mail, telephones, issue appeals by demographics, etc.) which should be tested to see if they influenced votes. The cost of the survey is only 40,000, or .1% of the campaign budget. If the New Majority is to be consolidated, a careful analysis should be made of who actually comprises it.

The arguments against the survey are: too costly, Survey Research Center in Michigan will do one anyhow, and the Gallup Survey will conduct a post-election survey.

However, the money from the Campaign is available according to Tom Evans who says there will be a surplus. The other post-election surveys will not have the political focus necessary to be of value.

The hard question is whether Teeter and MOR or Benham and ORC should conduct the survey. In spite of reservations about Teeter's political advice, he and his polling staff have been intimately involved in the planning and detail strategy implementation. They are familiar with what many of the techniques tried to do and should be the ones to test whether the techniques worked. Although Benham and ORC would be more objective, their phrasing of the questions and analysis would not go after the information as well as Teeter.

Recommendation:

That you approve a post-election, nationwide field survey conducted by Teeter and MOR subject to questionnaire approval by you.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____

Comments if Mackay agrees

Teeter's proposal is attached.

let's see ok Carter

Office of the Secretary of the President

November 3, 1972

**DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING**
E.O. 12065, Section 6-103
By Empire NARS, Date 5-22-0

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: Post Election Analysis

In addition to the internal analysis of the campaign you asked for I think that our post election analysis should contain two other components. The most important of these is a post election survey. While post election data is useful after most campaigns there are several reasons why I think it is important for this one.

- 1) We have spent something close to 45 million dollars this year. We put a great deal more emphasis on techniques such as mail and telephone than has been done in previous presidential campaigns. We should find out which of the techniques were effective and why.
- 2) It appears that this campaign is going to create some significant new voting patterns. We should find out what the important factors were in attracting these new voters and how we can keep them.
- 3) The 18 year old vote brought a large new segment of voters into the electorate. We should find out what affected them and how to approach them in the future.
- 4) The campaign and the election undoubtedly have had an effect on the mood of the country, the issue structure, and the perception of the President and the administration. Data on the President and the issues would be useful to him and the White House staff in planning the Inaugural, their congressional proposals, and the staffing of the second administration.

The basic element of such a study should be a national sample of at least 1500 personal interviews.

Along with this national poll, it would also be useful to sample a few precincts where our campaign was active organizationally and with the mail and telephone programs.

The general areas this study would cover are:

- National issue structure
- Perception of the candidates
- Perception of the campaign
- Sources of information
- Impact of campaign techniques -- advertising, mail, telephone
- Key elements of voting decisions
- Timing of voting decisions
- Expectations of a second Nixon administration

This project would cost \$40-50,000 which represents .1% of the total budget for evaluation.

Also, MOR is going to do three or four state after election panel studies for their own use. These could be tied to the national study to give us a comparison of some of the key states and the national data. They are definitely going to do Michigan and will pick other states on the day after the election.

We need a decision on the national poll by Sunday or Monday to begin interviewing immediately after the election. If you approve it, I will draft a questionnaire for you this weekend; we can finalize it on Wednesday, and begin interviewing Friday or Saturday.

The second component I think should be added to our post election analysis is a detailed voting analysis to see where we did change voting patterns. A preliminary analysis can be done as soon as we get county returns. A more detailed analysis will have to wait until precinct data is available. This will undoubtedly be at least the first of the year. If you agree with this part of the proposal, I will prepare a detailed description of the analysis that should be done after the election.

It would be a mistake for us to close down the campaign and not have our evaluation include an analysis of the actual result.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

November 3, 1972 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: Electoral Vote Survey

Attached is an estimate of our current position in all 51 electoral jurisdictions. It is based on the latest polling information available, the trend of the data, and past electoral behavior.

It is, in our judgement, a conservative estimate, and takes into consideration the probability we will lose three or four points on election day. With our high level of support among key Democrats, we have to assume a few of them will return to the fold when actually confronted with the voting decision.

However, "as of today" we would probably carry everything but Massachusetts and the District.

Committee for the Re-election of the President ✓

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

November 3, 1972

By Empire NARS, Date 5-22-80

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Current Polling Data

We just received preliminary data from the Detroit News and Minnesota Poll which will be published Sunday. In both cases this is preliminary data and may change a point or two before publication. We received it on a confidential basis and it should be treated strictly as such until Sunday.

| <u>Michigan</u> | <u>November 1</u> | | <u>October 7-11</u> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| | All Voters | Likely Voters | |
| Nixon | 49 | 49 | 50 |
| McGovern | 42 | 41 | 37 |
| Schmitz | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Undecided | 8 | 9 | 12 |

| <u>Minnesota</u> | <u>October 30*</u> | <u>October 6-9</u> |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Nixon | 56 |
| McGovern | 44 | 36 |
| | | 4 |

*Forced undecided

In Michigan it appears that the undecided who intend to vote will split about equally which means that with a normal Presidential turnout we would carry the state with about 52%.

Fred Currier's analysis of the News data indicates that our loss over the past two weeks has been primarily with upper end suburban ticket-splitters and with women. It also indicates that our Democrat support is holding firm. The undecideds who will vote are about 3 - 2 women and largely upper middle class ticket-splitters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

California Field Poll

Nofziger called with the California Field Poll which will show the President at 49, McGovern at 35, others at 2, and undecided at 14. Nofziger does not know the exact polling dates but thinks they were last week. The last Field Poll was conducted September 29-October 6 and was 50-36-14. *14*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 11/2/72

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

The trip package materials for these states have been checked and cleared by Gordon. Here are the Teeter analyses for the California trip.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Empire NARS, Date 5-22-80

November 2, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*
SUBJECT: North Carolina

The President received 40%, Humphrey 29%, and Wallace 31% of the vote in North Carolina in 1968. The President did best in the western part of the state and poorest in the eastern tide-water area.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <u>Statewide</u> | 40% | 29% | 31% | +11 |
| Mecklenberg (Charlotte) | 52 | 30 | 19 | +22 |
| Guilford (Greensboro) | 46 | 30 | 23 | +16 |
| Forsyth (Winston-Salem) | 47 | 30 | 23 | +17 |
| Wake (Raleigh) | 43 | 31 | 26 | +12 |
| Buncombe (Ashville) | 44 | 31 | 25 | +13 |

All the polls show the President substantially in the lead.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Early Sept. - DeVries | 67% | 14% | 19% | +53 |
| 10/20 - Helms | 61 | 18 | 22 | +43 |

Helms is now in the lead having been behind in early September.

| | <u>Helms</u> | <u>Callifanakis</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|
| Early Sept. - DeVries | 33% | 35% | 32% | - 2 |
| 10/20 - Helms | 42 | 36 | 22 | + 6 |
| 10/25 - DeVries | 42 | 31 | 27 | +11 |

Helms' pattern of support is the same as the President but at a lower level. The President's large lead is mainly attributable to the very high numbers (53%) of Democrats who are voting for him. In the most recent survey done for Helms a significant number of Democrats stated they were voting for Helms because they were also voting for the President. The closer the relationship in the voter's mind between the President and Helms the better Helms will do.

The issues in North Carolina are similar to the rest of the South. The leading state issue is bussing. Vietnam, the economy and taxes in that order are the most important national issues.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

November 2, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *rm*
 SUBJECT: California

The President received 48%, Humphrey 45% and Wallace 7% of the vote in California in 1968. The President slightly trailed the normal Republican vote in most of California and equalled it in Orange County despite Wallace.

| | 1968 President | | | Margin |
|-------------------|----------------|----------|---------|--------|
| | Nixon | Humphrey | Wallace | |
| <u>Statewide</u> | 48% | 45% | 7% | + 3 |
| Los Angeles Co. | 48 | 46 | 6 | + 2 |
| Orange Co. | 63 | 30 | 7 | +33 |
| San Diego Co. | 56 | 36 | 7 | +20 |
| Santa Clara Co. | 46 | 48 | 5 | - 2 |
| Alameda Co. | 38 | 54 | 7 | -16 |
| San Bernadino Co. | 50 | 40 | 10 | +10 |
| San Francisco Co. | 34 | 59 | 6 | -25 |
| Contra Costa Co. | 45 | 46 | 8 | - 1 |
| Sacramento Co. | 42 | 51 | 7 | - 9 |
| San Mateo Co. | 44 | 47 | 7 | - 3 |
| Riverside Co. | 53 | 39 | 8 | +14 |
| Fresno Co. | 44 | 47 | 8 | - 3 |

The President's lead in California has increased since June and has remained steady.

| | Nixon | McGovern | Undecided | Margin |
|-------------------|-------|----------|-----------------|--------|
| 6/17 - 1701 | 48% | 42% | 11% | + 6 |
| 8/11 - 1701 | 53 | 37 | 10 | +16 |
| 10/7 - Field Poll | 50 | 36 | <u>Other</u> 14 | +14 |
| 10/23 - 1701 | 51 | 39 | 2 8 | +12 |

Our latest poll shows the President leading in all regions of the state but San Francisco.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| Los Angeles | 53% | 37% | 2% | 8% | +16 |
| San Francisco | 37 | 54 | 2 | 7 | -17 |
| San Diego | 50 | 39 | 3 | 8 | +11 |
| Rest of State | 50 | 39 | 2 | 8 | +11 |

The major issues in California are Vietnam unemployment, economy, inflation and crime. The entire economy complex is rated as very important in California.

The President has declined from 45 to 42% of the Catholic vote and now trails McGovern by 3%. New voters in California are more likely than any place else to support McGovern.

A substantially larger number of Nixon supporters than McGovern supporters say they definitely plan to vote.

SATURDAY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS D*

SUBJECT: North Carolina

I. THE PRESIDENT: Gov. Scott (D) and Sen. Ervin (D) have endorsed McGovern, but all other Democrats are keeping their distance. The President should receive a wide margin. The 1968 results:

| | | |
|----------|---------|-------|
| Nixon | 627,192 | 39.5% |
| Humphrey | 464,113 | 29.2% |
| Wallace | 496,198 | 31.3% |

II. STATE POLITICS: Gov. Scott is ineligible to succeed himself. The race between Bowles (D) and Holshouser (R) is considered close, but polls show 10-15 point lead for Bowles. Rep. Nick Galifianakis (D) defeated Sen. Jordan (D) in the primary. A Helms poll shows Jesse Helms (R) leading by a few points. Helms has shifted to a more moderate, pro-Nixon stance. Democrats will keep six House Districts, Republicans three (Mizell, Broyhill and Ruth), and the Galifianakis and Jonas open seats are toss-ups. Jack Hawke of Raleigh and Jim Martin of Charlotte need RN blessings and should be included with Helms and Holshouser on stage.

III. ISSUES: The state's economy is booming and unemployment is down to 3.3%. Ecology may become an issue as state officials fear that the Chowan, Pamlico, and Neuse rivers may suffer from excess algae. Inflation and taxes are also issues.

IV. STATE GOP LEADERS:

State Chairman: Frank Rouse, 919/828-0678

Nat'l Committeeman: J. E. Broyhill, 704/758-3000

Nat'l Committeewoman: Mrs. Louis Rogers, 704/588-2730

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: New Mexico

- I. THE PRESIDENT: This state has supported the winner in every Presidential election since statehood in 1912. The President should carry the state. The 1968 results:

| | | |
|----------|---------|-------|
| Nixon | 169,692 | 51.8% |
| Humphrey | 130,081 | 39.7% |
| Wallace | 25,737 | 7.9% |

- II. STATE POLITICS: No gubernatorial race. Sen. Clinton Anderson (D) is retiring and Pete Domenice (R) is believed to have the edge on Jack Daniels (D), and a strong Nixon vote will help. Rep. Lujan (R) and Rep. Runnels (D) should retain their House seats.
- III. ISSUES: The state of the economy is a perennial issue. Unemployment fluctuates and industry is scarce. The BIA's decision not to renew the contract of Thiokol Corp. to operate the Roswell Employment Training Center and the Indian Police Academy is a volatile issue. The result is a loss of \$3.5 million to the area's economy. Tribal chiefs and city officials claim they were not consulted. Domenici asked the Vice President to reverse the decision. After a thorough review, Secretary Morton strongly advised against any reversal. Revenue-sharing has been sought along with other federal employment projects. A third of the state's population is of Latin American descent who do not consider themselves a minority. In New Mexico, there is a difference between Spanish-American and Mexican-Americans. Domenici needs help with the Spanish speaking group.
- IV. GOP LEADERS:

State Chairman: Thomas McKenna, 505/247-1526
Nat'l Committeeman: Bob Davidson, 505/247-0943
Nat'l Committeewoman: Mrs. Edward Neff, 505/229-2479

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: California

I. THE PREISDENT: We lead in the polls by 14%. McGovern's highly praised organization has come apart. 1968 results:

| | | |
|----------|-----------|-------|
| Nixon | 3,467,664 | 47.8% |
| Humphrey | 3,244,318 | 44.7% |
| Wallace | 487,270 | 6.7% |

II. STATE POLITICS: No Senate or Gubernatorial elections. Of the state's 43 House Districts, twelve are closely contested. Republicans are favored in six, Democrats in five, and one (Mailliard's 6th District) is a toss-up. The ex-Mayor of Ontario, Howard Snider, is our candidate in the 38th District, where the President is visiting. He is a good candidate running against ex-Rep. George Brown. Heavy registration gives Brown a close edge. However, the President should carry Ontario and San Bernardino county as he did in 1968.

III. ISSUES: The California ballot contains 22 measures. The more controversial include propositions concerning marijuana, the death penalty, farm unionization, busing, and pornography. The major issues in California are Vietnam, inflation, unemployment, taxes, crime and drugs in that order. The Space Shuttle program has probably been a help in relieving economic worries.

IV. STATE GOP LEADERSHIP:

State Chairman: Putnam Livermore, 415/421-3430
Nat'l Committeeman: Edward Mills, 213/933-5911 ext. 35
Nat'l Committeewoman: Miss Janet Johnston, 916/795-2020

C.

Asah us Cef a
Sudy o cold be.

Have bread of Nixon
nigh of church.

Cometh ble it for now on live
Abotee Barlett for.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM FOR

November 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R.M.T.*

SUBJECT: Electoral Vote Survey

Attached is an estimate of our current position in all 51 electoral jurisdictions. It is based on the latest polling information available, the trend of the data, and past electoral behavior.

It is, in our judgement, a conservative estimate, and takes into consideration the probability we will lose three or four points on election day. With our high level of support among key Democrats, we have to assume a few of them will return to the fold when actually confronted with the voting decision.

However, "as of today" we would probably carry everything but Massachusetts and the District.

| <u>Sure Nixon</u> | | <u>Prob. McGovern</u> | <u>Lean McGovern</u> | <u>Sure McGovern</u> |
|-------------------|-----|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Alabama | 9 | California 45 | Hawaii 4 | NONE |
| Alaska | 3 | Colorado 8 | Michigan 21 | NONE |
| Arizona | 6 | Illinois 26 | Minnesota 10 | Mass. 14 |
| Arkansas | 6 | New Jersey 17 | Oregon 6 | D.C. 3 |
| Colorado | 7 | New York 41 | S. Dakota 4 | |
| Delaware | 3 | | Washington 9 | |
| Florida | 17 | | W. Virginia 6 | |
| Georgia | 12 | | Wisconsin 11 | |
| Idaho | 4 | | Rhd. Island 4 | |
| Indiana | 13 | | | |
| Iowa | 8 | | | |
| Kansas | 7 | | | |
| Kentucky | 9 | | | |
| Louisiana | 10 | | | |
| Maine | 4 | | | |
| Maryland | 10 | | | |
| Mississippi | 7 | | | |
| Missouri | 12 | | | |
| Montana | 4 | | | |
| Nebraska | 5 | | | |
| Nevada | 3 | | | |
| New Hamp. | 4 | | | |
| New Mexico | 4 | | | |
| N. Carolina | 13 | | | |
| N. Dakota | 3 | | | |
| Ohio | 25 | | | |
| Oklahoma | 8 | | | |
| Penna. | 27 | | | |
| S. Carolina | 8 | | | |
| Tennessee | 10 | | | |
| Texas | 26 | | | |
| Utah | 4 | | | |
| Vermont | 3 | | | |
| Virginia | 12 | | | |
| Wyoming | 3 | | | |
| Electoral Vote | | | | |
| Total | 309 | 137 | 75 | 14 3 |

1972 ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST

| ESTIMATED NIXON PERCENTAGE | ELECTORAL VOTE TOTALS | STATES | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|
| 66.1 and over | 119 | (9) Alabama (17) Florida (12) Georgia ↑ (7) Kansas (9) Kentucky (10) Louisiana | (7) Mississippi (5) Nebraska (13) North Carolina (8) South Carolina (10) Tennessee (12) Virginia |
| 61.1 - 66.0 | 51 | ↓ (6) Arizona (6) Arkansas ↓ (4) Idaho ↑ (13) Indiana (4) New Hampshire | (3) North Dakota ↓ (8) Oklahoma ↓ (4) Utah (3) Vermont |
| 56.1 - 61.0 | 192 | ↓ (7) Colorado (8) Connecticut ↓ (3) Delaware (26) Illinois (8) Iowa (4) Maine (10) Maryland ↑ (10) Minnesota ↑ (12) Missouri | ↓ (4) Montana ↓ (3) Nevada ↓ (4) New Mexico (25) Ohio ↓ (6) Oregon (27) Pennsylvania ↓ (26) Texas ↑ (6) West Virginia ↓ (3) Wyoming |
| 51.1 - 56.0 | 127 | ↓ (3) Alaska (45) California (21) Michigan | ↓ (17) New Jersey (41) New York |
| Less than 51 | 49 | (3) District of Columbia ↓ (4) Hawaii (14) Massachusetts | (4) Rhode Island (4) South Dakota ↓ (9) Washington (11) Wisconsin |

↑ = State has moved up since October 12 classification

↓ = State has moved down since October 12 classification

Opinion Research Corporation
Princeton, New Jersey

ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST AS OF OCTOBER 25, 1972

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

TOTALS

502

36

Opinion Research Corporation
Princeton, New Jersey

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By CRP/PAW NAF., Date 5-22-80

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*
SUBJECT: California

The President received 48%, Humphrey 45% and Wallace 7% of the vote in California in 1968. The President slightly trailed the normal Republican vote in most of California and equalled it in Orange County despite Wallace.

| | 1968 President | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
| <u>Statewide</u> | 48% | 45% | 7% | + 3 |
| Los Angeles Co. | 48 | 46 | 6 | + 2 |
| Orange Co. | 63 | 30 | 7 | +33 |
| San Diego Co. | 56 | 36 | 7 | +20 |
| Santa Clara Co. | 46 | 48 | 5 | - 2 |
| Alameda Co. | 38 | 54 | 7 | -16 |
| San Bernadino Co. | 50 | 40 | 10 | +10 |
| San Francisco Co. | 34 | 59 | 6 | -25 |
| Contra Costa Co. | 45 | 46 | 8 | - 1 |
| Sacramento Co. | 42 | 51 | 7 | - 9 |
| San Mateo Co. | 44 | 47 | 7 | - 3 |
| Riverside Co. | 53 | 39 | 8 | +14 |
| Fresno Co. | 44 | 47 | 8 | - 3 |

The President's lead in California has increased since June and has remained steady.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/17 - 1701 | 48% | 42% | 11% | + 6 |
| 8/11 - 1701 | 53 | 37 | 10 | +16 |
| 10/7 - Field Poll | 50 | 36 | <u>Other</u> 14 | +14 |
| 10/23 - 1701 | 51 | 39 | 2 8 | +12 |

Our latest poll shows the President leading in all regions of the state but San Francisco.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| Los Angeles | 53% | 37% | 2% | 8% | +16 |
| San Francisco | 37 | 54 | 2 | 7 | -17 |
| San Diego | 50 | 39 | 3 | 8 | +11 |
| Rest of State | 50 | 39 | 2 | 8 | +11 |

The major issues in California are Vietnam unemployment, economy, inflation and crime. The entire economy complex is rated as very important in California.

The President has declined from 45 to 42% of the Catholic vote and now trails McGovern by 3%. New voters in California are more likely than any place else to support McGovern.

A substantially larger number of Nixon supporters than McGovern supporters say they definitely plan to vote.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

November 2, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Empress NARC, Date 5-22-80
CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*
SUBJECT: North Carolina

The President received 40%, Humphrey 29%, and Wallace 31% of the vote in North Carolina in 1968. The President did best in the western part of the state and poorest in the eastern tide-water area.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <u>Statewide</u> | 40% | 29% | 31% | +11 |
| Mecklensberg (Charlotte) | 52 | 30 | 19 | +22 |
| Guilford (Greensboro) | 46 | 30 | 23 | +16 |
| Forsyth (Winston-Salem) | 47 | 30 | 23 | +17 |
| Wake (Raleigh) | 43 | 31 | 26 | +12 |
| Buncombe (Ashville) | 44 | 31 | 25 | +13 |

All the polls show the President substantially in the lead.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Early Sept. - DeVries | 67% | 14% | 19% | +53 |
| 10/20 - Helms | 61 | 18 | 22 | +43 |

Helms is now in the lead having been behind in early September.

| | <u>Helms</u> | <u>Galifianakis</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|
| Early Sept. - DeVries | 33% | 35% | 32% | - 2 |
| 10/20 - Helms | 42 | 36 | 22 | + 6 |
| 10/25 - DeVries | 42 | 31 | 27 | +11 |

Helms' pattern of support is the same as the President but at a lower level. The President's large lead is mainly attributable to the very high numbers (53%) of Democrats who are voting for him. In the most recent survey done for Helms a significant number of Democrats stated they were voting for Helms because they were also voting for the President. The closer the relationship in the voter's mind between the President and Helms the better Helms will do.

The issues in North Carolina are similar to the rest of the South. The leading state issue is bussing. Vietnam, the economy and taxes in that order are the most important national issues.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM NO. 12065, Section 6-102 November 2, 1972

By On Price NARC, Date 5-27-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Presidential Visit to New Mexico

The President received 52%, Humphrey 40% and Wallace 8% of the vote in New Mexico in 1968. The President did well in all parts of the state with the exception of Santa Fe which he lost by a very small margin. New Mexico has gone for the winning Presidential candidate for 15 consecutive elections.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <u>Statewide</u> | 52 | 40 | 8 | +12 |
| Bernalillo Co. (Albuquerque) | 55 | 40 | 5 | +15 |
| Santa Fe Co. | 48 | 49 | 3 | - 1 |

The polls show both the President and Domenici substantially in the lead.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|----------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 9/7 - Domenici | 56 | 21 | 23 | +35 |
| 10/18 " | 59 | 22 | 19 | +37 |
| 10/25 " | 56 | 26 | 18 | +30 |
| 11/1 " | 60 | 24 | 16 | +36 |

| | <u>Domenici</u> | <u>Daniels</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 9/7 - Domenici | 45 | 30 | 25 | +15 |
| 10/18 " | 46 | 29 | 25 | +17 |
| 10/25 " | 49 | 33 | 18 | +16 |
| 11/1 " | 50 | 35 | 15 | +15 |

It is highly unlikely that either Domenici or the President will lose.

The major national issues in New Mexico are Vietnam, crime and jobs. The President is rated by 84% of the electorate as having done a "superior" job of handling Vietnam. The major state issue is crime, especially in Albuquerque which now has the highest per capita crime rate in the country.

Because of the large numbers of Indians and Mexicans, welfare is a major state problem. Rumors that there are going to be cutbacks in the White Sands installation are causing a very high number of undecideds among these groups in south New Mexico. This presents a good opportunity to point out the drastic cutbacks that would occur in DOD spending should McGovern be elected. It might also stop the very slow but steady increases Daniels has been making against Domenici.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: Illinois

I. THE PRESIDENT: This state is one of the large states critical to McGovern's campaign, but the Democrats are badly divided. If he cannot carry the City of Chicago with a comfortable plurality, McGovern will sink beneath a flood of down-state Republican votes. You are favored. 1968 results:

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------|
| Nixon | 2, 174, 774 | 47.1% |
| Humphrey | 2, 039, 814 | 44.2% |
| Wallace | 390, 958 | 8.5% |

II. STATE POLITICS: Early polls showed Dan Walker (D) with a wide margin. But Gov. Ogilvie (R) has closed the gap--close. Sen. Charles Percy (R) has enough reluctant Republican support plus other support to overwhelm Rep. Roman Pucinski (D). Congressional redistricting was like a game of musical chairs. The Republicans will retain nine seats, the Democrats ten, and five (10, 11, 17, 21 and 22) are close. Of the 14 Districts (1-14) representing Chicago and its suburbs, the 10th and 11th have close races. In 10th, Samuel Young (R) could defeat Abner Mikva (D) because of his recent move to the district and his support of busing. Rep. Frank Annunzio (D) has a difficult campaign in Pucinski's old 11th District and could be defeated by City Alderman John Hoellen (R). Les Arends (R) should win his new 15th District.

III. ISSUES: A recent Walker poll found taxes to be the key issue. Ogilvie has pledged his support to a two year freeze on property-tax levies, and opposes a graduated state income tax. In agriculture, Republicans counter McGovern's call for 90% parity by calling for expanding markets with less controls and support. Ogilvie has sent a trade delegation to Russia. [Aside from Vietnam, major issues include inflation (especially in Chicago suburbs), taxes (especially in Chicago), crime, and unemployment (especially in Chicago).] ?

IV. STATE GOP LEADERS:

State Chairman: Victor Smith 618/544-2175
Nat'l Committeeman: Robert D. Stewart 312/222-7450
Nat'l Committeewoman: Mrs. Hope McCormick 312/944-4242

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Harry S. Dent

SUBJECT: Illinois

I. THE PRESIDENT: This state is one of the large states critical to McGovern's campaign, but the Democrats are badly divided. If he cannot carry the City of Chicago with a comfortable plurality, McGovern will sink beneath a flood of down-state Republican votes. The President is favored. The 1968 results:

| | | |
|----------|-----------|-------|
| Nixon | 2,174,774 | 47.1% |
| Humphrey | 2,039,814 | 44.2% |
| Wallace | 390,958 | 8.5% |

II. STATE POLITICS: Early polls showed Dan Walker (D) with a wide margin. But Gov. Ogilvie (R) has closed the gap--close. Sen. Charles Percy (R) has enough reluctant Republican support plus other support to overwhelm Rep. Roman Pucinski (D). Congressional redistricting was like a game of musical chairs. The Republicans will retain nine seats, the Democrats ten, and five (10, 11, 17, 21 and 22) are close. Of the fourteen Districts (1-14) representing Chicago and its suburbs, the 10th and 11th have close races. In the 10th, Samuel Young (R) could defeat Abner Mikva (D) because of his recent move to the district and his support of busing. Rep. Frank Annunzio (D) has a difficult campaign in Pucinski's old 11th District and could be defeated by City Alderman John Hoellen (R). Les Arends (R) should win his new 15th District.

III. ISSUES: A recent Walker poll found taxes to be the key issue. Ogilvie has pledged his support to a two year freeze on property-tax levies, and opposes a graduated state income tax. In agriculture, Republicans counter McGovern's call for 90% parity by calling for expanding markets with less controls and support. Ogilvie has sent a trade delegation to Russia. Busing is an issue in some Chicago suburbs.

IV. STATE GOP LEADERS:

State Chairman: Victor Smith 618/544-2175

Nat'l Committeeman: Robert D. Stewart 312/222-7450

Nat'l Committeewoman: Mrs. Hope McCormick 312/944-4242

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Detroit News Poll

Bob Teeter called with the tentative figures for the Sunday, November 5 Detroit News poll based on interviewing October 30-November 1. The figures are approximately 49 for the President and 42 for McGovern. The last Detroit News poll had the President at 50 and McGovern at 37.

Teeter discussed the results with his partner, Fred Currier, who supervised the polling done by MOR. Teeter's view is that the drop is not due to Democrats returning to the fold, but rather the upper middle income ticket splitter people who may have concerns about Watergate.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Ehrlichman Access to
Teeter Poll Briefings

Tod Hulin called asking for copies of the Teeter polling summary submitted only to you before Presidential trips. Hulin also asked for a copy of our recent Washington poll. Hulin had the dates the poll was conducted but would not disclose how he learned of the existence of the Teeter documents or the Washington poll.

The question is whether you now want to submit certain Teeter information to Ehrlichman.

Recommendations:

1) That you authorize a copy of the Washington poll to Ehrlichman.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

2) That you do not authorize copies of the Teeter poll analyses for Presidential visits to go to Ehrlichman.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102 October 28, 1972
By Emprise NAR, Date 5-22-80

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Illinois Briefing

In 1968 the President received 47%, Humphrey 44% and Wallace 8% of the vote in Illinois. In terms of actual vote the President carried the state by 235, 000 votes.

| | 1968 President | | |
|----------------------|----------------|----------|---------|
| | Nixon | Humphrey | Wallace |
| Illinois | 47 | 44 | 8 |
| <u>Cook Co.</u> | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| Chicago | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Cicero | 54 | 28 | 18 |
| Lyons | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Proviso | 54 | 36 | 9 |
| Wheeling | 69 | 26 | 6 |
| Evanston | 53 | 45 | 2 |
| <u>DuPage Co.</u> | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| <u>Lake Co.</u> | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| <u>Kane Co.</u> | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| <u>Winnebago Co.</u> | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| <u>Peoria Co.</u> | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| <u>Champaign Co.</u> | 54 | 38 | 8 |

Both our private and the public polls show the President with a substantial lead which has only begun to decrease slightly. Percy is a sure winner and Ogilvie has come from far behind to lead Walker although the Governor's race will be very close.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/23 - 1701 | 56 | 35 | 10 | +21 |
| 9/13 - 1701 | 56 | 26 | 18 | +30 |
| 10/19 - 1701 | 55 | 32 | 13 | +23 |
| 10/20 - Sun Times | 65 | 35 | * | +30 |
| 10/27 - Sun Times | 61 | 40 | * | +21 |

| | <u>Percy</u> | <u>Pucinski</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/23 - 1701 | 58 | 31 | 11 | +27 |
| 9/13 - 1701 | 55 | 23 | 22 | +22 |
| 10/19 - 1701 | 56 | 31 | 13 | +25 |
| 10/20 - Sun Times | 62 | 38 | * | +24 |
| 10/27 - Sun Times | 64 | 36 | * | +28 |

| | <u>Ogilvie</u> | <u>Walker</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/23 - 1701 | 35 | 57 | 8 | -22 |
| 9/13 - 1701 | 38 | 42 | 20 | - 4 |
| 10/19 - 1701 | 44 | 43 | 13 | + 1 |
| 10/20 - Sun Times | 54 | 46 | * | - 8 |
| 10/27 - Sun Times | 52 | 48 | * | - 4 |

* The Sun Times Poll is a straw vote poll which does not allow for any undecided response.

The President is running well ahead of his past performance in all areas of the state.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Chicago City | 55 | 34 | 11 | +21 |
| Cook Co. | | | | |
| (Outside Chicago) | 66 | 23 | 11 | +43 |
| St. Clair & Madison | | | | |
| Counties | 60 | 34 | 6 | +26 |
| 22 C.D. (Central Ill.) | 73 | 23 | 4 | +50 |
| Rest of State | 65 | 23 | 12 | +42 |

In Cook County the key race is for States Attorney pitting Edward Hanrahan (D) against Bernard Carey (R). Hanrahan was indicted, tried and acquitted for conspiracy in the recent shooting of several Black Panthers during a police raid. Our private polls have had them running neck and neck but the most recent Sun Times Poll gives Hanrahan an 8% lead. This race is critical to Mayor Daley. Clement Stone has been active on Carey's campaign.

The issue structure in Illinois is very close to the national issue structure. Vietnam is the most important problem followed by taxes, inflation, unemployment, drugs and crime. There are no significant differences between the important issues in the Chicago area and the

important Statewide issues. However, in Chicago there has been a great deal of debate about a proposed cross town expressway. Secretary Volpe has stated that D.O.T. will take no action until complete studies have been made. Those people who are opposed to the project are very vocal and criticize it on social grounds. They claim massive dislocation of poorer citizens will occur should the Expressway be built.

In the East St. Louis area the location of a new greater St. Louis airport is an important local issue. There is a controversy over whether the airport should be built in Illinois or Missouri. Apparently a tentative decision has been made to locate it in Illinois but no announcement has been made and should not until after the election.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

November 2, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By AmFruis NARS, Date 5-22-88

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *DMT*
SUBJECT: Oklahoma

The President received 48% of the vote in 1968, Humphrey 32% and Wallace 20%. The President ran extremely well in Oklahoma City and even better in Tulsa.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <u>Statewide</u> | 48% | 32% | 20% | +16 |
| Oklahoma Co. | 50 | 32 | 18 | +18 |
| Tulsa Co. | 57 | 23 | 20 | +34 |
| Garfield Co. (Enid) | 62 | 25 | 13 | +37 |

Oklahoma over the past several decades has moved from solidly Democrat to an increasingly Republican state. The state now overwhelmingly supports the President but Bartlett still faces an uphill battle. Bartlett's gain has come from Edmondson's committed vote. This is encouraging and if the movement keeps up the election will be very close.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 8/5 - DMI | 64% | 16% | 20% | +48 |
| 10/13 - DMI | 64 | 15 | 21 | +49 |
| | <u>Bartlett</u> | <u>Edmondson</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
| 8/1 - DMI | 32% | 50% | 18% | -18 |
| 10/13 - DMI | 42 | 47 | 11 | - 5 |

While Edmondson has received moderately high COPE and ADA ratings in the 92nd Congress, he has claimed to be more conservative than Bartlett. Our polls show that those voters who believe Edmondson to be the more conservative tend to vote for him. These same people also vote for the President. On the positive side, those Democrats who think Bartlett is more conservative will vote for him. Because of the President's overwhelming popularity in Oklahoma, his visit will surely help Bartlett. The closer Bartlett is identified with the President the better he will do. The visit will be particularly helpful in making Bartlett appear to be more conservative and pick up the conservative Democrat vote the President is receiving. Edmondson has avoided identification with McGovern. Edmondson has also voted to override several of the President's vetoes.

The major issues in Oklahoma besides Vietnam are bussing, education and high taxes. Like many former Governors, Bartlett receives the blame for taxes whether there has been an increase or not. Bussing and education are related issues and are considered the most important local problems. Bussing is very important in Oklahoma city which has a bussing program. Tulsa is concerned with quality of education and Bartlett has been labeled as anti-education. This, again, appears to be the result of his having been Governor.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

**DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING**
MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Emporia NARS, Date 5-22-80

November 2, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*
SUBJECT: Rhode Island

In 1968 the President got 32% of the vote in Rhode Island, Humphrey 64%, and Wallace 4%. The President ran poorly in all areas of the state.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Providence | 28% | 68% | 4% | -40 |
| Kent | 37 | 59 | 4 | -22 |
| Newport | 38 | 58 | 4 | -20 |
| Washington | 43 | 52 | 5 | - 9 |
| Bristol | 38 | 59 | 2 | -21 |

However, a private Becker Poll done for Chafee last weekend gives the President an 18% lead which appears comfortable.

Chafee's lead has continued to diminish to the point where his race is a virtual dead heat.

| <u>Becker/Chafee</u> | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| August | 52% | 23% | 25% | +29 |
| 10/22 | 55 | 33 | 10 | +22 |
| 10/29 | 53 | 35 | 10 | +18 |

| <u>Becker/Chafee</u> | <u>Chafee</u> | <u>Pell</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|
| August | 45% | 41% | 14% | + 4 |
| 10/29 | 45 | 44 | 11 | + 1 |

The Chafee problem appears to be Democrats returning to their party. The President should avoid an appeal for a Republican Senate and emphasize Chafee's superior ability and experience. Even though his lead has decreased Chafee's favorable ratings continue to be significantly higher than Pell's. Pell is seen as a bland faceless candidate who has nothing going for him except he is a Democrat.

The important issues are primarily economy, inflation, jobs, particularly as they relate to the defense plants. Bussing is an issue but does not effect as many families as elsewhere because of the large numbers who attend parochial schools. Vietnam has been and continues to be more important in Rhode Island than in most other areas of the country. There is more opposition to the bombing there than in other states except Massachusetts. The recent Vietnam peace negotiations should be helpful to both the President and Chafee in Rhode Island.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

TO
Ball
10/30

DETERMINED TO BE AN
MEMORANDUM ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Emprise KAR, Date 5-22-80

October 28, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Illinois Briefing

In 1968 the President received 47%, Humphrey 44% and Wallace 8% of the vote in Illinois. In terms of actual vote the President carried the state by 235, 000 votes.

| | 1968 President | | |
|----------------------|----------------|----------|---------|
| | Nixon | Humphrey | Wallace |
| Illinois | 47 | 44 | 8 |
| <u>Cook Co.</u> | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| Chicago | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Cicero | 54 | 28 | 18 |
| Lyons | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Proviso | 54 | 36 | 9 |
| Wheeling | 69 | 26 | 6 |
| Evanston | 53 | 45 | 2 |
| <u>DuPage Co.</u> | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| <u>Lake Co.</u> | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| <u>Kane Co.</u> | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| <u>Winnebago Co.</u> | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| <u>Peoria Co.</u> | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| <u>Champaign Co.</u> | 54 | 38 | 8 |

Both our private and the public polls show the President with a substantial lead which has only begun to decrease slightly. Percy is a sure winner and Ogilvie has come from far behind to lead Walker although the Governor's race will be very close.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/23 - 1701 | 56 | 35 | 10 | +21 |
| 9/13 - 1701 | 56 | 26 | 18 | +30 |
| 10/19 - 1701 | 55 | 32 | 13 | +23 |
| 10/20 - Sun Times | 65 | 35 | * | +30 |
| 10/27 - Sun Times | 61 | 40 | * | +21 |

| | <u>Percy</u> | <u>Pucinski</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/23 - 1701 | 58 | 31 | 11 | +27 |
| 9/13 - 1701 | 55 | 23 | 22 | +22 |
| 10/19 - 1701 | 56 | 31 | 13 | +25 |
| 10/20 - Sun Times | 62 | 38 | * | +24 |
| 10/27 - Sun Times | 64 | 36 | * | +28 |

| | <u>Ogilvie</u> | <u>Walker</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| 6/23 - 1701 | 35 | 57 | 8 | -22 |
| 9/13 - 1701 | 38 | 42 | 20 | - 4 |
| 10/19 - 1701 | 44 | 43 | 13 | + 1 |
| 10/20 - Sun Times | 54 | 46 | * | - 8 |
| 10/27 - Sun Times | 52 | 48 | * | - 4 |

* The Sun Times Poll is a straw vote poll which does not allow for any undecided response.

The President is running well ahead of his past performance in all areas of the state.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Chicago City | 55 | 34 | 11 | +21 |
| Cook Co. | | | | |
| (Outside Chicago) | 66 | 23 | 11 | +43 |
| St. Clair & Madison Counties | 60 | 34 | 6 | +26 |
| 22 C.D. (Central Ill.) | 73 | 23 | 4 | +50 |
| Rest of State | 65 | 23 | 12 | +42 |

In Cook County the key race is for States Attorney pitting Edward Hanrahan (D) against Bernard Carey (R). Hanrahan was indicted, tried and acquitted for conspiracy in the recent shooting of several Black Panthers during a police raid. Our private polls have had them running neck and neck but the most recent Sun Times Poll gives Hanrahan an 8% lead. This race is critical to Mayor Daley. Clement Stone has been active on Carey's campaign.

The issue structure in Illinois is very close to the national issue structure. Vietnam is the most important problem followed by taxes, inflation, unemployment, drugs and crime. There are no significant differences between the important issues in the Chicago area and the

important Statewide issues. However, in Chicago there has been a great deal of debate about a proposed cross town expressway. Secretary Volpe has stated that D.O.T. will take no action until complete studies have been made. Those people who are opposed to the project are very vocal and criticize it on social grounds. They claim massive dislocation of poorer citizens will occur should the Expressway be built.

In the East St. Louis area the location of a new greater St. Louis airport is an important local issue. There is a controversy over whether the airport should be built in Illinois or Missouri. Apparently a tentative decision has been made to locate it in Illinois but no announcement has been made and should not until after the election.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING October 28, 1972 ✓
E.O. 12065, Sec. 6-102
By *AmPulse* 5-27-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Rmt*
SUBJECT: Washington Poll

I just received data from a Washington Statewide poll done for Dan Evans. It is the last of a series we bought into earlier in the campaign.

Washington -- 801 Interviews
10/20-10/25 -- Central Surveys

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| Nixon | 55% |
| McGovern | 29 |
| Undecided | 16 |

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

dm
BR
10/30

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102 October 28, 1972
By EnPrise NARS, Date 5-22-80

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Rmt*
SUBJECT: Washington Poll

I just received data from a Washington Statewide poll done for Dan Evans. It is the last of-a series we bought into earlier in the campaign.

Washington -- 801 Interviews
10/20-10/25 -- Central Surveys

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| Nixon | 55% |
| McGovern | 29 |
| Undecided | 16 |

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

TO
Hoopes
10/28

MICHIGAN: A ^{mid October} ~~late September~~ Detroit News poll showed the President with a 13-point lead. McGovern has made the state a major priority, and the lead could narrow. Sen. Griffin is in a hard fight with Attorney General Frank Kelley, reportedly the best vote-getter the Democrats have there. The major issue is busing. Kelley was accused by Griffin of being pro-busing, but Kelley led the court fight which got a stay on busing in the Detroit suburbs. Mrs. Irene McCabe is the local woman who gained national attention as organizer of the anti-busing National Action Group. Redistricting drawn by the Democrats eliminated one Republican, and put Rep. Marvin Esch (R) in a troublesome University of Michigan district. A good GOP shot exists in (New) 18th District, encompassing some Detroit suburbs, where Robert Huber, head of state Conservative Party, is running on GOP ticket against State Senator Daniel Cooper. In 1968, vote was Humphrey, 48%, Nixon, 42% and Wallace 10%. State leaders are GOP Chairman Bill McLaughlin and CREP Chairman Jack Gibbs.

MINNESOTA: The Minneapolis ^{early October} Tribune found the President with a 24-point lead in ~~late September~~. It also found Senator Walter Mondale crushing Rev. Philip Hansen (R), a Lutheran minister, by 36 points. 24
The Democrats have been working hard to narrow the President's lead and hold on to Mondale's. Taxes are a major issue in Minnesota, where corporate tax is highest in nation, and where individual tax is also high. Rep. Bob Berglund could succumb to GOP challenge by Jon O. Haaven in the 7th District. GOP Rep. John Zwach (6th) could be in some trouble. In 1968, Humphrey captured 54%, Nixon 41.5% and Wallace 4.3%. Dave Krogseng is State GOP chairman; John W. Mooty and Mrs. Russell T. Lund are CREP co-chairmen.

NORTH DAKOTA: The President has carried North Dakota every time he has run, and will do the same this time. Lt. Gov. Richard Larsen should hold the statehouse for the GOP against Democrat challenger Rep. Art Link. Rep. Mark Andrews (R) will easily win the at-large House seat in a race with Democrat State Chairman Richard Ista. Agriculture is major issue. Late wheat harvest means state farmers will benefit from Soviet sale. Lifting lid on beef importation not popular here. GOP chairman is Jack Huss, CREP co-chairmen are John Rouzie and Mrs. Winston Register. In 1968, the President captured 55.9%, Humphrey 38.2% and Wallace 5.7%.

OHIO: A late September newspaper poll gave the President a 23-point lead. Despite the fact McGovern has spent much time here, the President retains the lead. In 1968, Ohio went 45.2% for the President, 42.9% for Humphrey and 11.8% for Wallace. Repeal of state income tax an issue, with AFL-CIO opposed. With retirement of Rep. William McCulloch (R) and Rep. Frank Bow (R), the 4th and 16th Districts are vulnerable, but Republican retention is likely. Tennyson Guyer is 4th District GOP candidate, with Ralph S. Regula in the 16th. Charles Ross is Ohio CREP director; John S. Andrews is state chairman.

*and most newspapers
GOP split.*

WEST VIRGINIA: The President has the lead here, but it is thought to be narrow. In 1968, this state went for Humphrey with 50%, with the President getting 41% and Wallace 10%. Jennings Randolph (D) will retain the Senate seat against Louise Leonard (R). Remotely possible GOP House pickup in 4th District, where Sheriff Joe Neal is challenging Rep. Ken Hechler (D). Jay Rockefeller (D) giving tough challenge to Gov. Arch Moore, but Moore will likely prevail. Rockefeller proposes abolition of strip mining. Mine safety, environment, unions, strip mining, highway construction are issues. GOP chairman is Tom Potter. Howard V. Corcoran is CREP chairman.

OKLAHOMA: The 148,000-vote victory for the President in 1968 will be matched or exceeded this year. Dewey Bartlett has closed on Rep. Ed Edmondson in the Senate race, and the President's pull could be the key for Bartlett. Democrats will likely hold Edmondson's 2nd District seat against Emery Toliver. Some chance Democrat James Jones might beat James Hewgley for the seat of retiring Page Belcher. McGovernites have charged that Soviet grain deal hurt

Oklahoma farmers who sold their wheat before sale announcement at lower price. Oil imports controversial issue. GOP chairman is Clarence Warner and CREP chairman is Mrs. Rex Moore.

NEBRASKA: This was the President's strongest state in 1968, and may well make the same record this year. Mid-September Omaha World-Herald poll gave the President a 4 to 1 lead. Sen. Carl T. Curtis will win his fourth term against former Republican Terry M. Carpenter. Republicans will keep all three House seats. Farm unrest because of lifting of beef import quotas, curbs on export of cattle hides and FDA ban of DES in cattle feed. George Cook is CREP chairman, Milan Bish is GOP chairman.

KANSAS: According to newspaper polls, President holds 3 to 1 lead. Kansas farmer sold wheat before Soviet sale made price jump, but this has not blunted President's lead. Gov. Robert Docking seeking fourth term, staying a universe away from McGovern. Morris Kay (R), majority leader of statehouse, is making good race, but Docking win likely. Sen. Pearson having little problem against Dr. Arch O. Tetzlaff. Best chance for House seat is in 2nd District where Charles McAtee (R) is challenging Rep. William Roy. McAtee has been slowed with an appendectomy. In 1968, vote was Nixon 55%, Humphrey 35% and Wallace 10%. Leadership includes GOP Chairman Bill Falstad, CREP Honorary Chairmen Sen. James Pearson and Sen. Bob Dole, and Chairman G. Robert Gadberry.

SOUTH DAKOTA: McGovern had a 14-point deficit in his home state in mid-September. Home pride probably will narrow that, but the President could well beat McGovern here. The Senator lagged behind the state Democrat ticket. Democrats hope to take Sen. Mundt's seat with Rep. James Abourezk, but GOP has able candidate in State Sen. Robert Hirsch, who is closing. Possible GOP House pickup in 2nd District (Abourezk's seat), where James Abdnor is our candidate. A late wheat harvest meant the Soviet sale brought benefits to state farmers. Lowering of beef import restrictions had negative effect. State tax reform is an issue, with state legislature failing to pass reform legislation. Recent floods brought new emphasis on flood control needs. Bob Burns is GOP chairman; W. E. O'Brien is CREP chairman. In 1968, South Dakota went for the President 53% to Humphrey's 42% and Wallace's 5%.

| | | | |
|------|--------|----|----|
| 60.4 | 23.587 | 64 | 52 |
| 38.6 | | 36 | 48 |

10

See Times

ILLINOIS: This is one of the large states McGovern considers crucial to his election. The Democrats, are badly split and without a sizable plurality in the Chicago area, McGovern will be defeated by downstate GOP votes. Percy is ~~thought to be~~ far ahead of Pucinski and appears to have solid party support in his bid to keep the Senate seat. Walker's early lead in the gubernatorial race has ~~all but~~ evaporated and a Nixon sweep should put Ogilvie over. **(A)** Close House races include Republicans Bob Hanrahan in the 3rd District; Samuel Young in the 10th District, City Alderman John Hoellen in the 11th District, State Rep. George M. O'Brien in the 17th District, State Rep. Edward Madigan in the 21st District, and Bob Lamkin in the 22nd District. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 47.1%; Humphrey, 44.2%; Wallace, 8.5%. The State GOP leadership includes State Chairman Vic Smith and CREP Chairman Tom Houser.

*has slight
good chance to
pick up #*

INDIANA: The President has always done well in Indiana and all signs point to a landslide this year. The Governor's race is close and Ex-Governor Welsh could win inspite of a Nixon landslide as he did in 1960; Bowen's problem is name recognition. Earl Landgrebe's votes against the women's rights amendment, the 18 year-old vote, and the Clean Water Act, may cost him his 2nd District House seat. The GOP ~~could~~ pick up the Roush 4th District House seat with Allan Bloom and the 11th District with William Hudnut III. ~~Republican William Johnson's race for the 9th District is too close to call, as is incumbent Republican David Dennis' race in the 10th.~~ The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 50.3%, Humphrey, 38%; Wallace, 11.4%. State GOP Leadership includes State Chairman James T. Neal and CREP Chairman Will Hays, Jr. *who recently had a heart attack.*

*could be
close.*

KENTUCKY: This southern border state will be in the Nixon camp by a solid margin. McGovern is not expected to concentrate any campaign effort in this state. This will be the biggest factor for Louie Nunn against Dec Huddleston in the Senate race. Republican Laban Jackson may pick up the 6th District with a large Presidential vote. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 43.8%; Humphrey, 37.6%; Wallace, 18.3%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman John Kerr and CREP Chairman Eugene Goss.

IOWA: The President should carry Iowa by a substantial margin. Senator Jack Miller is well known and has capitalized on his farm votes; he should win. Governor Robert Ray is considered a strong favorite for re-election. Republican incumbent Fred Schwengel has a close race in the 1st District, and incumbents John Kyl (R) and Neal Smith (D) are in a close fight for the 4th District, thanks to redistricting. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 53.0%; Humphrey, 40.8%; Wallace, 5.7%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman John McDonald and CREP Chairman Churchill Williams.

WISCONSIN: This could be one of McGovern's strong states since he made a strong primary showing. There are strong anti-McGovern feelings among leading ethnic Democrats. The President should carry the state. No state-wide races. Incumbent Republican Alvin O'Konski has been redistricted against incumbent Democrat David Obey who is favored to take the 7th District. Republican State Rep. Harold Froehlich should win John Byrnes' vacant seat. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon 47.9%; Humphrey, 44.3%; Wallace, 7.6%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman John Hough and CREP Chairman John MacIver.

WYOMING: The President should win big and may even benefit from a big Senate win by Clifford Hansen who is a solid winner. Teno Roncalio may be in trouble at the hands of young Bill Kidd (28) who could pick up the at-large seat with the help of a strong Nixon/Hansen vote. The 1968 President vote was Nixon, 55.8%; Humphrey 35.5%; Wallace, 8.7%. The State GOP leadership includes State Chairman David Kennedy and CREP Chairman Mrs. Robert Gosman.

UTAH: Nixon has a substantial lead over McGovern and will carry the state. Democrat Governor Calvin Rampton will defeat Nicholas Strike for an unprecedented third term. The Second District is a swing district and Republican Sherman Lloyd may be in trouble in spite of a big Nixon vote. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 56.5%; Humphrey, 37.1%; Wallace, 6.4%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman Kent Shearer and CREP Chairman Dick Richards.

IDAHO: The President will carry the state and may even exceed Eisenhower's record plurality of 85,628 votes. Rep. James McClure has a difficult race for Sen. Len Jordan's vacant seat, but should win. Conservative Steven Symms should win McClure's House seat. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 56.8%; Humphrey, 30.7%; Wallace, 12.5%. GOP leaders include State Chairman Mrs. Gordon Miner and CREP Chairman William Campbell.

COLORADO: Early polls showed the President with a two-to-one lead; RN will win the state. Sen. Gordon Allott is favored to retain his Senate seat. Republicans could win the 4th District but James Johnson has not conducted an effective campaign. Republican State Sen. William Armstrong is favored to win the new 5th District. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 50.5%; Humphrey, 41.3%; Wallace, 7.5%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman Ken Lloyd and CREP Chairman Governor John Love.

MISSOURI: The President will win here. McGovern has visited in effort to salve Eagleton wounds. Hot race for statehouse, with Republican Christopher (Kit) Bond, the state auditor, slightly ahead of Democrat Edward L. Dowd. Bond could be first GOP governor in 32 years and is hitting heavy on state government corruption. Possible GOP House pickup in 6th District where Russ Sloan is our candidate. Crime, especially prostitution around Fort Leonard Wood, is an issue, as is selection of new site for St. Louis Airport. Revenue Sharing an issue with Dowd promising first priority of tax relief, and Bond a first priority of public school aid. CREP chairman is Lawrence K. Roos, and GOP chairman is J. Nick Gray. 1968 vote was Nixon 45%, Humphrey 44% and Wallace 11%.

ARIZONA: The President will win handily here. McGovern picked up some Chicano support with backing of the lettuce boycott. The state's new House seat is likely to go to Republican State Sen. John Conlan, over Jack E. Brown. Navajos and Bureau of Indian Affairs working toward implementation of self-determination for Indians. Navajos and Hopis in dispute over lands. Cesar Chavez urging recall of Gov. Williams because he signed state law banning farm workers from consumer boycotts and allowing farmers to ask for 60-day court injunction to force laborers back to work. Sam Mardian is CREP chairman; Harry Rosenzweig is GOP chairman. President won here in 1968 with 55% to Humphrey's 35% and Wallace's 10%.

NEW MEXICO: This state has supported the winner in every Presidential election since 1912 and will do so again this year. Republican Pete Domenici is in a close Senate race, but he has the edge. Republican incumbent Manuel Lujan is favored, but has stiff competition for the 1st District House seat. Conservative Democrat Harold Runnels will keep his seat. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 51.8%; Humphrey, 39.7%; Wallace, 7.9%. The state GOP leadership includes State Chairman Thomas McKenna and CREP Chairman Ed Hartman.

MONTANA: Nixon holds the edge and should carry the state as he did in 1968. Republican State Sen. Henry S. Hibbard could upset Lee Metcalf in the Senate race, but he is the underdog. The Governor's race is close but Republican State Sen. Ed Smith could win. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 50.6%; Humphrey, 41.6%; Wallace, 7.3%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman Bill Holter and State CREP Chairman G. W. Deschamps.

(A)

The ^{straw} Sun-Times poll published Sunday gave the President a 60.4 - 39.6% lead ~~and~~ which is down ~~to~~ 4% from previous poll. Same poll has Percy leading 64-36 and Ogilvie leading Waller 52-48.

By Sat. pm.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT

SUBJECT: Briefing on States Represented at Chicago Event

MICHIGAN: A late September Detroit News poll showed the President with a 15-point lead. McGovern has made the state a major priority, and the lead could narrow. Sen. Griffin is in a hard fight with Attorney General Frank Kelley, reportedly the best vote-getter the Democrats have there. The major issue is busing. Kelley was accused by Griffin of being pro-busing, but Kelley led the court fight which got a stay on busing in the Detroit suburbs. Mrs. Irene McCabe is the local woman who gained national attention as organizer of the anti-busing National Action Group. Redistricting drawn by the Democrats eliminated one Republican, and put Rep. Marvin Esch (R) in a troublesome University of Michigan district. A good GOP shot exists in (New) 18th District, encompassing some Detroit suburbs, where Robert Huber, head of state Conservative Party, is running on GOP ticket against State Senator Daniel Cooper. In 1968, vote was Humphrey, 48%, Nixon, 42% and Wallace 10%. State leaders are GOP Chairman Bill McLaughlin and CREP Chairman Jack Gibbs.

MINNESOTA: The Minneapolis Tribune found the President with a 21-point lead in late September. It also found Senator Walter Mondale crushing Rev. Philip Hansen (R), a Lutheran minister, by 36 points. The Democrats have been working hard to narrow the President's lead and hold on to Mondale's. Taxes are a major issue in Minnesota, where corporate tax is highest in nation, and where individual tax is also high. Rep. Bob Bergland could succumb to GOP challenge by Jon O. Haaven in the 7th District. GOP Rep. John Zwach (6th) could be in some trouble. In 1968, Humphrey captured 54%, Nixon 41.5% and Wallace 4.3%. Dave Krogseng is State GOP chairman; John W. Mooty and Mrs. Russell T. Lund are CREP co-chairmen.

NORTH DAKOTA: The President has carried North Dakota every time he has run, and will do the same this time. Lt. Gov. Richard Larsen should hold the statehouse for the GOP against Democrat challenger Rep. Art Link. Rep. Mark Andrews (R) will easily win the at-large House seat in a race with Democrat State Chairman Richard Ista. Agriculture is major issue. Late wheat harvest means state farmers will benefit from Soviet sale. Lifting lid on beef importation not popular here. GOP chairman is Jack Huss, CREP co-chairmen are John Rouzie and Mrs. Winston Register. In 1968, the President captured 55.9%, Humphrey 38.2% and Wallace 5.7%.

OHIO: A late September newspaper poll gave the President a 23-point lead. Despite the fact McGovern has spent much time here, the President retains the lead. In 1968, Ohio went 45.2% for the President, 42.9% for Humphrey and 11.8% for Wallace. Repeal of state income tax an issue, with AFL-CIO opposed. With retirement of Rep. William McCulloch (R) and Rep. Frank Bow (R), the 4th and 16th Districts are vulnerable, but Republican retention is likely. Tennyson Guyer is 4th District GOP candidate, with Ralph S. Regula in the 16th. Charles Ross is Ohio CREP director; John S. Andrews is state chairman.

WEST VIRGINIA: The President has the lead here, but it is thought to be narrow. In 1968, this state went for Humphrey with 50%, with the President getting 41% and Wallace 10%. Jennings Randolph (D) will retain the Senate seat against Louise Leonard (R). Remotely possible GOP House pickup in 4th District, where Sheriff Joe Neal is challenging Rep. Ken Hechler (D). Jay Rockefeller (D) giving tough challenge to Gov. Arch Moore, but Moore will likely prevail. Rockefeller proposes abolition of strip mining. Mine safety, environment, unions, strip mining, highway construction are issues. GOP chairman is Tom Potter. Howard V. Corcoran is CREP chairman.

OKLAHOMA: The 148,000-vote victory for the President in 1968 will be matched or exceeded this year. Dewey Bartlett has closed on Rep. Ed Edmondson in the Senate race, and the President's pull could be the key for Bartlett. Democrats will likely hold Edmondson's 2nd District seat against Emery Toliver. Some chance Democrat James Jones might beat James Hewgley for the seat of retiring Page Belcher. McGovernites have charged that Soviet grain deal hurt

Oklahoma farmers who sold their wheat before sale announcement at lower price. Oil imports controversial issue. GOP chairman is Clarence Warner and CREP chairman is Mrs. Rex Moore.

NEBRASKA: This was the President's strongest state in 1968, and may well make the same record this year. Mid-September Omaha World-Herald poll gave the President a 4 to 1 lead. Sen. Carl T. Curtis will win his fourth term against former Republican Terry M. Carpenter. Republicans will keep all three House seats. Farm unrest because of lifting of beef import quotas, curbs on export of cattle hides and FDA ban of DES in cattle feed. George Cook is CREP chairman, Milan Bish is GOP chairman.

KANSAS: According to newspaper polls, President holds 3 to 1 lead. Kansas farmer sold wheat before Soviet sale made price jump, but this has not blunted President's lead. Gov. Robert Docking seeking fourth term, staying a universe away from McGovern. Morris Kay (R), majority leader of statehouse, is making good race, but Docking win likely. Sen. Pearson having little problem against Dr. Arch O. Tetzlaff. Best chance for House seat is in 2nd District where Charles McAtee (R) is challenging Rep. William Roy. McAtee has been slowed with an appendectomy. In 1968, vote was Nixon 55%, Humphrey 35% and Wallace 10%. Leadership includes GOP Chairman Bill Falstad, CREP Honorary Chairmen Sen. James Pearson and Sen. Bob Dole, and Chairman G. Robert Gadberry.

SOUTH DAKOTA: McGovern had a 14-point deficit in his home state in mid-September. Home pride probably will narrow that, but the President could well beat McGovern here. The Senator lagged behind the state Democrat ticket. Democrats hope to take Sen. Mundt's seat with Rep. James Abourezk, but GOP has able candidate in State Sen. Robert Hirsch, who is closing. Possible GOP House pickup in 2nd District (Abourezk's seat), where James Abdnor is our candidate. A late wheat harvest meant the Soviet sale brought benefits to state farmers. Lowering of beef import restrictions had negative effect. State tax reform is an issue, with state legislature failing to pass reform legislation. Recent floods brought new emphasis on flood control needs. Bob Burns is GOP chairman; W. E. O'Brien is CREP chairman. In 1968, South Dakota went for the President 53% to Humphrey's 42% and Wallace's 5%.

ILLINOIS: This is one of the large states McGovern considers crucial to his election. The Democrats, are badly split and without a sizable plurality in the Chicago area, McGovern will be defeated by downstate GOP votes. Percy is thought to be far ahead of Pucinsky and appears to have solid party support in his bid to keep the Senate seat. Walker's early lead in the gubernatorial race has all but evaporated and a Nixon sweep should put Ogilvie over. Close House races include Republicans Bob Hanrahan in the 3rd District; Samuel Young in the 10th District, City Alderman John Hoellen in the 11th District, State Rep. George M. O'Brien in the 17th District, State Rep. Edward Madigan in the 21st District, and Bob Lamkin in the 22nd District. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 47.1%; Humphrey, 44.2%; Wallace, 8.5%. The State GOP leadership includes State Chairman Vic Smith and CREP Chairman Tom Houser.

INDIANA: The President has always done well in Indiana and all signs point to a landslide this year. The Governor's race is close and Ex-Governor Welsh could win in spite of a Nixon landslide as he did in 1960; Bowen's problem is name recognition. Earl Landgrebe's votes against the women's rights amendment, the 18 year-old vote, and the Clean Water Act, may cost him his 2nd District House seat. The GOP could pick up the Roush 4th District House seat with Allan Bloom and the 11th District with William Hudnut III. Republican William Johnson's race for the 9th District is too close to call, as is incumbent Republican David Dennis' race in the 10th. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 50.3%, Humphrey, 38%; Wallace, 11.4%. State GOP Leadership includes State Chairman James T. Neal and CREP Chairman Will Hays, Jr.

KENTUCKY: This southern border state will be in the Nixon camp by a solid margin. McGovern is not expected to concentrate any campaign effort in this state. This will be the biggest factor for Louie Nunn against Dee Huddleston in the Senate race. Republican Laban Jackson may pick up the 6th District with a large Presidential vote. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 43.8%; Humphrey, 37.6%; Wallace, 18.3%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman John Kerr and CREP Chairman Eugene Goss.

IOWA: The President should carry Iowa by a substantial margin. Senator Jack Miller is well known and has capitalized on his farm votes; he should win. Governor Robert Ray is considered a strong favorite for re-election. Republican incumbent Fred Schwengel has a close race in the 1st District, and incumbents John Kyl (R) and Neal Smith (D) are in a close fight for the 4th District, thanks to redistricting. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 53.0%; Humphrey, 40.8%; Wallace, 5.7%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman John McDonald and CREP Chairman Churchill Williams.

WISCONSIN: This could be one of McGovern's strong states since he made a strong primary showing. There are strong anti-McGovern feelings among leading ethnic Democrats. The President should carry the state. No state-wide races. Incumbent Republican Alvin O'Konski has been redistricted against incumbent Democrat David Obey who is favored to take the 7th District. Republican State Rep. Harold Froehlich should win John Byrnes' vacant seat. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon 47.9%; Humphrey, 44.3%; Wallace, 7.6%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman John Hough and CREP Chairman John MacIver.

WYOMING: The President should win big and may even benefit from a big Senate win by Clifford Hansen who is a solid winner. Teno Roncalio may be in trouble at the hands of young Bill Kidd (28) who could pick up the at-large seat with the help of a strong Nixon/Hansen vote. The 1968 President vote was Nixon, 55.8%; Humphrey 35.5%; Wallace, 8.7%. The State GOP leadership includes State Chairman David Kennedy and CREP Chairman Mrs. Robert Gosman.

UTAH: Nixon has a substantial lead over McGovern and will carry the state. Democrat Governor Calvin Rampton will defeat Nicholas Strike for an unprecedented third term. The Second District is a swing district and Republican Sherman Lloyd may be in trouble in spite of a big Nixon vote. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 56.5%; Humphrey, 37.1%; Wallace, 6.4%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman Kent Shearer and CREP Chairman Dick Richards.

IDAHO: The President will carry the state and may even exceed Eisenhower's record plurality of 85,628 votes. Rep. James McClure has a difficult race for Sen. Len Jordan's vacant seat, but should win. Conservative Steven Symms should win McClure's House seat. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 56.8%; Humphrey, 30.7%; Wallace, 12.5%. GOP leaders include State Chairman Mrs. Gordon Miner and CREP Chairman William Campbell.

COLORADO: Early polls showed the President with a two-to-one lead; RN will win the state. Sen. Gordon Allott is favored to retain his Senate seat. Republicans could win the 4th District but James Johnson has not conducted an effective campaign. Republican State Sen. William Armstrong is favored to win the new 5th District. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 50.5%; Humphrey, 41.3%; Wallace, 7.5%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman Ken Lloyd and CREP Chairman Governor John Love.

MISSOURI: The President will win here. McGovern has visited in effort to salve Eagleton wounds. Hot race for statehouse, with Republican Christopher (Kit) Bond, the state auditor, slightly ahead of Democrat Edward L. Dowd. Bond could be first GOP governor in 32 years and is hitting heavy on state government corruption. Possible GOP House pickup in 6th District where Russ Sloan is our candidate. Crime, especially prostitution around Fort Leonard Wood, is an issue, as is selection of new site for St. Louis Airport. Revenue Sharing an issue with Dowd promising first priority of tax relief, and Bond a first priority of public school aid. CREP chairman is Lawrence K. Roos, and GOP chairman is J. Nick Gray. 1968 vote was Nixon 45%, Humphrey 44% and Wallace 11%.

ARIZONA: The President will win handily here. McGovern picked up some Chicano support with backing of the lettuce boycott. The state's new House seat is likely to go to Republican State Sen. John Conlan, over Jack E. Brown. Navajos and Bureau of Indian Affairs working toward implementation of self-determination for Indians. Navajos and Hopis in dispute over lands. Cesar Chavez urging recall of Gov. Williams because he signed state law banning farm workers from consumer boycotts and allowing farmers to ask for 60-day court injunction to force laborers back to work. Sam Mardian is CREP chairman; Harry Rosenzweig is GOP chairman. President won here in 1968 with 55% to Humphrey's 35% and Wallace's 10%.

NEW MEXICO: This state has supported the winner in every Presidential election since 1912 and will do so again this year. Republican Pete Domenici is in a close Senate race, but he has the edge. Republican incumbent Manuel Lujan is favored, but has stiff competition for the 1st District House seat. Conservative Democrat Harold Runnels will keep his seat. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 51.8%; Humphrey, 39.7%; Wallace, 7.9%. The state GOP leadership includes State Chairman Thomas McKenna and CREP Chairman Ed Hartman.

MONTANA: Nixon holds the edge and should carry the state as he did in 1968. Republican State Sen. Henry S. Hibbard could upset Lee Metcalf in the Senate race, but he is the underdog. The Governor's race is close but Republican State Sen. Ed Smith could win. The 1968 Presidential vote was Nixon, 50.6%; Humphrey, 41.6%; Wallace, 7.3%. State GOP leaders include State Chairman Bill Holter and State CREP Chairman G. W. Deschamps.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Harry S. Dent
SUBJECT: Michigan

I. THE PRESIDENT: The reliable Detroit News poll gives the President a 13-point lead. Past elections indicate that this lead will slip 6-8 points, but the President should carry the state with 52-54%. In 1968, vote was:

| | | |
|----------|-----------|---------|
| Nixon | 1,370,665 | (41.5%) |
| Humphrey | 1,593,083 | (48.2%) |
| Wallace | 331,968 | (10.0%) |

II. THE SENATE: Griffin holds an 8-point lead statewide. Busing is the major issue, particularly in the Detroit area. Attorney General Frank Kelley (D), redeemed himself by leading court fight which got stay from busing. Kelley has indicated he would vote with Sen. Hart, and Griffin calling him the "shadow". Also hitting Kelley post-poll turnaround on social issues, like busing.

III. HOUSE: Rep. Donald Riegle (R), who has part of area President will visit, has said he won't endorse President. Rep. Jim Harvey (R) and Rep. Elford Cederberg (R) also represent the area. Cederberg is safe and Harvey should win but he is running hard. Statewide, Rep. Marvin Esch (R) is having problems; possible GOP win in (new) 18th District where Conservative Party Chairman Robert Huber is running on GOP ticket.

IV. SAGINAW AND ISSUES: Bay, Saginaw and Midland counties comprise immediate neighborhood for the event. Bay is Democratic and one of three counties to go for McGovern in primary. Bay and Saginaw are UAW, blue collar, industrial. Midland has many white collar, technical employees of Dow Chemical. Economy has always been and is the major problem in the area. Area has always been responsive to inflation and unemployment campaigns. Unemployment a special problem in Bay County. Busing is not a significant issue in this area. Liberalized abortion will be on state ballot and polls. Show it is favored. Working man being pressed to Democrat fold as Woodcock sees this as test for his future re: Meany. Tax reforms an issue, with property and state income taxes on ballot.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM

E.O. 12065, Section 6.102, 1972

by *Ernie* [unclear], Date 5-23-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Michigan Presidential Appearance

The President lost Michigan in 1960 by 67,000 votes, and in 1968 by 10,500 votes. Wallace got 332,000 (10%) in 1968.

| | 1968 President | | | 1970 Governor | | Normal Rep. Vote |
|-------------|----------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|------------------------|
| | Nixon | Humphrey | Wallace | Milliken | Levin | |
| Statewide | 42 | 48 | 10 | 51 | 49 | 51 |
| Saginaw Co. | 49 | 42 | 9 | 53 | 47 | 61 |
| Genesee Co. | 39 | 46 | 15 | 43 | 57 | 55 |
| Midland Co. | 61 | 31 | 8 | 58 | 42 | 70 |
| Bay Co. | 44 | 50 | 5 | 47 | 53 | 53 |
| Wayne Co. | 26 | 63 | 10 | 43 | 57 | 34 |
| Oakland Co. | 45+ | 45- | 10 | 55 | 45 | 60 |
| Macomb Co. | 30 | 55 | 14 | 47 | 53 | 38 |
| Kent Co. | 54 | 39 | 7 | 61 | 39 | 64 |

In our private polls he was tied with McGovern (45-45) in June, but had moved up to a 16% lead by early September. This lead had slipped to 13% in mid-October. In most past elections the Democrats have gained 7 to 9% during the last 3 weeks, and I expect that the President's lead has declined somewhat during the last 2 weeks. If this election follows the pattern of most others we can expect him to carry the state with 52 to 54 percent of the vote in November.

| | Statewide | | | | | Flint/ Saginaw City |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | Wave II 9/25 | News 9/1 | Wave III 10/11 | News 9/21 | News 10/5-11 | |
| Nixon | 45 | 54 | 54 | 52 | 50 | 50 |
| McGovern | 45 | 38 | 34 | 37 | 37 | 39 |
| Undecided | 10 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 8 |
| Schmitz | - | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 4 |

The key to the President's increased strength this year is that he is running much stronger with both the white collar, upper middle class suburban ticket-splitters in the Detroit area and with the blue collar working class ticket-splitters and Democrats in the Detroit area and in the Flint-Saginaw area. He is not, however, running as strong as he might be in outstate Michigan.

The Griffin-Kelly race has been close with Griffin being behind on at least one occasion, although he now has a 8% lead (47-39) in our most recent poll.

The area the President will visit is the second most Democratic area of the state, and is his poorest area outside of Wayne County. However, it has a large number of ticket-splitters and has been very important to statewide Republican victorys in recent years. Romney and Milliken both ran well there. Past winning coalitions for Republicans in Michigan have included up to 20% of the black vote. Our current polls have shown that the President is now running poorly with blacks (4%). To offset this the President must gain additional votes with first-time Democratic ticket-splitters, primarily blue collar workers. The preponderance of ticket-splitters in this area are blue collar working class people, many of whom are now making \$10,000 to \$15,000 per year in the automotive plants. Saginaw and Flint and Bay City all have major G.M. plants and thousands of UAW members. Midland is the home of Dow Chemical and has many upper middle class white collar people who are conservative politically.

Vietnam is the most important problem in Michigan, and in this area. Inflation and taxes have always been important political issues in this area, and continue to be in our current polls. Racial problems are an important problem in Flint and Saginaw. While the bussing issue may have spilled over into this area to a minor degree it is not a major problem here.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 10/25/72 ✓

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

Here is Teeter's analysis of Kentucky. The political analysis in the trip package has been checked against it and with two changes is ok. We can retype these if you give them to the President or leave as is if you cover it verbally with him.

Retype _____

Leave as is _____

DETERMINATION COMMITTEE for the Re-election of the President
 ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, NARS, Date: 5-22-80 ~~5-22-80~~ October 24, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
 SUBJECT: Kentucky

In 1968 the President received 44%, Humphrey 38% and Wallace 19% in Kentucky.

In 1968 the President trailed the average Republican vote by 8% statewide and ran far behind it in the Louisville area. This was probably due to Wallace's high percentage.

| | 1968 | | | 1968 Senate | | | Average Rep. Vote |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Cook</u> | <u>Peden</u> | <u>Other</u> | |
| Kentucky | 44 | 38 | 19 | 51 | 48 | 1 | 52 |
| Jefferson Co. (Louisville) | 43 | 41 | 16 | 56 | 42 | 2 | 59 |
| Fayette Co. (Lexington) | 50 | 33 | 17 | 58 | 41 | 1 | 56 |
| Boyd Co. (Ashland) | 45 | 43 | 13 | 49 | 50 | 1 | 49 |

Boyd County (Ashland) is heavily blue collar and almost 100% white. It has a young undereducated populus and had low turnout in 1968.

Our polls indicate that the President has a substantial lead and that Nunn is neck and neck with Huddleston.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| June | 60 | 24 | 16 | +36 |
| 10/4 | 59 | 26 | 15 | +33 |

| | <u>Nunn</u> | <u>Huddleston</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| December 1971 | 38 | 37 | 30 | + 1 |
| June DMI | 37 | 34 | 29 | - 1 |
| 10/4 DMI | 40 | 41 | 19 | - 1 |

Regionally, the President leads in all parts of the state. Nunn leads only in the eastern part of the state.

| <u>10/4</u> | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Nunn</u> | <u>Huddleston</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|
| *CD 1 | 50 | 36 | 14 | 31 | 56 | 12 |
| CD 2 | 54 | 28 | 18 | 31 | 53 | 16 |
| CD 3 | 53 | 52 | 15 | 38 | 44 | 18 |
| CD 4 | 68 | 21 | 11 | 42 | 40 | 19 |
| CD 5 | 66 | 23 | 11 | 51 | 37 | 11 |
| CD 6 | 53 | 21 | 26 | 36 | 31 | 33 |
| CD 7 | 62 | 22 | 16 | 48 | 24 | 29 |

*Attached is a Congressional District map.

The President also leads among all voter groups except Blacks. Nunn is particularly weak among ticket-splitters and is receiving only 76% of the registered Republican vote compared to the President's 91%.

The large undecided in the Nunn/Huddleston race comes primarily from middle-age voters and Wallace voters. Of those Wallace voters who stated a preference most were voting for Huddleston.

There are three major issues in Kentucky besides the war in Vietnam. They are mine safety, tobacco and drug abuse.

According to the Louisville Courier-Journal, Huddleston is trying to identify himself with the President's stand on drug abuse. Recently, the State adopted relaxed user and seller laws modeled on the recent federal drug statutes. One provision reduced first-time selling of drugs from a felony to a misdemeanor. Huddleston is in favor and Nunn opposed to this section of the statute. Huddleston has stated as recently as Monday that this is the President's feeling on the matter and that Nunn must be opposed to Nixon if he is opposed to the law.

The area the President is visiting is in poor mining country and is also the center for the U.M.W. hospital complex. (I believe it's called the Appalachian Regional Hospital System.) The people here are particularly sensitive to Black Lung and Nunn can benefit from the President having signed it into law recently. Also, the State has taken over the U.M.W. hospitals in the area because of debt problems and I am told there has been some kind of federal relief for these hospitals proposed. This is a very popular idea in eastern Kentucky.

Tobacco still remains a major cash crop in Kentucky. The poundage control system is supported by Nunn and is very popular among the raisers of tobacco in east and south Kentucky.

The Nunn/Huddleston race apparently is not exciting the voters to any degree. The figures have not significantly changed in almost a year. A closer identification between Nunn and the President will benefit Nunn's candidacy and hopefully give his campaign the impetus to pull ahead and win.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

*Covered
rally w/cwc*

Fourth Wave
California
October 19-23, 1972
1000 Personal Interviews

1968: +4

v.2

Trial Heats

| McGovern | | | | Margin |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 51 | 39 | 2 | 8 | +12 |
| (- 2) | (+ 3) | (+ 0) | (+ 0) | |

Chg. from
Wave III ?
-5

Ballots

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| Republican | 90 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 226 |
| Ticket-Splitter | 59 | 29 | 3 | 9 | 264 |
| Democrat | 22 | 68 | 2 | 8 | 346 |
| 18-24 years | 37 | 54 | 5 | 5 | 125 |
| 25-34 years | 50 | 43 | 2 | 6 | 223 |
| 35-44 years | 54 | 37 | 2 | 8 | 183 |
| 45-54 years | 52 | 39 | 2 | 7 | 178 |
| 55-64 years | 50 | 31 | 4 | 15 | 138 |
| 65 years + | 61 | 29 | 1 | 9 | 143 |
| Less than high school | 38 | 48 | 2 | 12 | 205 |
| High school graduate | 56 | 33 | 3 | 8 | 322 |
| College | 53 | 39 | 2 | 6 | 468 |
| Catholic | 42 | 45 | 2 | 11 | 260 |
| Protestant | 58 | 33 | 2 | 7 | 595 |
| Jewish | 34 | 59 | 3 | 3 | 29 |
| Union | 39 | 51 | 2 | 9 | 308 |
| Non-Union | 57 | 33 | 3 | 7 | 649 |
| Under \$5,000 | 37 | 56 | 1 | 5 | 154 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 42 | 47 | 3 | 7 | 213 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 58 | 33 | 2 | 7 | 249 |
| \$15,000+ | 62 | 30 | 2 | 6 | 250 |
| White | 56 | 33 | 3 | 8 | 818 |
| Black | 13 | 82 | 1 | 5 | 87 |
| Brown | 27 | 56 | 3 | 14 | 64 |
| Los Angeles | 53 | 37 | 2 | 8 | 364 |
| San Francisco | 37 | 54 | 2 | 7 | 41 |
| San Diego | 50 | 39 | 3 | 8 | 64 |
| Rest of State | 50 | 39 | 2 | 8 | 531 |

Vietnam Approval

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Vietnam | 50 | 40 | 10 |

Turnout

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely vote | 96 | 92 |
| Probably vote | 3 | 6 |
| May or may not vote | 1 | 1 |
| Definitely not vote | * | 0 |

*Less than 1/2%

*Democrat
Catholic
Union
Under 10M
Under 24*

Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave

Connecticut
 October 17-22, 1972
 448 Interviews (Phone)

1968: -6

| <u>Trial Heats</u> | 1968: -6 | | | <u>Margin</u> | Chg. from <u>Wave III</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------|-------|---------------|------------------------------|
| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | | |
| Without Leanners | 54 | 25 | 21 | | |
| With Leanners | 57 | 31 | 12 | +26 | -18 |
| | (-10) | (+ 8) | (+ 2) | | |

Ballots (With Leanners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Republican | 89 | 10 | 1 | 132 |
| Ticket-Splitter | 63 | 21 | 16 | 157 |
| Democrat | 31 | 53 | 16 | 99 |
| 18-24 years | 45 | 49 | 6 | 51 |
| 25-34 years | 54 | 36 | 10 | 100 |
| 35-44 years | 62 | 22 | 16 | 88 |
| 45-54 years | 57 | 31 | 12 | 93 |
| 55-64 years | 60 | 31 | 9 | 62 |
| 65 years + | 63 | 22 | 15 | 47 |
| Less than high school | 46 | 38 | 16 | 72 |
| High school graduate | 65 | 22 | 13 | 175 |
| College | 54 | 38 | 8 | 197 |
| Catholic | 56 | 30 | 14 | 216 |
| Protestant | 69 | 26 | 5 | 153 |
| Jewish | 50 | 34 | 16 | 25 |
| Union | 49 | 39 | 12 | 153 |
| Non-union | 61 | 28 | 11 | 291 |
| Under \$5,000 | 65 | 31 | 4 | 39 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 51 | 38 | 11 | 113 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 56 | 34 | 10 | 105 |
| \$15,000 + | 62 | 32 | 6 | 105 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Job | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| Vietnam | 58 | 34 | 8 |
| Economy | 45 | 44 | 11 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | | |
|-----------------|----|-------|
| Vietnam | 54 | (-11) |
| Unemployment | 20 | (- 2) |
| Economy | 19 | (+ 1) |
| Inflation | 11 | (-12) |
| Poverty-Welfare | 10 | (- 6) |

| <u>Commitment</u> | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely vote for | 82 | 82 |
| Probably vote but still thinking | 10 | 13 |
| Undecided but lean toward | 8 | 5 |
| Don't Know | * | 0 |

* Less than .5%

Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave #2

New Jersey
 October 17-22, 1972
 513 Interviews (Phone)

1968: +2

1.2

Trial Heats

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Chg. from Phone Poll</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------|-------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Without Leaners | 55 | 29 | 16 | | |
| With Leaners | 58 | 33 | 9 | +25 | +0 |
| | (+ 0) | (+ 0) | (+ 0) | | |

Ballots (With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Republican | 86 | 8 | 6 | 117 |
| Ticket-Splitter | 61 | 29 | 10 | 196 |
| Democrat | 44 | 49 | 7 | 127 |
| 18-24 years | 33 | 62 | 5 | 57 |
| 25-34 years | 58 | 39 | 3 | 91 |
| 35-44 years | 73 | 20 | 7 | 112 |
| 45-54 years | 60 | 31 | 9 | 116 |
| 55-64 years | 62 | 24 | 14 | 68 |
| 65 years + | 55 | 30 | 15 | 62 |
| Less than high school | 52 | 37 | 11 | 90 |
| High school graduate | 62 | 30 | 8 | 187 |
| College | 58 | 34 | 8 | 224 |
| Catholic | 61 | 27 | 12 | 226 |
| Protestant | 59 | 34 | 7 | 204 |
| Jewish | 36 | 64 | 0 | 38 |
| Union | 55 | 34 | 11 | 188 |
| Non-union | 59 | 34 | 7 | 316 |
| Under \$5,000 | 45 | 36 | 19 | 42 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 42 | 51 | 7 | 98 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 69 | 24 | 7 | 143 |
| \$15,000 + | 65 | 31 | 4 | 135 |

Job Approval

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Job | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| Vietnam | 55 | 37 | 8 |
| Economy | 43 | 45 | 12 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Vietnam | 52 (- 4) |
| Economy | 16 (+ 7) |
| Unemployment | 11 (- 3) |
| Drugs | 9 (- 1) |
| Inflation | 9 (- 7) |
| Taxes | 9 (- 2) |

Commitment

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely vote for | 82 | 85 |
| Probably vote but still thinking | 11 | 10 |
| Undecided but lean toward | 7 | 4 |
| Don't Know | 0 | 1 |

State Ballots

Senate:

| | |
|---------------|----|
| CLIFFORD CASE | 51 |
| Paul Krebs | 27 |
| Undecided | 22 |

1968: -6

V-2

Trial Heats

| McGovern | | | | Margin | Chg. from Wave III |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-----------------------|
| 53 | 36 | 1 | 11 | +17 | -5 |
| (- 3) | (+ 2) | (+ 1) | (- 1) | | |

Ballots

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| Republican | 88 | 5 | 0 | .6 | 231 |
| Ticket-Splitter | 63 | 24 | 0 | 13 | 271 |
| Democrat | 25 | 64 | 1 | 10 | 329 |
| 18-24 years | 39 | 53 | 4 | 5 | 110 |
| 25-34 years | 49 | 43 | 1 | 7 | 224 |
| 35-44 years | 58 | 34 | 1 | 8 | 198 |
| 45-54 years | 50 | 36 | 0 | 14 | 182 |
| 55-64 years | 58 | 24 | 1 | 17 | 145 |
| 65 years + | 64 | 23 | 0 | 13 | 132 |
| Less than high school | 54 | 36 | 0 | 10 | 211 |
| High school graduate | 59 | 29 | 0 | 11 | 431 |
| College | 45 | 43 | 2 | 10 | 352 |
| Catholic | 57 | 32 | 1 | 11 | 490 |
| Protestant | 63 | 29 | 1 | 7 | 312 |
| Jewish | 28 | 54 | 0 | 19 | 160 |
| Union | 48 | 43 | 1 | 8 | 371 |
| Non-Union | 56 | 31 | 1 | 12 | 599 |
| Under \$5,000 | 52 | 38 | 0 | 11 | 104 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 47 | 42 | 1 | 9 | 245 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 62 | 30 | 1 | 6 | 279 |
| \$15,000 + | 52 | 37 | 1 | 10 | 227 |
| White | 57 | 31 | 1 | 11 | 900 |
| Black | 11 | 80 | 3 | 5 | 61 |
| Brown | 30 | 67 | 0 | 3 | 33 |
| Manhattan | 32 | 53 | 3 | 13 | 78 |
| NYC (Not Manhattan) | 41 | 48 | 1 | 10 | 293 |
| New York Suburbs | 64 | 27 | 1 | 9 | 209 |
| Rochester SMSA | 55 | 36 | 0 | 9 | 44 |
| Syracuse SMSA | 43 | 57 | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| Rest of State | 62 | 25 | 0 | 12 | 348 |

Vietnam Approval

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Vietnam | 51 | 38 | 12 |

Turnout

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely vote | 92 | 89 |
| Probably vote | 5 | 7 |
| May or may not vote | 2 | 2 |
| Definitely not vote | 1 | 1 |
| Don't Know | * | 1 |

*Less than .5%

Rolling Wave #3
1968: -4

Pennsylvania
October 20-22, 1972
800 Personal Interviews

V-2

Trial Heats

| McGovern | | | | Margin | Chg. from Wave III |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-----------------------|
| 58 | 31 | 1 | 11 | +27 | -6 |
| (- 2) | (+ 4) | (- 1) | (- 1) | | |

Ballots

| | Nixon | McGovern | Schmitz | Undecided | Number |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|
| Republican | 86 (- 2) | 9 (+ 7) | * (- 1) | 5 (- 3) | 214 |
| Ticket-Splitter | 59 (- 6) | 26 (+ 7) | 1 (- 1) | 14 (+ 1) | 229 |
| Democrat | 35 (- 2) | 52 (+ 0) | 1 (+ 0) | 11 (+ 1) | 271 |
| 18-24 years | 53 (+ 1) | 43 (+ 5) | 1 (+ 0) | 3 (- 7) | 70 |
| 25-34 years | 63 (+ 5) | 27 (- 2) | 1 (+ 0) | 9 (- 2) | 147 |
| 35-44 years | 50 (-10) | 31 (+ 3) | 1 (- 1) | 18 (+ 8) | 156 |
| 45-54 years | 61 (+ 2) | 30 (+ 2) | 1 (- 1) | 8 (- 3) | 192 |
| 55-64 years | 57 (- 6) | 34 (+13) | 0 (- 2) | 9 (- 5) | 138 |
| 65 years + | 59 (- 8) | 26 (+ 8) | 1 (- 1) | 15 (+ 0) | 94 |
| Less than high school | 50 (- 3) | 36 (+ 5) | 0 (- 2) | 14 (- 1) | 194 |
| High school graduate | 60 (- 4) | 29 (+ 5) | 1 (+ 0) | 11 (+ 1) | 400 |
| College | 61 (- 1) | 30 (+ 3) | 2 (+ 0) | 7 (- 2) | 203 |
| Catholic | 54 (- 9) | 33 (+ 5) | * (+ 1) | 13 (+ 4) | 266 |
| Protestant | 62 (+ 2) | 29 (+ 3) | 1 (- 1) | 8 (- 4) | 468 |
| Jewish | 41 (+ 1) | 41 (- 2) | 0 (- 3) | 17 (+ 3) | 29 |
| Union | 54 (- 1) | 34 (+ 1) | 1 (- 1) | 12 (+ 2) | 325 |
| Non-Union | 61 (- 2) | 30 (+ 7) | 1 (+ 0) | 9 (- 4) | 430 |
| Under \$5,000 | 50 (-10) | 38 (+14) | 0 (- 1) | 13 (- 2) | 101 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 53 (+ 0) | 35 (+ 0) | 1 (+ 0) | 11 (+ 0) | 251 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 62 (- 8) | 30 (+10) | 1 (- 1) | 7 (- 1) | 228 |
| Over \$15,000 | 70 (+ 8) | 19 (- 7) | 2 (+ 1) | 9 (- 2) | 113 |
| White | 63 (- 3) | 25 (+ 4) | 1 (- 1) | 11 (+ 0) | 683 |
| Black | 17 (+ 4) | 75 (+ 3) | 1 (+ 0) | 7 (- 8) | 89 |
| Brown | 0 (-33) | 100 (+33) | 0 (+ 0) | 0 (+ 0) | 1 |
| Philadelphia | 36 (- 2) | 48 (+ 2) | 1 (+ 1) | 13 (- 3) | 146 |
| Philadelphia Suburbs | 67 (+ 1) | 25 (+ 3) | 0 (- 2) | 7 (- 3) | 126 |
| Allegheny County | 52 (- 8) | 36 (+ 5) | 1 (- 3) | 11 (+ 7) | 113 |
| Southwest | 67 (+ 1) | 22 (- 2) | 1 (+ 1) | 10 (+ 0) | 104 |
| Anthracite Area | 58 (- 9) | 20 (+ 1) | 0 (+ 0) | 22 (+ 8) | 64 |
| Other | 66 (- 2) | 23 (+ 8) | 1 (- 1) | 9 (- 6) | 247 |

Vietnam Approval

| | Approve | Disapprove | No Opinion |
|---------|---------|------------|------------|
| Vietnam | 53 | 36 | 11 |

Turnout

| | Nixon | McGovern |
|---------------------|-------|----------|
| Definitely vote | 85 | 87 |
| Probably vote | 8 | 7 |
| May or may not vote | 4 | 2 |
| Definitely not vote | * | * |
| Don't Know | 2 | 4 |

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Evans*
 SUBJECT: Presidential Visit to Ohio

Ohio has been in the past and continues to be the most solid of the large industrial states in its support for the President. He carried it by 273,000 votes (53%) in 1960 and by 90,000 votes (45%) in 1968. Wallace got 12% in 1968.

With only a few exceptions the President ran behind his statewide strength in the areas he will be visiting Saturday.

| | 1968 President | | | 1970 Senate | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|----------------|------------|
| | Nixon | Humphrey | Wallace | Taft | Metzenbaum |
| <u>Statewide</u> | 45 | 43 | 12 | 52 | 48 |
| <u>Summit Co.</u> | 40 | 48 | 12 | 46 | 54 |
| <u>Northfield Center</u> | 45 | 43 | 12 | 48 | 52 |
| <u>Portage Co.</u> | 41 | 45 | 14 | 47 | 53 |
| <u>Aurora</u> | 59 | 27 | 13 | 60 | 40 |
| <u>Hiram</u> | 49 | 40 | 11 | 54 | 46 |
| <u>Garrettsville</u> | 54 | 36 | 9 | 57 | 43 |
| <u>Trumbull Co.</u> | 40 | 49 | 11 | 45 | 55 |
| <u>Warren</u> | 40 | 51 | 9 | 43 | 57 |
| <u>Braceville</u> | 42 | 43 | 12 | 46 | 54 |
| <u>Cuyahoga Co.</u> | 35 | 54 | 11 | 43 | 54 |
| <u>Cleveland</u> | 21 | 67 | 12 | 27 | 73 |
| <u>Brecksville</u> | 64 | 27 | 8 | 64 | 36 |
| <u>Parma Hts.</u> | 48 | 41 | 11 | 50+ | 50- |
| <u>Hamilton Co.</u> | 50 | 37 | 13 | 63 | 37 |
| <u>Cincinnati</u> | 43 | 46 | 11 | 54 | 46 |

Our private polls show the President running well ahead of both his 1960 and 1968 strength statewide and in the areas he will visit.

| | Nixon | McGovern | Undecided | Margin |
|--------------|-------|----------|-----------|--------|
| 6/27 - 1701 | 56 | 38 | 6 | +24 |
| 9/6 - 1701 | 60 | 32 | 9 | +28 |
| 10/20 - 1701 | 59 | 31 | 10 | +28 |

Our most recent poll indicates that the President's supporters in Ohio are more intense in their commitment to him and will turn out at a higher rate than the McGovern supporters.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| <u>9/16 - 1701</u> | | | | |
| North and East | 55 | 36 | 9 | +19 |
| Northwest | 58 | 34 | 8 | +24 |
| Southwest | 71 | 21 | 7 | +50 |
| Central & Southeast | 54 | 34 | 11 | +20 |
| <u>9/27 - Cuyahoga County</u> | 45 | 43 | 12 | + 2 |

The most important local issues in this area of the state are crime, air and water pollution, unemployment, taxes and inflation in that order. Crime is of particular importance in Cuyahoga County. The economic issues, particularly unemployment and taxes, are important across northeastern Ohio. Air and water pollution continue to be the second or third most important concern in Cuyahoga County. This northeastern area of the state is almost entirely urban and industrial.

The specific areas the President's tour will visit are:

- Brook Park An industrial suburb with large GM and Ford plants, heavily blue collar U.A.W.
- Parma and Parma Hts. Second largest city in Cuyahoga County. Working class suburb, heavily Democratic and with large numbers of ethnics who have moved from the city 10-15 years ago. Parma is a key part of Minshall's Congressional district and a 9/29 poll shows Minshall ahead 43-37. Mayor Perk is very popular in Parma, Parma Hts., and Brook Park.
- Northfield, Aurora and Hiram Small rural communities that are becoming upper middle class suburbs of Cleveland and Akron. They are marginally Republican with high ticket-splitters. Northfield has a large Chrysler plant (Twinsburg), and Hiram has a small college. Northfield Center is in Summit County (Ray Blise's home county).

COMMITMENT BALLOT

| | <u>California</u> | <u>Illinois</u> | <u>Michigan</u> | <u>New Jersey</u> | <u>New York</u> | <u>Ohio</u> | <u>Pennsylvania</u> |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Definitely Nixon | 42 | 41 | 34 | 42 | 38 | 39 | 39 |
| Probably Nixon | 46 | 9 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 11 | 8 |
| Undecided/Lean to Nixon | 3 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Completely Undecided | 9 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 12 | 10 | 7 |
| Undecided/Lean to McGovern | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Probably McGovern | 8 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Definitely McGovern | 26 | 12 | 16 | 17 | 23 | 15 | 8 |
| Dates | 10/19-23 | 9/5-13 | 9/5-7 | 9/5-11 | 10/20-23 | 9/5-6 | 10/20-22 |
| # of Interviews | 1,000 | 797 | 804 | 829 | 1,000 | 800 | 800 |

T

6. Have you seen, heard or read anything in the last two or three days about recent developments in the Vietnam peace negotiations? 1 YES 2 NO

IF "YES" ON Q. 6, ASK:

6a. Do you believe that there will actually be a Vietnam peace settlement signed and that the War will be over in the next few weeks? 1 YES 2 NO

7. The charge has been made that President Nixon could have made the Vietnam peace settlement long ago and that he delayed it just to help his reelection. Do you agree or disagree with this charge? 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 DON'T KNOW

T

8. How serious of a problem do you think corruption is in the federal government -- very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not at all serious? 1 VERY SERIOUS 2 FAIRLY SERIOUS 3 NOT VERY SERIOUS 4 NOT AT ALL SERIOUS 5 DON'T KNOW

T

9. Are there any recent examples of corruption or influence peddling that you can think of and that concern you and what are they? X NONE.

IF "SPECIFIC ANSWER," ASK:

9a. Will this make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you when you vote this Fall? 1 MORE LIKELY VOTE RICHARD NIXON 2 MORE LIELY VOTE GEORGE MCGOVERN 3 NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE 4 DON'T KNOW

T

10. Do you think George McGovern or Richard Nixon would do the better job of keeping corruption and influence peddling out of the Federal Government over the next four years? 1 GEORGE MCGOVERN 2 RICHARD NIXON 3 DON'T KNOW

T

11. Senator McGovern has charged that the Nixon administration is one of the most corrupt in history. Some people have said that this is simply a political charge by a desperate politician who is far behind. Others agree with him and think President Nixon needs to answer and explain these charges. Which side do you agree with? 1 POLITICAL CHARGE BY DESPERATE POLITICIAN 2 MOST CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION AND NEEDS EXPLAINING 3 DON'T KNOW

12. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.) 1 STRAIGHT DEMOCRAT 2 MOSTLY DEMOCRAT 3 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS 4 ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES 5 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS 6 MOSTLY REPUBLICAN 7 STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN 8 NEVER VOTED 9 DON'T KNOW

13. What is your age?
- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1 17-20 YEARS | 7 45-49 YEARS |
| 2 21-24 YEARS | 8 50-54 YEARS |
| 3 25-29 YEARS | 9 55-59 YEARS |
| 4 30-34 YEARS | 10 60-64 YEARS |
| 5 35-39 YEARS | 11 65 AND OVER |
| 6 40-44 YEARS | 12 REFUSED |

14. What is the last grade of school you completed?
- 1 GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (GRADES 1-8)
 - 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
 - 3 GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12)
 - 4 VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL
 - 5 SOME COLLEGE
 - 6 GRADUATE COLLEGE
 - 7 POST GRADUATE WORK
 - 8 REFUSED

15. What is your religion?
- 1 ROMAN CATHOLIC
 - 2 PROTESTANT
 - 3 JEWISH
 - 4 OTHER. (Specify) _____

16. Are you a labor union member?
- | |
|-------|
| 1 YES |
| 2 NO |

IF 'NO' ON Q. 16; ASK:

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 16a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member? | 1 YES |
| | 2 NO |

17. Which classification included your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME IN 1971 before taxes? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)
- 1 0-\$2,999
 - 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
 - 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
 - 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
 - 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
 - 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
 - 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
 - 8 \$25,000 AND OVER
 - 9 REFUSED

18. Sex: 1 MALE
 2 FEMALE

19. What county do you live in? _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Campaign Polling - Response to McGovern Releases

Senator McGovern has been using his private polls in New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania recently to indicate he is improving his position. Usually the polls are pushed by the pollster Pat Caddell and Frank Mankiewicz or Governor Shapp. Clark MacGregor wants to respond to these McGovern thrusts with Bob Teeter. Teeter has not been permitted to speak publicly before.

Bob Teeter could brief 6 reporters on the three personal interview polls conducted last weekend. The California, New York and Pennsylvania results would be given in detail to AP, UPI, and reporters selected from each of the three states. Teeter's briefing would be Friday for Sunday release.

Recommendation:

That you approve Teeter's briefing Friday.

Approve _____ Disapprove *K* Comments _____

Teeter has also submitted a plan for the polling between now and the election. It is attached. He recommends 500 interview telephone polls in Michigan, California and Wisconsin. Since McGovern has been indicating Wisconsin is one of his strongest states. The results of Teeter's Wisconsin poll could be released next week.

A questionnaire is being prepared.

agree

*S> Teeter
Revised
10/26
1972*

*S> Teeter
Revised
10/26
1972*

**DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING**

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

October 26, 1972

By Conf/ris NARS, Date 5-22-80~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*

SUBJECT: Polling

Gordon Strachan has asked for my thoughts on polling between now and the election.

First, I think that the slight slippage we have observed during the last few weeks accompanied by some McGovern gain will continue and probably accelerate during the last 10 days. There are in most of the major states three or four times as many undecided Democrats and ticket-splitters as Republicans.

The arguments against doing any polling this weekend are that we do not have the ability to act on the data as the time is past that we could make any significant adjustments in the allocation of any of our resources -- scheduling, advertising or organization.

The arguments for doing some polling this weekend are:

- That is would give us some "peace of mind" data and minimize the apprehension or panic that might set in the first of the week.
- It would serve as a safety measure to make sure that the movement to McGovern is not accelerating at a rate that would jeopardize our chances of carrying the major states.
- It would give us a current measure of the Vietnam situation and impact of the peace discussions.
- It would allow us to get some trend data on the corruption issue and see if the coverage of the Post stories and McGovern's charges had any significant effect.

If we decide to poll I think that the interviewing should be done on Saturday and Sunday with the data available late Monday. Data will be available on Thursday and Friday from several state public polls that will be published Sunday. We should do phone samples of 500 in Michigan, California and possibly Illinois or Wisconsin. We

would use the same questionnaire as we used in previous telephone polls including the corruption questions with the addition of questions on Vietnam. The areas I think we should cover with regard to Vietnam are: Could we have made the same settlement we are making earlier?, Is the President using Vietnam peace for political purposes?, Are we allowing Thieu to dictate our actions and has the President switched to what has been essentially the McGovern position?

If we do these polls, it will cost us \$4-5,000 per state and we would use ORC.

Recommendation: That we poll at least two of the four states mentioned above over this weekend.

If this recommendation is approved, I will have a questionnaire for you later today.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDENAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Polling - Response
to McGovern Releases

Senator McGovern has been using his private polls in New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania recently to indicate he is improving his position. Usually the polls are pushed by the pollster Pat Caddell and Frank Menkiewicz or Governor Shapp. Clark MacGregor wants to respond to these McGovern thrusts with Bob Teeter. Teeter has not been permitted to speak publicly before.

Bob Teeter could brief 6 reporters on the three personal interview polls conducted last weekend. The California, New York and Pennsylvania results would be given in detail to AP, UPI, and reporters selected from each of the three states. Teeter's briefing would be Friday for Sunday release.

Recommendation:

That you approve Teeter's briefing Friday.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Teeter has also submitted a plan for the polling between now and the election. It is attached. He recommends 500 interview telephone polls in Michigan, California and Wisconsin. Since McGovern has been indicating Wisconsin is one of his strongest states. The results of Teeter's Wisconsin poll could be released next week.

A questionnaire is being prepared.

GS/jb

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

October 26, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By *Emprise* NARS, Date *5-22-80*

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R.M.T.*

SUBJECT: Polling

Gordon Strachan has asked for my thoughts on polling between now and the election.

First, I think that the slight slippage we have observed during the last few weeks accompanied by some McGovern gain will continue and probably accelerate during the last 10 days. There are in most of the major states three or four times as many undecided Democrats and ticket-splitters as Republicans.

The arguments against doing any polling this weekend are that we do not have the ability to act on the data as the time is past that we could make any significant adjustments in the allocation of any of our resources -- scheduling, advertising or organization.

The arguments for doing some polling this weekend are:

- That it would give us some "peace of mind" data and minimize the apprehension or panic that might set in the first of the week.
- It would serve as a safety measure to make sure that the movement to McGovern is not accelerating at a rate that would jeopardize our chances of carrying the major states.
- It would give us a current measure of the Vietnam situation and impact of the peace discussions.
- It would allow us to get some trend data on the corruption issue and see if the coverage of the Post stories and McGovern's charges had any significant effect.

If we decide to poll I think that the interviewing should be done on Saturday and Sunday with the data available late Monday. Data will be available on Thursday and Friday from several state public polls that will be published Sunday. We should do phone samples of 500 in Michigan, California and possibly Illinois or Wisconsin. We

would use the same questionnaire as we used in previous telephone polls including the corruption questions with the addition of questions on Vietnam. The areas I think we should cover with regard to Vietnam are: Could we have made the same settlement we are making earlier?, Is the President using Vietnam peace for political purposes?, Are we allowing Thieu to dictate our actions and has the President switched to what has been essentially the McGovern position?

If we do these polls, it will cost us \$4-5,000 per state and we would use ORC.

Recommendation: That we poll at least two of the four states mentioned above over this weekend.

If this recommendation is approved, I will have a questionnaire for you later today.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

TO
H
10/26DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKINGMEMORANDUM: E.O. 12065, Section 6-102 October 26, 1972
By Emprise NARS, Date 5-22-80~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*

SUBJECT: Polling

Gordon Strachan has asked for my thoughts on polling between now and the election.

First, I think that the slight slippage we have observed during the last few weeks accompanied by some McGovern gain will continue and probably accelerate during the last 10 days. There are in most of the major states three or four times as many undecided Democrats and ticket-splitters as Republicans.

The arguments against doing any polling this weekend are that we do not have the ability to act on the data as the time is past that we could make any significant adjustments in the allocation of any of our resources -- scheduling, advertising or organization.

The arguments for doing some polling this weekend are:

- That it would give us some "peace of mind" data and minimize the apprehension or panic that might set in the first of the week.
- It would serve as a safety measure to make sure that the movement to McGovern is not accelerating at a rate that would jeopardize our chances of carrying the major states.
- It would give us a current measure of the Vietnam situation and impact of the peace discussions.
- It would allow us to get some trend data on the corruption issue and see if the coverage of the Post stories and McGovern's charges had any significant effect.

If we decide to poll I think that the interviewing should be done on Saturday and Sunday with the data available late Monday. Data will be available on Thursday and Friday from several state public polls that will be published Sunday. We should do phone samples of 500 in Michigan, California and possibly Illinois or Wisconsin. We

would use the same questionnaire as we used in previous telephone polls including the corruption questions with the addition of questions on Vietnam. The areas I think we should cover with regard to Vietnam are: Could we have made the same settlement we are making earlier?, Is the President using Vietnam peace for political purposes?, Are we allowing Thieu to dictate our actions and has the President switched to what has been essentially the McGovern position?

If we do these polls, it will cost us \$4-5,000 per state and we would use ORC.

Recommendation: That we poll at least two of the four states mentioned above over this weekend.

If this recommendation is approved, I will have a questionnaire for you later today.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

To
H 1426

MEMORANDUM
DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Emprise WARS, Date 5-22-80

October 26, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R. m. T.*
SUBJECT: Michigan

There have been several reports in the press this week of slippage in Michigan.

Gordon Strachan asked for my thoughts on the situation there. While we do not have any polling data from the last two weeks I think our lead there is the softest of any of the major states. Moreover, past elections indicate that the Democratic candidate can be expected to gain 7-9% over the last three weeks. We had a 13% lead on October 11 and if this year resembles previous ones, we can expect to end up with 52-54% on election day. Michigan is, however, one of the few states where McGovern has an outside chance of carrying should things go his way during the last 10 days.

The McGovern campaign knows this and is making a maximum effort there. McGovern, Shriver and Kennedy have been there several times and are scheduled to be there four or five more times between now and the election. They are also running a very heavy media campaign with particular emphasis on radio spots focusing on the economy and corruption.

I get somewhat conflicting reports from the political people I know and trust there. They tell me that there is very solid evidence of strong support for the President in the middle-income, union, suburbs of Detroit but at the same time they are concerned about the major effort being mounted by the UAW. It is very similar to their efforts to pull the Wallace voters back to Humphrey in 1968. They are also concerned about some slippage and apathy in the out-state cities.

In summary, Michigan is undoubtedly the softest of the big states for us. I think we should give it some special attention during the last 10 days. As I have said several times before, I think the President should go to Michigan next week and we should give the state special attention in terms of advertising. If the President does go to Michigan, the first priority should be western Wayne County and second either Macomb or a stop in the thumb area (Flint or Saginaw).

I also think it would be effective if one of our major surrogates (preferably the Vice President) would go there and hit McGovern hard on bussing and most importantly the economic implications of his proposals -- that they would be inflationary and force tax increases.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 10/25/72 ✓

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

Here is Teeter's analysis of Kentucky. The political analysis in the trip package has been checked against it and with two changes is ok. We can retype these if you give them to the President or leave as is if you cover, it verbally with him.

Retype _____

Leave as is _____

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

MEMORANDUM ^{Empire} NAR., Date ~~5-22-80~~ October 24, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
 SUBJECT: Kentucky

In 1968 the President received 44%, Humphrey 38% and Wallace 19% in Kentucky.

In 1968 the President trailed the average Republican vote by 8% statewide and ran far behind it in the Louisville area. This was probably due to Wallace's high percentage.

| | 1968 | | | 1968 Senate | | | Average Rep. Vote |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>Humphrey</u> | <u>Wallace</u> | <u>Cook</u> | <u>Peden</u> | <u>Other</u> | |
| Kentucky | 44 | 38 | 19 | 51 | 48 | 1 | 52 |
| Jefferson Co. (Louisville) | 43 | 41 | 16 | 56 | 42 | 2 | 59 |
| Fayette Co. (Lexington) | 50 | 33 | 17 | 58 | 41 | 1 | 56 |
| Boyd Co. (Ashland) | 45 | 43 | 13 | 49 | 50 | 1 | 49 |

Boyd County (Ashland) is heavily blue collar and almost 100% white. It has a young undereducated populus and had low turnout in 1968.

Our polls indicate that the President has a substantial lead and that Nunn is neck and neck with Huddleston.

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| June | 60 | 24 | 16 | +36 |
| 10/4 | 59 | 26 | 15 | +33 |

| | <u>Nunn</u> | <u>Huddleston</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| December 1971 | 38 | 37 | 30 | + 1 |
| June DMI | 37 | 34 | 29 | - 1 |
| 10/4 DMI | 40 | 41 | 19 | - 1 |

Regionally, the President leads in all parts of the state. Nunn leads only in the eastern part of the state.

| <u>10/4</u> | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Nunn</u> | <u>Huddleston</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|
| *CD 1 | 50 | 36 | 14 | 31 | 56 | 12 |
| CD 2 | 54 | 28 | 18 | 31 | 53 | 16 |
| CD 3 | 53 | 52 | 15 | 38 | 44 | 18 |
| CD 4 | 68 | 21 | 11 | 42 | 40 | 19 |
| CD 5 | 66 | 23 | 11 | 51 | 37 | 11 |
| CD 6 | 53 | 21 | 26 | 36 | 31 | 33 |
| CD 7 | 62 | 22 | 16 | 48 | 24 | 29 |

*Attached is a Congressional District map.

The President also leads among all voter groups except Blacks. Nunn is particularly weak among ticket-splitters and is receiving only 76% of the registered Republican vote compared to the President's 91%.

The large undecided in the Nunn/Huddleston race comes primarily from middle-age voters and Wallace voters. Of those Wallace voters who stated a preference most were voting for Huddleston.

There are three major issues in Kentucky besides the war in Vietnam. They are mine safety, tobacco and drug abuse.

According to the Louisville Courier-Journal, Huddleston is trying to identify himself with the President's stand on drug abuse. Recently, the State adopted relaxed user and seller laws modeled on the recent federal drug statutes. One provision reduced first-time selling of drugs from a felony to a misdemeanor. Huddleston is in favor and Nunn opposed to this section of the statute. Huddleston has stated as recently as Monday that this is the President's feeling on the matter and that Nunn must be opposed to Nixon if he is opposed to the law.

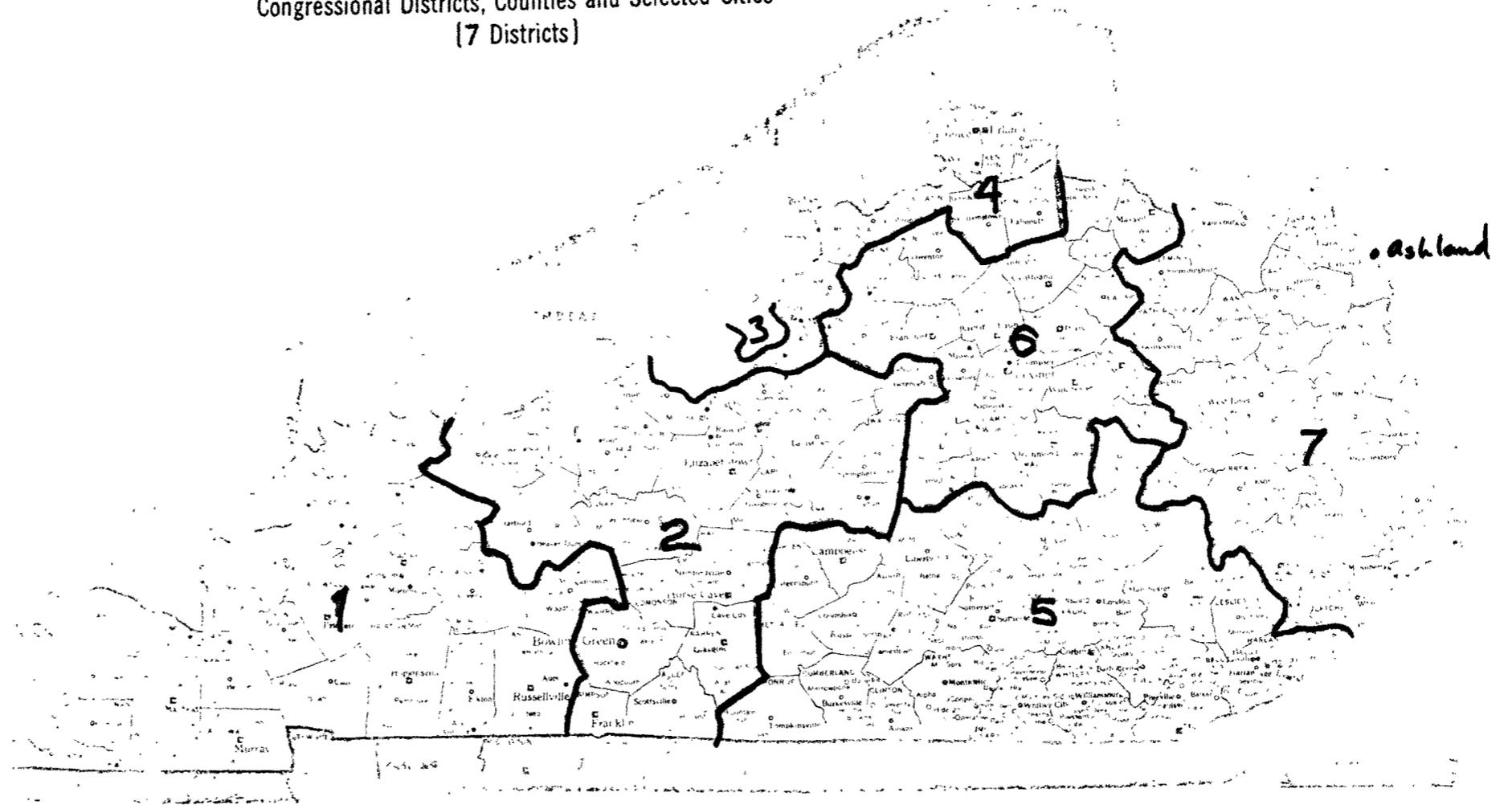
The area the President is visiting is in poor mining country and is also the center for the U.M.W. hospital complex. (I believe it's called the Appalachian Regional Hospital System.) The people here are particularly sensitive to Black Lung and Nunn can benefit from the President having signed it into law recently. Also, the State has taken over the U.M.W. hospitals in the area because of debt problems and I am told there has been some kind of federal relief for these hospitals proposed. This is a very popular idea in eastern Kentucky.

Tobacco still remains a major cash crop in Kentucky. The poundage control system is supported by Nunn and is very popular among the raisers of tobacco in east and south Kentucky.

The Nunn/Huddleston race apparently is not exciting the voters to any degree. The figures have not significantly changed in almost a year. A closer identification between Nunn and the President will benefit Nunn's candidacy and hopefully give his campaign the impetus to pull ahead and win.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

KENTUCKY
Congressional Districts, Counties and Selected Cities
(7 Districts)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1972

MS
for your help

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: Addendum to Teeter Memo

Discussion with Teeter this morning, October 18, 1972 indicates the following:

- 1. We have already polled by telephone West Virginia, New Hampshire, Washington, and Pennsylvania. Results for all of these should be in today.
- 2. Teeter has talked to Clark MacGregor and we have come up with the following compromise proposal:

- ② a. Since the telephone lines are contracted through this weekend, do Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, and perhaps Wisconsin by telephone.
- ① b. Do personal interviews in New York, California, and Pennsylvania over the weekend. *and phone polls*

do them by phone at the same time - for verification + addtl info?

By doing these three key states by ^{personal} interview, we'll get a valid run late in the campaign of what the situation is with regard to the inflation of the Nixon column that Teeter mentions in his memorandum. We would be able then to follow-up with additional polling, either personal interview, panel, or by telephone as necessary.

Also, this plan would keep us within budget.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Final Polling

Attached is a schedule for the next series of telephone polls which would run through October 30. Assuming we continue our phone polling through November 5, we will spend \$24,000 less than our total budget allocation. If we also do personal interview studies in New York and California later this week they will cost us an additional \$30,000 which would put us about \$6,000 over our budget. There are three alternatives which would keep us within budget:

1. To conduct one personal interview study in either New York or California and continue with daily polls through November 5.
2. To terminate our telephone interviewing with our current series on October 30. This would save \$15,000 and allow us to do personal interview studies in both New York and California and still end up a few thousand under budget.
3. To terminate our telephone interviewing this weekend (October 22), which would save \$30,000. This saving along with the \$24,000 remaining in the budget would allow us to do five personal interview studies over the weekend. We would then finish about even or just slightly over budget.

My recommendation is that we terminate the phone interviewing this Sunday, October 22, and do personal interview studies late this week in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California. Data would be available next Tuesday or Wednesday. If any of these states appear to be sliding or in serious trouble, we would have the option of doing a quick panel or regular telephone study in that state any time during the last ten days.

The advantage of this last course of action is that we will have absolutely reliable data that we are confident to act on during the last two weeks of the campaign. I do not have this confidence in the telephone data we have received during the past three weeks. This problem may be with the weighing of the data or, in fairness to ORC, in the phone technique itself. There is some evidence that in a year when one candidate is far ahead and appears to be an

obvious landslide, some people are hesitant to tell a telephone interviewer that they are going to vote for McGovern and may tend to show a preference for Nixon because it is the socially accepted position. This may well be the reason that our telephone polls, the Yankelovich studies and Sindlinger all have consistently shown larger margins through the Fall than the personal interview studies. This problem is minimized with the secret ballot technique. Our test with Michigan over the weekend leads me to believe that this is at least a portion of the problem. ORC did Michigan on the telephone at exactly the same time that MOR was doing the Detroit News Poll. The News poll was a personal interview study which used an exact duplicate of the Michigan printed ballot with vignette and straight ballot boxes. It gave us a margin of 13%. Regardless of how the telephone poll was weighed, it gave us a margin of 23-25%.

Recommendation: That we terminate our telephone interviewing this Sunday and do personal interview studies with secret ballots in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California beginning as soon as possible with the data available Tuesday and Wednesday, the 24th and 25th. If you definitely want to finish under budget we should cut one of these.

Approved: _____ Disapproved: _____ Comment: _____

L

Attached is a draft of a questionnaire I recommend we use for any personal interview studies we do. We will have to keep the interview this short in order for the companies involved to turn it around in our time limit. We will, of course, include all major state races on the ballot.

Hello, I'm Mrs. _____ from Market Opinion Research, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in _____ and would like to have your opinions.
(state name)

Heavy in open to get

1. Are you now registered to vote here in _____? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1
(state name) NO (GO TO Q.1a) . . . 2

a. Do you intend to register so you will be able to vote in the 1972 Presidential election? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1
NO (TERMINATE) . . . 2

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

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President? APPROVE 1
DISAPPROVE 2
NO OPINION 3

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? APPROVE 1
DISAPPROVE 2
NO OPINION 3

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country? APPROVE 1
DISAPPROVE 2
NO OPINION 3

INTERVIEWER: ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 8 AND 9.

How would you rate Richard Nixon in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able? VERY ABLE 1
FAIRLY ABLE 2
NOT VERY ABLE 3
NOT AT ALL ABLE 4
DON'T KNOW 5

How would you rate George McGovern in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able? VERY ABLE 1
FAIRLY ABLE 2
NOT VERY ABLE 3
NOT AT ALL ABLE 4
DON'T KNOW 5

8. Now, I'm going to hand you a sample election ballot. I would like you to mark it just as you would if the election were being held today.

Here is another ballot on which you can indicate how strongly you feel about the candidate you voted for on the sample ballot. Please mark the position on it that best describes your feelings.

Please put them in the envelope, seal it, and return it to me.

9. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote? DEFINITELY VOTE 1
PROBABLY VOTE 2
MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE . 3
DEFINITELY NOT VOTE . 4
DON'T KNOW 5

10. How serious of a problem do you think corruption is in the federal government -- very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not at all serious? VERY SERIOUS 1
FAIRLY SERIOUS 2
NOT VERY SERIOUS 3
NOT AT ALL SERIOUS . . . 4
DON'T KNOW 5

11. Are there any recent examples of corruption or influence peddling that you can think of and that concern you and what are they?

(IF "SPECIFIC ANSWER," ASK:)

11a. Will this make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you when you vote this Fall? MORE LIKELY VOTE NIXON 1
MORE LIKELY VOTE MCGOVERN . . 2
NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE . . . 3
DON'T KNOW 4

12. Do you think George McGovern or Richard Nixon would do the better job of keeping corruption and influence peddling out of the Federal Government over the next four years? GEORGE MCGOVERN 1
RICHARD NIXON 2
DON'T KNOW 3

13. Senator McGovern has charged that the Nixon administration is one of the most corrupt in history. Some people have said that this is simply a political charge by a desperate politician who is far behind. Others agree with him and think President Nixon needs to answer and explain these charges. Which side do you agree with? POLITICAL CHARGE BY DESPERATE POLITICIAN 1
MOST CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION AND NEEDS EXPLAINING 2
DON'T KNOW 3

I. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- REPUBLICAN 1
- INDEPENDENT 2
- DEMOCRAT 3
- DON'T KNOW 4

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

- STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC . . 1
- MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC . . . 2
- A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS . . . 3
- ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES 4
- A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS 5
- MOSTLY REPUBLICAN 6
- STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN . . . 7
- NEVER VOTED 8
- DON'T KNOW 9

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

- NIXON 1
- HUMPHREY 2
- WALLACE 3
- DIDN'T VOTE 4
- DON'T KNOW 5

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

IV. What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

- 17-20 01
- 21-24 02
- 25-29 03
- 30-34 04
- 35-39 05
- 40-44 06
- 45-49 07
- 50-54 08
- 55-59 09
- 60-64 10
- 65 AND OVER 11
- REFUSED 12

V. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (Grades 1-8) 1
- SOME HIGH SCHOOL 2
- GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (Grades 9-12) 3
- VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL 4
- SOME COLLEGE 5
- GRADUATED COLLEGE 6
- POST GRADUATE WORK 7
- REFUSED 8

VI. What is your religion?

- ROMAN CATHOLIC 1
- PROTESTANT (eg. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 2
- JEWISH 3
- OTHER (SPECIFY) 4

VII. (BY OBSERVATION) RACE:

- WHITE 1
- NEGRO 2
- ORIENTAL 3
- SPANISH-AMERICAN 4
- OTHER (SPECIFY) 5

VIII. Are you a labor union member

- YES 1
- NO 2

a. (IF "NO" ASK:) Is any member of your immediate family a union member.

- YES 1
- NO 2

XI. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- MALE 1
- FEMALE 2

XII. (SHOW INCOME CARD) Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

- 0-\$2,999 1
- \$3,000-\$4,999 2
- \$5,000-\$5,999 3
- \$6,000-\$6,999 4
- \$7,000-\$9,999 5
- \$10,000-\$14,999 6
- \$15,000-\$24,999 7
- \$25,000 AND OVER 8
- REFUSED 9

Committee for the Re-election of the President

*IN
BKS*

MEMORANDUM

October 23, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By *Emprise* 5-22-80

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM:

ROBERT M: TEETER

SUBJECT:

Phone Polls

Attached are flash reports on the New York and California telephone polls done over the weekend by ORC. Also attached is the full report on Ohio.

I also received data from a Rhode Island poll done by Becker for Chafee over the weekend.

500 Telephone Interviews
October 21-22, 1972
Becker Research

Previous Poll
October 15, 1972 Change

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|-----------|----|----|
| Nixon | 57 | Nixon | 57 | +0 |
| McGovern | 33 | McGovern | 29 | +4 |
| Undecided | 10 | Undecided | 14 | -4 |

Senate

Previous Poll Change

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|-----------|----|----|
| Chafee | 48 | Chafee | 47 | +1 |
| Pell | 44 | Pell | 39 | +5 |
| Undecided | 8 | Undecided | 14 | -6 |

Los Angeles/Orange County
Listening Post
1,000 Telephone Interviews
October 5-22, 1972

Previous Poll
Sept. 21-30, 1972 Change

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|-----------|----|----|
| Nixon | 61 | Nixon | 62 | -1 |
| McGovern | 27 | McGovern | 22 | +5 |
| Undecided | 12 | Undecided | 16 | -4 |

Iowa Poll (Published 10/22)
476 Telephone Interviews
October 12-15, 1972

Previous Poll
September 22, 1972 Change

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|-----------|----|----|
| Nixon | 60 | Nixon | 64 | -4 |
| McGovern | 27 | McGovern | 29 | -2 |
| Other | 1 | Other | 1 | +0 |
| Undecided | 12 | Undecided | 6 | +6 |

Note: Increase in undecided is probably due to switch from personal interviews to telephone interviews.

Senate

| | |
|-----------|----|
| Miller | 51 |
| Clark | 31 |
| Undecided | 18 |

Committee for the Re-election of the President

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
 MEMORANDUM F.O. 12065, Section 6-102
 By Empress NAF, Date 5-22-80

October 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
 SUBJECT: Phone Polls

Attached are flash reports on the New York and California telephone polls done over the weekend by ORC. Also attached is the full report on Ohio.

I also received data from a Rhode Island poll done by Becker for Chafee over the weekend.

| <u>500 Telephone Interviews</u> <u>October 21-22, 1972</u> <u>Becker Research</u> | | <u>Previous Poll</u> <u>October 15, 1972</u> | <u>Change</u> | |
|---|----|---|---------------|----|
| Nixon | 57 | Nixon | 57 | +0 |
| McGovern | 33 | McGovern | 29 | +4 |
| Undecided | 10 | Undecided | 14 | -4 |

| <u>Senate</u> | | <u>Previous Poll</u> | <u>Change</u> | |
|---------------|----|----------------------|---------------|----|
| Chafee | 48 | Chafee | 47 | +1 |
| Pell | 44 | Pell | 39 | +5 |
| Undecided | 8 | Undecided | 14 | -6 |

| <u>Los Angeles/Orange County</u> <u>Listening Post</u> <u>1,000 Telephone Interviews</u> <u>October 5-22, 1972</u> | | <u>Previous Poll</u> <u>Sept. 21-30, 1972</u> | <u>Change</u> | |
|---|----|--|---------------|----|
| Nixon | 61 | Nixon | 62 | -1 |
| McGovern | 27 | McGovern | 22 | +5 |
| Undecided | 12 | Undecided | 16 | -4 |

Iowa Poll (Published 10/22)
476 Telephone Interviews
October 12-15, 1972

Previous Poll
September 22, 1972 Change

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|-----------|----|----|
| Nixon | 60 | Nixon | 64 | -4 |
| McGovern | 27 | McGovern | 29 | -2 |
| Other | 1 | Other | 1 | +0 |
| Undecided | 12 | Undecided | 6 | +6 |

Note: Increase in undecided is probably due to switch from personal interviews to telephone interviews.

Senate

| | |
|-----------|----|
| Miller | 51 |
| Clark | 31 |
| Undecided | 18 |

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **S**
SUBJECT: Teeter Briefing for
Chapin and Parker

After the CRP Waves I, II, and III, Bob Teeter has orally briefed Chapin and Parker and prepared written materials to assist in scheduling. Teeter has not discussed the Rolling Wave materials with Chapin and Parker. The guidelines would be the same as with previous briefings - no discussion of the specific trial heat results.

Recommendation:

That Teeter brief Chapin and Parker regarding the Rolling Wave polls' effect on scheduling with no discussion of specific trial heat results.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Ok - if Teeter thinks there is a change.

S → Parker 10/23
S → ~~Chapin~~ Teeter 10/23

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDENAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Teeter Briefing for
Chapin and Parker

After the CRP Waves I, II, and III, Bob Teeter has orally briefed Chapin and Parker and prepared written materials to assist in scheduling. Teeter has not discussed the Rolling Wave materials with Chapin and Parker. The guidelines would be the same as with previous briefings & no discussion of the specific trial heat results.

Recommendation:

That Teeter brief Chapin and Parker regarding the Rolling Wave polls' effect on scheduling with no discussion of specific trial heat results.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 18, 1972

Clark

I agree - accept as noted
H

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Turnout

This memo will summarize our data and conclusions as they relate to turnout and our Get-Out-The-Vote efforts.

I am opposed to any type of mass broad-brush attempt to raise turnout nationally. I think our "Get-Out-The-Vote" efforts should be directed only at those who have been identified as Nixon supporters or as Republicans and at those selected areas where we will clearly benefit from a higher turnout. The priority precincts developed by Dan Evans should be used for this purpose.

Both our data and the recent Harris national poll indicate that our committed vote is at least and in some cases more intense and likely to vote as McGovern's. In the Harris poll 86% of the Nixon voters said they will definitely vote compared to 80% of the McGovern voters. Moreover the two groups who it appears will turn out at the lowest level are those we are doing our poorest with -- Blacks 70% and 18-24 year olds 74%.

A national Get-Out-The-Vote effort using the mass media or directed at all voters would probably have its greatest impact on those who we are doing poorly with.

except in South & other super states

I have seen no data to support the Sindlinger conclusion that a substantially larger portion of the McGovern voters will actually vote than of the Nixon voters.

agree

Also it appears that the Nixon voters who are the softest in terms of their commitment are also those who are the marginal voters in terms of turnout.

There are two additional reasons for using only a selective "Get-Out-The-Vote" effort. One is that a large turnout will hurt most other Republicans who are on the ticket and our chances in close Senatorial and Congressional races. Disproportionate turnout is an important factor to Republican victories in many swing congressional and legislative districts. The second reason is less important but still a factor. It is that most of our and Republican party workers believe that a large turnout will hurt their local candidates.

In summary my recommendation is that our Get-Out-The-Vote effort should be entirely directed at voters who are identified Nixon supporters and at Republicans. Where we do not have canvass information we can identify areas where high turnout will help us and we can direct our efforts there. We should not use any type of mass appeal to raise turnout.

This recommendation does not, however, preclude the President from making a "Good Government" appeal on election eve for everyone to vote. Such an appeal will probably not affect turnout measurably, it will expose the President in a positive Presidential light, and it will show him as confident that if all the people do vote he will come out the winner.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Date 10/19/72
3:20 PM

TO: H.R. Haldeman

FROM: CLARK MACGREGOR

Please Handle

FYI

File

Hold

Committee for the Re-election of the President

Tc
It
10/19

MEMORANDUM

October 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RmT*
SUBJECT: Turnout

This memo will summarize our data and conclusions as they relate to turnout and our Get-Out-The-Vote efforts.

I am opposed to any type of mass broad-brush attempt to raise turnout nationally. I think our "Get-Out-The-Vote" efforts should be directed only at those who have been identified as Nixon supporters or as Republicans and at those selected areas where we will clearly benefit from a higher turnout. The priority precincts developed by Dan Evans should be used for this purpose.

Both our data and the recent Harris national poll indicate that our committed vote is at least and in some cases more intense and likely to vote as McGovern's. In the Harris poll 86% of the Nixon voters said they will definitely vote compared to 80% of the McGovern voters. Moreover the two groups who it appears will turn out at the lowest level are those we are doing our poorest with -- Blacks 70% and 18-24 year olds 74%.

A national Get-Out-The-Vote effort using the mass media or directed at all voters would probably have its greatest impact on those who we are doing poorly with.

I have seen no data to support the Sindlinger conclusion that a substantially larger portion of the McGovern voters will actually vote than of the Nixon voters.

Also it appears that the Nixon voters who are the softest in terms of their commitment are also those who are the marginal voters in terms of turnout.

There are two additional reasons for using only a selective "Get-Out-The-Vote" effort. One is that a large turnout will hurt most other Republicans who are on the ticket and our chances in close Senatorial and Congressional races. Disproportionate turnout is an important factor to Republican victories in many swing congressional and legislative districts. The second reason is less important but still a factor. It is that most of our and Republican party workers believe that a large turnout will hurt their local candidates.

In summary my recommendation is that our Get-Out-The-Vote effort should be entirely directed at voters who are identified Nixon supporters and at Republicans. Where we do not have canvass information we can identify areas where high turnout will help us and we can direct our efforts there. We should not use any type of mass appeal to raise turnout.

This recommendation does not, however, preclude the President from making a "Good Government" appeal on election eve for everyone to vote. Such an appeal will probably not affect turnout measurably, it will expose the President in a positive Presidential light, and it will show him as confident that if all the people do vote he will come out the winner.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

To
it
10/19

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING October 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By C.M. Price NARS, Date 5-22-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Future Polling

This memorandum will outline our revised polling program for the period between now and the end of the campaign.

We will continue to do telephone interviewing on the WATS lines at ORC through this Sunday, October 22. We will then cut off our daily telephone interviewing on the 22nd. Our schedule for the remaining phone polls is as follows:

| | <u>Flash Report</u> | <u>Full Report</u> |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| ✓ Pennsylvania | 10/18 | 10/19 |
| ✓ Illinois | 10/20 | 10/21 |
| ✓ Ohio | 10/21 | 10/23 |
| California | 10/23 | 10/24 |
| New York | 10/24 | 10/25 |
| New Jersey | 10/24 | 10/25 |
| Connecticut | 10/24 | 10/25 |

We will also begin interviewing Friday, October 19, for personal interview surveys in New York, California and Pennsylvania. The ballot data on these studies will be available late Tuesday, October 24, and the full report and data will be available Wednesday, October 25. The questionnaire for these personal interview polls is attached.

This will leave us \$9,000 under our original polling budget and give us the flexibility to do two or three quick panels or telephone polls over the weekend of the 28th and 29th if we see any movement or the need arises.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

Hello, I'm Mrs. _____ from Market Opinion Research, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in _____ and would like to have your opinions.
 (state name)

1. Are you now registered to vote here in _____? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1
 (state name) NO (TERMINATE). . . . 2

2. What one thing has been or will be most important in determining how you will vote for President this fall? _____

3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? APPROVE 1
 DISAPPROVE. . . . 2
 NO OPINION. . . . 3

4. Now, I'm going to hand you a sample election ballot. I would like you to mark it just as you would if the election were being held today.

Here is another ballot on which you can indicate how strongly you feel about the candidate you voted for on the sample ballot. Please mark the position on it that best describes your feelings.

Please put them in the envelope, seal it, and return it to me.

5. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote? DEFINITELY VOTE 1
 PROBABLY VOTE 2
 MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE 3
 DEFINITELY NOT VOTE 4
 DON'T KNOW. 5

6. Do you think George McGovern or Richard Nixon would do the better job of keeping corruption and influence peddling out of the Federal Government over the next four years? GEORGE MCGOVERN 1
 RICHARD NIXON 2
 DON'T KNOW. 3

7. Senator McGovern has charged that the Nixon administration is one of the most corrupt in history. Some people have said that this is simply a political charge by a desperate politician who is far behind. Others agree with him and think President Nixon needs to answer and explain these charges. Which side do you agree with? POLITICAL CHARGE BY
 DESPERATE POLITICIAN . . . 1
 MOST CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION AND NEEDS EXPLAINING 2
 DON'T KNOW. 3

8. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what? REPUBLICAN 1
 INDEPENDENT. 2
 DEMOCRAT 3
 DON'T KNOW 4

9. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator? STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC 1
 MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC 2
 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS 3
 ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES. 4
 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS. 5
 MOSTLY REPUBLICAN 6
 STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN 7
 NEVER VOTED 8
 DON'T KNOW. 9

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

NIXON 1
HUMPHREY 2
WALLACE 3
DIDN'T VOTE 4
DON'T KNOW 5

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

11. What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

17-20 01
21-24 02
25-29 03
30-34 04
35-39 05
40-44 06
45-49 07
50-54 08
55-59 09
60-64 10
65 AND OVER 11
REFUSED 12

12. What is the last grade of school you completed?

GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS
(Grades 1-8) 1
SOME HIGH SCHOOL 2
GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL
(Grades 9-12) 3
VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL
SCHOOL 4
SOME COLLEGE 5
GRADUATED COLLEGE 6
POST GRADUATE WORK 7
REFUSED 8

13. What is your religion?

ROMAN CATHOLIC 1
PROTESTANT (eg. Baptist,
Methodist, etc.) 2
JEWISH 3
OTHER (SPECIFY) 4

14. (BY OBSERVATION) RACE:

WHITE 1
NEGRO 2
ORIENTAL 3
SPANISH-AMERICAN 4
OTHER (SPECIFY) 5

15. Are you a labor union member?

YES 1
NO 2

a. (IF "NO" ASK:) Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

YES 1
NO 2

16. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

MALE 1
FEMALE 2

17. (SHOW INCOME CARD) Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

0-\$2,999 1
\$3,000-\$4,999 2
\$5,000-\$5,999 3
\$6,000-\$6,999 4
\$7,000-\$9,000 5
\$10,000-\$14,999 6
\$15,000-\$24,999 7
\$25,000 AND OVER 8
REFUSED 9

October 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: Addendum to Tester Memo

Discussion with Tester this morning, October 18, 1972 indicates the following:

1. We have already polled by telephone West Virginia, New Hampshire, Washington, and Pennsylvania. Results for all of these should be in today.

2. Tester has talked to Clark MacGregor and we have come up with the following compromise proposal:

a. Since the telephone lines are contracted through this weekend, do Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, and perhaps Wisconsin by telephone.

b. Do personal interviews in New York, California, and Pennsylvania over the weekend.

By doing these three key states by personal interview, we'll get a valid run into in the campaign of what the situation is with regard to the inflation of the Nixon column that Tester mentions in his memorandum. We would be able then to follow-up with additional polling, either personal interview, panel, or by telephone as necessary.

Also, this plan would keep us within budget.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

LHkb

Confirming memo
Based on L + G + Teeter
conversation w/ sched

| <u>STATE</u> | <u>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</u> | <u>LAST DATE TO CHANGE QUESTIONNAIRE</u> | <u>FLASH REPORT</u> | <u>FULL REPORT</u> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---------------------|--------------------|
| West Virginia | 400 | (Noon) | 10/17 | 10/19 |
| New Hampshire | 400 | N/A | 10/17 | 10/19 |
| Washington | 400 | N/A | 10/18 | 10/20 |
| Pennsylvania | 500 | N/A | 10/18 | 10/20 |
| Illinois | 500 | N/A | 10/20 | 10/21 |
| Ohio | 500 | N/A | 10/22 | 10/24 |
| New Jersey | 500 | N/A | 10/24 | 10/25 |
| Connecticut | 400 | N/A | 10/24 | 10/25 |
| New York | 500 | N/A | 10/26 | 10/27 |
| California | 500 | N/A | 10/26 | 10/27 |
| Michigan | 500 | 10/20 | 10/27 | 10/28 |
| Maryland | 400 | 10/19 | 10/28 | 10/30 |
| Wisconsin | 400 | 10/20 | 10/28 | 10/30 |

10/18

1st Priority - ① Cal this w/and
pers + telephone
- ② NY + La -
pers + telephone

2nd Priority - ③ Ill, ④ Ohio, ⑤ N.J, Conn., Wisc.
Telephone.
Just use apt telephone.

Cut phone on Sun.

→ ?s w/marks  - this

→ Note - 3 Pers - late Tues night

Committee for the Re-election of the President

TC
H
10/18

MEMORANDUM

October 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Final Polling

Attached is a schedule for the next series of telephone polls which would run through October 30. Assuming we continue our phone polling through November 5, we will spend \$24,000 less than our total budget allocation. If we also do personal interview studies in New York and California later this week they will cost us an additional \$30,000 which would put us about \$6,000 over our budget. There are three alternatives which would keep us within budget:

1. To conduct one personal interview study in either New York or California and continue with daily polls through November 5.
2. To terminate our telephone interviewing with our current series on October 30. This would save \$15,000 and allow us to do personal interview studies in both New York and California and still end up a few thousand under budget.
3. To terminate our telephone interviewing this weekend (October 22), which would save \$30,000. This saving along with the \$24,000 remaining in the budget would allow us to do five personal interview studies over the weekend. We would then finish about even or just slightly over budget.

My recommendation is that we terminate the phone interviewing this Sunday, October 22, and do personal interview studies late this week in New York, ~~New Jersey~~, Pennsylvania, ~~Illinois~~ and California. Data would be available next Tuesday or Wednesday. If any of these states appear to be sliding or in serious trouble, we would have the option of doing a quick panel or regular telephone study in that state any time during the last ten days.

The advantage of this last course of action is that we will have absolutely reliable data that we are confident to act on during the last two weeks of the campaign. I do not have this confidence in the telephone data we have received during the past three weeks. This problem may be with the weighing of the data or, in fairness to OGC, in the phone technique itself. There is some evidence that in a year when one candidate is far ahead and appears to be an

obvious landslide, some people are hesitant to tell a telephone interviewer that they are going to vote for McGovern and may tend to show a preference for Nixon because it is the socially accepted position. This may well be the reason that our telephone polls, the Yankelevich studies and Sindlinger all have consistently shown larger margins through the Fall than the personal interview studies. This problem is minimized with the secret ballot technique. Our test with Michigan over the weekend leads me to believe that this is at least a portion of the problem. ORC did Michigan on the telephone at exactly the same time that MOR was doing the Detroit News Poll: The News poll was a personal interview study which used an exact duplicate of the Michigan printed ballot with vignette and straight ballot boxes. It gave us a margin of 13%. Regardless of how the telephone poll was weighed, it gave us a margin of 23-25%.

Recommendation: That we terminate our telephone interviewing this Sunday and do personal interview studies with secret ballots in New York, ~~New Jersey~~, Pennsylvania, ~~Illinois~~ and California beginning as soon as possible with the data available Tuesday and Wednesday, the 24th and 25th. If you definitely want to finish under budget we should cut one of these.

Approved: _____ Disapproved: _____ Comment: _____

Attached is a draft of a questionnaire I recommend we use for any personal interview studies we do. We will have to keep the interview this short in order for the companies involved to turn it around in our time limit. We will, of course, include all major state races on the ballot.

| <u>STATE</u> | <u>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</u> | <u>LAST DATE TO CHANGE QUESTIONNAIRE</u> | <u>FLASH REPORT</u> | <u>FULL REPORT</u> |
|---------------|-----------------------------|--|---------------------|--------------------|
| West Virginia | 400 | (Noon) | 10/17 | 10/19 |
| New Hampshire | 400 | N/A | 10/17 | 10/19 |
| Washington | 400 | N/A | 10/18 | 10/20 |
| Pennsylvania | 500 | N/A | 10/18 | 10/20 |
| Illinois | 500 | N/A | 10/20 | 10/21 |
| Ohio | 500 | N/A | 10/22 | 10/24 |
| New Jersey | 500 | N/A | 10/24 | 10/25 |
| Connecticut | 400 | N/A | 10/24 | 10/25 |
| New York | 500 | N/A | 10/26 | 10/27 |
| California | 500 | N/A | 10/26 | 10/27 |
| Michigan | 500 | 10/20 | 10/27 | 10/28 |
| Maryland | 400 | 10/19 | 10/28 | 10/30 |
| Wisconsin | 400 | 10/20 | 10/28 | 10/30 |

Hello, I'm Mrs. _____ from Market Opinion Research, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in _____ and would like to have your opinions.
(state name)

1. Are you now registered to vote here in _____? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1
(state name) NO (GO TO Q.1a) . . . 2
- a. Do you intend to register so you will be able to vote in the 1972 Presidential election? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1
NO (TERMINATE) . . . 2
2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time? (PROBE)
3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President? APPROVE 1
DISAPPROVE 2
NO OPINION 3
4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? APPROVE 1
DISAPPROVE 2
NO OPINION 3
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country? APPROVE 1
DISAPPROVE 2
NO OPINION 3

INTERVIEWER: ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 8 AND 9.

6. How would you rate Richard Nixon in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able? VERY ABLE 1
FAIRLY ABLE 2
NOT VERY ABLE 3
NOT AT ALL ABLE 4
DON'T KNOW 5
7. How would you rate George McGovern in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able? VERY ABLE 1
FAIRLY ABLE 2
NOT VERY ABLE 3
NOT AT ALL ABLE 4
DON'T KNOW 5
8. Now, I'm going to hand you a sample election ballot. I would like you to mark it just as you would if the election were being held today.
- Here is another ballot on which you can indicate how strongly you feel about the candidate you voted for on the sample ballot. Please mark the position on it that best describes your feelings.
- Please put them in the envelope, seal it, and return it to me.
9. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote? DEFINITELY VOTE . . . 1
PROBABLY VOTE . . . 2
MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE . 3
DEFINITELY NOT VOTE . 4
DON'T KNOW 5
10. How serious of a problem do you think corruption is in the federal government -- very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not at all serious? VERY SERIOUS 1
FAIRLY SERIOUS 2
NOT VERY SERIOUS 3
NOT AT ALL SERIOUS 4
DON'T KNOW 5
11. Are there any recent examples of corruption or influence peddling that you can think of and that concern you and what are they?

(IF "SPECIFIC ANSWER," ASK:)

- 11a. Will this make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you when you vote this Fall? MORE LIKELY VOTE NIXON . . . 1
MORE LIKELY VOTE MCGOVERN. . 2
NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE . . . 3
DON'T KNOW 4
12. Do you think George McGovern or Richard Nixon would do the better job of keeping corruption and influence peddling out of the Federal Government over the next four years? GEORGE MCGOVERN. 1
RICHARD NIXON. 2
DON'T KNOW 3
13. Senator McGovern has charged that the Nixon administration is one of the most corrupt in history. Some people have said that this is simply a political charge by a desperate politician who is far behind. Others agree with him and think President Nixon needs to answer and explain these charges. Which side do you agree with? POLITICAL CHARGE BY
DESPERATE POLITICIAN. . . . 1
MOST CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION
AND NEEDS EXPLAINING. . . . 2
DON'T KNOW 3

| | |
|--|---|
| I. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what? | REPUBLICAN 1 |
| | INDEPENDENT 2 |
| | DEMOCRAT 3 |
| | DON'T KNOW 4 |
| II. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (<u>HAND POLITICAL CARD</u>) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator? | STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC . . 1 |
| | MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC . . . 2 |
| | A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS . . . 3 |
| | ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES 4 |
| | A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS 5 |
| | MOSTLY REPUBLICAN 6 |
| | STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN . . . 7 |
| | NEVER VOTED 8 |
| | DON'T KNOW 9 |
| III. For whom did you vote for President in 1968? | NIXON 1 |
| | HUMPHREY 2 |
| | WALLACE 3 |
| | DIDN'T VOTE 4 |
| | DON'T KNOW 5 |
| Now a few questions for statistical purposes... | |
| IV. What is your approximate age? (<u>SHOW AGE CARD</u>) | 17-20 01 |
| | 21-24 02 |
| | 25-29 03 |
| | 30-34 04 |
| | 35-39 05 |
| | 40-44 06 |
| | 45-49 07 |
| | 50-54 08 |
| | 55-59 09 |
| | 60-64 10 |
| | 65 AND OVER 11 |
| | REFUSED 12 |
| V. What is the last grade of school you completed? | GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (Grades 1-8) 1 |
| | SOME HIGH SCHOOL 2 |
| | GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (Grades 9-12) 3 |
| | VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL 4 |
| | SOME COLLEGE 5 |
| | GRADUATED COLLEGE 6 |
| | POST GRADUATE WORK 7 |
| | REFUSED 8 |
| VI. What is your religion? | ROMAN CATHOLIC 1 |
| | PROTESTANT (eg. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 2 |
| | JEWISH 3 |
| | OTHER (SPECIFY) _____ 4 |
| VII. (<u>BY OBSERVATION</u>) RACE: | WHITE 1 |
| | NEGRO 2 |
| | ORIENTAL 3 |
| | SPANISH-AMERICAN 4 |
| | OTHER (SPECIFY) _____ 5 |
| VIII. Are you a labor union member | YES 1 |
| | NO 2 |
| a. (<u>IF "NO" ASK:</u>) Is any member of your immediate family a union member. | YES 1 |
| | NO 2 |
| XI. (<u>BY OBSERVATION</u>) Sex: | MALE 1 |
| | FEMALE 2 |
| XII. (<u>SHOW INCOME CARD</u>) Which classification includes your <u>TOTAL FAMILY INCOME</u> in 1971 before taxes? | 0-\$2,999 1 |
| | \$3,000-\$4,999 2 |
| | \$5,000-\$5,999 3 |
| | \$6,000-\$6,999 4 |
| | \$7,000-\$9,999 5 |
| | \$10,000-\$14,999 6 |
| | \$15,000-\$24,999 7 |
| | \$25,000 AND OVER 8 |
| | REFUSED 9 |

- Stop phone polling Sun
save 30 of 85
- Under budget 25
- Go in field - 10/19 -
5 sts - Cal, N Y, Pa,
NJ, Ill / Sending ?'s
data - 10/24-25
dun
in phone poll

Field start to data - 6 days.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MS

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

MEMORANDUM *Emp. Mar. , Date 5-22-80* October 12, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R. M. T.*

SUBJECT: Future Polling

ORC will complete interviewing on California and New York tonight. Per your instructions yesterday we will do Michigan, West Virginia, Washington and New Hampshire beginning tomorrow which will carry us through the weekend. We will cover the major statewide races in all of these states.

Our interviewing has begun on Michigan and West Virginia. We have dropped the corruption questions as the data we received from seven states stabilized and there is no reason to believe it would be different in the next group of states. We have added questions on McGovern's Vietnam statement and bussing in Michigan. We will add questions on the economy in our Washington study.

We also should begin to consider what we want to do next week. There are three basic options:

1. Do another series of priority state polls. Even though these states have not shown any significant movement, they are the key to the election and the ones where McGovern is concentrating almost all of his effort. This means we would begin a series Monday or Tuesday consisting of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, California, New York and ~~Michigan~~. This order would space all of them 8 to 10 days from when they were done previously. *Wisconsin - Conn - Ind*
2. Do the states where we are interested in the Senate race but do not have any reliable data. This would include Montana, North Carolina, Georgia and possibly Alabama, Virginia and New Mexico. *#3*
3. Do polls in several local areas which have concentrations of specific voting groups. This would give us data on some of the demographic groups that are important to us in key states. *ND*

We would do entire political jurisdictions so we could compare the results to previous election data. Among the areas we would consider doing, --

- Massachusetts - Worchester/Framingham
Somerville
- New York - Rooney's Congressional District (Brooklyn Jewish)
Long Beach (Long Island Jewish)
Buffalo (Catholic)
Yonkers (Italian)
- New Jersey - Passaic
Jersey City
Morristown
- Pennsylvania - Philadelphia
Allegheny County
Washington County
Wilkes-Barre
- Ohio - Toledo
Minshall's Congressional District
(Suburban Cuyahoga County)
Akron
Youngstown
- Illinois - Suburban Cook County
Moline
Evanston
- California - Contra Costa County
San Jose
Hayward
Fresno
Torrance or Burbank

Recommendation: That we do another series of phone polls in the seven large priority states.

Approve Disapprove

Comment:

Also as I have discussed with you previously last night I am concerned that our margins in the phone data we are getting from ORC are somewhat inflated. I can't prove this but my instinct and experience in these states is at least 3-5 points higher than it should be. MOR is doing a personal interview poll in Michigan for the Detroit News this week which should tell us whether or not this is a problem, and if so, to what degree it is a problem.

Regardless of this problem I think we should do two or three personal interview studies in the key states next week. In the interest of caution, I think we should have some personal interview data going into the last two weeks of the campaign. There is no question but what personal interview polls with secret sample ballots are more reliable than phone interviewing at its best.

Recommendation: That we do fast personal interview sample ballot studies in New York, California and Pennsylvania next week. (We would then eliminate these three states from our series of telephone polls.)

Approve . Disapprove

Comment:

CONFIDENTIAL

JSM - plan on ~~Conn~~ type promo
- meet w/ CAC + OC. for H.

BT - ~~Mon~~ OK - H to review
estimates u/p

H

10/14

Future polling

- ① OK - another rnd of Purvis
Adel Wise, Conn + Md
- ② Forget polls in local areas
- ③ Pers inter. in NY, Cal + Pa - OK.

- interesting Sen Races - OK,
but 3rd after other cpts
- need sched of order

Mia
Teeter
To
Teeter
10/16

L Wilson re Gallup.

| | | | | | |
|---------|------|---|----|---|----|
| Yark. | 57 | - | 27 | - | 16 |
| H-60 | | - | 33 | | |
| Oct 1-6 | G-60 | - | 34 | - | 6 |

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

TO
H
10/4

Date 10/4/72

TO: *H.R. Haldeman*

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*

Please Handle

FYI

File

Hold

As requested -

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102 October 3, 1972
By L.M. Poise, 5-22-80

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Gallup and Harris Sample and Filter
Procedures

Gordon Strachan asked me to check on the sample and filtering procedure for the Gallup and Harris surveys and if they have changed them as we get closer to the election.

Gallup's primary sample unites are based on a universe of all adult citizens 18 years of age and over. He then filters for registered voters and interviews only registered voters for his political surveys. His head to head data is collected by using the oral question and a leaner follow up for the undecided. His published results are a combination of these.

He does not cut his data by likely voters or turnout.

He has not varied these procedures at all throughout this year but may report both likely voters and all voters in his last one or two polls which will both be done after October 15.

Harris interviews only what he considers likely voters. In order to qualify as a likely voter a respondent must have voted in 1968-70, be registered to vote in 1972 or be between 18-24 years of age.

He also included leaners in his published data and has not yet weighed for probably turnout but will closer to the election.

Harris says he has not varied this technique throughout this year.

October 16, 1972

2:50 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON ZIEGLER

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Obviously the trip to New York on the 23rd of October is a political trip, as is the trip to Ohio on the 23th.

cc: Bruce Kehrl i

Rolling Wave Schedule

Check
Tector

1) Mich. - Rolling Dates 10/17-12

Results:
10/14 - Tol
Heads

2) W. Va - 10/12-15

10/18

3) Wash - "

4) N.H. - "

• ORC to type results + delay 2 days

CRP ROLLING WAVE SURVEY SCHEDULE

| <u>STATE</u> | <u>POLLING DATES</u> | <u>DATA DELIVERY</u> |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Ill. | 10/5-6 | 10/9 ✓ |
| Md. | 10/4-5 | 10/6 ✓ |
| Ohio | 10/7-10 | 10/12 ✓ |
| N.J. | 10/7-10 | 10/12 ✓ |
| Minn. | 10/7-10 | 10/12 ✓ |
| N.Y. | 10/9-10 | 10/12 |
| Cal. | 10/9-10 | 10/12 ✓ |

ORC PRIVATE NATIONAL SURVEY SCHEDULE

| <u>SURVEY</u> | <u>POLLING DATES</u> | <u>DATA DELIVERY</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| National Survey #2 | 10/6-8 | 10/9 |
| National Survey #3 | 10/13-15 | 10/16 |
| National Survey #4 | 10/20-22 | 10/23 |
| National Survey #5 | 10/27-29 | 10/30 |
| National Survey #6 | 11/3-5 | 11/6 |

Committee for the Re-election of the President

DETERMINED TO BE AN
MEMORANDUM ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING October 12, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By C. M. P. [unclear], Date 5-22-60

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: California Telephone Poll

Attached are the summary tables from the California telephone poll.

This is the second telephone poll ORC has done in California and should be comparable to the first. This data would indicate that our support in California has declined slightly during the last two weeks although the change in margin is barely more than the standard error for the sample. This decline appears to be with low and working class Democrats and Ticket-Splitters. There is no geographic pattern to it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

V-2

1968: +4

Trial Heats

| | McGovern | | | Margin | Change from Phone Poll |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------|---------------------------|
| Without Leanners | 51 (- 5) | 30 (- 1) | 19 (+ 6) | | |
| → With Leanners | 54 (- 4) | 35 (+ 1) | 11 (+ 3) | +19 | -5 |

| | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Nixon (With Leanners) | 94 (+ 1) | 59 (-11) | 27 (- 3) |
| McGovern (With Leanners) | 2 (+ 0) | 27 (+ 3) | 59 (+ 1) |
| Undecided | 4 (- 1) | 14 (+ 8) | 14 (+ 2) |

Job Approval

| | Approve | Disapprove | No Opinion |
|---------|----------|------------|------------|
| Job | 55 (- 1) | 35 (- 1) | 10 (+ 2) |
| Vietnam | 53 (+ 1) | 38 (- 1) | 9 (+ 0) |
| Economy | 43 (- 3) | 42 (- 3) | 15 (+ 6) |

National Issues (Open End)

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| Vietnam | 55 (+ 3) |
| Unemployment | 13 (- 3) |
| Poverty/Welfare | 12 (+ 0) |
| Economy | 11 (- 7) |
| Inflation | 11 (+ 1) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | Nixon | | | |
|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Very Able | 39 (- 4) | 69 (- 5) | 41 (- 7) | 21 (+ 0) |
| Fairly Able | 37 (+ 2) | 25 (+ 1) | 41 (+ 2) | 40 (- 2) |
| Not Very Able | 11 (- 1) | 2 (+ 2) | 9 (+ 1) | 16 (- 5) |
| Not at all Able | 9 (+ 0) | 1 (- 1) | 4 (- 1) | 18 (+ 3) |
| Don't Know | 4 (+ 3) | 3 (+ 3) | 5 (+ 5) | 5 (+ 4) |

| | McGovern | | | |
|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Very Able | 12 (- 3) | 4 (+ 1) | 8 (- 1) | 19 (- 5) |
| Fairly Able | 26 (- 3) | 8 (- 1) | 27 (- 2) | 37 (+ 0) |
| Not Very Able | 18 (- 2) | 30 (- 1) | 19 (- 4) | 10 (- 3) |
| Not at all Able | 26 (+ 1) | 50 (+ 0) | 27 (+ 1) | 12 (- 3) |
| Don't Know | 18 (+ 7) | 8 (+ 1) | 19 (+ 6) | 22 (+11) |

Commitment

| | Nixon | McGovern |
|----------------------------------|----------|----------|
| Definitely Vote For | 84 (+ 2) | 73 (+ 1) |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 8 (+ 0) | 13 (- 2) |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 5 (- 4) | 12 (- 1) |
| Don't Know | 3 (+ 2) | 2 (+ 2) |

A-1
 BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

V-2

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|--|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 54 (- 4) | 35 (+ 1) | 11 (+ 3) | +19 (- 5) | 519 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 45 (+ 5) | 51 (- 6) | 4 (+ 1) | - 6 (+11) | 77 |
| 25-34 years | 49 (-13) | 44 (+12) | 7 (+ 1) | + 5 (-25) | 117 |
| 35-44 years | 61 (+ 2) | 29 (- 1) | 10 (- 1) | +32 (+ 3) | 93 |
| 45-54 years | 55 (- 9) | 26 (- 3) | 19 (+12) | +29 (- 6) | 100 |
| 55-64 years | 63 (+ 1) | 27 (- 3) | 10 (+ 2) | +36 (+ 4) | 65 |
| 65 years + | 56 (- 9) | 31 (+ 9) | 13 (+ 0) | +25 (-18) | 63 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 41 (- 5) | 44 (+ 4) | 15 (+ 1) | - 3 (- 9) | 91 |
| High school graduate | 57 (- 1) | 33 (- 1) | 10 (+ 2) | +24 (+ 0) | 156 |
| College | 57 (- 7) | 33 (+ 3) | 10 (+ 4) | +24 (-10) | 270 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 49 (- 6) | 41 (+ 3) | 10 (+ 3) | + 8 (- 9) | 131 |
| Protestant | 60 (- 4) | 27 (- 2) | 13 (+ 6) | +33 (- 2) | 246 |
| Jewish | 53 (+ 3) | 26 (-24) | 21 (+21) | +27 (+27) | 15 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 47 (+ 1) | 40 (- 3) | 13 (+ 2) | + 7 (+ 4) | 185 |
| No | 59 (- 9) | 31 (+ 5) | 10 (+ 4) | +28 (-14) | 319 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 40 (+ 3) | 44 (- 7) | 16 (+ 4) | - 4 (+10) | 74 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 43 (-11) | 45 (+ 7) | 12 (+ 4) | - 2 (-18) | 135 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 (- 2) | 30 (+ 0) | 9 (+ 2) | +31 (- 2) | 131 |
| \$15,000 + | 66 (- 7) | 26 (+ 1) | 8 (+ 6) | +40 (- 8) | 129 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 56 (- 1) | 37 (+ 0) | 7 (+ 1) | +19 (- 1) | 254 |
| Female | 53 (- 7) | 32 (+ 1) | 15 (+ 6) | +21 (- 8) | 265 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 56 (- 5) | 34 (+ 1) | 10 (+ 4) | +22 (- 6) | 476 |
| Probably vote | 42 (+12) | 46 (+ 1) | 12 (-13) | - 4 (+11) | 25 |
| May or may not vote | 9 (-58) | 43 (+43) | 48 (+15) | X | 13 |
| Probably not vote | 0 (+ 0) | 0 (-33) | 100 (+33) | X | 1 |
| Definitely not vote | 34 (+34) | 34 (-16) | 32 (-18) | X | 3 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Shasta/Sonoma | 71 (+21) | 20 (-30) | 9 (+ 9) | X | 11 |
| Alameda/Contra Costa/ San Francisco/San Mateo/ Santa Clara | 44 (- 5) | 43 (+ 0) | 13 (+ 5) | + 1 (- 5) | 117 |
| Sacramento/San Joaquin/ Tulare | 67 (+25) | 33 (-25) | 0 (+ 0) | +34 (+52) | 31 |
| Monterey/Santa Barbara | 89 (-11) | 11 (+11) | 0 (+ 0) | X | 10 |
| Los Angeles | 53 (- 7) | 34 (+ 1) | 13 (+ 6) | +19 (- 8) | 219 |
| Orange/Riverside/San Bernadino/San Diego | 59 (- 5) | 31 (+ 7) | 10 (- 2) | +28 (-12) | 83 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Bakersfield | 88 (+17) | 12 (+12) | 0 (-29) | +76 (+ 5) | 10 |
| Chico-Redding | 62 (- 6) | 22 (+ 1) | 16 (+ 5) | +40 (- 7) | 19 |
| El Centro | 39 (- 4) | 61 (+18) | 0 (-14) | X | 5 |
| Fresno | 54 (+ 1) | 41 (+ 0) | 5 (- 1) | +13 (+ 1) | 20 |
| Los Angeles | 53 (- 7) | 34 (+ 3) | 13 (+ 4) | +19 (-10) | 273 |
| Palm Springs | 34 (-10) | 44 (-12) | 22 (+22) | X | 14 |
| Sacramento-Stockton | 61 (+10) | 31 (-14) | 8 (+ 4) | +30 (+24) | 34 |
| San Diego | 67 (- 1) | 30 (+ 5) | 3 (- 4) | +37 (- 6) | 29 |
| San Francisco | 45 (- 7) | 41 (+ 0) | 14 (+ 7) | + 4 (- 7) | 124 |
| Santa Barbara/Santa Maria | 89 (-11) | 11 (+11) | 0 (+ 0) | X | 10 |

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

V-2

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|--|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 55 (- 1) | 35 (- 1) | 10 (+ 2) |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 44 (- 1) | 48 (- 3) | 8 (+ 4) |
| 25-34 years | 49 (-11) | 41 (+ 9) | 10 (- 2) |
| 35-44 years | 65 (+ 5) | 26 (- 7) | 9 (+ 2) |
| 45-54 years | 58 (+ 2) | 29 (- 8) | 13 (+ 6) |
| 55-64 years | 55 (+ 2) | 32 (- 4) | 13 (+ 2) |
| 65 years + | 57 (- 6) | 35 (+ 8) | 8 (- 2) |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 43 (- 3) | 43 (+ 2) | 14 (+ 1) |
| High school graduate | 48 (- 5) | 42 (+ 5) | 10 (+ 0) |
| College | 59 (- 3) | 30 (- 3) | 11 (+ 6) |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 53 (- 7) | 37 (+ 2) | 10 (+ 5) |
| Protestant | 61 (+ 0) | 30 (- 1) | 9 (+ 1) |
| Jewish | 32 (- 1) | 40 (-23) | 28 (+24) |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 47 (+ 1) | 41 (- 3) | 12 (+ 2) |
| No | 59 (- 5) | 31 (+ 2) | 10 (+ 3) |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 43 (+ 1) | 43 (-10) | 14 (+ 9) |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 48 (-11) | 42 (+ 6) | 10 (+ 5) |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 59 (+ 1) | 30 (- 3) | 11 (+ 2) |
| \$15,000 + | 61 (- 3) | 30 (- 1) | 9 (+ 4) |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 54 (- 2) | 36 (- 1) | 10 (+ 3) |
| Female | 55 (- 3) | 35 (+ 1) | 10 (+ 2) |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 56 (- 1) | 34 (- 2) | 10 (+ 3) |
| Probably vote | 50 (- 5) | 46 (+16) | 4 (-11) |
| May or may not vote | 24 (- 9) | 54 (+21) | 22 (-12) |
| Probably not vote | 0 X | 100 X | 0 X |
| Definitely not vote | 0 X | 100 X | 0 X |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Shasta/Sonoma | 36 (+ 3) | 19 (-31) | 45 (+28) |
| Alameda/Contra Costa/ San Francisco/San Mateo/ Santa Clara | 47 (- 2) | 46 (+ 6) | 7 (- 4) |
| Sacramento/San Joaquin/ Tulare | 66 (+22) | 21 (-29) | 13 (+ 7) |
| Monterey/Santa Barbara | 79 (-21) | 21 (+21) | 0 (+ 0) |
| Los Angeles | 56 (+ 2) | 33 (- 5) | 11 (+ 3) |
| Orange/Riverside/San Bernadino/San Diego | 56 (-10) | 33 (+ 4) | 11 (+ 6) |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Bakersfield | 88 (+59) | 12 (- 2) | 0 (-57) |
| Chico-Redding | 47 (-22) | 28 (+ 2) | 25 (+20) |
| El Centro | 39 (-18) | 61 (+32) | 0 (-14) |
| Fresno | 74 (+ 9) | 16 (-19) | 10 (+10) |
| Los Angeles | 56 (+ 0) | 34 (- 3) | 10 (+ 3) |
| Palm Springs | 53 (+ 9) | 32 (-13) | 15 (+ 4) |
| Sacramento-Stockton | 49 (- 8) | 36 (- 3) | 15 (+11) |
| San Diego | 61 (- 5) | 26 (- 6) | 13 (+11) |
| San Francisco | 45 (- 7) | 47 (+ 9) | 8 (- 2) |
| Santa Barbara/Santa Maria | 79 (-21) | 21 (+21) | 0 (+ 0) |

ISSUES

Most important issue in voting --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Corruption in Gov't. | 30 | 23 | 30 | 31 | 25 | 37 | 34 |
| Vietnam | 54 | 47 | 50 | 59 | 52 | 61 | 43 |
| Inflation | 41 | 43 | 39 | 40 | 42 | 38 | 37 |
| Unemployment | 33 | 42 | 26 | 42 | 29 | 37 | 39 |
| Crime | 38 | 40 | 37 | 36 | 40 | 33 | 44 |
| Drugs | 34 | 35 | 34 | 31 | 36 | 30 | 33 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

How serious is corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Very serious | 42 | 26 | 39 | 53 | 27 | 62 | 60 |
| Fairly serious | 29 | 35 | 28 | 25 | 33 | 24 | 20 |
| Not very serious | 20 | 31 | 21 | 13 | 30 | 7 | 7 |
| Not at all serious | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| No Opinion | 8 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 13 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

Recent examples of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| None | 63 | 72 | 66 | 54 | 70 | 53 | 60 |
| Watergate | 14 | 8 | 14 | 20 | 9 | 23 | 11 |
| Wheat/Grain Deal | 6 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 4 |
| ITT | 3 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (196) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

Effect of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 9 | 26 | 8 | 1 | 19 | 0 | 6 |
| More likely vote McG. | 38 | 4 | 31 | 57 | 6 | 72 | 27 |
| Not make any difference | 42 | 66 | 48 | 30 | 64 | 23 | 31 |
| Don't Know | 11 | 4 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 5 | 36 |
| | (170) | (27) | (48) | (70) | (76) | (77) | (17) |

Specific Examples --

| | <u>Watergate</u> | <u>Wheat/ Grain Deal</u> | <u>ITT</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| More likely vote McGovern | 51 | 48 | 62 |
| Not make any difference | 36 | 39 | 38 |
| Don't Know | 9 | 10 | 0 |
| | (70) | (28) | (17) |

Best job of eliminating corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Nixon | 35 | 73 | 37 | 13 | 62 | 2 | 8 |
| McGovern | 29 | 6 | 20 | 47 | 6 | 73 | 6 |
| Don't Know | 36 | 21 | 43 | 40 | 32 | 25 | 86 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

V-2

ISSUES

Should Nixon stop hiding in White House and debate issues with McGovern --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 46 | 18 | 42 | 64 | 23 | 79 | 54 |
| Neither A/D | 6 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 13 |
| Disagree | 48 | 76 | 54 | 30 | 72 | 16 | 33 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

Administration treat business with favoritism at expense of average citizen --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 57 | 24 | 50 | 80 | 33 | 88 | 72 |
| Neither A/D | 11 | 13 | 14 | 9 | 14 | 5 | 20 |
| Disagree | 32 | 63 | 36 | 11 | 53 | 7 | 8 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

Administration is more corrupt than any administration --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 18 | 1 | 13 | 30 | 2 | 43 | 14 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 5 | 7 | 17 | 6 | 18 | 22 |
| Disagree | 70 | 94 | 80 | 53 | 92 | 39 | 64 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

Certain amount of corruption in every administration and this one is no better or worse --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 70 | 76 | 79 | 57 | 83 | 49 | 71 |
| Neither A/D | 10 | 7 | 7 | 16 | 6 | 17 | 10 |
| Disagree | 20 | 17 | 14 | 27 | 11 | 34 | 19 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

Corruption needs explaining versus desperate political charge --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Desperate political charge | 51 | 83 | 56 | 29 | 76 | 18 | 28 |
| Explain corruption | 34 | 5 | 29 | 56 | 11 | 69 | 38 |
| No opinion | 15 | 12 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 34 |
| | (519) | (111) | (155) | (169) | (284) | (178) | (57) |

8. If the election for President were held today, would you be voting for Richard Nixon, the Republican; or George McGovern, the Democrat?

- | |
|------------------------|
| 1 RICHARD NIXON |
| 2 GEORGE MCGOVERN |
| 3 UNDECIDED → GO TO 8b |

IF "NIXON" OR "MCGOVERN" ON Q. 8, ASK:

8a. As of today will you definitely vote _____, probably vote _____ but still thinking about it, or are you undecided but leaning toward _____?

- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE _____
- 2 PROBABLY VOTE _____
- 3 UNDECIDED BUT LEANING TOWARD _____
- 4 NO ANSWER

IF "UNDECIDED" ON Q. 8, ASK:

8b. As of today, do you lean toward McGovern or Nixon?

- 1 MCGOVERN
- 2 NIXON
- 3 UNDECIDED

9. In the election this Fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?

- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE
- 2 PROBABLY VOTE
- 3 MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE
- 4 PROBABLY NOT VOTE
- 5 DEFINITELY NOT VOTE
- 6 DON'T KNOW

10. Did you see Senator McGovern's Vietnam statement on television Tuesday evening?

- 1 YES - SAW STATEMENT
- 2 NO - DID NOT SEE STATEMENT

IF YES ON Q. 10 ASK:

10a. Was your general impression favorable or unfavorable?

- 1 FAVORABLE
- 2 UNFAVORABLE
- 3 NEITHER
- 4 NO OPINION

10b. Why? _____

10c. Do you think Senator McGovern's plan for ending the Vietnam war will or will not work?

- 1 WILL WORK
- 2 WILL NOT WORK

11. Do you think that the McGovern plan or the Nixon plan will be the most likely to end the war in Vietnam?

- 1 MCGOVERN PLAN
- 2 NIXON PLAN
- 3 NEITHER
- 4 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

12. Do you think that the Nixon plan or the McGovern plan will be most likely to get our prisoners home the soonest?

- 1 NIXON PLAN
- 2 MCGOVERN PLAN
- 3 NEITHER
- 4 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

12-1/2. What do you think are the main differences between the Nixon Plan and the McGovern Plan?

13. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)

- 1 STRAIGHT DEMOCRAT
- 2 MOSTLY DEMOCRAT
- 3 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS
- 4 ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES
- 5 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS
- 6 MOSTLY REPUBLICAN
- 7 STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN
- 8 NEVER VOTED
- 9 DON'T KNOW

14. What is your age?

- 1 17-20 YEARS
- 2 21-24 YEARS
- 3 25-29 YEARS
- 4 30-34 YEARS
- 5 35-39 YEARS
- 6 40-44 YEARS
- 7 45-49 YEARS
- 8 50-54 YEARS
- 9 55-59 YEARS
- 10 60-64 YEARS
- 11 65 AND OVER
- 12 REFUSED

15. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- 1 GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (GRADES 1-8)
- 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
- 3 GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12)
- 4 VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL
- 5 SOME COLLEGE
- 6 GRADUATE COLLEGE
- 7 POST GRADUATE WORK
- 8 REFUSED

16. What is your religion?

- 1 ROMAN CATHOLIC
- 2 PROTESTANT
- 3 JEWISH
- 4 OTHER (Specify) _____

17. Are you a labor union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

IF 'NO' ON Q. 17, ASK:

17a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

18. Which classification included your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME IN 1971 before taxes? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)

- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 AND OVER
- 9 REFUSED

19. Sex: 1 MALE
2 FEMALE

20. What county do you live in? _____

Time Ended: _____ Length: _____ Loc. #: _____ Region#: _____

Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

To
H
10/13

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By AMP/nc NARS, Date 5-22-80, October 12, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R. M. Teeter*
SUBJECT: Future Polling

ORC will complete interviewing on California and New York tonight. Per your instructions yesterday we will do Michigan, West Virginia, Washington and New Hampshire beginning tomorrow which will carry us through the weekend. We will cover the major statewide races in all of these states.

Our interviewing has begun on Michigan and West Virginia. We have dropped the corruption questions as the data we received from seven states stabilized and there is no reason to believe it would be different in the next group of states. We have added questions on McGovern's Vietnam statement and bussing in Michigan. We will add questions on the economy in our Washington study.

We also should begin to consider what we want to do next week. There are three basic options:

1. Do another series of priority state polls. Even though these states have not shown any significant movement, they are the key to the election and the ones where McGovern is concentrating almost all of his effort. This means we would begin a series Monday or Tuesday consisting of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, California, New York and Michigan. This order would space all of them 8 to 10 days from when they were done previously.
2. Do the states where we are interested in the Senate race but do not have any reliable data. This would include Montana, North Carolina, Georgia and possibly Alabama, Virginia and New Mexico.
3. Do polls in several local areas which have concentrations of specific voting groups. This would give us data on some of the demographic groups that are important to us in key states.

We would do entire political jurisdictions so we could compare the results to previous election data. Among the areas we would consider doing. --

Massachusetts - Worchester/Framingham
Somerville

New York - Rooney's Congressional District (Brooklyn Jewish)
Long Beach (Long Island Jewish)
Buffalo (Catholic)
Yonkers (Italian)

New Jersey - Passaic
Jersey City
Morristown

Pennsylvania - Philadelphia
Allegheny County
Washington County
Wilkes-Barre

Ohio - Toledo
Minshall's Congressional District
(Suburban Cuyahoga County)
Akron
Youngstown

Illinois - Suburban Cook County
Moline
Evanston

California - Contra Costa County
San Jose
Hayward
Fresno
Torrance or Burbank

Recommendation: That we do another series of phone polls in the seven large priority states.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment:

Also as I have discussed with you previously last night I am concerned that our margins in the phone data we are getting from ORC are somewhat inflated. I can't prove this but my instinct and experience in these states is at least 3-5 points higher than it should be. MOR is doing a personal interview poll in Michigan for the Detroit News this week which should tell us whether or not this is a problem, and if so, to what degree it is a problem.

Regardless of this problem I think we should do two or three personal interview studies in the key states next week. In the interest of caution, I think we should have some personal interview data going into the last two weeks of the campaign. There is no question but what personal interview polls with secret sample ballots are more reliable than phone interviewing at its best.

Recommendation: That we do fast personal interview sample ballot studies in New York, California and Pennsylvania next week. (We would then eliminate these three states from our series of telephone polls.)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment:

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

To
H
10/10

MEMORANDUM

October 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
 SUBJECT: New Jersey Phone Poll

Preliminary trial heats on New Jersey are as follows:

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Without leaners | 54 | 27 | 19 |
| With leaners | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| Change from Wave III | (- 4) | (+ 2) | (+ 1) |

| <u>Senate</u> | <u>Case</u> | <u>Krebs</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| With leaners | 53 | 28 | 19 |

551 Interviews
 October 6-9, 1972

Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave

Illinois
October 6-9, 1972
500 Interviews

1968: +4

V-2 11

Trial Heats

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|----|----|
| Without Leaners | 58 | 23 | 19 |
| With Leaners | 62 | 27 | 11 |

| | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nixon (With Leaners) | 92 | 66 | 41 |
| McGovern (With Leaners) | 6 | 22 | 45 |
| Undecided | 2 | 12 | 14 |

Job Approval

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Job | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| Vietnam | 60 | 31 | 9 |
| Economy | 45 | 40 | 15 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | | |
|--------------|----|------|
| Vietnam | 54 | (-1) |
| Economy | 14 | (+2) |
| Unemployment | 13 | (-3) |
| Inflation | 13 | (-7) |
| Crime | 11 | (-8) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | <u>Nixon</u> | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 48 | 72 | 47 | 33 |
| Fairly Able | 35 | 26 | 37 | 41 |
| Not Very Able | 10 | 2 | 9 | 15 |
| Not at all Able | 5 | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 9 | 2 | 6 | 18 |
| Fairly Able | 26 | 16 | 29 | 32 |
| Not Very Able | 22 | 27 | 22 | 16 |
| Not at all Able | 26 | 44 | 26 | 17 |
| Don't Know | 17 | 11 | 17 | 17 |

Commitment

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely Vote For | 80 | 68 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 9 | 14 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 9 | 16 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 2 |

State Ballots

| <u>Senate</u> | | <u>Governor</u> | |
|-------------------|----|-----------------|----|
| CHARLES H. PERCY | 60 | RICHARD OGILVIE | 49 |
| Roman C. Pucinski | 27 | Daniel Walker | 42 |
| Undecided | 13 | Undecided | 9 |

BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 62% | 27% | 11% | +35% | 500 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 52 | 44 | 4 | + 8 | 50 |
| 25-34 years | 57 | 37 | 6 | +20 | 91 |
| 35-44 years | 65 | 24 | 11 | +41 | 113 |
| 45-54 years | 61 | 25 | 14 | +36 | 96 |
| 55-64 years | 67 | 18 | 15 | +49 | 70 |
| 65 years + | 68 | 21 | 11 | +47 | 72 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 59 | 28 | 13 | +31 | 114 |
| High school graduate | 66 | 24 | 10 | +42 | 170 |
| College | 62 | 29 | 9 | +33 | 213 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 55 | 13 | 32 | +42 | 176 |
| Protestant | 69 | 22 | 9 | +47 | 240 |
| Jewish | 59 | 36 | 5 | +23 | 17 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 59 | 28 | 13 | +31 | 195 |
| No | 65 | 26 | 9 | +39 | 292 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 49 | 38 | 13 | +11 | 53 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 60 | 31 | 9 | +29 | 123 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 68 | 23 | 9 | +45 | 124 |
| \$15,000 + | 66 | 25 | 9 | +41 | 133 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 62 | 27 | 11 | +35 | 240 |
| Female | 62 | 27 | 11 | +35 | 260 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 64 | 26 | 10 | +38 | 453 |
| Probably vote | 48 | 36 | 16 | +12 | 33 |
| May or may not vote | 58 | 29 | 13 | +29 | 7 |
| Probably not vote | 43 | 57 | 0 | -14 | 4 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 100 | 0 | X | 1 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Chicago City | 55 | 34 | 11 | +21 | 124 |
| Cook County Outside Chgo. | 66 | 23 | 11 | +43 | 119 |
| St. Clair & Madison Cty. | 60 | 34 | 6 | +26 | 28 |
| 22nd Congressional Dist. | 73 | 23 | 4 | +50 | 35 |
| All Other | 65 | 23 | 12 | +42 | 194 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Davenport-Rock Island- | | | | | |
| Moline-Rockford | 66 | 21 | 13 | +45 | 38 |
| St. Louis | 64 | 29 | 7 | +35 | 45 |
| Springfield-Decatur- | | | | | |
| Champaign/Peoria/Paducah- | | | | | |
| Cape Girardeau-Harrisburg/ | | | | | |
| Evansville/Terre Haute/ | | | | | |
| Quincy/Hannibal | 63 | 24 | 13 | +39 | 88 |
| Chicago | 62 | 28 | 10 | +34 | 329 |

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 63% | 28% | 9% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 48 | 40 | 12 |
| 25-34 years | 54 | 35 | 11 |
| 35-44 years | 70 | 24 | 6 |
| 45-54 years | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| 55-64 years | 73 | 25 | 2 |
| 65 years + | 65 | 19 | 16 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| High school graduate | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| College | 62 | 29 | 9 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| Protestant | 69 | 20 | 11 |
| Jewish | 55 | 45 | 0 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| No | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 55 | 27 | 18 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 61 | 32 | 7 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| \$15,000 + | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Female | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 65 | 26 | 9 |
| Probably vote | 40 | 37 | 23 |
| May or may not vote | 42 | 58 | 0 |
| Probably not vote | 29 | 71 | 0 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Chicago City | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| Cook County Outside Chicago | 65 | 29 | 6 |
| St. Clair & Madison County | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| 22nd Congressional District | 63 | 22 | 15 |
| All Other | 65 | 23 | 12 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Davenport-Rock Island- | | | |
| Moline-Rockford | 66 | 21 | 13 |
| St. Louis | 68 | 26 | 6 |
| Springfield-Decatur- | | | |
| Champaign/Peoria-Paducah- | | | |
| Cape Girardeau-Harrisburg/ | | | |
| Evansville/Terre Haute/ | | | |
| Quincy/Hannibal | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| Chicago | 62 | 29 | 9 |

ISSUES

Most important issue in voting --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Corruption in Gov't. | 28 | 28 | 31 | 26 | 31 | 24 | 23 |
| Vietnam | 51 | 48 | 48 | 53 | 48 | 62 | 42 |
| Inflation | 42 | 40 | 48 | 42 | 43 | 38 | 49 |
| Unemployment | 33 | 27 | 26 | 38 | 29 | 42 | 39 |
| Crime | 39 | 45 | 37 | 38 | 42 | 31 | 43 |
| Drugs | 34 | 44 | 29 | 32 | 38 | 21 | 44 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

How serious is corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Very serious | 42 | 31 | 47 | 48 | 37 | 51 | 49 |
| Fairly serious | 30 | 28 | 27 | 34 | 29 | 33 | 27 |
| Not very serious | 16 | 23 | 15 | 11 | 20 | 10 | 11 |
| Not at all serious | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| No Opinion | 9 | 13 | 8 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 9 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Recent examples of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Watergate | 10 | 7 | 10 | 11 | 7 | 17 | 6 |
| Wheat/Grain Deal | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 6 |
| ITT | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| None | 64 | 71 | 58 | 60 | 70 | 48 | 66 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Specific Examples --

| | <u>Watergate</u> | <u>Grain Deal</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 13 | 12 |
| More likely vote McGovern | 36 | 33 |
| Not make any difference | 39 | 45 |
| Don't Know | 12 | 10 |
| | (50) | (25) |

Best job of eliminating corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Nixon | 26 | 8 | 24 | 41 | 12 | 62 | 14 |
| McGovern | 42 | 70 | 40 | 26 | 63 | 8 | 10 |
| Don't Know | 32 | 22 | 36 | 33 | 25 | 30 | 76 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

*SA
 Rainier
 Gowen
 Telen*

ISSUES

Should Nixon stop hiding in White House and debate issues with McGovern --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 37 | 17 | 36 | 51 | 19 | 76 | 39 |
| Neither A/D | 7 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 |
| Disagree | 56 | 77 | 60 | 42 | 75 | 19 | 41 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Administration treat business with favoritism at expense of average citizen --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Unc. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 50 | 23 | 52 | 68 | 35 | 83 | 54 |
| Neither A/D | 10 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 15 |
| Disagree | 40 | 67 | 41 | 21 | 55 | 11 | 31 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Administration is more corrupt than any administration --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 8 | 2 | 6 | 17 | 3 | 19 | 12 |
| Neither A/D | 11 | 2 | 9 | 16 | 6 | 18 | 20 |
| Disagree | 81 | 96 | 84 | 67 | 91 | 63 | 68 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Certain amount of corruption in every administration and this one is no better or worse --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 78 | 79 | 82 | 76 | 83 | 66 | 79 |
| Neither A/D | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 12 | 11 |
| Disagree | 13 | 13 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 22 | 10 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Corruption needs explaining versus desperate political charge --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Explain corruption | 24 | 4 | 21 | 43 | 11 | 53 | 29 |
| Desperate political charge | 61 | 85 | 66 | 40 | 80 | 22 | 42 |
| No Opinion | 15 | 11 | 13 | 17 | 9 | 25 | 29 |
| | (500) | (121) | (191) | (128) | (318) | (128) | (54) |

Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave

Ohio
October 8-10, 1972
502 Interviews V-2

1968: +2.3

| <u>Trial Heats</u> | | <u>McGovern</u> | | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Change From WIII</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| | Without Leaners | 58 | 26 | 16 | |
| | With Leaners | 61 | 29 | 10 | +32 |
| | | | | | +4 |
| | | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | |
| Nixon | (With Leaners) | 90 | 67 | 34 | |
| McGovern | (With Leaners) | 7 | 23 | 52 | |
| Undecided | | 3 | 10 | 14 | |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------------------|---------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Job | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| | Vietnam | 60 | 31 | 9 |
| | Economy | 48 | 39 | 13 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| Vietnam | 57 (+ 4) |
| Economy | 16 (+ 1) |
| Inflation | 11 (-13) |
| Unemployment | 10 (-10) |
| Crime | 9 (- 8) |
| Poverty/Welfare | 9 (- 3) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | <u>Nixon</u> | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 45 | 73 | 47 | 24 |
| Fairly Able | 38 | 20 | 40 | 48 |
| Not Very Able | 9 | 3 | 7 | 15 |
| Not at all Able | 6 | 1 | 5 | 12 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 12 | 8 | 5 | 22 |
| Fairly Able | 27 | 19 | 26 | 34 |
| Not Very Able | 22 | 22 | 31 | 11 |
| Not at all Able | 28 | 45 | 26 | 22 |
| Don't Know | 11 | 6 | 12 | 11 |

Commitment

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely Vote For | 84 | 70 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 10 | 17 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 5 | 12 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 1 |

A-1

BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|---|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 61% | 29% | 10% | +32% | 502 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 53 | 38 | 9 | +15 | 71 |
| 25-34 years | 66 | 28 | 6 | +38 | 130 |
| 35-44 years | 61 | 28 | 11 | +33 | 93 |
| 45-54 years | 56 | 28 | 16 | +28 | 90 |
| 55-64 years | 65 | 26 | 9 | +39 | 61 |
| 65 years + | 69 | 25 | 6 | +44 | 48 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 59 | 30 | 11 | +29 | 94 |
| High school graduate | 60 | 29 | 11 | +31 | 237 |
| College | 66 | 27 | 7 | +39 | 164 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 52 | 35 | 13 | +17 | 119 |
| Protestant | 65 | 26 | 9 | +39 | 327 |
| Jewish | 63 | 24 | 13 | +39 | 12 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 52 | 37 | 11 | +15 | 207 |
| No | 69 | 22 | 9 | +47 | 285 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 50 | 41 | 9 | +9 | 46 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 59 | 32 | 9 | +27 | 167 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 63 | 30 | 7 | +33 | 129 |
| \$15,000 + | 74 | 13 | 13 | +61 | 96 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 61 | 29 | 10 | +32 | 247 |
| Female | 62 | 28 | 10 | +34 | 255 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 62 | 29 | 9 | +33 | 470 |
| Probably vote | 55 | 25 | 20 | +30 | 23 |
| May or may not vote | 42 | 0 | 58 | X | 6 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 50 | 50 | X | 2 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 | X | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| North and East | 55 | 34 | 11 | +21 | 233 |
| Northwest | 65 | 19 | 16 | +46 | 72 |
| Southwest | 62 | 30 | 8 | +32 | 125 |
| Central and Southeast | 78 | 18 | 4 | +60 | 72 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Cincinnati | 66 | 30 | 4 | +36 | 63 |
| Cleveland-Akron-Canton | 57 | 33 | 10 | +24 | 199 |
| Columbus/Parkersburg | 77 | 20 | 3 | +57 | 85 |
| Dayton | 56 | 31 | 13 | +25 | 62 |
| Toledo/Lima/Ft. Wayne | 64 | 14 | 22 | +50 | 38 |
| Youngstown/Pittsburgh/ Wheeling-Steubenville | 52 | 33 | 15 | +19 | 55 |

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 60% | 26% | 14% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| 25-34 years | 68 | 21 | 11 |
| 35-44 years | 62 | 25 | 13 |
| 45-54 years | 53 | 23 | 24 |
| 55-64 years | 58 | 26 | 16 |
| 65 years + | 68 | 20 | 12 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 66 | 20 | 14 |
| High school graduate | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| College | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| Protestant | 64 | 22 | 14 |
| Jewish | 61 | 31 | 8 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 52 | 34 | 14 |
| No | 66 | 19 | 15 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 49 | 37 | 14 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 57 | 28 | 15 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| \$15,000 + | 71 | 16 | 13 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 60 | 27 | 13 |
| Female | 60 | 25 | 15 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| Probably vote | 49 | 17 | 34 |
| May or may not vote | 42 | 39 | 19 |
| Probably not vote | 50 | 50 | 0 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| North and East | 52 | 32 | 16 |
| Northwest | 68 | 19 | 13 |
| Southwest | 63 | 23 | 14 |
| Central and Southeast | 72 | 17 | 11 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Cincinnati | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| Cleveland-Akron-Canton | 53 | 33 | 14 |
| Columbus/Parkersburg | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| Dayton | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Toledo/Lima/Ft. Wayne | 70 | 9 | 21 |
| Youngstown/Pittsburgh/ Wheeling-Steubenville | 48 | 30 | 22 |

C-1.

ISSUES

Most important issue in voting --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Corruption in Gov't. | 34 | 37 | 28 | 35 | 32 | 39 | 27 |
| Vietnam | 58 | 59 | 55 | 62 | 58 | 59 | 55 |
| Inflation | 45 | 43 | 44 | 48 | 45 | 46 | 41 |
| Unemployment | 41 | 35 | 37 | 54 | 37 | 49 | 47 |
| Crime | 45 | 48 | 38 | 49 | 45 | 41 | 57 |
| Drugs | 38 | 43 | 37 | 37 | 41 | 33 | 36 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

How serious is corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Very serious | 39 | 31 | 36 | 44 | 32 | 54 | 41 |
| Fairly serious | 39 | 41 | 38 | 43 | 37 | 38 | 45 |
| Not very serious | 13 | 18 | 15 | 8 | 19 | 5 | 5 |
| Not at all serious | 2 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| No Opinion | 7 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 9 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

Recent examples of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| None | 65 | 75 | 67 | 60 | 68 | 56 | 73 |
| Watergate | 15 | 10 | 15 | 17 | 11 | 23 | 13 |
| Wheat/Grain Deal | 7 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 11 | 5 |
| ITT | 5 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 2 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

Effect of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 15 | 35 | 9 | 10 | 27 | 0 | 0 |
| More likely vote McG. | 28 | 10 | 24 | 39 | 0 | 71 | 20 |
| Not make any difference | 47 | 45 | 52 | 43 | 62 | 24 | 51 |
| Don't Know | 10 | 10 | 15 | 8 | 11 | 5 | 29 |
| | (163) | (20) | (66) | (49) | (92) | (59) | (12) |

Specific Examples --

| | <u>Watergate</u> | <u>Wheat Grain Deal</u> | <u>ITT</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 10 | 13 | 6 |
| More likely vote McGovern | 34 | 46 | 60 |
| Not make any difference | 52 | 39 | 34 |
| Don't Know | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| | (74) | (31) | (23) |

Best job of eliminating corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Nixon | 38 | 64 | 40 | 19 | 58 | 5 | 8 |
| McGovern | 26 | 11 | 21 | 40 | 9 | 68 | 6 |
| Don't Know | 36 | 25 | 39 | 41 | 33 | 27 | 86 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

ISSUES

Should Nixon stop hiding in White House and debate issues with McGovern --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 39 | 24 | 32 | 61 | 20 | 76 | 54 |
| Neither A/D | 6 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 8 | 14 |
| Disagree | 55 | 74 | 62 | 31 | 76 | 16 | 32 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

Administration treat business with favoritism at expense of average citizen --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 50 | 29 | 46 | 72 | 31 | 89 | 56 |
| Neither A/D | 15 | 17 | 13 | 12 | 17 | 5 | 26 |
| Disagree | 35 | 54 | 41 | 16 | 52 | 6 | 18 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

Administration is more corrupt than any administration --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 13 | 4 | 10 | 25 | 3 | 32 | 20 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 8 | 9 | 16 | 8 | 19 | 20 |
| Disagree | 75 | 88 | 81 | 59 | 89 | 49 | 60 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

Certain amount of corruption in every administration and this one is no better or worse --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 80 | 81 | 81 | 78 | 85 | 68 | 84 |
| Neither A/D | 7 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| Disagree | 13 | 12 | 13 | 16 | 9 | 24 | 6 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

Corruption needs explaining versus desperate political charge --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Desperate political charge | 53 | 66 | 53 | 39 | 73 | 17 | 32 |
| Explain corruption | 28 | 15 | 26 | 44 | 12 | 62 | 29 |
| No Opinion | 19 | 19 | 21 | 17 | 15 | 21 | 39 |
| | (502) | (93) | (208) | (126) | (314) | (138) | (50) |

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
MEMORANDUM ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

October 10, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By cm NARS, Date 5-22-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Minnesota Phone Poll

Preliminary trial heats on Minnesota are as follows:

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Without leaners | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| With leaners | 57 | 32 | 11 |
| <u>Senate</u> | <u>Hansen</u> | <u>Mondale</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
| With leaners | 27 | 65 | 8 |

401 Interviews
October 7-9, 1972

When asking for Romney. What chance in vote? OK ✓

Phone Number: ()
 Area Code: Number:

TIME INTERVIEW STARTED: _____

OPINION SURVEY

I'm _____, and I'm working on a survey about problems and political figures in the country being made for Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey. I'd like very much to have your opinion.

1. Are you registered to vote in the Presidential election in 1972?
 1 YES → IF "YES," CONTINUE INTERVIEW
 2 NO → IF "NO," TERMINATE INTERVIEW
2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time?

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | | |
|--|--|--|

3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
 1 APPROVE
 2 DISAPPROVE
 3 NO OPINION
4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?
 1 APPROVE
 2 DISAPPROVE
 3 NO OPINION
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
 1 APPROVE
 2 DISAPPROVE
 3 NO OPINION

INTERVIEWER: NOTE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 6 AND 7.

6. How would you rate Richard Nixon in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able?
 1 VERY ABLE
 2 FAIRLY ABLE
 3 NOT VERY ABLE
 4 NOT AT ALL ABLE
 5 DON'T KNOW
7. How would you rate George McGovern in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able?
 1 VERY ABLE
 2 FAIRLY ABLE
 3 NOT VERY ABLE
 4 NOT AT ALL ABLE
 5 DON'T KNOW

8. If the election for President were held today, would you be voting for Richard Nixon, the Republican; or George McGovern, the Democrat?

- 1 RICHARD NIXON
- 2 GEORGE MCGOVERN
- 3 UNDECIDED

GO TO 2b

IF "NIXON" OR "MCGOVERN" ON Q. 8, ASK:

8a. As of today will you definitely vote _____, probably vote _____ but still thinking about it, or are you undecided but leaning toward _____?

- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE _____
- 2 PROBABLY VOTE _____ BUT STILL THINKING ABOUT IT
- 3 UNDECIDED BUT LEANING TOWARD _____
- 4 NO ANSWER

IF "UNDECIDED" ON Q. 8, ASK:

8b. As of today, do you lean toward McGovern or Nixon?

- 1 MCGOVERN
- 2 NIXON
- 3 UNDECIDED

9. In the election this Fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote; or definitely not vote?

- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE
- 2 PROBABLY VOTE
- 3 MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE
- 4 PROBABLY NOT VOTE
- 5 DEFINITELY NOT VOTE
- 6 DON'T KNOW

10. Did you see Senator McGovern's Vietnam statement on television Tuesday evening?

- 1 YES - SAW STATEMENT
- 2 NO - DID NOT SEE STATEMENT

IF YES ON Q. 10 ASK:

10a. Was your general impression favorable or unfavorable?

- 1 FAVORABLE
- 2 UNFAVORABLE
- 3 NEITHER
- 4 NO OPINION

10b. Why? _____

10c. Do you think Senator McGovern's plan for ending the Vietnam war will or will not work?

- 1 WILL WORK
- 2 WILL NOT WORK

11. Do you think that the McGovern plan or the Nixon plan will be the most likely to end the war in Vietnam?

- 1 MCGOVERN PLAN
- 2 NIXON PLAN
- 3 NEITHER
- 4 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

12. Do you think that the Nixon plan or the McGovern plan will be most likely to get our prisoners home the soonest?

- 1 NIXON PLAN
- 2 MCGOVERN PLAN
- 3 NEITHER
- 4 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

12-1/2. What do you think are the main differences between the Nixon Plan and the McGovern Plan?

13. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)
- 1 STRAIGHT DEMOCRAT
 - 2 MOSTLY DEMOCRAT
 - 3 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS
 - 4 ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES
 - 5 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS
 - 6 MOSTLY REPUBLICAN
 - 7 STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN
 - 8 NEVER VOTED
 - 9 DON'T KNOW

14. What is your age?
- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1 17-20 YEARS | 7 45-49 YEARS |
| 2 21-24 YEARS | 8 50-54 YEARS |
| 3 25-29 YEARS | 9 55-59 YEARS |
| 4 30-34 YEARS | 10 60-64 YEARS |
| 5 35-39 YEARS | 11 65 AND OVER |
| 6 40-44 YEARS | 12 REFUSED |

15. What is the last grade of school you completed?
- 1 GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (GRADES 1-8)
 - 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
 - 3 GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12)
 - 4 VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL
 - 5 SOME COLLEGE
 - 6 GRADUATE COLLEGE
 - 7 POST GRADUATE WORK
 - 8 REFUSED

16. What is your religion?
- 1 ROMAN CATHOLIC
 - 2 PROTESTANT
 - 3 JEWISH
 - 4 OTHER (Specify) _____

17. Are you a labor union member?
- | |
|-------|
| 1 YES |
| 2 NO |

IF "NO" ON Q. 17, ASK:

- 17a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member?
- 1 YES
 - 2 NO

18. Which classification included your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME IN 1971 before taxes? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)
- 1 0-\$2,999
 - 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
 - 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
 - 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
 - 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
 - 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
 - 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
 - 8 \$25,000 AND OVER
 - 9 REFUSED

19. Sex:
 - 1 MALE
 - 2 FEMALE

20. What county do you live in? _____

Time Ended: _____ Length: _____ Loc. #: _____ Region#: _____
 Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave

New Jersey ✓
 October 6-9, 1972
 551 Interviews V-3

1968: +2

| <u>Trial Heats</u> | | <u>McGovern</u> | | | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Change From WIII</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| | Without Leaners | 54 | 27 | 19 | | |
| | With Leaners | 58 | 33 | 9 | +25 | -6 |
| | | <u>Rep.</u> | | | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Nixon | (With Leaners) | 88 | | | 66 | 35 |
| McGovern | (With Leaners) | 10 | | | 24 | 54 |
| Undecided | | 2 | | | 10 | 11 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------------------|--|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Job | | 60 | 27 | 13 |
| Vietnam | | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| Economy | | 41 | 44 | 15 |

| <u>National Issues (Open End)</u> | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|----|-------|
| Vietnam | | 56 | (- 4) |
| Inflation | | 16 | (- 4) |
| Unemployment | | 14 | (- 3) |
| Poverty | | 14 | (- 2) |
| Taxes | | 11 | (-12) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | <u>Nixon</u> | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 39 | 61 | 41 | 23 |
| Fairly Able | 40 | 33 | 43 | 45 |
| Not Very Able | 10 | 2 | 8 | 15 |
| Not at all Able | 8 | 3 | 6 | 13 |
| Don't Know | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 |

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 11 | 6 | 7 | 19 |
| Fairly Able | 28 | 15 | 24 | 36 |
| Not Very Able | 19 | 29 | 22 | 10 |
| Not at all Able | 26 | 38 | 31 | 17 |
| Don't Know | 16 | 12 | 16 | 18 |

Commitment

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely Vote For | 80 | 73 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 11 | 13 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 8 | 13 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 3 |

State Ballot

Senate (With Leaners)

| | |
|---------------|----|
| Clifford Case | 53 |
| Paul Krebs | 28 |
| Undecided | 19 |

A-1

BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 58% | 33% | 9% | +25 | 551 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 51 | 44 | 5 | +7 | 60 |
| 25-34 years | 59 | 34 | 7 | +25 | 124 |
| 35-44 years | 59 | 31 | 10 | +28 | 122 |
| 45-54 years | 55 | 35 | 10 | +20 | 106 |
| 55-64 years | 65 | 24 | 11 | +41 | 84 |
| 65 years + | 57 | 29 | 14 | +28 | 51 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 53 | 32 | 15 | +21 | 113 |
| High school graduate | 64 | 27 | 9 | +37 | 201 |
| College | 55 | 39 | 6 | +16 | 235 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 62 | 27 | 11 | +35 | 250 |
| Protestant | 63 | 31 | 6 | +32 | 216 |
| Jewish | 29 | 62 | 9 | -33 | 22 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 52 | 39 | 9 | +13 | 194 |
| No | 61 | 29 | 10 | +32 | 346 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 37 | 54 | 9 | -17 | 46 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 61 | 33 | 6 | +28 | 133 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 31 | 8 | +30 | 136 |
| \$15,000 + | 67 | 27 | 6 | +40 | 149 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 60 | 33 | 7 | +27 | 278 |
| Female | 57 | 32 | 11 | +25 | 273 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 60 | 32 | 8 | +28 | 497 |
| Probably vote | 47 | 36 | 17 | +11 | 48 |
| May or may not vote | 54 | 23 | 23 | X | 5 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 100 | 0 | X | 1 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 | X | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Inner Urban Ring | 54 | 38 | 8 | +16 | 241 |
| Southern | 57 | 34 | 9 | +23 | 110 |
| Suburban Ring | 63 | 25 | 12 | +38 | 153 |
| Western | 71 | 23 | 6 | +48 | 47 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| New York | 59 | 32 | 9 | +27 | 397 |
| Philadelphia | 54 | 36 | 10 | +18 | 154 |

New Jersey
 October 6-9, 1972
 551 Interviews V-3

B-1

19

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 60% | 27% | 13% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| 25-34 years | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| 35-44 years | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| 45-54 years | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| 55-64 years | 63 | 21 | 16 |
| 65 years + | 60 | 19 | 21 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 57 | 24 | 19 |
| High school graduate | 66 | 20 | 14 |
| College | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| Protestant | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Jewish | 24 | 49 | 27 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| No | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 46 | 32 | 22 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| \$15,000 + | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 58 | 29 | 13 |
| Female | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| Probably vote | 44 | 29 | 27 |
| May or may not vote | 77 | 23 | 0 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Inner Urban Ring | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| Southern | 55 | 30 | 15 |
| Suburban Ring | 63 | 24 | 13 |
| Western | 80 | 16 | 4 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| New York | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| Philadelphia | 56 | 31 | 13 |

C-1

ISSUES

Most important issue in voting --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Corruption in Gov't. | 32 | 32 | 35 | 31 | 29 | 38 | 37 |
| Vietnam | 56 | 55 | 22 | 60 | 52 | 63 | 54 |
| Inflation | 44 | 56 | 43 | 39 | 44 | 44 | 42 |
| Unemployment | 32 | 32 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 34 | 43 |
| Crime | 41 | 46 | 42 | 37 | 44 | 38 | 38 |
| Drugs | 42 | 38 | 38 | 47 | 40 | 40 | 57 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

How serious is corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Very serious | 39 | 26 | 36 | 48 | 29 | 54 | 45 |
| Fairly serious | 37 | 44 | 38 | 32 | 43 | 29 | 32 |
| Not very serious | 13 | 18 | 15 | 9 | 17 | 7 | 10 |
| Not at all serious | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| No Opinion | 8 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Recent examples of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| None | 69 | 75 | 67 | 70 | 76 | 58 | 67 |
| Watergate | 10 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 5 | 19 | 9 |
| Wheat/Grain Deal | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 6 |
| State & Local Corrupt. | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| ITT | 4 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 2 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Effect of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 11 | 10 | 16 | 10 | 23 | 0 | 6 |
| More likely vote McG. | 40 | 22 | 41 | 50 | 4 | 79 | 29 |
| Not make any difference | 37 | 52 | 34 | 33 | 56 | 16 | 39 |
| Don't Know | 12 | 16 | 9 | 7 | 17 | 5 | 26 |
| | (159) | (31) | (58) | (42) | (77) | (69) | (13) |

Specific Examples --

| | <u>Watergate</u> | <u>Grain Deal</u> | <u>ITT</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| More likely vote McGovern | 57 | 65 | 60 |
| Not make any difference | 30 | 30 | 25 |
| Don't Know | 9 | 2 | 10 |
| | (56) | (37) | (20) |

Best job of eliminating corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Nixon | 38 | 63 | 41 | 23 | 59 | 5 | 20 |
| McGovern | 29 | 12 | 26 | 42 | 8 | 71 | 11 |
| Don't Know | 33 | 25 | 33 | 35 | 33 | 24 | 69 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

ISSUES

Should Nixon stop hiding in White House and debate issues with McGovern --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 42 | 22 | 36 | 56 | 23 | 78 | 37 |
| Neither A/D | 7 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 17 |
| Disagree | 51 | 68 | 56 | 39 | 71 | 16 | 46 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Administration treat business with favoritism at expense of average citizen --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 58 | 31 | 60 | 75 | 41 | 88 | 67 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 16 | 12 | 8 | 14 | 5 | 15 |
| Disagree | 30 | 53 | 28 | 17 | 45 | 7 | 18 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Administration is more corrupt than any administration --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 14 | 4 | 11 | 20 | 4 | 32 | 13 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 5 | 11 | 17 | 6 | 21 | 17 |
| Disagree | 74 | 91 | 78 | 63 | 90 | 47 | 70 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Certain amount of corruption in every administration and this one is no better or worse --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 74 | 79 | 76 | 71 | 80 | 63 | 78 |
| Neither A/D | 8 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 10 | 7 |
| Disagree | 18 | 15 | 15 | 20 | 13 | 27 | 15 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Corruption needs explaining versus desperate political charge --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Desperate political charge | 53 | 75 | 59 | 36 | 76 | 17 | 39 |
| Explain corruption | 32 | 18 | 25 | 45 | 12 | 69 | 28 |
| No opinion | 15 | 7 | 16 | 19 | 12 | 14 | 33 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Telephone Survey - Rolling Wave



New Jersey
 October 6-9, 1972
 551 Interviews *✓2*

1968: +2

| <u>Trial Heats</u> | | <u>McGovern</u> | | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Change From WIII</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| | Without Leaners | 54 | 27 | 19 | |
| | With Leaners | 58 | 33 | 9 | +25 |
| | | | | | -6 |
| | | <u>Rep.</u> | | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Nixon | (With Leaners) | 88 | | 66 | 35 |
| McGovern | (With Leaners) | 10 | | 24 | 54 |
| Undecided | | 2 | | 10 | 11 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|---------------------|--|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Job | | 60 | 27 | 13 |
| Vietnam | | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| Economy | | 41 | 44 | 15 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | | |
|--------------|----|-------|
| Vietnam | 56 | (- 4) |
| Inflation | 16 | (- 4) |
| Unemployment | 14 | (- 3) |
| Poverty | 14 | (- 2) |
| Taxes | 11 | (-12) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | <u>Nixon</u> | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 39 <i>779</i> | 61 | 41 | 23 |
| Fairly Able | 40 | 33 | 43 | 45 |
| Not Very Able | 10 <i>718</i> | 2 | 8 | 15 |
| Not at all Able | 8 | 3 | 6 | 13 |
| Don't Know | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 |

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 11 <i>739</i> | 6 | 7 | 19 |
| Fairly Able | 28 | 15 | 24 | 36 |
| Not Very Able | 19 <i>745</i> | 29 | 22 | 10 |
| Not at all Able | 26 | 38 | 31 | 17 |
| Don't Know | 16 | 12 | 16 | 18 |

Commitment

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely Vote For | 80 | 73 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 11 | 13 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 8 | 13 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 3 |

State Ballot

Senate (With Leaners)

| | |
|---------------|----|
| Clifford Case | 53 |
| Paul Krebs | 28 |
| Undecided | 19 |

New Jersey
 October 6-9, 1972
 551 Interviews V-2

A-1

BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 58% | 33% | 9% | +25 | 551 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 51 | 44 | 5 | + 7 | 60 |
| 25-34 years | 59 | 34 | 7 | +25 | 124 |
| 35-44 years | 59 | 31 | 10 | +28 | 122 |
| 45-54 years | 55 | 35 | 10 | +20 | 106 |
| 55-64 years | 65 | 24 | 11 | +41 | 84 |
| 65 years + | 57 | 29 | 14 | +28 | 51 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 53 | 32 | 15 | +21 | 113 |
| High school graduate | 64 | 27 | 9 | +37 | 201 |
| College | 55 | 39 | 6 | +16 | 235 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 62 | 27 | 11 | +35 | 250 |
| Protestant | 63 | 31 | 6 | +32 | 216 |
| Jewish | 29 | 62 | 9 | -33 | 22 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 52 | 39 | 9 | +13 | 194 |
| No | 61 | 29 | 10 | +32 | 346 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 37 | 54 | 9 | -17 | 46 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 61 | 33 | 6 | +28 | 133 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 31 | 8 | +30 | 136 |
| \$15,000 + | 67 | 27 | 6 | +40 | 149 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 60 | 33 | 7 | +27 | 278 |
| Female | 57 | 32 | 11 | +25 | 273 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 60 | 32 | 8 | +28 | 497 |
| Probably vote | 47 | 36 | 17 | +11 | 48 |
| May or may not vote | 54 | 23 | 23 | X | 5 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 100 | 0 | X | 1 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 | X | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Inner Urban Ring | 54 | 38 | 8 | +16 | 241 |
| Southern | 57 | 34 | 9 | +23 | 110 |
| Suburban Ring | 63 | 25 | 12 | +38 | 153 |
| Western | 71 | 23 | 6 | +48 | 47 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| New York | 59 | 32 | 9 | +27 | 397 |
| Philadelphia | 54 | 36 | 10 | +18 | 154 |

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 60% | 27% | 13% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| 25-34 years | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| 35-44 years | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| 45-54 years | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| 55-64 years | 63 | 21 | 16 |
| 65 years + | 60 | 19 | 21 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 57 | 24 | 19 |
| High school graduate | 66 | 20 | 14 |
| College | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| Protestant | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Jewish | 24 | 49 | 27 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| No | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 46 | 32 | 22 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| \$15,000 + | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 58 | 29 | 13 |
| Female | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| Probably vote | 44 | 29 | 27 |
| May or may not vote | 77 | 23 | 0 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Inner Urban Ring | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| Southern | 55 | 30 | 15 |
| Suburban Ring | 63 | 24 | 13 |
| Western | 80 | 16 | 4 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| New York | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| Philadelphia | 56 | 31 | 13 |

ISSUES

Most important issue in voting --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Corruption in Gov't. | 32 | 32 | 35 | 31 | 29 | 38 | 37 |
| Vietnam | 56 | 55 | 22 | 60 | 52 | 63 | 54 |
| Inflation | 44 | 56 | 43 | 39 | 44 | 44 | 42 |
| Unemployment | 32 | 32 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 34 | 43 |
| Crime | 41 | 46 | 42 | 37 | 44 | 38 | 38 |
| Drugs | 42 | 38 | 38 | 47 | 40 | 40 | 57 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

How serious is corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Very serious | 39 | 26 | 36 | 48 | 29 | 54 | 45 |
| Fairly serious | 37 | 44 | 38 | 32 | 43 | 29 | 32 |
| Not very serious | 13 | 18 | 15 | 9 | 17 | 7 | 10 |
| Not at all serious | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| No Opinion | 8 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Recent examples of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>*Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| None | 69 | 75 | 67 | 70 | 76 | 58 | 67 |
| Watergate | 10 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 5 | 19 | 9 |
| Wheat/Grain Deal | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 6 |
| State & Local Corrupt. | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| ITT | 4 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 2 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Effect of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 11 | 10 | 16 | 10 | 23 | 0 | 6 |
| More likely vote McG. | 40 | 22 | 41 | 50 | 4 | 79 | 29 |
| Not make any difference | 37 | 52 | 34 | 33 | 56 | 16 | 39 |
| Don't Know | 12 | 16 | 9 | 7 | 17 | 5 | 26 |
| | (159) | (31) | (58) | (42) | (77) | (69) | (13) |

Specific Examples --

| | <u>Watergate</u> | <u>Grain Deal</u> | <u>ITT</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| More likely vote Nixon | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| More likely vote McGovern | 57 | 65 | 60 |
| Not make any difference | 30 | 30 | 25 |
| Don't Know | 9 | 2 | 10 |
| | (56) | (37) | (20) |

Best job of eliminating corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Nixon | 38 | 63 | 41 | 23 | 59 | 5 | 20 |
| McGovern | 29 | 12 | 26 | 42 | 8 | 71 | 11 |
| Don't Know | 33 | 25 | 33 | 35 | 33 | 24 | 69 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

ISSUES

Should Nixon stop hiding in White House and debate issues with McGovern --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 42 | 22 | 36 | 56 | 23 | 78 | 37 |
| Neither A/D | 7 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 17 |
| Disagree | 51 | 68 | 56 | 39 | 71 | 16 | 46 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Administration treat business with favoritism at expense of average citizen --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 58 | 31 | 60 | 75 | 41 | 88 | 67 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 16 | 12 | 8 | 14 | 5 | 15 |
| Disagree | 30 | 53 | 28 | 17 | 45 | 7 | 18 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Administration is more corrupt than any administration --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 14 | 4 | 11 | 20 | 4 | 32 | 13 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 5 | 11 | 17 | 6 | 21 | 17 |
| Disagree | 74 | 91 | 78 | 63 | 90 | 47 | 70 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Certain amount of corruption in every administration and this one is no better or worse --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 74 | 79 | 76 | 71 | 80 | 63 | 78 |
| Neither A/D | 8 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 10 | 7 |
| Disagree | 18 | 15 | 15 | 20 | 13 | 27 | 15 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

Corruption needs explaining versus desperate political charge --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Desperate political charge | 53 | 75 | 59 | 36 | 76 | 17 | 39 |
| Explain corruption | 32 | 18 | 25 | 45 | 12 | 69 | 28 |
| No opinion | 15 | 7 | 16 | 19 | 12 | 14 | 33 |
| | (551) | (133) | (193) | (150) | (339) | (163) | (49) |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

Will you please check Teeter and see whether or not he didn't foul up our miscellaneous state polls? Was our interviewing done in the daytime or the evening?

*all begin 4 p.
cm - sts - want to add.
WVa, Wash + N.H. (Sen + Ga)*

S → Reimer 10/11
 To cover w/CM only per

(F)

STATE POLL: WASHINGTON
 Polling Date: October 3-4, '72
 Respondents: 434 (Registered)

1. If the 1972 Presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate, or George McGovern, the Democratic candidate?

| <u>Polling Date</u> | | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>N.O.</u> |
|---------------------|---------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| O-Oct 2, '72 | (MASS) | 37 | 35 | 28 |
| O-Oct 3, '72 | (W.VA.) | 51 | 18 | 16 |
| O-Oct 3-4, '72 | (WASH) | 44 | 27 | 29 |

(If neither, or undecided on question #1, ask question #2.)

(If a candidate is named, go on to question #3.)

2. Would you say that you lean more toward Richard Nixon or more toward George McGovern?

| <u>Polling Date</u> | | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>N.O.</u> |
|---------------------|---------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| O-Oct 2, '72 | (MASS) | 44 (+7) | 41 (+6) | 15 |
| O-Oct 3, '72 | (W.VA.) | 60 (+9) | 24 (+6) | 16 |
| O-Oct 3-4, '72 | (WASH) | 53 (+9) | 32 (+5) | 15 |
| T-Jun 13-18, '72 | (WASH) | 41 | 45 | 13 |

(Those people who said Nixon or McGovern on question #1 as well as those who say Nixon or McGovern on question #2 are directed to go to question #3.)

3. Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you would prefer for President or is there some possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?

| <u>Polling Date</u> | | <u>Made Up Mind</u> | <u>May Change Mind</u> | <u>N.O.</u> |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| O-Oct 2, '72 | (MASS) | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| O-Oct 3, '72 | (W.VA.) | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| O-Oct 3-4, '72 | (WASH) | 65 | 25 | 10 |

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By *amp* NARS, Date *5-22-80*

MEMORANDUM

October 10, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: New Jersey Phone Poll

Preliminary trial heats on New Jersey are as follows:

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Without leaners | 54 | 27 | 19 |
| With leaners | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| Change from Wave III | (- 4) | (+ 2) | (+ 1) |

*W
llc*

| <u>Senate</u> | <u>Case</u> | <u>Krebs</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| With leaners | 53 | 28 | 19 |
| 551 Interviews October 6-9, 1972 | | | |

*not in
llc*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

MEMORANDUM ^{Empire} , Date 5-22-80

October 10, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: Minnesota Phone Poll

Preliminary trial heats on Minnesota are as follows:

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Without leaners | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| With leaners | 57 | 32 | 11 |
| <u>Senate</u> | <u>Hansen</u> | <u>Mondale</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
| With leaners | 27 | 65 | 8 |

401 Interviews
October 7-9, 1972

Handwritten initials: R. M. Teeter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1972 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
 FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
 SUBJECT: Illinois and Iowa Polls

Bob Teeter called with the Rolling Wave Illinois results:

L -
 covered
 w/H
 10/9
 740 p

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| O-Oct 6-9 with leaners: | <u>RN</u> 62 | <u>McG</u> -27 | <u>Un</u> -11 |
| without leaners: | <u>58</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>19</u> |
| W3-Sep 5-6 | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| | <u>Percy</u> | <u>Pucinski</u> | <u>Un</u> |
| O-Oct 6-9 | <u>60</u> | <u>27</u> | <u>13</u> |
| | <u>Ogilvie</u> | <u>Walker</u> | <u>Un</u> |
| | <u>49</u> | <u>42</u> | <u>9</u> |

Teeter also obtained an Idaho poll:

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| Central Surveys | <u>RN</u> | <u>McG</u> | <u>Un</u> |
| Sep 25-30 | 66 | 16 | 18 |
| | <u>McClure</u> | <u>Davis</u> | <u>Un</u> |
| | 47 | 30 | 23 |

These figures will be added to your poll book.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

H/
Don't really
answer the
question -
C

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By *Empress* NARS, Date *5-22-80*

October 5, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Rmt*
SUBJECT: Phone Polls

The question has been raised as to why we are slipping slightly in the national polls but have either held steady or gained slightly in the priority state telephone polls ORC has done during the last week.

One reason for this difference may be that our leads were so large in the southern, prairie and mountain states that any shift to McGovern occurred there first. In several of these states our leads were 40-50% and McGovern was running far below the Democratic base vote.

Also, as I indicated to you earlier we have had a problem with ORC doing too large a proportion of their interviewing in the daytime on the first few phone polls. This clearly inflated the Michigan data and may have effected the others to a lesser degree. We have independent data on Los Angeles and Orange Counties which we have compared to the Los Angeles and Orange County portion of the ORC study and it is very close. The problem has been solved by requiring ORC to use more lines and do all their interviewing after 5:00p.m. The five states we are now doing should give us a more reliable comparison between our priority states and the national polls.

I have compared our Wave III national poll with the latest Harris, and the latest Gallup and while the demographic breaks do not always match up, it appears that our slippage has been fairly uniform across demographic groups. It appears to be just slightly greater among those groups that are traditionally Democratic (low income and education, Catholics, young voters) but the differences are not statistically significant.

V-3

1968: -2

| <u>Trial Heats</u> | | <u>McGovern</u> | | |
|--------------------|----|-----------------|----|--|
| Without Leaners | 53 | 29 | 18 | |
| With Leaners | 58 | 32 | 10 | |

| | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nixon (With Leaners) | 88 | 68 | 45 |
| McGovern (With Leaners) | 10 | 27 | 40 |
| Undecided | 2 | 5 | 15 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
| Job | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| Vietnam | 57 | 32 | 11 |
| Economy | 40 | 47 | 13 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | | |
|--------------|----|-------|
| Vietnam | 48 | (- 7) |
| Economy | 18 | (+ 3) |
| Crime | 15 | (- 8) |
| Inflation | 13 | (- 5) |
| Unemployment | 10 | (+ 0) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | <u>Nixon</u> | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 38 | 70 | 42 | 27 |
| Fairly Able | 38 | 18 | 39 | 43 |
| Not Very Able | 13 | 6 | 12 | 15 |
| Not at all Able | 8 | 4 | 5 | 11 |
| Don't Know | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 |

| | <u>McGovern</u> | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
| Very Able | 12 | 10 | 8 | 14 |
| Fairly Able | 30 | 18 | 26 | 36 |
| Not Very Able | 19 | 21 | 26 | 15 |
| Not at all Able | 24 | 41 | 28 | 18 |
| Don't Know | 15 | 10 | 12 | 17 |

Commitment

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Definitely Vote For | 87 | 79 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 7 | 10 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 4 | 8 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 3 |

A-1
 BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

Maryland
 October 4-5, 1972
 409 Interviews

V-3

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 58% | 32% | 10% | +26% | 409 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 51 | 44 | 5 | + 7 | 44 |
| 25-34 years | 56 | 31 | 13 | +25 | 102 |
| 35-44 years | 55 | 38 | 7 | +17 | 86 |
| 45-54 years | 62 | 29 | 9 | +33 | 73 |
| 55-64 years | 54 | 28 | 18 | +26 | 66 |
| 65 years + | 71 | 23 | 6 | +48 | 37 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 57 | 33 | 10 | +24 | 77 |
| High school graduate | 65 | 20 | 15 | +45 | 135 |
| College | 52 | 40 | 8 | +12 | 196 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 66 | 22 | 12 | +44 | 111 |
| Protestant | 61 | 30 | 9 | +31 | 231 |
| Jewish | 28 | 62 | 10 | -34 | 27 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 56 | 33 | 11 | +23 | 144 |
| No | 58 | 32 | 10 | +26 | 261 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 56 | 41 | 3 | +15 | 23 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 58 | 30 | 12 | +28 | 105 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 28 | 11 | +33 | 90 |
| \$15,000 + | 53 | 37 | 10 | +16 | 142 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 61 | 31 | 8 | +30 | 205 |
| Female | 54 | 33 | 13 | +21 | 204 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 60 | 32 | 8 | +28 | 370 |
| Probably vote | 36 | 33 | 31 | + 3 | 21 |
| May or may not vote | 18 | 52 | 30 | -34 | 7 |
| Probably not vote | 16 | 0 | 84 | +16 | 5 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 | + 0 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Baltimore | 60 | 29 | 11 | +31 | 253 |
| Washington, D.C. | 53 | 38 | 9 | +15 | 143 |
| Salisbury/Pittsburgh | 71 | 19 | 10 | +52 | 13 |

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 59% | 31% | 10% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| 25-34 years | 57 | 27 | 16 |
| 35-44 years | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| 45-54 years | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| 55-64 years | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| 65 years + | 78 | 20 | 2 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 66 | 29 | 5 |
| High school graduate | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| College | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 66 | 24 | 10 |
| Protestant | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| Jewish | 18 | 53 | 29 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| No | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 58 | 34 | 8 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 60 | 31 | 9 |
| \$15,000 + | 56 | 32 | 12 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 59 | 32 | 9 |
| Female | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 62 | 29 | 9 |
| Probably vote | 27 | 32 | 41 |
| May or may not vote | 29 | 41 | 30 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Baltimore | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| Washington, D.C. | 55 | 32 | 13 |
| Salisbury/Pittsburgh | 65 | 25 | 10 |

ISSUES

Most important issue in voting --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Corruption in Gov't. | 29 | 20 | 27 | 32 | 24 | 40 | 23 |
| Vietnam | 46 | 47 | 43 | 44 | 44 | 52 | 36 |
| Inflation | 39 | 47 | 47 | 35 | 42 | 34 | 37 |
| Unemployment | 24 | 20 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 25 | 28 |
| Crime | 43 | 47 | 49 | 38 | 43 | 39 | 54 |
| Drugs | 31 | 25 | 36 | 29 | 34 | 26 | 32 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

How serious is corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Very serious | 34 | 14 | 26 | 43 | 20 | 57 | 38 |
| Fairly serious | 42 | 47 | 49 | 38 | 45 | 37 | 44 |
| Not very serious | 14 | 29 | 13 | 12 | 22 | 4 | 5 |
| Not at all serious | 3 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 5 |
| No Opinion | 7 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 8 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

Recent examples of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Watergate | 19 | 10 | 21 | 23 | 7 | 44 | 11 |
| Wheat/Grain Deal | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 5 | 19 | 6 |
| ITT | 7 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 15 | 9 |
| GOP Fund Sources | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

Effect of corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Not make any difference | 10 | 28 | 12 | 7 | 22 | 1 | 8 |
| More likely vote McG. | 43 | 5 | 34 | 54 | 1 | 84 | 5 |
| More likely vote Nixon | 36 | 56 | 42 | 29 | 64 | 10 | 53 |
| Don't Know | 11 | 11 | 12 | 10 | 13 | 5 | 34 |
| | (161) | (18) | (57) | (70) | (69) | (78) | (14) |

Specific Examples --

| <u>Effect</u> | <u>Watergate</u> | <u>Grain Deal</u> | <u>ITT</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Not make any difference | 30 | 28 | 26 |
| More likely vote McGovern | 62 | 54 | 63 |
| More likely vote Nixon | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Don't Know | 7 | 15 | 11 |

Best job of eliminating corruption --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Nixon | 35 | 49 | 26 | 25 | 51 | 5 | 17 |
| McGovern | 33 | 18 | 38 | 46 | 17 | 78 | 8 |
| Don't Know | 31 | 31 | 35 | 29 | 31 | 16 | 75 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

ISSUES-

Should Nixon stop hiding in White House and debate issues with McGovern --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 42 | 25 | 37 | 50 | 20 | 81 | 42 |
| Neither A/D | 10 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 22 |
| Disagree | 48 | 69 | 56 | 40 | 71 | 11 | 36 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

Administration treat business with favoritism at expense of average citizen --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 58 | 21 | 53 | 72 | 37 | 89 | 78 |
| Neither A/D | 12 | 14 | 13 | 8 | 17 | 5 | 8 |
| Disagree | 30 | 65 | 34 | 20 | 46 | 6 | 14 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

Administration is more corrupt than any administration --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 16 | 8 | 7 | 23 | 3 | 41 | 13 |
| Neither A/D | 14 | 10 | 13 | 16 | 12 | 16 | 23 |
| Disagree | 70 | 82 | 80 | 61 | 85 | 43 | 64 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

Certain amount of corruption in every administration and this one is no better or worse --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Agree | 73 | 82 | 81 | 68 | 84 | 52 | 75 |
| Neither A/D | 9 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 11 | 18 |
| Disagree | 18 | 12 | 12 | 24 | 10 | 37 | 7 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

Corruption needs explaining versus desperate political charge --

| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Nixon Voters</u> | <u>McGovern Voters</u> | <u>Und. Voters</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Explain Corruption | 37 | 12 | 28 | 49 | 14 | 78 | 42 |
| Desperate political charge | 49 | 76 | 64 | 35 | 73 | 13 | 19 |
| No Opinion | 14 | 12 | 8 | 16 | 13 | 9 | 39 |
| | (409) | (51) | (137) | (157) | (241) | (129) | (39) |

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
 ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
 MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
 By *lm* *Prison*, Date *5-22-80*

October 4, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
 SUBJECT: California and Michigan Telephone Polls

Attached is the telephone poll data for Michigan and California. The trial heat data indicates an increase in the President's margin in both states. However, our initial analysis makes me somewhat suspicious of the Michigan data and I believe our lead is over stated.

Market Opinion conducted a poll for the Detroit News last week which was published Sunday and gave the President a lead of 15%. The News Poll results were fairly close to both our Wave III and an earlier News Poll. The results of all three of these personal interview polls indicates that our lead is somewhat less than in the ORC telephone poll.

| | <u>Phone Poll</u> | <u>Detroit News Poll (Personal)</u> | <u>Wave III (Personal)</u> | <u>Detroit News Poll (Personal)</u> |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Nixon | 63 | 52 | 55 | 54 |
| McGovern | 26 | 37 | 37 | 38 |
| Undecided | 11 | 11 | 8 | 8 |
| Margin | +37 | +15 | +18 | +16 |
| No. of Interviews | (511) | (798) | (804) | (800) |
| Dates | Sept. 27-29 | Sept. 17-21 | Sept. 5-7 | Aug. 28-Sept. 1 |

We have compared the ORC sample to both the Wave III and Detroit News samples and they are similar in terms of demographic and political makeup. However, I suspect the discrepancy is because too large a proportion of the interviewing on the ORC poll was done in the daytime. I know from experience that the respondents you get on the telephone during the day are not necessarily the same types of people you reach in the evening even though they may be similar demographically.

I have asked ORC to furnish me data on when the interviewing was done in each of the states they have done and hope to be able to draw a definite conclusion from it.

If we determine that this is in fact the problem, we can solve it by requiring ORC to do a set percentage of their interviewing in the evening. This will require more lines or a longer period for completing the interviewing. It is however, a problem we should not have had and one which it is ORC's responsibility to solve. If they cannot, we will have to switch vendors for the last month of the campaign. Up to now they have been both slow and uncooperative with the phone poll project.

From the information we have this does not appear to be as severe or possibly a problem at all in the New York, Pennsylvania or California data. We have current data from DMI on Los Angeles and Orange Counties and it also shows an increase in our margin.

| | <u>Phone Poll</u> <u>(Without Leaners)</u> | <u>Wave III</u> <u>(Personal)</u> |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Nixon | 56 | 53 |
| McGovern | 31 | 37 |
| Undecided | 13 | 10 |
| Margin | +25 | +16 |
| Chg. in Margin | (+ 9) | (+10) |
| No. Interviews | (514) | (1000) |
| Dates | Sept. 24-Oct. 2 | Sept. 5-11 |

Los Angeles/Orange Phone Poll (Without Leaners)

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| Nixon | 63 (+4) | 59 (+3) | 56 |
| McGovern | 19 (-9) | 28 (-2) | 30 |
| Undecided | 18 (+5) | 13 (-1) | 14 |
| Margin | +44 | +31 | +26 |
| Chg. in Margin | (+13) | (+ 5) | N/A |
| No. Interviews | (1000) | (1000) | (1000) |
| Dates | Last Wk Sept. | Last Wk Aug. | Last Wk July |

V-2

1968: +4

Trial Heats

| | McGovern | | |
|------------------|----------|----|----|
| Without Leanners | 56 | 31 | 13 |
| With Leanners | 58 | 34 | 8 |

| | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
|--------------------------|------|-----|------|
| Nixon (With Leanners) | 93 | 70 | 30 |
| McGovern (With Leanners) | 2 | 24 | 58 |
| Undecided | 5 | 6 | 12 |

Why Voting For

| | Nixon | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Better Man/More Experience | 38 | 38 | 20 | 33 |
| Doing Good Job | 34 | 42 | 29 | 31 |
| Agree with his Policies | 27 | 25 | 27 | 31 |
| Republican | 9 | 11 | 8 | 12 |
| Honest/Sincere | 5 | 3 | 5 | 12 |

| | McGovern | | | |
|----------------------------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Better Man/More Experience | 32 | 50 | 26 | 36 |
| Agree with his Policies | 30 | 0 | 46 | 22 |
| Democrat | 21 | 50 | 17 | 24 |
| Need Change | 15 | 0 | 17 | 17 |
| For People | 13 | 0 | 6 | 15 |

What Would Change Mind

| | Nixon Voters | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 77 | 78 | 78 | 71 |
| New Candidate | 8 | 6 | 10 | 10 |
| Nixon Changes | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| War Escalated | 4 | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| Other (Mixed) | 6 | 7 | 4 | 8 |

| | McGovern Voters | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 69 | 100 | 54 | 73 |
| McGovern Changes | 9 | 0 | 14 | 10 |
| War End | 9 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| New Candidate | 4 | 0 | 6 | 3 |
| Other (Mixed) | 8 | 0 | 11 | 6 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | Approve | Disapprove | No Opinion |
|---------------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Job | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| Vietnam | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| Economy | 46 | 45 | 9 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Vietnam | 52 (+ 2) |
| Economy | 18 (+ 7) |
| Unemployment | 16 (- 6) |
| Crime | 14 (+ 4) |
| Inflation | 10 (- 8) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | Nixon | | | | McGovern | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|-----|------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Very Able | 43 | 74 | 48 | 21 | 15 | 3 | 9 | 24 |
| Fairly Able | 35 | 24 | 39 | 42 | 29 | 9 | 29 | 37 |
| Not Very Able | 12 | 0 | 8 | 21 | 20 | 31 | 23 | 13 |
| Not at all Able | 9 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 25 | 50 | 26 | 15 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 7 | 13 | 11 |

| <u>Commitment</u> | Nixon | McGovern |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Definitely Vote For | 82 | 72 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 8 | 15 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 9 | 13 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 0 |

BALLOTS
(With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|--|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 58% | 34% | 8% | +24 | 514 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 40 | 57 | 3 | -17 | 75 |
| 25-34 years | 62 | 32 | 6 | +30 | 117 |
| 35-44 years | 59 | 30 | 11 | +29 | 87 |
| 45-54 years | 64 | 29 | 7 | +35 | 82 |
| 55-64 years | 62 | 30 | 8 | +32 | 85 |
| 65 years + | 65 | 22 | 13 | +43 | 60 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 46 | 40 | 14 | + 6 | 88 |
| High school graduate | 58 | 34 | 8 | +24 | 160 |
| College | 64 | 30 | 6 | +34 | 260 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 55 | 38 | 7 | +17 | 106 |
| Protestant | 64 | 29 | 7 | +35 | 288 |
| Jewish | 50 | 50 | 0 | + 0 | 24 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 46 | 43 | 11 | + 3 | 209 |
| No | 68 | 26 | 6 | +42 | 286 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 37 | 51 | 12 | -14 | 66 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 54 | 38 | 8 | +16 | 126 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 63 | 30 | 7 | +33 | 139 |
| \$15,000 + | 73 | 25 | 2 | +48 | 127 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 57 | 37 | 6 | +20 | 251 |
| Female | 60 | 31 | 9 | +29 | 259 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 61 | 33 | 6 | +28 | 478 |
| Probably vote | 30 | 45 | 25 | -15 | 20 |
| May or may not vote | 67 | 0 | 33 | +67 | 6 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 33 | 67 | -33 | 3 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 50 | 50 | -50 | 2 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Shasta/Sonoma | 50 | 50 | 0 | + 0 | 6 |
| Alameda/Contra Costa/ San Francisco/San Mateo/ Santa Clara | 49 | 43 | 8 | + 6 | 92 |
| Sacramento/San Joaquin/ Tulare | 38 | 56 | 6 | -18 | 34 |
| Monterey/Santa Barbara | 100 | 0 | 0 | +100 | 7 |
| Los Angeles | 60 | 33 | 7 | +27 | 202 |
| Orange/Riverside/San Bernadino/San Diego | 64 | 24 | 12 | +40 | 102 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Bakersfield | 71 | 0 | 29 | +71 | 7 |
| Chico-Redding | 68 | 21 | 11 | +47 | 19 |
| El Centro | 43 | 43 | 14 | + 0 | 7 |
| Fresno | 53 | 41 | 6 | +12 | 17 |
| Los Angeles | 60 | 31 | 9 | +29 | 271 |
| Palm Springs | 44 | 56 | 0 | -12 | 9 |
| Sacramento-Stockton | 51 | 45 | 4 | + 6 | 49 |
| San Diego | 68 | 25 | 7 | +43 | 44 |
| San Francisco | 52 | 41 | 7 | +11 | 102 |
| Santa Barbara/Santa Maria | 100 | 0 | 0 | +100 | 7 |

V-2

B-1

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|--|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 56% | 36% | 8% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 45 | 51 | 4 |
| 25-34 years | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| 35-44 years | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| 45-54 years | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| 55-64 years | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| 65 years + | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 46 | 41 | 13 |
| High school graduate | 53 | 37 | 10 |
| College | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 60 | 35 | 5 |
| Protestant | 61 | 31 | 8 |
| Jewish | 33 | 63 | 4 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| No | 64 | 29 | 7 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| \$15,000 + | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| Female | 58 | 34 | 8 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| Probably vote | 55 | 30 | 15 |
| May or may not vote | 33 | 33 | 34 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 50 | 50 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Shasta/Sonoma | 33 | 50 | 17 |
| Alameda/Contra Costa/ San Francisco/San Mateo/ Santa Clara | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Sacramento/San Joaquin/ Tulare | 44 | 56 | 0 |
| Monterey/Santa Barbara | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Los Angeles | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| Orange/Riverside/San Bernadino/San Diego | 66 | 29 | 5 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Bakersfield | 29 | 14 | 57 |
| Chico-Redding | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| El Centro | 57 | 29 | 14 |
| Fresno | 65 | 35 | 0 |
| Los Angeles | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| Palm Springs | 44 | 45 | 11 |
| Sacramento-Stockton | 57 | 39 | 4 |
| San Diego | 66 | 32 | 2 |
| San Francisco | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| Santa Barbara/Santa Maria | 100 | 0 | 0 |

C-1

ISSUES

Do you think Richard Nixon or George McGovern's policies would get Prisoners of War released sooner?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nixon | 40 | 63 | 50 | 20 |
| McGovern | 28 | 8 | 19 | 44 |
| Don't Know | 32 | 29 | 31 | 36 |

Do you think the North Vietnamese are using prisoner release issue to influence election?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 71 | 76 | 79 | 65 |
| No | 13 | 8 | 12 | 15 |
| Don't Know | 16 | 16 | 9 | 20 |

Do you know about Russian Grain Deal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 71 | 80 | 77 | 64 |
| No | 22 | 19 | 17 | 27 |
| Don't Know | 7 | 1 | 6 | 9 |
| | (514) | (109) | (160) | (187) |

If yes, do you approve?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Approve | 54 | 50 | 60 | 49 |
| Disapprove | 30 | 32 | 24 | 37 |
| Don't Know | 16 | 18 | 16 | 14 |
| | (367) | (87) | (123) | (120) |

If yes, have you heard about scandal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 69 | 69 | 78 | 70 |
| No | 27 | 30 | 18 | 27 |
| Don't know | 4 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| | (367) | (87) | (123) | (120) |

If yes, do you believe charge that exporters made excess profit from inside information?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 52 | 32 | 55 | 68 |
| No | 13 | 18 | 11 | 12 |
| Don't Know | 35 | 50 | 34 | 20 |
| | (255) | (60) | (96) | (84) |

1968: -6

Trial Heats

| | McGovern | | |
|-----------------|----------|----|----|
| Without Leaners | 59 | 23 | 18 |
| With Leaners | 63 | 26 | 11 |

| | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
|-------------------------|------|-----|------|
| Nixon (With Leaners) | 93 | 74 | 42 |
| McGovern (With Leaners) | 2 | 12 | 48 |
| Undecided | 5 | 14 | 10 |

Why Voting For

| | Nixon | | | |
|-------------------------|-------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Better/More Experience | 37 | 40 | 38 | 29 |
| Doing Good Job | 35 | 40 | 26 | 42 |
| Agree with his policies | 21 | 12 | 27 | 24 |
| Republican | 6 | 8 | 5 | 4 |
| Honest/Sincere | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 |

| | McGovern | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Agree with his policies | 30 | 0 | 24 | 30 |
| Democrat | 19 | 0 | 6 | 24 |
| Better/More Experience | 18 | 0 | 18 | 19 |
| For People | 14 | 33 | 24 | 13 |
| Need Change | 14 | 33 | 24 | 11 |

What Would Change Mind

| | Nixon Voters | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 81 | 92 | 75 | 73 |
| New Candidate | 7 | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Nixon Changes | 5 | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| War Escalated | 2 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Other (Mixed) | 4 | 3 | 7 | 2 |

| | McGovern Voters | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 81 | 67 | 53 | 85 |
| New Candidate | 5 | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| War End | 3 | 0 | 12 | 2 |
| McGovern Changes | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Other (Mixed) | 10 | 33 | 29 | 7 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | Approve | Disapprove | No Opinion |
|---------------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Job | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Vietnam | 59 | 32 | 9 |
| Economy | 43 | 45 | 12 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----|-------|
| Vietnam | 61 | (+ 8) |
| Unemployment | 13 | (-12) |
| Poverty/Welfare | 13 | (+ 3) |
| Integration schools/Bussing | 12 | (- 5) |
| Economy | 12 | (+ 0) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | Nixon | | | | McGovern | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|-----|------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Very Able | 41 | 78 | 44 | 21 | 12 | 4 | 4 | 23 |
| Fairly Able | 38 | 17 | 44 | 44 | 28 | 15 | 31 | 31 |
| Not Very Able | 12 | 2 | 7 | 21 | 21 | 31 | 24 | 16 |
| Not at all Able | 7 | 2 | 3 | 12 | 25 | 42 | 27 | 15 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 8 | 14 | 15 |

Commitment

| | Nixon | McGovern |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Definitely Vote For | 81 | 75 |
| Probably Vote but Still thinking | 11 | 15 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 6 | 7 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 3 |

A-1

BALLOTS
(With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 63% | 26% | 11% | +37% | 511 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 50 | 39 | 11 | +14 | 59 |
| 25-34 years | 58 | 33 | 9 | +25 | 111 |
| 35-44 years | 67 | 19 | 14 | +48 | 109 |
| 45-54 years | 68 | 22 | 10 | +46 | 96 |
| 55-64 years | 66 | 22 | 12 | +44 | 63 |
| 65 years + | 70 | 18 | 12 | +52 | 69 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 58 | 27 | 15 | +31 | 107 |
| High school graduate | 65 | 22 | 13 | +43 | 210 |
| College | 66 | 29 | 5 | +37 | 189 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 65 | 26 | 9 | +39 | 145 |
| Protestant | 65 | 23 | 12 | +42 | 297 |
| Jewish | 46 | 54 | 0 | - 8 | 13 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 53 | 34 | 13 | +19 | 230 |
| No | 72 | 18 | 10 | +54 | 274 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 52 | 35 | 13 | +17 | 60 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 62 | 24 | 14 | +38 | 113 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 65 | 24 | 11 | +41 | 128 |
| \$15,000 + | 73 | 23 | 4 | +50 | 129 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 62 | 26 | 12 | +36 | 257 |
| Female | 65 | 25 | 10 | +40 | 254 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 67 | 24 | 9 | +43 | 456 |
| Probably vote | 40 | 36 | 24 | + 4 | 44 |
| May or may not vote | 16 | 63 | 21 | -47 | 6 |
| Probably not vote | 100 | 0 | 0 | +100 | 1 |
| Definitely not vote | 18 | 0 | 82 | +18 | 3 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Wayne | 55 | 36 | 9 | +19 | 137 |
| Oakland | 69 | 23 | 8 | +46 | 70 |
| Macomb | 75 | 13 | 12 | +62 | 43 |
| Outstate | 64 | 23 | 13 | +41 | 261 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Chicago | 58 | 19 | 23 | +39 | 9 |
| Detroit | 63 | 28 | 9 | +35 | 287 |
| Flint/Saginaw/Bay City | 68 | 22 | 10 | +46 | 76 |
| Grand Rapids/Kalamazoo | 61 | 30 | 9 | +31 | 80 |
| Lansing | 75 | 4 | 21 | +71 | 30 |
| Marquette | 66 | 19 | 15 | +47 | 16 |
| South Bend/Elkhart | 59 | 12 | 29 | +47 | 12 |

B-1

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 59% | 26% | 15% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| 25-34 years | 50 | 30 | 20 |
| 35-44 years | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| 45-54 years | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| 55-64 years | 57 | 22 | 21 |
| 65 years + | 72 | 15 | 13 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 59 | 23 | 18 |
| High school graduate | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| College | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 62 | 22 | 16 |
| Protestant | 60 | 27 | 13 |
| Jewish | 16 | 57 | 27 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 51 | 36 | 13 |
| No | 66 | 18 | 16 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 53 | 25 | 22 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 56 | 28 | 16 |
| \$15,000 + | 71 | 26 | 3 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 60 | 29 | 11 |
| Female | 59 | 23 | 18 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 63 | 24 | 13 |
| Probably vote | 28 | 37 | 35 |
| May or may not vote | 26 | 63 | 11 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| Definitely not vote | 45 | 55 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Wayne | 50 | 37 | 13 |
| Oakland | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| Macomb | 69 | 14 | 17 |
| Outstate | 63 | 22 | 15 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Chicago | 68 | 0 | 32 |
| Detroit | 55 | 31 | 14 |
| Flint/Saginaw/Bay City | 66 | 20 | 14 |
| Grand Rapids/Kalamazoo | 58 | 26 | 16 |
| Lansing | 80 | 6 | 14 |
| Marquette | 80 | 10 | 10 |
| South Bend/Elkhart | 53 | 24 | 23 |

C-1

ISSUES

Do you think Richard Nixon or George McGovern's policies would get Prisoners of War released sooner?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nixon | 37 | 65 | 43 | 21 |
| McGovern | 24 | 9 | 15 | 39 |
| Don't Know | 39 | 26 | 42 | 40 |

Do you think the North Vietnamese are using prisoner release issue to influence election?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 66 | 69 | 65 | 67 |
| No | 15 | 15 | 16 | 14 |
| Don't Know | 19 | 16 | 19 | 19 |

Do you know about Russian Grain Deal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 68 | 67 | 68 | 72 |
| No | 30 | 30 | 30 | 26 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| | (511) | (130) | (183) | (121) |

→ If yes, do you approve?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Approve | 58 | 66 | 58 | 56 |
| Disapprove | 26 | 21 | 26 | 29 |
| Don't Know | 16 | 13 | 16 | 15 |
| | (342) | (87) | (124) | (87) |

→ If yes, have you heard about scandal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 71 | 73 | 74 | 69 |
| No | 25 | 21 | 21 | 28 |
| Don't Know | 4 | 6 | 5 | 3 |
| | (342) | (87) | (124) | (87) |

→ If yes, do you believe charge that exporters made excess profit from inside information?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 57 | 44 | 54 | 68 |
| No | 13 | 26 | 10 | 10 |
| Don't Know | 30 | 30 | 36 | 22 |
| | (241) | (64) | (92) | (60) |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

L. HIGBY

Tod Hullin called me to report that John has requested that Ed Harper receive all the head to head trial heat data, that he needs this data as part of the briefing they are putting together for the Congressional Leadership and Cabinet Meeting on Tuesday, October 10 at 8 a.m. MacGregor and Ehrlichman are both to brief on the issues and political situation.

You have previously indicated that only MacGregor, Magruder, and Malek are to receive the exact trial heat figures by state.

Should Ed Harper receive this trial heat data?

Yes

No

President has ordered Halde-
man not to give the out

S → Harper
10/9

L

1 page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

Rolling Schedule.

State

also find

October 6, 1972.

Reported Delivery Date

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Polling Schedule

Rolling Wave.

CRP Surveys

The Teeter tentative schedule for Rolling Wave Telephone Surveys is:

| <u>State</u> | <u>Polling Dates</u> | <u>Data Delivery</u> |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Ill. | 10/5-6 | 10/9 |
| Md. | 10/4-5 | 10/6 |
| Ohio | 10/7-10 | 10/12 |
| N.J. | 10/7-10 | 10/12 |
| Minn. | 10/7-10 | 10/12 |
| N.Y. | 10/9-10 | 10/12 |
| Cal. | 10/9-10 | 10/12 |

The next series of surveys after October 12 has not been scheduled.

ORC Private *National* Surveys

The ORC National Surveys conducted for you are scheduled every weekend between now and November 7, with the results to be delivered each Monday in the afternoon.

| <u>Survey</u> | <u>Polling Dates</u> | <u>Delivery Dates</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| National Survey #2 | 10/6-8 | 10/9 |
| National Survey #3 | 10/13-15 | 10/16 |
| National Survey #4 | 10/20-22 | 10/23 |
| National Survey #5 | 10/27-29 | 10/30 |
| National Survey #6 | 11/3-5 | 11/6 |

Gallup Surveys

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

Harris

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

Separate me

News 44-41-15
 W Va 60-24-16
 Wash. 53-32-15

63-19-18 LA-0

Dist News 9/29
 52-37-11

58-38-4

63-26-11

| BALLOT | NATIONAL | | | ALABAMA | | | CALIFORNIA | | | CONNECTICUT | | | ILLINOIS | | | MARYLAND | | | MICHIGAN | | | |
|------------------|----------|----|-----|---------|----|-----|------------|----|-----|-------------|----|-----|----------|----|-----|----------|----|-----|----------|----|-----|-----|
| | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | |
| Nixon/Agnew | 63 | 52 | +11 | 62 | 63 | - 1 | 53 | 48 | + 5 | 67 | 54 | +13 | 56 | 56 | + 0 | 58 | 52 | + 6 | 55 | 45 | +10 | |
| McGovern/Shriver | 32 | 32 | - 1 | 44 | 23 | - 5 | 16 | 42 | - 5 | 44 | 37 | -14 | 30 | 35 | - 9 | 18 | 42 | -12 | 18 | 37 | 45 | - 8 |
| Undecided | 6 | 16 | -10 | 20 | 14 | + 6 | 10 | 11 | - 1 | 10 | 10 | + 0 | 18 | 10 | + 8 | 12 | 6 | + 6 | 8 | 10 | - 2 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|
| Nixon/Agnew | 59 | | 61 | | 53 | | 61 | | 53 | | 57 | | 54 |
| McGovern/Shriver | 30 | | 18 | | 36 | | 21 | | 25 | | 29 | | 34 |
| Schmitz/Anderson | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 |
| Undecided | 9 | | 19 | | 8 | | 15 | | 20 | | 13 | | 9 |
| (Calif. Only) Spock/Hobson | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|
| Definitely Nixon | 42 | | 51 | | 38 | | 42 | | 41 | | 43 | | 34 |
| Probably Nixon | 12 | | 9 | | 9 | | 12 | | 9 | | 10 | | 12 |
| Undecided/Lean to Nixon | 6 | | 5 | | 5 | | 8 | | 5 | | 5 | | 7 |
| Completely Undecided | 5 | | 11 | | 6 | | 10 | | 9 | | 7 | | 7 |
| Undecided/Lean to McGovern | 6 | | 2 | | 4 | | 6 | | 4 | | 4 | | 4 |
| Probably McGovern | 8 | | 4 | | 9 | | 5 | | 6 | | 7 | | 11 |
| Definitely McGovern | 17 | | 8 | | 23 | | 11 | | 12 | | 15 | | 16 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|---------|-----|
| W3 Sample Size | 1,011 | 1,500 | 800 | 1,000 | 600 | 800 | 600 | 800 |
| W3 Interviewing Dates | 9/5-9/16 | 9/5-9/12 | 9/5-9/11 | 9/5-9/11 | 9/5-9/13 | 9/5-9/8 | 9/5-9/7 | |

62-28-10

57-33-10

63-28-9

x

53-36-11

| BALLOT | MISSOURI | | | NEW JERSEY | | | NEW YORK | | | OHIO | | | PENNSYLVANIA | | | TEXAS | | | WISCONSIN | | |
|------------------|----------|----|-----|------------|----|-----|----------|----|-----|------|----|-----|--------------|----|-----|-------|----|-----|-----------|----|-----|
| | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG | W3 | W2 | CHG |
| Nixon/Agnew | 52 | 44 | +8 | 62 | 49 | +13 | 52 | 49 | +3 | 60 | 56 | +4 | 60 | 49 | +11 | 64 | 54 | +10 | 55 | 44 | +11 |
| McGovern/Shriver | 27 | 46 | -21 | 31 | 42 | -11 | 22 | 30 | -12 | 28 | 38 | -6 | 33 | 27 | -15 | 40 | 24 | -11 | 36 | 52 | -16 |
| Undecided | 22 | 10 | +12 | 8 | 9 | -1 | 18 | 9 | +9 | 9 | 6 | +3 | 14 | 9 | +5 | 12 | 11 | +1 | 9 | 5 | +4 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|
| Nixon/Agnew | 53 | | 60 | | 56 | | 59 | | 60 | | 58 | | 53 |
| McGovern/Shriver | 25 | | 30 | | 34 | | 30 | | 27 | | 23 | | 34 |
| Schmitz/Anderson | 1 | | 1 | | 0 | | 1 | | 2 | | 2 | | 2 |
| Undecided | 21 | | 9 | | 10 | | 11 | | 12 | | 17 | | 12 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|--|----|
| Definitely Nixon | 35 | | 42 | | 38 | | 39 | | 41 | | 47 | | 33 |
| Probably Nixon | 10 | | 10 | | 12 | | 11 | | 11 | | 12 | | 14 |
| Undecided/Lean to Nixon | 8 | | 6 | | 7 | | 6 | | 7 | | 6 | | 6 |
| Completely Undecided | 13 | | 8 | | 5 | | 10 | | 10 | | 6 | | 8 |
| Undecided/Lean to McGovern | 4 | | 5 | | 6 | | 5 | | 4 | | 3 | | 5 |
| Probably McGovern | 6 | | 6 | | 10 | | 8 | | 8 | | 4 | | 9 |
| Definitely McGovern | 15 | | 17 | | 17 | | 15 | | 12 | | 15 | | 18 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|----------|---------|
| W3 Sample Size | 800 | 800 | 1,000 | 800 | 800 | 800 | 600 |
| W3 Interviewing Dates | 9/5-9/7 | 9/5-9/11 | 9/5-9/9 | 9/5-9/6 | 9/5-9/14 | 9/5-9/10 | 9/5-9/7 |

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *S*
SUBJECT: Maryland Rolling Wave

Bob Teeter called with the Rolling Wave Maryland data:

| <u>Polling Dates</u> | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Und.</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| W3-Sep 5-16 | 58 | 30 | 12 |
| O -Oct 4- 5 | 53 (5) | 29 (3) | 18 |
| | <i>58</i> | <i>32</i> | <i>10</i> |

These have been added to your Trial Heat Summary.

*paren = learner.
figures are without learner for
Oct 4/5/72 up per W3.*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 1972

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

CRP Surveys

The Yeater tentative schedule for Rolling Wave Telephone Surveys is:

| <u>State</u> | <u>Polling Dates</u> | <u>Data Delivery</u> |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Ill. | 10/5-6 | 10/9 |
| Md. | 10/4-5 | 10/6 |
| Ohio | 10/7-10 | 10/12 |
| N.J. | 10/7-10 | 10/12 |
| Minn. | 10/7-10 | 10/12 |
| N.Y. | 10/9-10 | 10/12 |
| Cal. | 10/9-10 | 10/12 |

The next series of surveys after October 12 has not been scheduled.

ORC Private Surveys

The ORC National Surveys conducted for you are scheduled every weekend between now and November 7, with the results to be delivered each Monday in the afternoon.

| <u>Survey</u> | <u>Polling Dates</u> | <u>Delivery Dates</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| National Survey #2 | 10/6-8 | 10/9 |
| National Survey #3 | 10/13-15 | 10/16 |
| National Survey #4 | 10/20-22 | 10/23 |
| National Survey #5 | 10/27-29 | 10/30 |
| National Survey #6 | 11/3-5 | 11/6 |

Gallup Surveys

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

Harris

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

GS/jb

Teeter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY L

As standard procedure, we will never repoll a state within the same week. In other words, Teeter wanting to poll California right away was not a good idea. Make sure you have a copy of what Teeter's final polling strategy is through October 16th.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1972



MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

You asked me who gets the information on the rolling wave polls at 1701. They are as follows:

1. MacGregor
2. Magruder
3. Malek
4. Mitchell

from NY.

Also Mitchell gives any information he has to Bixby per our previous arrangement with him.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1972



MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

You asked me the number of people we would be polling in each state on the rolling wave polls. In the large states like New York, California, and Illinois, Teeter is insisting on a 500 sample. In the smaller states like Maryland, perhaps even New Jersey, he is holding the sample to 400.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

S

SUBJECT:

Polling Matters

Wisconsin and Missouri

Bob Teeter submitted the Wisconsin and Missouri Rolling Wave results (attached). Copies are being put in your Wave III Summary Book.

Iowa

Teeter also submitted Iowa polling data, conducted by the Des Moines Register and Tribune. Teeter says this is a very reliable poll. The figures are being added to the Ballot Summary chart so that you can compare them with the ORC Iowa poll.

No

Senate and Gubernatorial Results

The Senate Races chart in the Wave III Summary Book contains all available Senate material, including those where Teeter has shared results. The far right-hand column indicates those states where there are joint agreements.



There are five Gubernatorial races where we have polled. The Missouri results for the Gubernatorial race appear on the bottom of the first page of the Wave III and Rolling Wave materials. The Texas and Illinois results from Wave III also appear at the bottom of the first page. In Indiana and Washington only the June Wave II data on the Gubernatorial races is available.



1968: +4

V-4

Trial Heats

| | McGovern | | |
|-----------------|----------|----|----|
| Without Leaners | 49 | 32 | 19 |
| With Leaners | 53 | 36 | 11 |

| | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
|-------------------------|------|-----|------|
| Nixon (With Leaners) | 90 | 60 | 28 |
| McGovern (With Leaners) | 7 | 25 | 60 |
| Undecided | 3 | 15 | 12 |

Why Voting For

| | Nixon | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Doing Good Job | 36 | 34 | 43 | 32 |
| Better Man/More Experience | 35 | 31 | 35 | 41 |
| Agree with his Policies | 20 | 24 | 14 | 23 |
| Republican | 9 | 17 | 5 | 0 |
| Trying to End War | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 |

| | McGovern | | | |
|----------------------------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Agree with his Policies | 27 | 100 | 21 | 26 |
| Better Man/More Experience | 23 | 0 | 21 | 24 |
| Democrat | 22 | 0 | 12 | 26 |
| Need Change | 15 | 0 | 13 | 14 |
| For People | 12 | 0 | 17 | 12 |

What Would Change Mind

| | Nixon Voters | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 82 | 90 | 75 | 82 |
| New Candidate | 6 | 3 | 9 | 4 |
| Nixon Changes | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| War Escalated | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Other (Mixed) | 5 | 0 | 10 | 5 |

| | McGovern Voters | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 81 | 100 | 75 | 84 |
| New Candidate | 6 | 0 | 8 | 4 |
| War End | 4 | 0 | 9 | 2 |
| McGovern Changes | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Other (Mixed) | 5 | 0 | 4 | 6 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | Approve | Disapprove | No Opinion |
|---------------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Job | 54 | 31 | 15 |
| Vietnam | 50 | 37 | 13 |
| Economy | 40 | 45 | 15 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Vietnam | 57 (+ 1) |
| Taxes | 16 (-16) |
| Economy | 15 (+ 0) |
| Inflation | 12 (-12) |
| Unemployment | 11 (- 9) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | Nixon | | | | McGovern | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|-----|------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Very Able | 38 | 62 | 41 | 25 | 16 | 3 | 9 | 28 |
| Fairly Able | 42 | 35 | 40 | 45 | 33 | 23 | 28 | 42 |
| Not Very Able | 13 | 3 | 12 | 20 | 18 | 25 | 27 | 10 |
| Not at all Able | 4 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 22 | 43 | 23 | 11 |
| Don't Know | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 11 | 6 | 13 | 9 |

| <u>Commitment</u> | Nixon | McGovern |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Definitely Vote For | 77 | 69 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 7 | 15 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 16 | 14 |
| Don't Know | 0 | 2 |

BALLOTS
 (With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 53% | 36% | 11% | +17% | 313 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 39 | 57 | 4 | -18 | 47 |
| 25-34 years | 53 | 40 | 7 | +13 | 58 |
| 35-44 years | 65 | 32 | 3 | +33 | 51 |
| 45-54 years | 43 | 36 | 21 | +7 | 64 |
| 55-64 years | 58 | 25 | 17 | +33 | 45 |
| 65 years + | 63 | 23 | 14 | +40 | 44 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 44 | 36 | 20 | +8 | 57 |
| High school graduate | 57 | 31 | 12 | +26 | 124 |
| College | 53 | 41 | 6 | +12 | 130 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 47 | 41 | 12 | +6 | 125 |
| Protestant | 65 | 28 | 7 | +37 | 146 |
| Jewish | 28 | 28 | 44 | X | 3 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 43 | 49 | 8 | -6 | 117 |
| No | 59 | 28 | 13 | +31 | 194 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 38 | 41 | 21 | -3 | 44 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 52 | 39 | 9 | +13 | 90 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 62 | 34 | 4 | +28 | 89 |
| \$15,000 + | 59 | 33 | 8 | +26 | 52 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 52 | 34 | 14 | +18 | 160 |
| Female | 55 | 36 | 9 | +19 | 153 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 55 | 35 | 10 | +20 | 280 |
| Probably vote | 41 | 47 | 12 | -6 | 19 |
| May or may not vote | 0 | 0 | 100 | X | 3 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 52 | 48 | X | 5 |
| Definitely not vote | 66 | 34 | 0 | X | 5 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| Milwaukee City | 51 | 35 | 14 | +16 | 45 |
| Milwaukee Suburbs | 60 | 30 | 10 | +30 | 50 |
| Racine/Kenosha/Rock/ Walworth | 55 | 39 | 6 | +16 | 40 |
| Dane | 23 | 59 | 18 | -36 | 22 |
| Rest of State | 55 | 34 | 11 | +21 | 156 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Chicago | 61 | 39 | 0 | X | 6 |
| Green Bay | 48 | 37 | 15 | +11 | 59 |
| La Crosse/Eau Claire | 65 | 22 | 13 | +43 | 24 |
| Madison | 32 | 54 | 14 | -22 | 28 |
| Milwaukee | 57 | 33 | 10 | +24 | 175 |
| Minneapolis/St. Paul | 71 | 29 | 0 | X | 7 |
| Wausau/Rhinclander | 25 | 75 | 0 | X | 7 |

V-4

B-1

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 54% | 31% | 15% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 34 | 43 | 23 |
| 25-34 years | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| 35-44 years | 53 | 26 | 21 |
| 45-54 years | 44 | 41 | 15 |
| 55-64 years | 62 | 22 | 16 |
| 65 years + | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 46 | 41 | 13 |
| High school graduate | 59 | 27 | 14 |
| College | 52 | 32 | 16 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 48 | 37 | 15 |
| Protestant | 64 | 22 | 14 |
| Jewish | 56 | 44 | 0 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| No | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 40 | 33 | 27 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 49 | 36 | 15 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| \$15,000 + | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| Female | 55 | 28 | 17 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| Probably vote | 38 | 47 | 15 |
| May or may not vote | 35 | 65 | 0 |
| Probably not vote | 0 | 58 | 42 |
| Definitely not vote | 62 | 17 | 21 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| Milwaukee City | 48 | 28 | 24 |
| Milwaukee Suburbs | 51 | 32 | 17 |
| Racine/Kenosha/Rock/ Walworth | 68 | 29 | 3 |
| Dane | 26 | 36 | 38 |
| Rest of State | 56 | 33 | 11 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Chicago | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Green Bay | 55 | 35 | 10 |
| La Crosse/Eau Claire | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| Madison | 35 | 33 | 32 |
| Milwaukee | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Minneapolis/St. Paul | 56 | 29 | 15 |
| Wausau/Rhineland | 36 | 64 | 0 |

V-4

C-1

ISSUES

Do you think Richard Nixon or George McGovern's policies would get Prisoners of War released sooner?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nixon | 35 | 63 | 36 | 22 |
| McGovern | 24 | 6 | 18 | 36 |
| Don't Know | 41 | 31 | 46 | 42 |

Do you think the North Vietnamese are using prisoner release issue to influence election?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 59 | 65 | 62 | 53 |
| No | 20 | 20 | 19 | 20 |
| Don't Know | 21 | 15 | 19 | 27 |

Do you know about Russian Grain Deal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 66 | 66 | 73 | 61 |
| No | 31 | 31 | 24 | 37 |
| Don't Know | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| | (313) | (65) | (114) | (91) |

If yes, do you approve?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Approve | 57 | 58 | 63 | 49 |
| Disapprove | 26 | 14 | 19 | 40 |
| Don't Know | 17 | 28 | 18 | 11 |
| | (208) | (43) | (84) | (55) |

If yes, have you heard about scandal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 73 | 67 | 77 | 75 |
| No | 22 | 26 | 19 | 20 |
| Don't Know | 5 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| | (208) | (43) | (84) | (55) |

If yes, do you believe charge that exporters made excess profit from inside information?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 57 | 31 | 46 | 80 |
| No | 14 | 28 | 19 | 3 |
| Don't Know | 29 | 41 | 35 | 17 |
| | (152) | (29) | (65) | (41) |

1968: +2

V-4

Trial Heats

| | McGovern | | |
|-----------------|----------|----|----|
| Without Leaners | 60 | 23 | 17 |
| With Leaners | 62 | 28 | 10 |

| | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
|-------------------------|------|-----|------|
| Nixon (With Leaners) | 89 | 74 | 43 |
| McGovern (With Leaners) | 6 | 13 | 45 |
| Undecided | 5 | 13 | 12 |

Why Voting For

| | Nixon | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Better Man/More Experience | 43 | 54 | 42 | 40 |
| Doing Good Job | 25 | 23 | 26 | 26 |
| Agree with his Policies | 25 | 12 | 27 | 24 |
| Republican | 10 | 14 | 6 | 10 |
| Trying to End War | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 |

| | McGovern | | | |
|----------------------------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Agree with his Policies | 31 | 100 | 20 | 30 |
| Democrat | 30 | 0 | 20 | 33 |
| Better Man/More Experience | 14 | 0 | 10 | 15 |
| For People | 10 | 0 | 10 | 11 |
| Need Change | 9 | 0 | 10 | 9 |

What Would Change Mind

| | Nixon Voters | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 80 | 87 | 84 | 72 |
| New Candidate | 7 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Nixon Changes | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| War Escalated | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Other (Mixed) | 7 | 2 | 8 | 10 |

| | McGovern Voters | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Nothing | 75 | 0 | 90 | 74 |
| War End | 6 | 100 | 0 | 7 |
| McGovern Changes | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| New Candidate | 1 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Other (Mixed) | 17 | 100 | 0 | 17 |

| <u>Job Approval</u> | Approve | Disapprove | No Opinion |
|---------------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Job | 62 | 25 | 13 |
| Vietnam | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| Economy | 46 | 39 | 15 |

National Issues (Open End)

| | | |
|--------------|----|-------|
| Vietnam | 55 | (+ 3) |
| Economy | 16 | (+ 8) |
| Inflation | 13 | (- 9) |
| Unemployment | 12 | (- 4) |
| Crime | 9 | (-12) |

Ability to Handle Job

| | Nixon | | | | McGovern | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|-----|------|----------|------|-----|------|
| | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. | Tot. | Rep. | T-S | Dem. |
| Very Able | 47 | 72 | 59 | 32 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 12 |
| Fairly Able | 37 | 21 | 27 | 47 | 24 | 17 | 19 | 28 |
| Not Very Able | 7 | 2 | 10 | 8 | 23 | 26 | 26 | 20 |
| Not at all Able | 7 | 2 | 4 | 11 | 29 | 35 | 35 | 23 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 16 | 20 | 14 | 17 |

Commitment

| | Nixon | McGovern |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Definitely Vote For | 86 | 65 |
| Probably Vote but still thinking | 6 | 21 |
| Undecided but Lean Toward | 7 | 14 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 0 |

State Ballot

Governor

| | | |
|------------------------|----|-------|
| Edward L. Dowd | 47 | (+ 8) |
| CHRISTOPHER "KIT" BOND | 41 | (+ 2) |
| Undecided | 12 | (-10) |

V-4

A-1

BALLOTS
(With Leaners)

| | <u>Nixon</u> | <u>McGovern</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Margin</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total - 100% | 62% | 28% | 10% | +34% | 329 |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 62 | 35 | 3 | +27 | 34 |
| 25-34 years | 67 | 24 | 9 | +43 | 67 |
| 35-44 years | 59 | 30 | 11 | +29 | 72 |
| 45-54 years | 63 | 28 | 9 | +35 | 66 |
| 55-64 years | 53 | 21 | 26 | +32 | 40 |
| 65 years + | 66 | 28 | 6 | +38 | 47 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 55 | 24 | 21 | +31 | 83 |
| High school graduate | 64 | 26 | 10 | +38 | 115 |
| College | 65 | 31 | 4 | +34 | 128 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | |
| Catholic | 53 | 32 | 15 | +21 | 82 |
| Protestant | 69 | 22 | 9 | +47 | 208 |
| Jewish | 32 | 68 | 0 | X | 6 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | |
| Yes | 59 | 30 | 11 | +29 | 123 |
| No | 64 | 25 | 11 | +39 | 205 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 60 | 23 | 17 | +37 | 41 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 63 | 30 | 7 | +33 | 78 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 61 | 29 | 10 | +32 | 91 |
| \$15,000 + | 67 | 23 | 10 | +44 | 74 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | |
| Male | 63 | 30 | 7 | +33 | 158 |
| Female | 61 | 25 | 14 | +36 | 171 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | | | |
| Definitely vote | 65 | 28 | 7 | +37 | 284 |
| Probably vote | 52 | 26 | 22 | +26 | 31 |
| May or may not vote | 27 | 22 | 51 | X | 11 |
| Probably not vote | 54 | 0 | 46 | X | 3 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 | X | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | | | |
| St. Louis City | 52 | 29 | 19 | +23 | 38 |
| St. Louis Suburbs | 65 | 24 | 11 | +41 | 103 |
| Jackson County | 62 | 32 | 6 | +30 | 64 |
| Outstate | 63 | 27 | 10 | +36 | 124 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | | | |
| Joplin/Pittsburg | 83 | 17 | 0 | X | 9 |
| Kansas City | 58 | 35 | 7 | +23 | 98 |
| Ottumwa/Kirkville | 100 | 0 | 0 | X | 5 |
| Springfield | 70 | 23 | 7 | +47 | 27 |
| St. Joseph | 51 | 34 | 15 | X | 8 |
| St. Louis | 61 | 25 | 14 | +36 | 178 |

NIXON JOB APPROVAL

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total - 100% | 62% | 25% | 13% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | |
| 18-24 years | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| 25-34 years | 64 | 22 | 14 |
| 35-44 years | 61 | 25 | 14 |
| 45-54 years | 69 | 23 | 8 |
| 55-64 years | 61 | 23 | 16 |
| 65 years + | 54 | 25 | 21 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Less than high school | 60 | 19 | 21 |
| High school graduate | 66 | 23 | 11 |
| College | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | |
| Catholic | 57 | 28 | 15 |
| Protestant | 68 | 20 | 12 |
| Jewish | 32 | 68 | 0 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | |
| Yes | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| No | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 66 | 24 | 10 |
| \$5,000-\$9,999 | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| \$10,000-\$14,999 | 59 | 23 | 18 |
| \$15,000 + | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | |
| Male | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| Female | 63 | 21 | 16 |
| <u>Turnout</u> | | | |
| Definitely vote | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| Probably vote | 51 | 22 | 27 |
| May or may not vote | 53 | 29 | 18 |
| Probably not vote | 23 | 77 | 0 |
| Definitely not vote | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Geographic (Political)</u> | | | |
| St. Louis City | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| St. Louis Suburbs | 61 | 22 | 17 |
| Jackson County | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| Outstate | 65 | 23 | 12 |
| <u>Geographic (ADI)</u> | | | |
| Joplin/Pittsburg | 75 | 25 | 0 |
| Kansas City | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| Ottumwa/Kirksville | 74 | 0 | 26 |
| Springfield | 79 | 18 | 3 |
| St. Joseph | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| St. Louis | 62 | 25 | 13 |

V-4 169

C-1

ISSUES

Do you think Richard Nixon or George McGovern's policies would get Prisoners of War released sooner?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nixon | 44 | 72 | 49 | 30 |
| McGovern | 20 | 5 | 12 | 30 |
| Don't Know | 36 | 23 | 39 | 40 |

Do you think the North Vietnamese are using prisoner release issue to influence election?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 67 | 61 | 64 | 69 |
| No | 14 | 8 | 16 | 16 |
| Don't Know | 19 | 31 | 20 | 15 |

Do you know about Russian Grain Deal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 75 | 75 | 72 | 79 |
| No | 24 | 25 | 27 | 20 |
| Don't Know | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | (329) | (65) | (88) | (120) |

→ If yes, do you approve?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Approve | 57 | 69 | 47 | 55 |
| Disapprove | 25 | 12 | 32 | 28 |
| Don't Know | 18 | 19 | 21 | 17 |
| | (243) | (49) | (63) | (95) |

→ If yes, have you heard about scandal?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 76 | 74 | 76 | 78 |
| No | 17 | 18 | 13 | 16 |
| Don't Know | 7 | 8 | 11 | 6 |
| | (243) | (49) | (63) | (95) |

→ If yes, do you believe charge that exporters made excess profit from inside information?

| | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>T-S</u> | <u>Dem.</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes | 50 | 28 | 56 | 53 |
| No | 14 | 36 | 11 | 9 |
| Don't Know | 36 | 36 | 33 | 38 |
| | (183) | (36) | (48) | (74) |

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

October 5, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Phone Polls

We solved the daytime interviewing problem with ORC as they will not start interviewing until 4:00p.m. on any future telephone polls.

Our final delivery schedule from them for the five states they are currently doing is:

| | |
|------------|-------|
| Maryland | 10/6 |
| Illinois | 10/9 |
| Ohio | 10/10 |
| New Jersey | 10/10 |
| Minnesota | 10/11 |

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

October 4, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
 SUBJECT: Iowa Poll

In case you have not seen it, the Des Moines Register and Tribune printed their latest Iowa Poll over the weekend. The Iowa Poll has been very reliable in the past and enjoys an excellent reputation in the survey research business.

The latest data was collected from September 22-24.

| | <u>September</u> | <u>August</u> |
|-----------|------------------|---------------|
| Nixon | 64 | 54 |
| McGovern | 29 | 32 |
| Other | 1 | 0 |
| Undecided | 6 | 14 |

By type of area:

| | <u>Metro</u> | <u>Cities/Towns</u> | <u>Rural/Farms</u> |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Nixon | 64 | 67 | 56 |
| McGovern | 27 | 29 | 32 |
| Undecided | 9 | 4 | 12 |

The Poll also found that the Watergate would make no difference in deciding how to vote to 81% of the Iowa electorate but that the grain deal would make no difference to 66%. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the farmers interviewed said that the grain deal would make them less likely to vote Republican this Fall.

The data on the gubernatorial and senatorial races was:

| <u>Governor</u> | | <u>Senator</u> | |
|-----------------|----|----------------|----|
| Ray | 63 | Miller | 58 |
| Franzenburg | 31 | Clark | 35 |
| Undecided | 6 | Undecided | 7 |

I also just received data from a Montana Poll that was completed last week. It showed the President leading McGovern 54-24 with 22% undecided.

Des Moines Register 10/1/72

Nixon Widens Lead 13 Points, 64-29 Over McGovern in Iowa

PRESIDENT Nixon has increased his lead over Senator George McGovern from 22 points in mid-August to 35 points just six weeks before the election, according to an Iowa Poll taken Sept. 22-24.

If the election were today, 64 per cent of Iowans likely to vote would vote for the Nixon-Agnew ticket, 29 per cent for McGovern-Shriver, with 7 per cent undecided or other. A mid-August Iowa Poll reported 54 per cent for Nixon, 32 per cent McGovern and 14 per cent undecided.

Most groups show increased support for Nixon — except farmers, who support Nixon by 56 to 32 per cent, the same as in August.

Voters under 30 years of age have switched from McGovern to Nixon. The President leads by 63 to 35 per cent now, compared to a McGovern lead of 47 to 37 per cent in August.

Another question measuring possible changes in voting between now and election day indicates that 19 per cent of

THE IOWA POLL

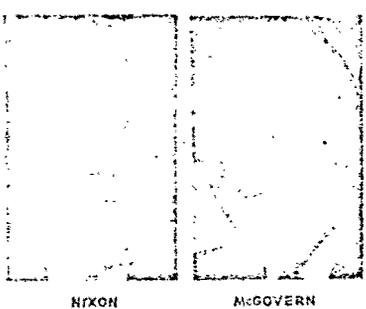
Nixon voters might vote for a different candidate; in August, 25 per cent of Nixon voters expressed this view. In the latest survey, 29 per cent of McGovern voters say they might change their minds; in August, 31 per cent did.

A total of 691 Iowans 18 and over were asked their presidential preference, with results reported from 493 most likely to vote, based on registration and intention to vote:

"If the presidential election were today, which candidate would you vote for?" (Respondents marked their preference on a paper ballot and deposited it in a ballot box provided by the interviewer.)

| | Sept. 22-24 | Aug. 9-14 |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Nixon-Agnew | 64% | 51% |
| McGovern-Shriver | 29 | 32 |
| Other | 1 | — |
| Undecided | 6 | 14 |

Results of the September poll by resi-



dence are shown in the following:

| | Metro* | Town | Farm |
|------------------|--------|------|------|
| Nixon-Agnew | 61% | 67% | 56% |
| McGovern-Shriver | 27 | 29 | 32 |
| Other | 2 | — | — |
| Undecided | 7 | 4 | 12 |

*Cities over 50,000.

Democrats support McGovern 71 to 21 per cent, with 6 per cent undecided. In August, they favored McGovern 63 to 17, with 18 per cent undecided.

Republicans favor Nixon 94 to 4 per cent in the current poll, as compared with 65 to 6 per cent in August. Among independents, 57 per cent support Nixon and 27 per cent favor McGovern.

On a scale of 1 to 10, likely voters rated the degree of interest they have in their presidential candidate winning the election, as shown in the following:

| | McGovern Voters | Nixon Voters |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Weak Interest (1-4) | 6% | 6% |
| Moderate Interest (5-7) | 15 | 33 |
| Strong Interest (8-10) | 79 | 58 |

Three issues have been prominent recently in the presidential race—the Watergate affair, the grain sale to Russia, and Ramsey Clark's and Pierre Salinger's trips to Hanoi and Paris regarding the Vietnam war.

The latest poll shows that the Watergate affair and the grain sale to Russia create a negative reaction toward Nixon, and the Clark-Salinger trips create negative reaction toward McGovern. This is revealed in the following questions, reported among likely voters:

"Have you read or heard about the

charges that some Republican Party members were involved in the 'bugging' of the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate building?"

| | Total | Rep. | Dem. | Ind. |
|---------------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Yes, read or heard | 89% | 92% | 88% | 83% |
| No, haven't read or heard | 11 | 8 | 11 | 15 |

"As of today, will any of the events connected with the 'Watergate Affair' make you more likely or less likely to vote for the Nixon-Agnew presidential ticket, or won't they make any difference in how you vote?"

| | Total | Rep. | Dem. | Ind. |
|---------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| More likely to vote | | | | |
| Nixon-Agnew | 3% | 5% | 1% | 3% |
| Less likely | 12 | 3 | 29 | 9 |
| No difference | 81 | 59 | 67 | 79 |
| Undecided | 4 | 2 | 3 | 9 |

"The Nixon Administration has announced the sale of U.S. grain to Russia and China. Will any of the events connected with these grain sales make you more likely or less likely to vote for the Nixon-Agnew ticket or won't they make any difference in how you vote?"

| | Total | Rep. | Dem. | Ind. |
|---------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| More likely to vote | | | | |
| Nixon-Agnew | 9% | 12% | 4% | 9% |
| Less likely | 18 | 6 | 33 | 23 |
| No difference | 69 | 76 | 53 | 61 |
| Undecided | 7 | 6 | 10 | 7 |

Significantly, one-fourth of Iowa farm voters say that the grain sale will make them less likely to vote for the Republican ticket; only 9 per cent of farmers say they are more likely to vote for the Nixon-Agnew ticket.

"In recent months, private citizen Ramsey Clark traveled to Hanoi and Pierre Salinger traveled to Paris to discuss the Vietnam war with representatives of North Vietnam. As of today, will any of the events connected with Clark's or Salinger's trips make you more likely or less likely to vote for the McGovern-Shriver presidential ticket, or won't they make any difference in how you vote?"

| | Total | Rep. | Dem. | Ind. |
|---------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| More likely to vote | | | | |
| McGovern-Shriver | 6% | 2% | 16% | 4% |
| Less likely | 15 | 21 | 4 | 15 |
| No difference | 76 | 74 | 78 | 75 |
| Undecided | 3 | 3 | 2 | 6 |

T014
143

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Gmp/ra NAR, Date 5-22-80

October 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR-
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Rmt*
SUBJECT: Telephone Polling

Attached is the questionnaire we are going to use beginning Wednesday for our telephone polling. We will deliver the results on Michigan and California to you Wednesday by noon and the reports on Wisconsin and Missouri either late tomorrow or early Thursday a.m. depending on when ORC gets them to us.

Subject to ORC's performance, which has not been very good on the first group of phone polls, our schedule for the next 10 days will be:

| <u>State</u> | <u>Sample Size</u> | <u>Interviewing Dates</u> | <u>Data Delivery</u> |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Illinois | 500 | 10/4-5 | 10/6 - 10/9 |
| Maryland | 500 | 10/6-7 | 10/9 - 10/10 |
| Ohio - 10/7-10/10 | 500 | 10/9-10 | 10/11- |
| New Jersey | 500 | 10/11-12 | 10/13- |
| Minnesota | 500 | 10/13-14 | 10/16- |

After this wave we should re-do New York, California and Michigan. However, if we see any significant movement either in the above states or in the Harris poll which is now being done, I think we should consider doing either fast personal interview studies with secret ballots or panel studies in at least these three states.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



October 4, 1972

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

Poll Summary

During the next 34 days, we will be receiving a substantial amount of polling materials. You mentioned on October 3, that you had too many binders full of polling materials. To consolidate the relevant data and establish a system for keeping you up to date, I recommend the following:

- 1) That the attached Summary Book be the basic document for quick reference in your office, as well as on trips. It ^{would} contain:
 - a) the Ballot Summary sheet of all state by state trial heats including available Senate race data;
 - b) all Nixon/McGovern National trial heats;
 - c) selected trends for your standard Poll Book;
 - d) the ORC National Telephone Survey #1 Receiving Memorandum;
 - e) the Wave III National personal interview poll and questionnaire, the Wave III state summary demographics; and,
 - f) all separately polled states (Iowa, Massachussets, West Virginia, and Washington);
- 2) That you keep in your office (but do not take on trips) Wave III Complete Version materials, as well as your regular Poll Book;
- 3) That all other polling materials, including

Wave I, Wave II, the Image Study, and the Issue Study be kept in my office, with all other polling materials.

_____ AGREE _____ DISAGREE
_____ COMMENT

Teeter Key State Telephone Surveys - Polling Wave

In the Summary Book, New York and Pennsylvania have been added. Later today, California and Michigan will be added. As each key state survey is received, it will be added to the Summary Book but will not replace the Wave III Personal Interview surveys.

Gallup Surveys

The transcript of my most recent conversation with John Davies is attached at Tab A.

To summarize:

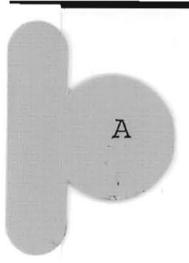
- 1) Sunday's (Oct. 8) release will be on Watergate, based on September 22-25 interviewing. The awareness according to Gallup is 52%. This compares with the ORC - Ag 29-31 result of 57% and the Wave III - Sept 5-16 result of 70%. The Watergate issue does not swing voters to McGovern.
- 2) Vietnam and the cost of living are the top problems (27% each) while corruption is considered a top problem by only 3%.
- 3) The next scheduled trial heat will be released on Sunday, October 15 based on key precinct interviews conducted Oct 1-6.
- 4) Alec Gallup gave the Washington Post the exclusive interview that appeared last Sunday.

Miscellaneous Matters

1) You asked whether Harris and Gallup figures are based on registered voters and include leaners. Bob Teeter talked with Lou Harris and Paul Perry at Gallup. His summary is attached at Tab B. It confirms that Gallup uses only registered voters. However, there is a conflict between what Perry told Teeter and what Davies told me. Davies claims that Gallup first used the secret ballot, which is comparable to the leaner question on a telephone survey, on half of the Aug 24-27 interviews. In any event, all Gallup trial heats for the next 34 days will be among registered voters using secret ballots. Harris does not specify whether he interviews only registered voters. Instead, he reports only results from "likely voters," which he defines as a 1968-1970 voter, a registered voter, or between 18-24 years of age. The last category makes Harris' results suspect because most pollsters estimate only half of this category will vote on November 7. Teeter will pursue the question when he has lunch with Colson and Harris on Friday, when the Harris trial heat data is expected.

2) To assure comparability of the Wave III, Rolling Wave, and ORC National Surveys with Harris and Gallup, I have used registered voters including leaners. This change is noted by (R) in the books.

3) The ORC National Surveys will begin on Monday, October 16 reporting full demographics on registered voters, and the trial heat demographic sheets will have computer printed demographics from the past three surveys.



A

4. 1. 2013

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - October 4, 1972

S - How are you?

D - Hi, Gordon, how are you? I've got something that I think is going to be of tremendous interest to you people.

S - Good.

D - It's for release Sunday, October 8 and it's going out, I hope, if we get the bugs out of the thing, this afternoon. Well anyway, let me give you the gist of it. It's a story on this Watergate issue. What response the public has to it, and just how important the voters of the country feel the corruption issue is. And let me just read you the way I have the lead - it might change - but at least it's -- "Although Senator George McGovern is hitting hard on the theme that the Nixon Administration is corrupt, only a fraction of the electorate names corruption in government as one of the nation's top problems - that's 3%. In addition, only half of all voters interviewed in the latest survey say they've heard or read about the Watergate incident concerning the alleged bugging of the Democratic Party's Headquarters in Washington, and fewer still can play back the important details of the incident. Finally, opinion is overwhelmingly on the side that the incident is not a strong reason for voting for McGovern - both among Republicans and Democrats interviewed." Vietnam and the high cost of living are still the top problems - 27% each. But let me get to this Watergate thing here. Wait a minute. "52% of all persons interviewed say they have heard or read about the incident. Still fewer - 29% - can indicate at least some knowledge

D - of what is alleged to have occurred. And among those who have heard or read about the incident, 8 in 10 say that Watergate is not a strong reason for voting for McGovern. Even among Democrats in the survey, opinion is 3 to 1 on the side that the issue is not a strong enough reason for voting for the Democratic nominee. Furthermore, McGovern can expect to win back few Democratic defectors on the basis of the Watergate incident. Only one Democratic defector in 20 feels that the issue is a strong reason for voting for McGovern."

S - Geez ...

D - Isn't that something?

S - That's amazing.

D - Here he's spent 3 weeks banging this out - and it's gotten him absolutely nowhere.

S - Yeah - cause there's nothing there.

D - Nope.

S - Very interesting.

D - It's a funny thing, you know, there may be nothing there but it's the kind of thing that very often the public can latch on to. Remember back early in 1952 when Communism, Korea and corruption were the big issues. What you have to do is talk about it and you're guilty.

S - That's right. No matter what the facts are.

D - But it ain't hitting home.

S - That's really - that will be Sunday's release?

D - Right.

S - Gee, that's great. Got another minute?

D - Sure.

S - Any mention that you might be able to figure out what the schedule was going to be for the trial heats. You said a weekly or more often or something.

D - It'll be more often. I would expect that it would be for release next Sunday.

S - A week from Sunday?

D - Right.

S - OK. Would be the next one. And that would be conducted over this weekend?

D - No. That would have been conducted -- let's see -- let me figure my dates here -- probably from the 1st to the 6th. Right about now.

S - I see.

D - We're doing that Special Election Precinct Survey that I told you about a couple of weeks ago.

S - Oh, I see.

D - But it takes longer to get in and analyze because ...

S - But that would be on trial heats?

D - Oh yes. Only.

S - Only?

D - Right.

S - Very interesting.

D - In other words, that's sort of a preamble to our final election report. We use this as a checkpoint. The sample's larger -- there are about 3,000 interviews.

S - Yeah.

D - So we'll be able to do much more on breakdowns and so on.

S - If you could let me know as soon as you get that. That would be appreciated.

D - Will do. But that's going to be another problem because I don't think I'll know that until the very last minute because this is the kind of stuff that the boys spend hours hammering over and we'll probably wire the copy so I'll probably know the minute it's wired. You'll probably get the wire a half an hour later anyway.

S - You know that's another problem. We didn't get that wire last Saturday.

D - You didn't get the wire?

S - Nope. The only way we found out was from you.

D - Gee, that's odd.

S - It is odd. Cause we went through a whole thing of setting up Western Union and pre-paying and all this other stuff and then we never got it.

D - You didn't get it because I called you. That could possibly be. I don't know Cause I told them that I was going to ring you and maybe they pulled the wire, I don't know. But I'll check on that - I'll make sure that you're still on this list.

S - Yeah, cause we are full subscribers and so forth.

D - Right.

S - Listen, on another question. Did Alec Gallup include the information in the wire - his comments, his quotes - or was that a special Post,

S - Washington Post interview that they ...

D - Special Washington Post.

S - Special interview.

D - Right.

S - OK. Were the polling dates on this Watergate thing the same as the last one?

D - Yes

S - There were two conflicting dates given - was it really 23- 24, or was it 24-27?

D - 24-27.

S - 24-27. OK. Are you going to have one for this Thursday?

D - Let me see. Hang on for one second, Gordon, and I'll see if I can get a hold of it. Let's see - it's for Friday, Gordon.

S - For Friday.

D - Right. Went into the mail late last night. Let's see. The groups - let's see - Nixon leads in all groups but two - with the exception of Blacks and Jews - I've got all of the demographics - you want the demographics? That's essentially what it is here.

S - Great.

D - All right. Suppose I just give you Nixon-McGovern by groups and you can add the undecided in afterwards.

S - OK.

D - OK. Nationally - 61-33

S - This is all from the August 24-27? OK.

D - Republicans -- 95-4; Democrats - 32-61 (down from 40, incidentally,

D - or 37 or whichever one it was.

S - OK.

D -- Independents - 67-25; Catholics - 52-40; Protestants 70-26;
Labor union families - 52-42; 18-29 yr olds - 52-46 (that's down
a bit too); 30-49 yr olds - 65-29; 50 and older - 62-31; whites
67-28; Blacks - 10-82; College - 61-35; High school - 65-30;
grade school - 51-41; Professional and business - 68-29; clerical
and sales - 62-32; manual workers - 57-35; Men - 58-36; women -
64-30; south - 70-24; non-south - 59-36.

S - That's very interesting. That's great. We'll compare that with
our information. Let me ask you another question on the way the
trial heat questions are asked.

D - All right.

S - I noticed in the releases that you always say Registered voters.

D - Right.

S - Have you - have all trial heats from the first of the year always
been Registered voters? Or did you use total public?

D - Registered voters.

S - Only Registered voters? None intend to register or will register
or anything like that?

D - Right.

S - Only Registered voters? Now on the leaners. You do that - did you
force down the no opinion on the August 24-27 poll by the secret
ballot or a follow-up question? Cause I know ...

D -- Half the sample we used the secret ballot. The other half we used

D - a non-secret ballot.

S - And that was ...

D - That's a test on our part to see what difference there is.

S - And that was to force down the no opinion?

D - Correct.

S - And that was the first poll that you tried that on.

D - Right.

S - Are you going to do that for the rest?

D - Right. All the way through. But total secret ballot all the way through from now ...

S - Total secret ballot?

D - Right.

S - OK. Let's see. Anything else of note?

D - I can't think of anything.

S - All right. I appreciate this information, seriously.

D - No problem.

S - It will help all of us and it will be kept in the strictest confidence.

D - Very find, Gordon.

S - Good John.

D - Just as long as we all understand what the problems are cause I hate to be a bastard about it.

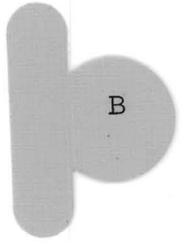
S - Right.

D - OK?

S - Very good.

D - Ok, Gordon, bye.

S - Bye.



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

MEMORANDUM E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By A.M. Case NARS, Date 5-22-82

October 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM T*
SUBJECT: Gallup and Harris Sample and Filter
Procedures

Gordon Strachan asked me to check on the sample and filtering procedure for the Gallup and Harris surveys and if they have changed them as we get closer to the election.

Gallup's primary sample unites are based on a universe of all adult citizens 18 years of age and over. He then filters for registered voters and interviews only registered voters for his political surveys. His head to head data is collected by using the oral question and a leaner follow up for the undecided. His published results are a combination of these.

He does not cut his data by likely voters or turnout.

He has not varied these procedures at all throughout this year but may report both likely voters and all voters in his last one or two polls which will both be done after October 15.

Harris interviews only what he considers likely voters. In order to qualify as a likely voter a respondent must have voted in 1968-70, be registered to vote in 1972 or be between 18-24 years of age.

He also included leaners in his published data and has not yet weighed for probably turnout but will closer to the election.

Harris says he has not varied this technique throughout this year.

Poll summary

add, Wash, Iowa, etc
add today's Mt + vice
add small cts.

~~the~~ -
① all Sen data either Teeter
or anything else
- w/ what we paid

② Ala - Sen no Gov
Cal - nothing
Con - "
Iowa - /

Govs

Wash

W2
W2

or
W3 report
MU
Ino

TX
or W3

Galley - ① next week ^{on weekend} in field
② 2 more at 10 day / ^{last one} _{sun} before di
interviews
③ no release dates
④ college study - men
⑤ last wk may do extra

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EmPruitt NARS, Date 5-22-80

October 5, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Rmt*

SUBJECT: Phone Polls

The question has been raised as to why we are slipping slightly in the national polls but have either held steady or gained slightly in the priority state telephone polls ORC has done during the last week.

One reason for this difference may be that our leads were so large in the southern, prairie and mountain states that any shift to McGovern occurred there first. In several of these states our leads were 40-50% and McGovern was running far below the Democratic base vote.

Also, as I indicated to you earlier we have had a problem with ORC doing too large a proportion of their interviewing in the daytime on the first few phone polls. This clearly inflated the Michigan data and may have effected the others to a lesser degree. We have independent data on Los Angeles and Orange Counties which we have compared to the Los Angeles and Orange County portion of the ORC study and it is very close. The problem has been solved by requiring ORC to use more lines and do all their interviewing after 5:00p.m. The five states we are now doing should give us a more reliable comparison between our priority states and the national polls.

I have compared our Wave III national poll with the latest Harris, and the latest Gallup and while the demographic breaks do not always match up, it appears that our slippage has been fairly uniform across demographic groups. It appears to be just slightly greater among those groups that are traditionally Democratic (low income and education, Catholics, young voters) but the differences are not statistically significant.