

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
 Contested Materials Collection  
 Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
43	2	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a discussion with John Davies on Gallup polling. Duplicate attached. 4 pgs.
43	2	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcription of a telephone conversation between Strachan and John Davies. 4 pgs.
43	2	5/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a detailed explanation of Gallup polling results. 2 pgs.
43	2	5/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to "J" RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
43	2	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Strachan's recent polling discussion with Davies. Handwritten note added by unknown. 2 pgs.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From George Gallup announcing a series of election articles on the campaign opinions of Democratic county chairmen. Poster announcement attached. 3 pgs.
43	2	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the subjects of recent Gallup polls. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Polling issues and information written on White House memorandum paper. 2 pgs.
43	2	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Strachan's recent polling discussion with Davies. Handwritten note added by unknown. 2 pgs.

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43	2	4/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the political issues and candidates to be focused on in Gallup polls. Copy with Haldeman's notes attached. 4 pgs.
43	2	4/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating polling data from Davies. 2 pgs.
43	2	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Gallup polling information from Davies. 1 pg.
43	2	4/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: recent trial heat polling figures. 2 pgs.
43	2	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Rumsfeld's contacts with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	3/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling results on Democratic presidential hopefuls. 1 pg.
43	2	3/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: California polling results. 1 pg.
43	2	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: questions on Harris and Gallup polling. 1 pg.
43	2	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating polling issues presented by Davies and information obtained from other campaign officials. 2 pgs.
43	2	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking paper for Rumsfeld generated by Strachan RE: the development of a close relationship with George Gallup, Jr. 1 pg.
43	2	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Rumsfeld's connection to Gallup. 1 pg.

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43	2	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Gallup's February poll and Rumsfeld's discussion with Gallup. Duplicate attached. 2 pgs.
43	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: replacing Chapin with Rumsfeld as the White House's Gallup contact. 2 pgs.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking paper for Rumsfeld generated by Strachan RE: the development of a close relationship with George Gallup, Jr. 1 pg.
43	2	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling information on RN and Muskie in the 1972 presidential race. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Small sheet of paper reminding author to contact Gallup on January 25. 1 pg.
43	2	1/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: obtaining the latest presidential popularity figures from Gallup. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Note reminding Strachan to contact John Davies of the Gallup organization weekly. 1 pg.
43	2	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: trial heats pitting RN against various potential Democratic candidates for president. 1 pg.

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43	2	10/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: political information obtained from Gallup. Handwritten notes added by multiple unknown authors. 1 pg.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	8/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin RE: attached information on future Gallup polling topics. 2 pgs.
43	2	10/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: obtaining Gallup information from Rumsfeld. 1 pg.
43	2	10/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: Rumsfeld's new position and his connection to the Gallup organization. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
43	2	10/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Dick Cheney RE: issues Rumsfeld should raise in his next discussion with Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	10/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release focusing on the political ramifications of an African American as part of a presidential ticket in 1972. 1 pg.
43	2	9/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Cheney RE: polling information on Americans voting for an African American candidate for president. 2 pgs.
43	2	10/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman and Chapin RE: an older Gallup release. 1 pg.

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43	2	4/3/1969	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing political prejudice toward African Americans. 1 pg.
43	2	10/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information on Gallup polling from Rumsfeld's office. 1 pg.
43	2	4/3/1969	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing political prejudice toward African Americans. 1 pg.
43	2	9/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes related to polling information on an African American candidate for president. 1 pg.
43	2	9/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten information related to Gallup polling information on Catholic voters. 1 pg.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes related to obtaining polling dates from Harris and Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Cheney RE: obtaining polling information from Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from Rumsfeld's meeting with George Gallup, Jr. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman and Higby. 2 pgs.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from Rumsfeld's meeting with George Gallup, Jr. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman and Higby. 2 pgs.

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43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from Rumsfeld's meeting with George Gallup, Jr. 2 pgs.
43	2	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: pushing Rumsfeld to meet with Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	9/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Rumsfeld RE: meeting to discuss Gallup data. Duplicate attached. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
43	2	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin and Howard RE: pushing Rumsfeld to work closer with Gallup in light of disappointing polling results for RN. 1 pg.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	9/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to LR RE: attached information on Rumsfeld and Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: keeping in contact with Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.

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43	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin RE: attached information. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
43	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from Rumsfeld's meeting with George Gallup, Jr. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman and Higby. 2 pgs.
43	2	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rumsfeld RE: use of the latter in communication with the Gallup organization. 1 pg.
43	2	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Chapin's call to John Davies to retrieve Gallup polling data. Handwritten notes added by Higby and Strachan. 1 pg.
43	2	12/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sheet of paper noting a change in recent polling figures and reminding the author to call Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2	6/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing polling results pitting Muskie, Kennedy, and Humphrey against RN. 1 pg.
43	2	12/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release discussing Senator Edward Kennedy's polling numbers. Duplicate attached. 2 pgs.
43	2	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on polling information. 1 pg.
43	2	11/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: reorganizing the White House's connections with Gallup. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.

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43	2	11/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Strachan RE: maintaining contact with John Davies. Handwritten notes added by multiple unknown individuals. 1 pg.
43	2	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: contacting Davies for the last Gallup polling results. 1 pg.
43	2	11/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release showing the results of a poll pitting Muskie against Kennedy. 1 pg.
43	2	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to Gallup contacts. 1 pg.
43	2	6/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing McGovern and Wallace numbers. 1 pg.
43	2	6/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release showing the latest numbers on McGovern and Humphrey. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing the popular opinion of McGovern. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting McGovern's increasing poll numbers. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release proclaiming McGovern as strong as Humphrey in polls pitting the candidates against RN. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release declaring Humphrey Democratic frontrunner. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.

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43	2	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing Republican voters' choice for RN's running mate. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release examining the opinions of Democratic county chairmen. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing Democratic county chiefs' opinions on Humphrey. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release comparing Humphrey to McGovern among Democratic "pros." Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release comparing Humphrey and Muskie's polling numbers. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A "Wall Street Journal" article titled "Political Paradox: Americans See Kennedy As President Someday But Hope It Isn't So." 2 pgs.
43	2	5/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A "Wall Street Journal" article written by Alan L. Otten titled "That Noncandidate: Trying to Figure Out What Kenney Is Up To Is All but Impossible." 2 pgs.
43	2	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting McGovern's rising poll numbers. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	2	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A "Wall Street Journal" article titled "Political Paradox: Americans See Kennedy As President Someday But Hope It Isn't So." 2 pgs.

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43	2	4/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing the issue of crime in the 1972 presidential race. 1 pg.
43	2	4/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the political issues and candidates to be focused on in Gallup polls. 2 pgs.
43	2	4/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "Poll Analyzes Strength of Three Leading Democratic Possibilities." 1 pg.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A Gallup Poll article titled "Nixon Widens Lead Over HHH, Muskie" authored by George Gallup. 1 pg.
43	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Gallup and Harris trial heats from 1968 to 1972 compiled by the RNC. 5 pgs.
43	2	3/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Gallup information on Democratic presidential hopefuls. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Duplicate attached. 2 pgs.
43	2	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: attached campaign information from Khachigian. 1 pg.
43	2	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Haldeman RE: analysis of particular voter groups, such as Catholics and college students. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
43	2	2/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Haldeman RE: Gallup polling data on farmers and Catholic voters. 2 pgs.
43	2	1/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the results of a forthcoming presidential popularity poll. 1 pg.

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43	2	12/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John C. Whitaker to Earl Butz and Haldeman RE: attached polling data on farmers. 1 pg.
43	2	12/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Whitaker RE: polling data on farmers. 2 pgs.
43	2	11/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Whitaker to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
43	2	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Whitaker RE: trial heats pitting RN against Muskie and Wallace. 1 pg.
43	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from Rumsfeld's meeting with George Gallup, Jr. 2 pgs.
43	2	4/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: the structure of the Gallup organization. 1 pg.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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Gallup  
Pa. State

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1972

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

Discussion with John Davies this morning disclosed the following:

- 1) The Gallup release for Sunday, May 21 will show that among the rank and file Democrats, McGovern has "made even greater strides. In terms of rank and file Democratic opinion, he is right up there with Humphrey and Wallace";
- 2) Contrary to the information Davies gave me on May 9, the Presidential popularity, trial heats and image information was not included in the Gallup Image Survey. Gallup only ran the Democratic candidates. Gallup "decided for the sake of space and scheduling to save the Nixon aspect of it for a future survey";
- 3) Gallup will probably not conduct a telephone survey regarding public support of the President's Vietnam Mine/Peace Offer speech. Davies said they (Gallup) were "sort of opposed to what Harris and others have done in recent days on this mining question because really nobody knows; it's just not clear what is going to happen. Initial impressions are initial impressions, although they have turned out relatively favorable in terms of the President's point of view";
- 4) Gallup will not release a Presidential popularity or support of the President on the Vietnam situation before the Russia trip. There is a slim possibility of trial heats, but I will receive the information from Davies well before the release date;

5) R. W. Apple, Tom Wicker, The New York Times, and Parade, have received inquiries about the annual Gallup Chappiquiddick survey. In addition, Counsellor Rumsfeld and Bill Safire have been advised of the Apple/Wicker attempts to get Gallup to cancel the survey.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1972

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FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

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GS/jb

H-F/U - 5/18

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - MAY 16, 1972

G - Hi, John, how are you?

D - OK, and you?

G - All right.

D - Pretty busy time of the year, isn't it?

G - Yes. John, you mentioned last week to check with you on the results of that image survey which included popularity and trial heats - I think the polling dates were April 29-30.

D - Right. We still don't have it, Gordon.

G - Oh -- ummm

D - You know what I found out - having gone back and checked that questionnaire. We only did it on the Democratic candidates this time. We were saving - apparently when the boys put the questionnaire together they decided for the sake of space and scheduling to save the Nixon aspect of it for a future survey.

G - I see.

D - Which is terribly unfortunate from your point of view. And I'm sorry that I gave you the impression that we had it on there, but I was convinced that we did and did when we were putting it together, but at the last minute it was taken off.

G - So, you didn't conduct either trial heats or popularity then on that survey?

D - Trial heats we did, yes.

G - Any of those results?

D - I don't have a thing yet, Gordon.

G - OK.

D - I know it sounds funny, but we are so busy. George just got back from Tokyo - he was gone 10 days -

G - I understand -

D - And I have been up to my ears.

G - I can imagine. Anything else of interest?

D - No. Except that it looks like the most recent Democratic candidate list which is going to be for publication on Sunday shows McGovern having made even greater strides. Now in terms of rank and file Democratic opinion, he is right up there with Humphrey and Wallace. The three of them that are pretty close together. It's going to be interesting to see what this Wallace business does to the whole situation. Certainly puts a damper on the race.

G - Sure, sure. On the - just among Democrats - the rank and file personal interviews, right?

D - Right. You could sum up by saying that McGovern has continued to increase.

G - And that will be Sunday's release?

D - Right.

G - No release is anticipated that might have some effect on the President's trip to Russia? Either popularity or support or you were talking last week about conducting a poll regarding his, you know, decision regarding the mining and peace offering.

D - Right. We haven't decided anything yet, and when it does it will either be a telephone survey, probably late this week, or questions put on our survey for the 23rd which would catch the Nixon-Moscow trip.

G - You'd ask the reaction to the Moscow trip? I see.

D - Not only that, but in the context of having, you know, mined the Port and so on.

G - I see.

D - We're sort of opposed to what Paris and others have done in recent days on this mining question because really nobody knows, you know, it's just not clear what is going to happen. Initial impressions are initial impressions, although they have turned out relatively favorable in terms of the President's point of view. Who knows, given one break, they could be overwhelmingly favorable and in our opinion it just doesn't shake him down enough to do it.

G - Understand, understand. But you plan no releases then prior to the President's trip to Moscow?

D - Uh -- there's a possibility that the trial heats will be reported prior to.

G - OK. We'd be very interested in knowing that because things are --

D - Well, as soon as that happens, as soon as that is scheduled, which will be at <sup>least</sup> ~~birth~~ 4 days before it appears anywhere, I'll let you know.

G - Oh, great. I'd very much appreciate that.

D - And Gordon, I just don't have it. If I had it, I'd give it to you.

G - I understand. We're just getting a little edgy as things get closer.

D - I can understand.

G - And I'm just seeking information. OK?

D - Very good.

G - Anything else of interest?

D - Not that I can think of.

G - Very good.

D - Just stay out of shopping center crowds.

G - I will indeed.

D - You're too tall.

G - By the way, I saw the collection of all the campaign stuff for '72.

All the bumper stickers and all the stuff last night. It was presented for approval. I'll make sure a whole collection is put aside for you.

D - Oh, that is terrific. Thank you, Gordon. I would appreciate that.

G - OK.

D - Thanks man.

G - Good talking to you.

D - Righto.

G - Bye.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 1972

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

The March Gallup Opinion Index contains the detailed demographics on the President's popularity from the Mar. 3-5, 1972 poll. The chart comparing the three previous Gallup surveys is included. The demographics for the Feb. 4-7 Gallup trial heats are also included.

The "satisfaction index" -- on housing, jobs, the future, etc. -- is most interesting. The question is: "On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the future facing you and your family?" The results are 58% satisfied, 30% dissatisfied and 12% don't know. Satisfaction in the housing, job, education and standard of living indices was even higher.

The point about the "future" question is that it seems to highlight the basic optimism that remains in the electorate. The press has been emphasizing the high degree of alienation. This emphasizes the importance of the President continuing to be upbeat about that which is good in the country as opposed to those who think the country is ruined.

Interesting demographics are: Catholics tend to be more satisfied than Protestants; whites much more so than non-whites; among all age groups there is broad uniformity, with the young as satisfied as other groups.

On the other hand, people are widely dissatisfied with the way the nation is being governed -- 37% satisfied to 54% dissatisfied and 9% no opinion. The strange aspect is that people 18-20 years old are more satisfied with the way the nation is governed than all other age groups.

What this may mean is the degree to which people are "fed-up" with government -- an issue on which the President has always been ahead of others (and on which we can stay ahead if we continue to hammer away at it). Thus, while people are confident about the future, they still don't like the way things are governed. Obviously, this relates to the amount of government intrusion in their lives -- taxes, the bureaucracy, busing, etc. In the face of this there seems to be an attitude that they are satisfied with the future, in spite of the way the nation is governed.

This would suggest the President continue his battle against big and inefficient government. It should be pointed out that in the campaign all the Democrats who presently complain about taxes and big government are the very people who have endorsed during their political careers just such policies. A concomitant tack should be taken that the nation has much to be optimistic about -- that we can regain the nation's greatness by rejecting those who constantly preach self-hate and those who claim that "we have lost our way."

Finally, of continued interest is that the President is still doing quite well with farmers in trial heats with Democrats. In each case he does better among farmers than he does nationally. Butz may be more than partially responsible for this.

An analysis of the New York Times surveys by Ken Khachigian of Buchanan's staff is also attached.

GS/jb  
Atts.

Davies

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/9

TO:

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You keep  
this package  
at your desk +  
give it to me  
~~each Mon~~  
on Thurs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Mr. and Mrs. John Davies joined me for lunch in the White House Mess today with John Scali and Harry Dent. The discussion developed several matters of interest:

- 1) The Gallup trial heats testing the President against Humphrey Kennedy and McGovern revealed the following "approximate" figures:

G-Apr 22-23	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>N. O.</u>
	46	35	12	7
	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>N. O.</u>
	46	35	14	5
	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>N. O.</u>
	47	31	12	10

No release date has been set;

- 2) In the Wall Street Journal on Monday, May 1, there will be a lead article on Kennedy based on a survey conducted by "one of Gallup's affiliates." The article will indicate that in spite of the very high awareness of Chappiquidick (95%) more people are forgiving Kennedy as time goes by. Women more easily forgive Kennedy for his actions than men.

*Annals  
Knowland  
5/5*  
*to Apple & Wicker - cc to Eds Times*  
Gallup has been under extreme pressure not to conduct its Chappiquidick Anniversary poll this year. R. W. Apple and Tom Wicker have been especially insistent in trying to get Gallup not to conduct the poll this year;

- 3) Gallup is currently conducting an "image" study of all the Democratic candidates and President Nixon. Several of the questions will focus on

sincerity, truthfulness and experience. The results will be available about one month from now;

4) Davies believes that the amnesty question is analogous to bussing in the sense that very few (less than 15%) favor amnesty. Davies believes that it could become an important vote-getting issue for the President, especially in light of McGovern's position;

5) The President's basic approval level of around 50% puts him in a strong position for re-election. There has not been the erosion all other Presidents have suffered. The President's public relations operation has convinced the people that his views correspond with theirs thereby negating the importance of charisma;

6) Davies believes Gallup's unpublished research shows that the First Lady is probably his strongest untapped resource. She is more valuable than any Vice Presidential running mate. She has emerged after the Africa and China trips;

7) McGovern's support is weaker than the 15 point position below the President indicates because his policy stands are so out of touch with the American people;

8) In discussions about the recent Gallup bombing questions, Scali made several suggestions to Davies regarding follow-up questions on the invasion, domino theory and secret missions. Davies seemed receptive and I will prepare questions for your review to send to him.

9) Davies expressed some concern about the political season and the increased pressure for information by Democrats and Republicans. I assured him that I would continue to be his only contact at the White House and that information would be kept very close. He seemed pleased and invited me to Princeton to meet George Gallup, Jr. and to examine their facilities. He asked me to say hello to Don Rumsfeld because he was George Gallup's classmate at Princeton and an old friend.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION

THE GALLUP POLL

DR. GEORGE GALLUP  
CHAIRMAN  
GEORGE GALLUP, JR.  
PRESIDENT

53 BANK STREET  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

ADVANCE ALERT

Dear Editor:

Within the next day or two you will receive the first of a series of articles which report the results of a poll of the Democratic county chairmen of the nation that we are now completing.

We believe this is one of the most important polls that will be conducted between now and convention time since it reveals the thinking of the local leaders of the Democratic Party.

Interestingly, the views of these leaders have prevailed in every national political convention since 1952 -- when the Republican local leaders favored Taft over Eisenhower.

The new convention rules now in force have lessened the power of the county chairmen in the selection of convention delegates, yet these local leaders will undoubtedly play an all important role again in the 1972 convention in Miami.

*What appears to be in the offing is one of the roughest convention fights of this century.*

We plan a series of reports dealing with the views of county chairmen on their candidate preferences; their views on how hard it will be to defeat President Nixon; the best campaign arguments the Democrats have in the coming campaign. Another report in the series will show how the party "pros" feel about a national primary to take the place of the state primaries.

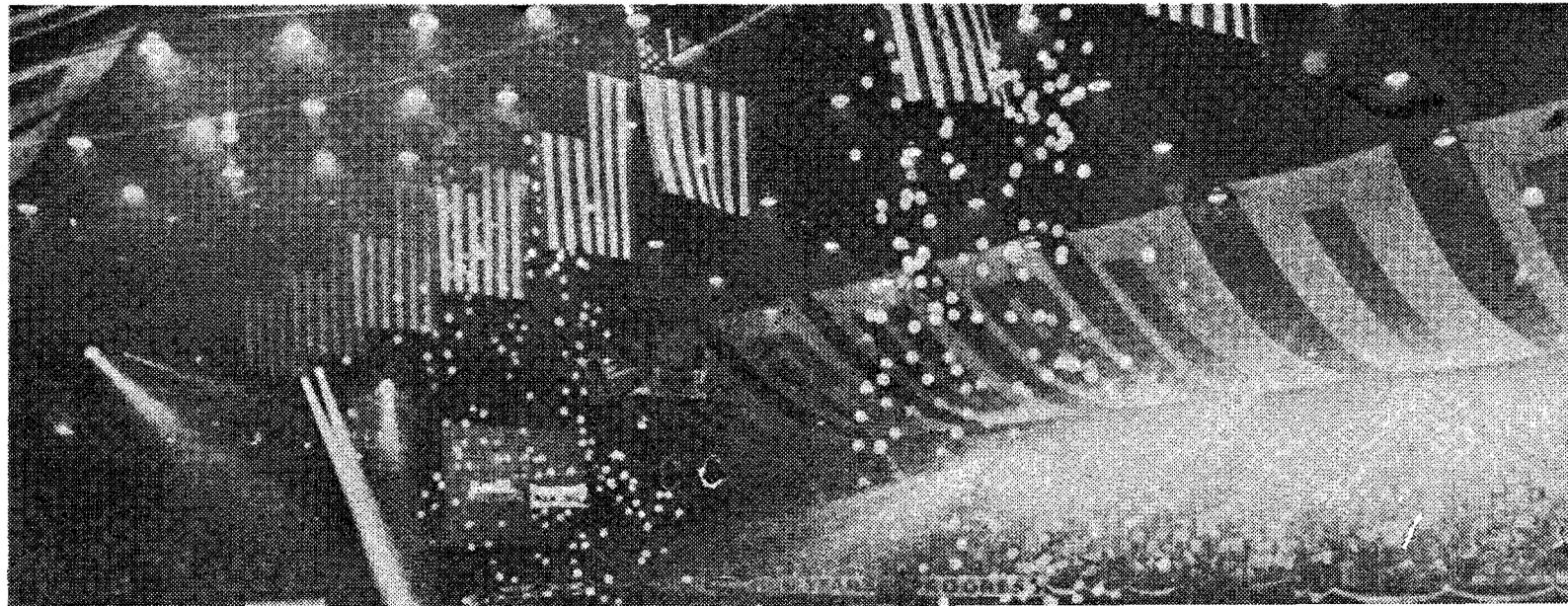
We have been polling the County Chairmen in every national election since 1952 and we are happy to say that we enjoy the confidence of these people to such an extent that we get a phenomenal 50% or better return from the approximately 3000 County Chairmen.

Sincerely,



# IS THE BIGGEST CONVENTION FIGHT IN HISTORY BREWING?

*Announcing a Special Gallup Survey of the Nation's  
Democratic County Chairmen*





The views of county chairmen will carry special weight in the choice of the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee. In every election year in the last twenty years, excepting 1952, their opinion has prevailed.

- ★ *Who are the top choices of the “party pros” for the 1972 nomination?*
- ★ *Will the party turn to Kennedy?*
- ★ *Regardless of which candidate the “party pros” prefer, who do they think will actually get the nomination?*
- ★ *Will the convention accept Wallace?*
- ★ *How difficult do the party chairmen think it will be to defeat President Nixon?*

**The first report in this series is for  
release Sunday, May 7**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies today confirmed that Gallup did not conduct Presidential popularity questions on either the April 15-16 or April 24-25 surveys. Davies says that Presidential popularity is not conducted when trial heat questions are because the results would be "biased".

Preliminary results from the Gallup "candidates image" study should be available late next week from Davies.

The Gallup release for Thursday, May 4th will describe the Democratic contenders' standings among a nationwide sample of Democrats. Davies would not give me the exact figures, but he told me that "Humphrey is the clear leader, with Kennedy up there". McGovern remains "very low" nationally.

Gallup may release the results of their poll among Democratic County Chairmen next week. As was expected, Humphrey is "way ahead".

*Check past - I don't think that's true.*

Test invasion  
addit ? is on is → Gal  
Invas or no  
FU

R 46-35-12

H 46-35-14

MG 47-31--

Image Pole - 1 mo on

WST on EMK -

Drop Chappie

over in West,

send ? S

\* ~~When~~ should Goo keep  
secrets - key to Moscow

Would you be open  
to some NPN idea  
if you knew  
Gov in SVN would  
collapse  
- what would sit be like  
after 1 yr  
- ~~supp SVN overrun~~  
- of comm since control  
of SVN this would endanger  
security of neighboring  
countries + ultimately  
the U.S.

April 27, 1972

Pop

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

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1) The Gallup trial heats testing the President against Humphrey Kennedy and McGovern revealed the following "approximate" figures:

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No release date has been set;

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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 19, 1972

H  
FC  
4/21

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies of Gallup Surveys today disclosed several matters of interest:

1. The Gallup Release for Sunday, April 23, 1972 will focus on the increased fear of crime by Americans. One of the lead lines, if not the headline, will be that "6 in 10 women are afraid to walk in their own neighborhoods in the evening." This concern by 58% of the women compares with 41% five years ago. The public blames too lenient laws, drugs, and permissiveness by parents and society. Crime is now a critical domestic problem equal to the economic issue in John Davies' mind. He believes it will hurt candidates with a soft position on crime or drugs;

2. Gallup's April Survey will be in the field this weekend, probably April 21-23. In addition to Presidential popularity, trial heats, and the standing of the Democratic contenders, Gallup will ask several questions on the Indochina situation. The questions will not be the same as ones Gallup has asked before according to Davies. Rather, there will be questions on reaction to a Senate vote to cut off funds for the war provided the POWs are released. The question on the bombing will be something like "Do you favor or oppose the stepped up bombing of Indochina in recent days?" There will be no questions on the N.V.N. invasion. Davies would not indicate any release date to me.

In light of this information you should consider two steps. First, ORC could poll April 21-23 on pending matters and offer a comparison with Gallup. The last ORC poll occurred on March 18-19.

\_\_\_\_\_ Proceed with development of questionnaire.  
(Areas to be tested include drugs, ITT,  
Vietnam and Ehrlichman's busing questions  
which have not been received.)

\_\_\_\_\_ Forget ORC poll for now.

\_\_\_\_\_ Other.

The second step might be to ask Counsellor Rumsfeld to call George Gallup, Jr. If Rumsfeld has called him in the last two months, neither Colson nor I are privvy to the conversation. You would probably have to ask Rumsfeld personally to talk to George Gallup about the Indochina questions.

GS/jb

Revised

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6  
H  
FU  
5/1

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

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G → O'Neill  
4/20

H

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\_\_\_\_\_  
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*You ask Rumsfeld*

G → Rumsfeld 4/20  
→ Rumsfeld 4/21  
→ Colson 4/21

*✓ have Colson for*

Davies

4/19

Tel Heats

- Not until Fri on EMK +  
McG

- Use figures open

- Return rate slim.

Report on gun - growing  
fear on crime

near  
headline? 58%

Crime -

a critical

Arms bill;

- as big

issue as

economic

now date

to home

- Hartland's

w/ soft position

6 in 10 women are  
afraid to walk in  
their neighbor in evening  
41% - 5 yrs ago

Public regards

laws too lenient

Drugs

Permissiveness by

parents & society

Into field 21-24th

- Pop, Tel Heats, Standings of  
Dem. Cards

- ? on UN bombing,

→ reaction to Gen vote to  
cut off funds provided PAOS

she

Bz

#. Do y fac or op  
step up ben  
in recent days  
- No? on NVN invasion

Davies

F/U  
4/17

April 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

The March Gallup Opinion Index contains the detailed demographics on the President's popularity from the March 3-5, 1972 poll. The chart comparing the three previous Gallup surveys is included. The demographics for the Feb. 4-7 Gallup trial heats are also included.

Discussion with John Davies at Gallup disclosed that the Sunday Gallup release will compare the Democrats' strengths and weaknesses. The analysis of Humphrey will show his support among blacks and in the Midwest while Muskie is stronger among the old, the ethnics, and in the East.

Gallup ran a special trial heat poll last weekend testing the President against Kennedy and McGovern. Davies will not be able to give me the results until next Tuesday, April 18, 1972. The information may not be published.

GS/jb  
F/U 4/17

Pat  
w/Gallup  
FU

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Popularity and  
Trial Heat Figures

Discussion with John Davies at Gallup on Friday, April 6, disclosed that the final Presidential popularity figures are:

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
G - 3/24-27	53	36	11

The release date for these figures is uncertain. Davies says the editorial board has not yet decided.

The "almost final" trial heat results which will not be released Sunday, April 9 are:

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
G - 3/24-27	46	36	14	4

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	46	35	15	4

Against just Wallace the results are:

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Other</u>
G - 3/24-27	70	23	4	3

On Sunday, April 9, Gallup will release the standing of the Democratic candidates among the Democratic voters. The headline will be: "Humphrey Retains Front Runner Spot in National Test of Democratic Hopefuls." The results are:

	G - 3/24-27	G - 3/3-5
Humphrey	31 %	31 %
Muskie	22	23
Wallace	17	15

G - 3/24-27

G - 3/3-5

McGovern	5	6
Lindsay	5	7
Jackson	5	3
McCarthy	4	5
Chisholm	4	2
Mills	1	2
Hartke	0	1
Yorty	0	0
No Preference	6	5

GS:car

Howard

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: Jan. 31

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

On September 20 you decided to have Don Rumsfeld become the high level contact with Gallup. He reports rarely and then only to you on his contact with Gallup.

Most recently he obtained the Nixon, Muskie trial heats, called Colson, but has not responded to our requests through his staff to call Gallup and get the other trial heat figures.

You may want to talk with Rumsfeld to get the Gallup project back on track.

Administratively Confidential

March 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Poll -  
Democratic Contenders

Discussion with the Gallup Organization this morning indicated that the Sunday, March 19 release on the Democratic Contenders will show Humphrey as the leader for the Democratic nomination.

The question: "Which One of the men on this list would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972?"

Humphrey	35%
Muskie	28
Lindsay	8
McGovern	7
McCarthy	6
Jackson	5
Chisholm	3
Hartke	1
Yorty	1
No Preference	6

The polling dates were March 3 - 5.

The headline will be "Humphrey Takes Lead as Top Choice."  
When the question included Wallace the results were:

Humphrey	31%
Muskie	23
Wallace	15
Lindsay	7
McGovern	6
McCarthy	5
Jackson	3
Chisholm	2
Mills	2
Hartke	1
Yorty	0
No Preference	5

Administratively Confidential

March 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

California Polling  
Information

You asked for the campaign's polling results for Los Angeles and Orange Counties in January to compare with the DMI survey conducted February 25 - March 9:

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
DMI - Feb. 25 - March 9	45%	36%	6%	12%
DMI - Jan. 6 - Jan.19	44	42	6	8

According to Teeter the February DMI survey did not cover Kennedy or Humphrey. The March and April DMI surveys will include Muskie, Humphrey, Kennedy and Wallace.

DMI hopes to renegotiate this political polling contract in May with Tom Reed, the Republican National Committeeman in California.

Pursuant to your request, I delivered the California polling summary sheets to Bob Finch. I will give him the DMI vendors report on Thursday, March 23 when the vendors' reports in your office will be changed. Finch expressed concern about the security of the DMI results of the campaign polls, but Bob Teeter says this is an unwarranted fear. Teeter covered this concern specifically with Vince Barabba, the President of DMI.

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY L  
SUBJECT: Harris/Gallop Polling

What is happening on the situation with Harris and Gallop?  
When will they be in the field? What questions are they  
polling, etc. ?

H  
FU  
3/27  
LR - put this  
w/ all Gal  
FU polllog

3/21

John Davies

Trl Heats - ~~1~~  
avail - series into field  
so 2 weeks.  
2 ~~Suns~~  
not this but fl Sun.

Interviewing this wknd  
- Fri, Sat, Sun.

---

① Q's on crime - pers  
bear  
- trend over 5 yrs  
has risen up to

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② Updating on Mans  
prop

---

③ Dem cand's  
~~that~~ Mes v H H K  
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2667

Harris -  
~~Hand~~ Typed - called R/P's  
office on Sat.

K - Stars - WH phones.

Clewsen - ~~not~~ in EOB

Morgan - select few  
briefed by E.  
E + my

H  
FU  
3/25

File  
Gallup  
FU  
package

TALKING PAPER FOR DON RUMSFELD

RE: Gallup Polls

I understand that you have had a couple of meetings with George Gallup, Jr. to strengthen our access to their poll information.

This contact with Gallup should be expanded into a weekly contact. They will be releasing political information -- such as the trial heats from their January 7-9 poll -- that will be increasingly important to us.

Why don't you call me after each weekly discussion with George Gallup, Jr.

GS  
1/31/72



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/4

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You have a talking paper dealing with Rumsfeld's relationship with Gallup. Why not have him try to get his poll results from Gallup?

OK

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H FU  
H FU  
3/25  
2/4  
18

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Gallup Presidential  
Popularity

The Gallup poll has completed their February poll. They "will probably release the Presidential popularity within the next week." John Davies is out of town for 10 days, so Chapin and I will be unable to get the results ahead of the release.

You have a talking paper for Counsellor Rumsfeld to get him to call George Gallup, Jr. Last month he called Gallup and advised Colson. You may want to call Rumsfeld to see if you could get the results before departing for China next Thursday.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Presidential  
Popularity

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GS:car

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: George Gallup, Jr. -  
Rumsfeld Meeting

Dwight Chapin has been acting as the "White House Contact" with the Gallup Organization (John Davies). Chapin has had very limited success either in obtaining the results of polls in advance or in explaining our substantive complaints about some of the releases. Chapin believes that a more senior contact with the Gallup Organization might be more fruitful. To that end, Colson and Chapin met with Rumsfeld and strongly urged him to contact George Gallup, Jr.

After some considerable pressure, Rumsfeld had lunch on September 16 with George Gallup, Jr. to explain some of the White House concerns with Gallup polls. Rumsfeld used the following specific examples in his discussion:

- 1) The unfairness of having the "73% favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam" without follow-up questions about the consequences (loss of POWs, communist takeover, etc.);
- 2) The six month lock on a 50% approval rating when Harris and our private polls show a rise following the Red China and new economic policy announcements;
- 3) The unfairness of the question "Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III (keep the country prosperous) -- the Republican Party or Democratic Party?". This question, of course, favors the Democrats because of their higher registration. Rumsfeld suggested that the question be asked: "Do you think Richard Nixon or Edmund Muskie would be more likely . . ."

The possibility of using polling contracts similar to the Harris-Family Issues In Depth Poll was raised with Counsellor Rumsfeld as a follow-up to a meeting that Colson and Chapin had with Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld would not suggest the possibility of polling contracts to Gallup because "they are not the type" and would not be receptive.

Recommendation:

Rumsfeld should now replace Chapin as the contact with Gallup to acquire interesting results early.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

If approve, a memorandum for your signature to Rumsfeld is attached.

GS:lm

September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD  
FROM: H. R. HALBERN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Your meeting yesterday with George Gallup, Jr. should prove helpful.

As you know, Dwight Chapin has been talking with John Davies at Gallup, but his success in acquiring timely information has been limited.

To assure continued contact with the top management of Gallup Organization would you assume personal responsibility for weekly calls to George Gallup concerning poll results?

The follow through details of weekly contact with George Gallup, Jr. could be handled by Gordon Strachan and possibly Dick Cheney.

HRH:GS:lm:BK:dg:GS:dg

PC  
TALKING PAPER FOR DON RUMSFELD

RE: Gallup Polls

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GS:  
1/31/72

lm

EU  
2/9  
H slide  
Gao  
Tal  
Pop

Administratively Confidential

January 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Trial Heats

On Monday, Gallup will release "Nixon and Muskie in Standoff Battle for 1972." The figures are:

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
G-Jan 7-9, 1972	43%	42%	12%	3%

Gallup also asked trial heat questions about the other contenders and may have asked a four-way with McCarthy. I could not obtain this information. Don Rumsfeld might be able to get it from George Gallup, Jr. but you would have to ask Rumsfeld personally to do it.

GS: car

*Do a brief talk  
paper for Rumsfeld  
first.*



Davies

H-FC  
1/19  
✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

January 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Gallup Results

I called John Davies to ask him when the next Presidential popularity figures would be released. Davies said the results will be released Wednesday, January 19. Davies would not give me the results because they have not been tabulated yet. Davies said I could have the popularity figures on Monday, January 17.

As to the trial heat figures, they will be released "hopefully Sunday", January 16. Davies would not give me these figures either, saying they were still being tabulated.

Counsellor Rumsfeld, through Dick Cheney, was asked on Wednesday, January 12 to call George Gallup; Jr. Cheney does not know whether Rumsfeld has called. Rumsfeld prefers to talk directly with you after he calls Gallup.

Davies 1/17 - 1<sup>30</sup>  
 "mood of country leans toward Nixon" - Wed  
 Thur - update on pop.  
 1<sup>30</sup> - out to lunch  
 4p - out of office  
 G → Chapin 450 - Davies:  
 Pop 49 39  
 College Pop. 43 51 - sign | Thur.

Trl heats early Wed morning  
 Davies ~~at~~ things H H H will be Dem opponent

FU MONDAY  
G\$

REMINDER:

CALL JOHN DAVIES AT GALLUP WEEKLY.

Davies Smyth

~~FU  
12/9 LR  
PLS  
update  
poll  
book done~~

Administratively Confidential

December 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Trial Heats

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

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

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

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

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

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
46	37	12	5

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
49	33	12	6

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

GS:dg

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Howard/Ooney/Aspin FU #2  
LS #4  
11/5

October 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: DON RUMSFELD *D.R.*  
SUBJECT: GALLUP

1. You have seen the Presidential approval poll and noted that this is the first decisive increase in the President's approval since the beginning of the year, although the intensity of approval had increased in the previous report.

The Gallup Report to be published Thursday, October 29 will cover public feelings concerning prices. It will indicate that the outlook has brightened somewhat. Gallup describes it as a modest gain.

During the last six months on the approval of the President, there has been no major shift until this latest report. The 18 to 30 year old population remained unchanged despite the 5-point increase of approval for the President. The groups that improved were men, clerical, sales and Republican reflecting the previous report's comment on the increase of intensity of support for the President.

➔ 2. Trial heats may be ready for next weekend according to Gallup.

3. The Gallup Poll on whether or not people would vote for a Black President or Black Vice President, as carried in the paper, left the impression it was a negative report. That would be an incorrect interpretation. While it is true that a Black for President or Vice President according to the Gallup Poll would still be a liability, the percentage that would support a Black for President or Vice President reached an all time high of 70%.

G → Howard  
10/30/71  
will be in  
at Mem  
LWC -  
11/3 not push  
back up  
on this  
one

Which proves number wrong -  
Can we get someone to talk this on?

Cheney

File - Files & Shuo

September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Your meeting yesterday with George Gallup, Jr. should prove helpful.

As you know, Dwight Chapin has been talking with John Davies at Gallup, but his success in acquiring timely information has been limited.

To assure continued contact with the top management of Gallup Organization would you assume personal responsibility for weekly calls to George Gallup concerning poll results?

The follow through details of weekly contact with George Gallup, Jr. could be handled by Gordon Strachan and possibly Dick Cheney.

HRH:GS:lm:BK:dg:GS:dg

Chapin

FU EVERY  
TUES &  
THURS.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Poll

Gallup was kind enough to send us the attached calendar of the interesting political questions that their future polls will cover. Since you and I will probably get asked about these results when we are not prepared with the responses, maybe we should develop a system for getting the information from John Davies at Gallup on a more regular basis.

I suggest that I call Nell Yates every Tuesday and Thursday to check your telephone call schedule so that we can get through calls to John Davies on a regular basis.

Do you have another suggestion?

GS:lm

FU EVERY TUESDAY - - THURSDAY

# Coming Up on Gallup Poll Calendar!



RICHARD M. NIXON

— Are rank-and-file labor union members “in revolt” over the President’s new economic program?

— Has Nixon registered gains in terms of his popularity with voters?

— What is the reaction of Republican and Democratic voters to Mayor Lindsay’s party switch?

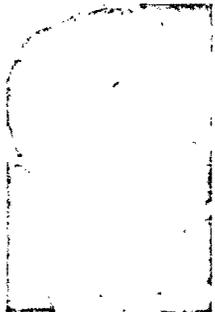


JOHN V. LINDSAY

— Where is Lindsay now in the Democratic standings?

— Do voters give Lindsay a chance to win the Democratic nomination?

— Which Democrat would give Nixon the hardest fight if the election were being held today?



GEORGE C. WALLACE

— Is Wallace winning new adherents in the South?

— What are current attitudes on “busing” — both in the South and North?

## Important Note to Editors

A full-scale national survey has just been completed and tabulations are now underway. *There will be no release for this Thursday, August 26. The next Gallup Report will be sent you for release Sunday, August 29.*

Cheney

Tues/Thurs  
FC

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

October 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

SUBJECT:

Rumsfeld--Gallup Information

You decided on September 20 that Counsellor Don Rumsfeld should become the White House contact with the Gallup organization. Several requests for information from Gallup have been given to Dick Cheney in the Counsellor's office. However, Rumsfeld only wants to talk with you and will not inform Cheney, Higby, or myself about any call to Gallup.

Colson may have asked Rumsfeld for some Gallup information because the President asked Colson for the latest Gallup information on Thursday or Friday of last week.

*answered  
covered  
by phone*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 12, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

L. HIGBY L

Check Rumsfeld's office and see whether or not he wants to continue to be the Gallup contact, since he is moving to his new job. This is something we should make sure of, one way or the other.

G → Oenev "I think he does  
10/14 want to continue," but  
I'll check him pers;  
Rumsfeld's note to talk w/ H

Note → H; = Rums call

Cherney

~~FH 10/19~~  
Inco + Inco.

October 6, 1971

RE: [Illegible]

TO: [Illegible] FROM: [Illegible]  
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

Attached are the materials you requested on the [Illegible] today.

With Counsellor [Illegible] taking with Callup next, several [Illegible] should be raised:

- 1) Date and results from last Presidential popularity poll;
- 2) Date of next scheduled Presidential popularity press release;
- 3) Plans for trial heat series;
- 4) Date of release of "Black Vice President" question;
- 5) Callup's assessment of which voting groups have shifted over the past 6 months.

Attachments

CS:elr

NOTE TO EDITORS: Please note that today's report is for release Friday, Oct. 22. This will take the place of the report usually scheduled for Thursday. The next report will be sent you for release Sunday, Oct. 24.

## The Gallup Poll

For Release: Friday, Oct. 22, 1971

# Negro on Ticket Would Likely Hurt Presidential Candidate's 1972 Chances

*But Prejudice Toward Negroes in Politics at All-Time Low*

By George Gallup  
Copyright, 1971,  
Field Enterprises, Inc.

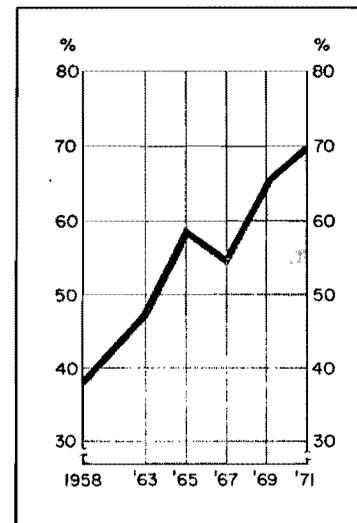
PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 21 — Sen. Edmund Muskie's comment that he would be hurt in 1972 if he chose a Negro for a Vice-Presidential running mate is supported by the results of a nationwide survey just completed.

One fourth of voters interviewed (24 per cent) say they would be "less likely" to vote for the presidential candidate of their choice if he picked a Negro on the ticket, compared to 13 per cent who say they would be "more likely" to do so. More than half of all persons interviewed say it would make no difference.

While it appears on balance that a Negro on the ticket could be a liability to a presidential candidate, prejudice toward Negroes in politics has declined to its lowest point yet recorded. This is seen in six national surveys taken since 1958 in which voters were asked if they would vote for a Negro for president if he were qualified for the job.

Only 13 years ago, a Negro's prospects for reaching the nation's highest office looked dim. At that time 38 per cent of all adults interviewed said they would vote for a qualified Negro for President. Since then opposition has steadily eroded, and

VOTE FOR A NEGRO FOR PRESIDENT ?



The percentage of Americans who say they would vote for a Negro for President has climbed dramatically from 38 per cent in 1958 to 70 per cent in the latest survey.

today a sizable majority of 70 per cent say they would vote for a Negro.

### Younger Are More Favorably Inclined

Views on voting for a ticket with a Negro as the Vice-presidential candidate depend in considerable measure on one's age, level of formal education and the region in which he lives.

Persons with college training are about evenly divided between those who say they would be "more likely" to vote for a presidential candidate with a Negro running mate than those who say they would be "less likely" to do so.

However, among persons with only a grade school background, nearly three times as many say they would be "less likely" as say they would be "more likely" to vote for such a ticket.

Persons under 30 are the only group that would be more favorably inclined toward their presidential favorite if he picked a Negro as a running mate.

### Majority In South Not Opposed

A slate with a Negro as Vice President would have roughest sledding among whites in the South, where many more say they would be "less likely" to vote for it than take the opposite opinion. However, it is interesting to note that nearly half say it would

make no difference in their views.

A total of 1,473 adults, 18 and older, were interviewed in person to obtain the results of this survey, which was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period Oct. 8-11. This question was asked:

*Suppose the presidential candidate of your choice next year picks a Negro as his vice presidential running mate — would this make you more likely to vote for this ticket or less likely?*

Here are the national results and those by key groups:

	More %	Less %	No Diff. %	No Opin. %
NATIONAL	13	24	57	6
College	13	17	66	4
High school	14	24	56	6
Grade school	12	33	48	7
Under 30 yrs.	20	15	60	5
30-49 yrs.	14	23	58	5
50 yrs. & older	9	30	54	7
South, whites	5	42	48	5
North, whites	13	20	62	5
Republicans	10	26	59	5
Democrats	16	22	56	6
Independents	13	25	56	6

This is the other question asked:

*There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates — their education, age, race, religion and the like. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for President and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him?*

Here is the trend:

	Yes %	No %	Opin. %
1958	38	53	9
1963	47	45	8
1965	59	34	7
1967	54	40	6
1969	67	23	10
1971	70	23	7

Views on voting for a Negro for President follow the same pattern as in the case of the earlier question, with younger persons, the college trained and those who live outside the South most inclined to hold a liberal viewpoint.

**Coming Sunday!**  
**LATEST**  
**NIXON**  
**POPULARITY**  
**RATING**

Cheney

Tues / Thurs  
FU

Administratively Confidential

September 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Per our conversation, here is the trend for the Gallup question on voting for a negro President.

Please advise me as soon as Counsellor Rumsfeld has talked with Gallup.

GS:lm

VOTE FOR A NEGRO? *for President*

Question: ".....If he happened to be a Negro?"

	MID-MARCH, 1969			1967		
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Yes	No	No Opinion
NATIONAL	67	23	10	54	40	6
SEX						
Men	66	25	9			
Women	68	22	10			
RACE						
White	65	25	10			
Non-white	X	X	X			
EDUCATION						
College	79	14	7			
High School	71	21	8			
Grade School	49	36	15			
OCCUPATION						
Prof. & Bus.	76	16	8			
White Collar	74	21	5			
Farmers	56	32	12			
Manual	70	22	8			
AGE						
21 - 29 years	77	14	9			
30 - 49 years	72	20	8			
50 & over	58	31	11			
RELIGION						
Protestant	61	29	10			
Catholic	78	11	11			
Jewish	X	X	X			
POLITICS						
Republican	62	27	11			
Democrat	72	19	9			
Independent	64	26	10			
REGION						
East	74	14	12			
Midwest	71	20	9			
South	52	39	9			
West	74	20	6			
INCOME						
\$10,000 & over	75	19	6			
\$ 7,000 & over	73	20	7			
\$ 5,000 - \$6,999	67	23	10			
\$ 3,000 - \$4,999	66	23	11			
Under \$3,000	52	34	14			
COMMUNITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	73	15	12			
500,000 & over	76	13	11			
50,000 - 499,999	76	18	6			
2,500 - 49,999	59	32	9			
Under 2,500, Rural	55	34	11			

VOTE FOR A NEGRO?  
11-year Trend

	Yes	No	No Opinion
	%	%	%
1958 .....	38	53	9
1963 .....	47	45	8
1965 .....	59	34	7
1967 .....	54	40	6
1969 .....	67	23	10

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB HALDEMAN ✓  
DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

DON RUMSFELD

Attached is a copy of the April 3, 1969 release on the subject we discussed. The new one should be out in the next two weeks.

Can a Negro be President?

# Prejudice Toward Negroes in Politics Shows Steady Decline

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1969, American Institute of Public Opinion. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or part strictly prohibited, except with written consent of the copyright holders.

PRINCETON, N. J., April 2 — Evidence that the Negro is gaining acceptance in American society is revealed by the latest nationwide survey which shows a new high in the proportion of people who say they would vote for a Negro for President.

Just eleven years ago in 1958, when the first measurement on the subject was taken, a Negro's prospects for ever reaching the nation's highest office looked particularly dim. At that time 38 per cent of all adults interviewed said they would vote for a qualified Negro for President. Since then opposition has steadily broken down, and today a solid majority of 67 per cent say they would vote for a Negro.

The latest percentage represents a 13-point rise from the previous measurement in June, 1967. The change in this two-year period has been registered primarily among those groups that have traditionally been most opposed to a Negro (as well as a Jew and a Catholic) becoming President. These groups are people with little formal education, older persons and white Southerners.

**More Negroes Being Elected**

Although the public opinion climate is changing, Negroes clearly have a long way to go in actually attaining high political office. Nevertheless, persons of this race have made definite headway in recent years. For example, two large U.S. cities — Cleveland and Gary, Ind. — now have Negro mayors. In addition, there are now 9 Negro Representatives and one U.S. Senator in Congress.

The latest survey was conducted in over 300 localities across the nation selected by probability sampling methods. A total of 1514 adults were interviewed in person by trained field workers.

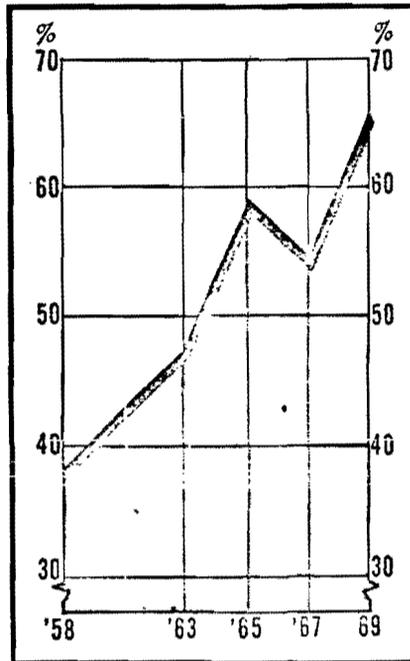
This was the question asked:

*There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates — their education, age, race, religion and the like. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for President and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him?*

Here is the trend:

	Yes %	No %	No Opin. %
1958	38	53	9
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Vote for a Negro for President?



The proportion of Americans who today say they would vote for a Negro for President has increased from 38 per cent in 1958, when the first measurement was taken, to 67 per cent.

**Prejudice Toward Jews Declining**

A further question in the survey also shows that prejudice toward Jews in politics is declining. Eighty-six persons in 100 today say they would vote for a qualified Jew for President, compared to 46 in 100 a 1937 survey. Two years ago the figure was 82 in every 100.

An increase in willingness to vote for a Catholic has also been recorded. In 1937, 64 per cent said they would vote for a Catholic for President. In a 1958 survey the percentage had increased to 68 per cent. Following the election of John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, the percentage jumped to 82 per cent.

The following tables show the trend on willingness to vote for a Catholic and a Jew:

Vote for a Jew?

	Yes %	No %	No Opin. %
1937	46	46	8
1958	62	28	10
1961	68	23	9
1963	77	17	6
1965	80	15	5
1967	82	13	5
1969	86	8	6

Vote for a Catholic?

	Yes %	No %	No Opin. %
1937	64	28	8
1940	62	31	7
1958	68	25	7
1959	69	20	11
1960	71	20	9
1961	82	13	5
1963	84	13	3
1965	87	10	3
1967	89	9	2
1969	88	8	4

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date Oct. 4, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Don Rumsfeld's office (Dick Cheney) reports that the "black Vice President" question will be asked by Gallup. The wording will be "similar" to that used for the "Negro for President" question. Bill Safire and Dwight Chapin believe that it is tactically wise to keep pushing this issue, especially since the 1969 results indicated 67% would vote for a qualified Negro for President.

## Can a Negro be President?

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By George Gallup

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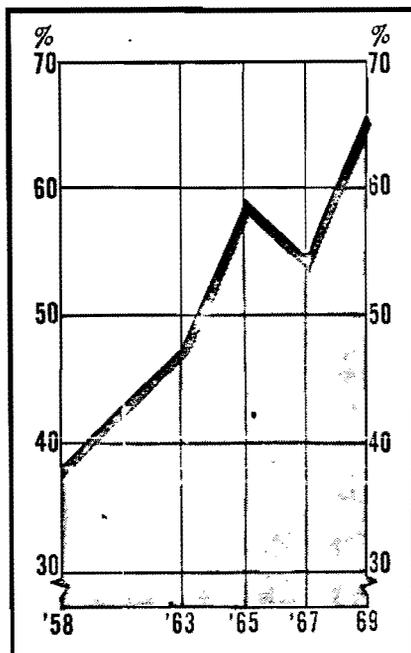
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### Vote for a Negro for President?



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1961	82	13	5
1963	84	13	3
1965	87	10	3
1967	83	9	2
1969	88	8	4

9/29

Would you vote for a

Negro for P?

	yes	no.	NO
G. Apr. 1969	<u>67</u>	23	10

---

Cheney

FU 9/28

9/27

Gallup -

Ed  
Harper

published portion of  
poll on Catholics  
in Time  
- need entirety.

G → Dick Cheney re  
getting info

Harris + Galley Polling Dates  
Howard — cur w/ Harris now  
Chevey — out of town

Stone + Meel confirmed on 10/8

FU ~~AK~~ 9

September 22, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHENEY  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Pursuant to our telephone conversation this morning about establishing a system to assure weekly contact by Counsellor Rumsfeld with the Gallup Organization, I have attached the schedule of political poll results as well as tomorrow's release on the economy.

You will notice that tomorrow's release mentions the polling dates August 27-30. This indicates a new survey has been completed and the results are now available. Counsellor Rumsfeld could presumably obtain the results now that will be released over the next few weeks. The results may be those mentioned in the schedule that is also attached.

Attachments: Gallup Release, September 23, 1971.  
Gallup Schedule.

GS:elr

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AS

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

George Gallup, Jr. -  
Rumsfeld Meeting

Dwight Chapin has been acting as the "White House Contact" with the Gallup Organization (John Davies). Chapin has had very limited success either in obtaining the results of polls in advance or in explaining our substantive complaints about some of the releases. Chapin believes that a more senior contact with the Gallup Organization might be more fruitful. To that end, Colson and Chapin met with Rumsfeld and strongly urged him to contact George Gallup, Jr.

After some considerable pressure, Rumsfeld had lunch on September 16 with George Gallup, Jr. to explain some of the White House concerns with Gallup polls. Rumsfeld used the following specific examples in his discussion:

- 1) The unfairness of having the "73% favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam" without follow-up questions about the consequences (loss of POWs, communist takeover, etc.);
- 2) The six month lock on a 50% approval rating when Harris and our private polls show a rise following the Red China and new economic policy announcements;
- 3) The unfairness of the question "Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III (keep the country prosperous) -- the Republican Party or Democratic Party?". This question, of course, favors the Democrats because of their higher registration. Rumsfeld suggested that the question be asked: "Do you think Richard Nixon or Edmund Muskie would be more likely . . ."

The possibility of using polling contacts similar to the Harris-Family Issues In Depth Poll was raised with Counsellor Rumsfeld as a follow-up to a meeting that Colson and Chapin had with Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld would not suggest the possibility of polling contracts to Gallup because "they are not the type" and would not be receptive.

Recommendation:

Rumsfeld should now replace Chapin as the contact with Gallup to acquire interesting results early.

Approve H <sup>L try it</sup> Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment watch it closely & see if it works.

If approve, a memorandum for your signature to Rumsfeld is attached.

*This is a good job on Godwin's part.*  
*L.*

82  
September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Your meeting yesterday with George Gallup, Jr. should prove helpful.

As you know, Dwight Chapin has been talking with John Davies at Gallup, but his success in acquiring timely information has been limited.

To assure continued contact with the top management of Gallup Organization would you assume personal responsibility for weekly calls to George Gallup concerning poll results?

The follow through details of weekly contact with George Gallup, Jr. could be handled by Gordon Strachan and possibly Dick Cheney.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

AS

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

George Gallup, Jr. -  
Rumsfeld Meeting

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After some considerable pressure, Rumsfeld had lunch on September 16 with George Gallup, Jr. to explain some of the White House concerns with Gallup polls. Rumsfeld used the following specific examples in his discussion:

- 1) The unfairness of having the "73% favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam" without follow-up questions about the consequences (loss of POWs, communist takeover, etc.);
- 2) The six month lock on a 50% approval rating when Harris and our private polls show a rise following the Red China and new economic policy announcements;
- 3) The unfairness of the question "Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III (keep the country prosperous) -- the Republican Party or Democratic Party?". This question, of course, favors the Democrats because of their higher registration. Rumsfeld suggested that the question be asked: "Do you think Richard Nixon or Edmund Muskie would be more likely . . ."

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Recommendation:

Rumsfeld should now replace Chapin as the contact with Gallup to acquire interesting results early.

Approve H <sup>L.H.</sup> Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment watch it closely & see if it works.

If approve, a memorandum for your signature to Rumsfeld is attached.

*This is a good job on Hoderic part.*  
L.

September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Your meeting yesterday with George Gallup, Jr. should prove helpful.

As you know, Dwight Chapin has been talking with John Davies at Gallup, but his success in acquiring timely information has been limited.

To assure continued contact with the top management of Gallup Organization would you assume personal responsibility for weekly calls to George Gallup concerning poll results?

The follow through details of weekly contact with George Gallup, Jr. could be handled by Gordon Strachan and possibly Dick Cheney.

10:00:00 AM

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

George Gallup, Jr. -  
Rumsfeld Meeting

*non-FU*  
*Weekly*  
*mail*

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Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

If approve, a memorandum for your signature to Rumsfeld is attached.

GS:lm

Cheney/Howard/Comptroller 9/14

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/9 9/17

TO: ~~Harry~~

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Both Colson (Howard)  
and Dwight are  
pushing Rumsfeld.  
I check with both  
twice a week.

MCS

September 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD  
FROM: CHARLES W. COLSON

How are you making out with Gallup and Company. Things seem to have improved somewhat in the last couple of shots they've had. I'd like very much to compare notes with you at your convenience.

*Don't let the dogs*

Strachan - FY1

Howard/Chapin/Cheney

9/17 ~~FU~~  
a/7

September 1, 1971

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FROM: CHARLES W. COLSON

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D.C.  
9/11 Rums - lunch Geo Gallup  
on 9/16

This was an additional shot based on our conversation yesterday.

Dick -

G → DC 9/1 + he will also push Rummy.

Administratively Confidential

FU  
9-20

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN  
DICK HOWARD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Poll

In light of the Gallup Poll which will appear in the papers tomorrow indicating that the President's popularity has remained at 50% in spite of the China Trip announcement and the new economic policies, I imagine the interest in increasing our involvement with Gallup highten.

Would you please keep pushing Rumsfeld toward some action on this matter. If he simply will not do it or cannot get results, obviously we will have to develop another approach.

GS:lm

September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD  
FROM: H. R. HALDENAN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

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To assure continued contact with the top management of Gallup Organization would you assume personal responsibility for weekly calls to George Gallup concerning poll results?

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HRH:GS:lm:BK:dg:GS:dg

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/25

TO: LR

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Pat with the  
Gallup/Rumsfeld  
FU package.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1971

TO → Gordon

✓

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: DON RUMSFELD *RD*  
SUBJECT: Gallup

Yes, I will take that responsibility; however, I would like to put it off a week and a half. I am going to be speaking most of next week out of the City, and will get together with Dwight on October 5 to work out the details. Pending that, he should keep on his contacts.

September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON WINDFIELD  
FROM: R. R. HILBURN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Your meeting yesterday with George Gallup, Jr. should prove helpful.

As you know, Wright Chenin has been talking with John Davies re Gallup, but his success in acquiring timely information has been limited.

To assure continued contact with the top management of Gallup Organization would you assume personal responsibility for weekly calls to George Gallup concerning poll results?

The follow through details of weekly contact with George Gallup, Jr. could be handled by Gordon Serachian and possibly Dick Cheney.

HRH:GS:lm:BK:dg:GS:dg

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/22

TO: Dwight Chapin

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

F Y I

~~Gord~~  
~~Chapin~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

AS

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

George Gallup, Jr. -  
Rumsfeld Meeting

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Recommendation:

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Approve H <sup>L + H</sup> Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment watch it closely & see if it works.

If approve, a memorandum for your signature to Rumsfeld is attached.

*This is a good job on Hoderic part.*

*L.*

September 17, 1971

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The follow through details of weekly contact with George Gallup, Jr. could be handled by Gordon Strachan and possibly Dick Cheney.

Davies/Smyth

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

December 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: Gallup Trial Heats

Sept 3-16

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

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u> ✓	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
44 42	41 40	10 9	5 9

Score 1 for Strachan.  
L.

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

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

<sup>8-11</sup> <b>Oct</b>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u> ✓	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
43	44 41	35 41 37	13 10 10	9 5 12
	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	46 42	37 38	12 11	5 9
	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	49	33	12	6

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

Pop - 19-22: probal seen - Mon; doesnt

Note change in May 7-10 figures.

Call Gallup.

# Muskie, Kennedy and Humphrey In Close Race with Nixon for 1972

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1971, American Institute of Public Opinion. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or part strictly prohibited, except with written consent of the copyright holders.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 3 — Sen. Edmond Muskie of Maine, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts each run an extremely close race with President Nixon in the latest nationwide Gallup survey.

Muskie holds a slight edge at this time — 41 per cent to Nixon's 39 per cent, but the percentages are too close to be statistically conclusive. Nixon wins 42 per cent compared to 41 per cent for Kennedy, and holds a 42 to 39 per cent edge over Humphrey.

The findings reported today are based on *trial heats*, a procedure introduced by Gallup Poll in 1939 to measure the relative strength of potential candidates at a given point in time.

### Two Requirements Must Be Observed

Experience gained in such surveys over three decades shows that to produce a realistic appraisal of candidate strength two requirements must be observed:

(1) The vote in these trial heats must be limited to persons who are registered to vote — approximately 75 per cent of all adults.

(2) The candidates being tested must be known to at least 80 per cent of all persons in the sample. Candidates known to fewer than this percentage are unduly penalized by lack of awareness.

### Only 3 Men Pass Test

Only three men of those currently being discussed as possible presidential candidates in 1972 pass this awareness test: Kennedy, known to 94 per cent; Humphrey, 94 per cent; and Muskie, 85 per cent.

Falling just below this awareness level are Eugene McCarthy (known to 78 per cent of persons); Mayor John Lindsay of New York, 77 per cent; Sen. William Fulbright, 72 per cent; Sen. Mike Mansfield, 69 per cent; and Sen. George McGovern, 68 per cent.

In a recent *New York Times* article, Senator Kennedy stated that he will not be a candidate for President in 1972. Some political observers, however, expect him to throw his hat into the presidential ring.

To produce the findings reported today, a total of 1502 persons, 18 and older, were interviewed in person by trained Gallup interviewers working in more than 500 scientifically selected localities across the nation. Interviewing was conducted May 7 through 10. This question was asked of the 1088 persons who are currently registered to vote.

To get some idea of the national political situation at this early stage, suppose the presidential election were being held TODAY. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and (name of Democrat being tested) were the Democrat candidate and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?

### Democrats Have Closed 'Gap'

All three Democrats tested in the latest trial heats have registered considerable gains over the last 15 months. A February, 1970, trial heat showed Nixon with a 12-point lead over Muskie, a 11-point lead over Kennedy and an 17-point lead over Humphrey.

As reported earlier, Kennedy outdistances Muskie in terms of the nomination choices of Democratic voters. However, Muskie matches Kennedy's current trial heat vote (41 per cent) because he has wider appeal than Kennedy with independent voters and Republicans.

Support for Gov. George Wallace of Alabama — third party candidate in 1968 and a possible third party candidate again in 1972 — shows virtually no sign of having changed over this 15-month period, as the following table indicates:

Nixon — Muskie — Wallace		
	Feb. '70	Latest
Nixon	47%	39%
Muskie	45	41
Wallace	13	12
Undecided	5	8

Nixon — Kennedy — Wallace		
	Feb. '70	Latest
Nixon	49%	42%
Kennedy	35	41
Wallace	11	10
Undecided	5	7

Nixon — Humphrey — Wallace		
	Feb. '70	Latest
Nixon	50%	42%
Humphrey	33	39
Wallace	13	12
Undecided	4	7

The following question was asked in a recent national survey to determine candidate awareness levels among the general public:

*Will you please look over this list (respondent was handed card with the names of 13 men who have been discussed as possible presidential candidates) and tell me which of these men, if any, you have heard something about?*

The following table shows the awareness levels, ranked from the highest percentage to the lowest:

### Per Cent Who Have Heard Something About (Based on all persons in survey)

Edward Kennedy	94%
Hubert Humphrey	94
Edmond Muskie	85
Eugene McCarthy	78
John Lindsay	77
J. William Fulbright	72
Mike Mansfield	69
George McGovern	68
William Proxmire	48
Harold Hughes	48
Walbar Mills	36
Birch Bayh	35
Henry Jackson	29

### Kennedy Vares Better In California Poll

Senator Kennedy runs stronger in the California Poll than he does the nationwide Gallup Poll. On May 14, *The California Poll* (Field Research Corporation of California) showed Kennedy with a 40 to 45 per cent lead over Nixon, with 5 per cent for Wallace and 8 per cent undecided. Nixon and Muskie are virtually tied, with 44 per cent for Nixon and 45 per cent for Muskie, while Wallace currently has a 45 to 41 per cent lead over Humphrey in California.

Only 3 Percentage Points Behind

# Kennedy Moves Into Close Race with Nixon

By George Gallup  
Copyright, 1971,  
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Dec. 8 — Sen. Edward Kennedy has moved into a close race with President Nixon and now trails him by only three percentage points. In the latest trial heat, Nixon wins the support of 44 per cent of registered voters, compared to 41 per cent for Kennedy and 10 per cent for Wallace.

The gap between Nixon and Kennedy, a possible 1972 Democratic nominee, is the smallest recorded since the Spring of 1969.

In a trial heat conducted in May, 1971, Nixon held a 14-point lead over Kennedy, winning 49 per cent of the vote of registered voters, to 35 per cent for Kennedy, 11 per cent for Wallace and 5 per cent undecided.

**Kennedy Strong With Young Voters**

Kennedy owes his strong showing largely to voters under 30, who give him 55 per cent of their vote to 33 per cent for the President. By contrast, Nixon holds a 12-point lead over Kennedy among persons 50 and older.

Not since the Gallup Poll began these trial heat measurements in 1935 has such a difference been found on the basis of the age of survey respondents.

President Nixon and Senator Kennedy are now evenly matched in the East and Midwest but Kennedy leads in the West while Nixon leads in the South.

**Wallace Vote Holding Level**

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, a possible third party candidate next year, wins 10 per cent of the vote nationally in the latest trial heat, maintaining about the same level of support that he has received in all previous races against Nixon and Kennedy.

The trial heat reported today is based on personal interviews with registered voters in a total sample of 1,503 adults, 18 and older, who were interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period Nov. 19-22. This question was asked:

*To get some idea of the national political situation at this early stage, suppose the presidential election were being held TODAY. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and Edward Kennedy were the Democratic candidate and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?*

Here are the latest results for the nation:

Nixon	44%
Kennedy	41
Wallace	10
Undecided	5
—	
	100%

Here are the results in terms of age of the survey respondent:

	Nixon %	Ken- nedy %	Wal- lace %	Un- dec. %
Under 30 yrs.	33	55	7	5
30-49 yrs.	45	40	11	4
50 & older	48	36	11	5

Here are the results by the four major regions of the nation:

	Nixon %	Ken- nedy %	Wal- lace %	Un- dec. %
East	42	44	7	7
Midwest	47	43	7	3
South	46	30	20	4
West	40	49	6	5

Following are the results of trial heats with Nixon, Kennedy and Wallace since January, 1971:

	Nixon %	Ken- nedy %	Wal- lace %	Un- dec. %
Nov. 19-22	44	41	10	5
May 7-10	49	35	11	5
March 12-14	46	38	11	5
Jan. 9-10	47	38	9	6

**Kennedy Is Top Choice For 1972 Nomination**

Senator Kennedy is currently the top choice of Democratic voters for the

1972 nomination, holding a five-point lead over runner-up Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine. Democrats in the latest survey were asked to choose from a list of seven, the man they would like to see as their party's standard bearer next year.

Until mid-summer Kennedy and Muskie were running neck-and-neck in the nomination choices of Democrats, with the exception of a survey conducted last Spring when Kennedy briefly spurted into an eight-point lead over Muskie.

**Coming Sunday!**

— Latest Trial Heat Races! —  
How Do These Men Fare Against Nixon?



Senator Muskie      Senator Humphrey      Senator McGovern

Be sure to read the GALLUP POLL this Sunday, in the  
(NAME OF PAPER)

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### Kennedy Is Top Choice For 1972 Nomination

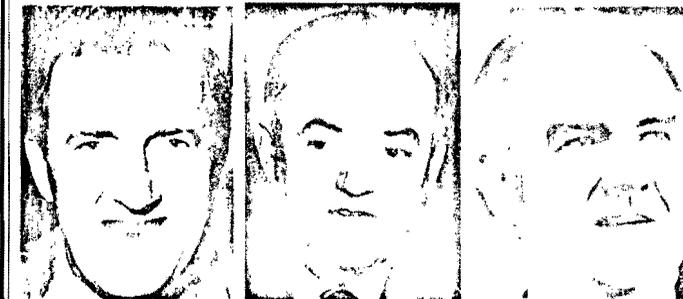
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— Latest Trial Heat Races! —  
How Do These Men Fare Against Nixon?



Senator Muskie

Senator Humphrey

Senator McGovern

Be sure to read the GALLUP POLL this Sunday, in the

(NAME OF PAPER)

John Davies or Bob Smyth <sup>FU</sup> (12/7 #3)

P. pop? <sup>to on the Nov.</sup>  
- no + no trial? <sup>poll</sup>

next pop on Tues,  
10, 11 + 12  
results just before  
Christmas

~~BA~~ - reported in 10 days  
no final figures

- Not avail until  
early next week

both - Oct 29 - Nov: ~~2~~ 1

2 different

FU 12/11

Chapin

FU

11/23

11/24

ES

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 17, 1971

*follow up per our conversation*

2

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT : Gallup Contact

On Friday, November 12 at about 10:00 a.m. we received the Gallup trial heat information ready for release Sunday, November 14. Copies were delivered to you and Larry immediately.

At approximately 2:00 p.m. Friday, Larry called me to ask to get the popularity results from Gallup. At 2:05 p.m. I called Dick Cheney in Don Rumsfeld's office to advise him that we needed the Gallup popularity figures. He said he would ask the Counsellor to call after they made the 3:00 p.m. guideline deadlines. Cheney specifically agreed to have Counsellor Rumsfeld get the popularity figures.

I also called Dwight Chapin on Friday (exact time unknown to either) to mention that we had the trial heat results and therefore would need the popularity figures. Dwight informed me that he was trying to get the day to day responsibility of calling John Davies to me. Rumsfeld agreed with this approach. You disagreed (memo attached). - *AS relayed this fact to C on Monday so as you can see by his note he was told twice.*

The question is whether I asked Dwight Chapin to obtain the Gallup popularity figures. I asked Dick Cheney to have Rumsfeld get the popularity figures; I talked to Dwight about the same subject (he recalls discussion of the recent trial results) so I asked Dwight also to get the Gallup popularity figures. I did not mention the Gallup poll by specific date, however.

Once Dwight reached John Davies at Gallup (late Monday, Nov. 15) he did not cover the popularity question but did have agreement with Davies that I was to be the contact. I called John Davies before 5:00 p.m. on Monday and he had left for the day. Two calls to him yesterday went unanswered, so I have yet to talk with John Davies.

Backup memoranda and notes are attached.

*DC re invite Davies*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1971  
9:00 a.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN  
SUBJECT: Gallup

Once in touch with John Davies, we will have you set as the daily contact for information.

Larry insinuated the other day that I was to carry on as the contact, but that is next to impossible, especially with the next few months' travel schedule in mind.

Don't want to harass  
best working arrange-  
helpful for planning  
DC in w/ G on lunch

Make it possible

*De Davies*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT : Gallup Popularity Figures

Dwight Chapin cannot reach his contact, John Davies, at Gallup. He is out until late tonight.

Don Rumsfeld was asked to obtain the information, but Dick Channey reports that Rumsfeld has been too busy getting guidelines out today. Rumsfeld will not be asked to obtain figures in the future.

Chapin suggests that I have the responsibility to get such information from Davies. Unfortunately, Davies has not returned Chapin's calls for the last two days.

Chapin continue as ~~Gallup~~ *Davies* contact.

Strachan becomes Gallup contact.

Other

'Showdown' Test Between the Two Men

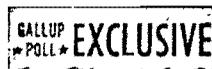
# Kennedy Falls 11 Points Behind Muskie As Nomination Choice of Democrats

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1971,  
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Nov. 13 — Sen. Edward Kennedy now trails Sen. Edmund Muskie by 11 points as the choice of Democratic voters for the 1972 nomination, after having led Muskie by 3 points in the same kind of two-way "showdown" test in March.

Muskie is currently the choice of 50 per cent of Democrats who are registered to vote, compared to 39 per cent for Kennedy and 11 per cent undecided. In March, Kennedy led, 46 to 43 per cent, with 11 per cent undecided.



**Holds Same Lead Over HHH**

Muskie also holds a 50-39 per cent lead over Sen. Hubert Humphrey in the latest two-way test. In the March survey, the margin was 46 per cent for Muskie and 39 per cent for Humphrey.

Humphrey's support, unlike Kennedy's, has remained the same since March. Humphrey's vote, 39 per cent, now equals Kennedy's in match-ups against Muskie.

The change since March in the "showdown" choices of Democrats who are registered to vote closely parallels the change found among all persons between the two surveys.

**Muskie Holds Wide Lead Over Kennedy in 'Showdown' Test**  
—Views of Democrats Registered to Vote—

Senator Muskie 50%  
Senator Kennedy 39%  
Undecided: 11%

**Lindsay Wins Vote of 1 in 4**

Mayor Lindsay of New York, who many think will soon throw his hat into the presidential ring, wins 25 per cent of the vote of registered Democrats, to 58 per cent for Muskie, with another 17 per cent undecided.

Lindsay's support might be considered impressive in view of the fact that

he not long ago switched from the Republican to the Democratic party.

A total of 1,562 adults, 18 and older, were interviewed in person in the latest survey, which was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period October 29-Nov. 1. Following are the questions asked — and the results based on the Democrats in the sample who are registered to vote:

Suppose the choice for President in the Democratic convention in 1972 narrows down to Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy. Which ONE would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?

**Views of Democrats Registered to Vote**

	Latest	March
Muskie	50%	43%
Kennedy	39	46
Undecided	11	11
	100%	100%

— narrows down to Muskie and Humphrey?

	Latest	March
Muskie	50%	46%
Humphrey	39	39
Undecided	11	15
	100%	100%

— narrows down to Muskie and Lindsay?

	Latest
Muskie	58%
Lindsay	25
Undecided	17
	100%

11/12

- Cheney 205

St. Bin - 12/7

Mr. George Gallup, Sr.?

Gallup - no results yet  
req's out at 3p  
will try to get pop fig

Rums wants to be  
there also



# The Gallup Poll

For Release: Friday, June 9, 1972

## Now Leads Among Democrats, Independents Combined

# McGovern's Dramatic Gains Due to Independents; Wallace Seen Winning Strong Sympathy Vote

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 8 — In the period of just two months, McGovern has achieved a rise in popularity comparable to the remarkable performance of Republican Wendell Willkie in 1940, who came from nowhere that year to vie with Thomas Dewey as the top choice of Republican voters for the nomination on the eve of the convention.

An analysis of the trend in McGovern's support reveals the following:

1. *Upturn in popularity.* In early spring McGovern had the support of only five per cent of Democrats nationwide, as indicated by a national survey in which Democrats were asked to give their support to one from a list of leading presidential possibilities. In the latest national survey, conducted in late May, prior to the California primary, he is in a virtual three-way tie with his lead competitors. He was the vote of 25 per cent of Democrats to 26 per cent for Humphrey and 20 per cent for Wallace.

The previous survey showed Humphrey with a wide lead, winning the vote of 55 per cent of Democrats nationwide, to 20 per cent for McGovern and 18 per cent for Wallace.

2. *Democratic appeal.* McGovern has consistently been stronger among voters who classify themselves as In-

dependents than among Democrats. Even during the early period of the primaries, McGovern ran virtually even with Humphrey among this group. Following the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries, however, McGovern recorded a surge of popularity with Independents — from 18 per cent to 26 per cent.

This sharp upturn for McGovern among Independents occurred roughly one month after a similar jump among Democrats — from 5 per cent to 17 per cent following the Wisconsin primary.

3. *Better educated, higher-income voters.* McGovern holds an advantage over Humphrey and Wallace in that, among both Democrats and Independents, he appeals far more to college-educated and higher income persons. These groups vote in greater proportions in the primaries and work harder to get supporters to the polls. Among Democrats and Independents with a college background, for example, McGovern is preferred over Humphrey by a 3-to-1 margin.

### McGovern Leads HHH By Seven Points

When the choices of Democrats and Independents in the latest survey are combined, McGovern emerges ahead of Humphrey for the first time. He leads Humphrey by the margin of seven percentage points, 26 per cent to 19 per cent.

Wallace, however, is ahead of both men, winning the support of 31 per cent of Democrats and Independents combined.

A total of 661 Democrats and 489 Independents, out of a total sample of 1,540 adults 18 and older, were interviewed in person in the latest survey which was conducted May 26 to May 29. This question was asked:

*Here is a list of people who have been mentioned as possible presidential candidates for the Democratic party in 1972. Which ONE would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972?*

The following tables show the trend in support for Humphrey, McGovern and Wallace among Independents and Democrats. Both survey dates and primary are given.

Survey Dates	Choice of Democrats For 1972 Nomination (from a list)		
	HHH McGovern	Wallace	Humphrey
May 26-29	26	25	26
— Ore. Primary: May 23 —			
— Md. Primary: May 16 —			
April 28-			
May 1	35	20	18
— Miss., Pa. Primaries: April 25 —			
April 21-24	30	17	19
— Wis. Primary: April 4 —			

March 24-27	31	5	17
— Ill. Primary: March 21 —			
— Fla. Primary: March 14 —			
— N. H. Primary: March 7 —			
March 3-6	31	6	15
Choices of Independents For 1972 Nomination (from a list)			
Survey Dates:			
	HHH McGovern	Wallace	Humphrey
	%	%	%
May 26-29	11	25	36
— Oregon Primary: May 23 —			
April 28-			
May 1	18	26	22
— Miss., Pa. Primaries: April 25 —			
April 21-24	18	18	26
— Wis. Primary: April 4 —			
March 24-27	16	15	21
— Ill. Primary: March 21 —			
— Fla. Primary: March 14 —			
— N. H. Primary: March 7 —			
March 3-6	11	11	23

### Trial Heats Show McGovern's Strength with Independents

McGovern's greater appeal than Humphrey with Independents is seen not only in his support among this group for the nomination, but in test races against President Nixon and Governor Wallace.

A survey conducted in early May is consistent with data which show McGovern's lead in the trial heats. The early March survey showed McGovern with 25 per cent of support to Humphrey's 15 per cent. In the latest survey, McGovern's support has risen to 26 per cent.

### Wallace Leads Among Independent Voters

Surveys taken before and after the May 15 election in the state of California show Wallace of Alaska leading McGovern and Humphrey in the polls. A lead of Humphrey over McGovern was also shown in the early May Wisconsin primary. McGovern's lead over Humphrey in the latest survey is proof of voters' preference for California's survey. He has the choice of 37 per cent of independent voters, versus 22 per cent for McGovern and 19 per cent for Humphrey.

Wallace has also been stronger among independent voters in the state of Oregon in early May to 26 per cent in the latest survey, and is now in a virtual tie with Humphrey and McGovern.

A recent survey conducted in California shows McGovern's lead in the trial heats. The early March survey showed McGovern with 25 per cent of support to Humphrey's 15 per cent. In the latest survey, McGovern's support has risen to 26 per cent.

# The Gallup Poll

For Release: Friday, June 2, 1972

## Cuts HHHH Lead from 18 to 6 Points

# McGovern Closing Gap on Humphrey in Nationwide Poll of Democratic Voters

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PELTON, N. J., June 1 — A nationwide survey of Democratic voters, conducted Monday, shows Sen. George McGovern registering dramatic gains on Sen. Hubert Humphrey in the race for the 1972 nomination.

In a head-to-head contest, McGovern now leads Humphrey by only six percentage points after being behind by 18 points in a survey conducted one month earlier.

Most political observers now see the race for the Democratic nomination as a contest between two men, Humphrey and McGovern. The two men will clash in the California primary June 6 with the victor in that election winning half of that state's 271 delegates.

To determine the stronger of the two Democrats, the Gallup Poll limited the sizable field of Democratic hopefuls to just two men, with this question:

*As you decide for President elect, Democratic contention this year narrows down to Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern. Which of them do you prefer to vote the Democratic contention select?*

Following is the trend, based on surveys taken one month apart:

### Cuts Humphrey's Lead From 18 Points to 6 (In Showdown Test Among Democrats)



SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN

Showdown Test (Based on Choices of Democrats, Nationwide)

	May 26-29	April 28-May 1
	%	%
Humphrey	49	54
McGovern	43	36
Undecided	8	10
	100%	100%

#### McGovern Has Greater Appeal with Activists

The turnout rate in primaries is a frequently overlooked but important factor in assessing the political situation. Only 30 to 40 per cent of Democrats, on the average, have participated in this year's primaries to date. By way of contrast, about two-thirds of the national electorate vote in presidential elections.

McGovern has an advantage over Humphrey which could show up in California. This is his great appeal to better-educated and higher-income Democrats who vote in greater proportions than the rest of the Democratic electorate.

The findings reported today are based on personal interviews with 631 persons who classify themselves as Democrats in a total sample of 1,451 adults, 18 and older. Interviewing was conducted May 26-29 in more than 300 scientifically selected localities in the nation.

#### McGovern's Gains Most Pronounced in South

Analysis of the survey findings by region shows that McGovern's gains over the last month have come about largely in the South, where Humphrey

has consistently been far stronger. Humphrey, however, continues to hold a fairly wide margin over his rival in this region.

Outside the South, the race is extremely close, with Humphrey holding a slight edge.

#### Coming Sunday!

### How the American People Rate Nixon After Summit Meeting



President Richard Nixon

A nationwide survey of the American electorate, just completed, will show the impact of the historic meeting between Soviet leader Brezhnev and President Nixon on the President's popularity. Nixon was the first chief executive ever to make a state visit to Moscow.

How will the President's latest popularity rating compare with that recorded after his China trip? In an early March (post-China) survey, 56 per cent of citizens expressed approval of Nixon's performance — his highest rating in 14 months. The figure slipped slightly in a subsequent survey — to 53 per cent.

Special In-Depth Analysis

# McGovern Seen as More *Innovative*, Less of a *Politician* Than Humphrey and Wallace

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1972, Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 27 — The American public views Sen. George McGovern as less of a politician, more modern in style and offering more innovative solutions to national problems than either of his chief Democratic rivals Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama.

At the same time, the public perceives McGovern as no more extreme in his political positions than Humphrey and far less so than Wallace. This finding is of particular interest because, as some political observers have characterized McGovern as the "Godfather of the Democratic party."

**Style Is Important Factor in Support**

Support for a candidate depends on a number of factors including his perceived personality, character and "style."

In view of the importance of these factors, it is instructive to examine the image currently projected by each of the three leading Democratic contenders.

A scientifically selected sample of the electorate was asked to select, from a list of nine pairs of statements, the statement in each pair that comes closest to their own feelings about Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama.

**HHH: 'Too Much of A Politician'**

Humphrey is considered "too much of a politician" by a slightly larger percentage than select this statement for Wallace and a considerably larger percentage than use the statement to describe McGovern.

Similarly, more persons choose the following phrases to describe Humphrey than either McGovern or Wallace: "He changes what he says to fit his audience"; "it is hard to know where he stands on issues."

Also, more voters think Humphrey projects an uninteresting or dull image than does either McGovern or Wallace.

**Wallace Seen As Most Frank**

Wallace is the most likely to be regarded as frank and unequivocal in making his political positions known. Larger percentages of the public associate the following statements with Wallace than with McGovern: "You know where he stands on issues," and "he says what he believes no matter to whom he is speaking." Humphrey scores least well on these statements.

In contrast to either of his Democratic rivals, however, Wallace is con-

sidered by larger percentages of voters to be non-intellectual and as taking extreme positions on issues.

**Penalized by Being Long on Scene**

Humphrey, having been involved as a key figure in Democratic party activity for a quarter century, represents an "old face" on the American political scene. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that he is perceived as somewhat less than modern in his approach or innovative in his solutions to national problems.

Political observers generally place Humphrey near the center of the political spectrum within the Democratic party — between Wallace on the right and McGovern on the left. In seeking to appeal to both the liberal and conservative wings of his party, Humphrey has taken a moderate or middle position on key issues which may be perceived by some as equivocating or "fence-sitting."

The findings reported today are based on in-person interviews with a total sample of 1,542 adults, 18 and older, interviewed April 28-May 1 in more than 300 localities across the nation. This question was asked:

*We are trying to find out how people think of the leading candidates. As I name a candidate, would you read off from each pair of statements on this card the one that comes closest to your own feelings about that candidate?*

Following are the percentages based on the total sample. Certain of the statements have been abbreviated due to lack of space.

Statements Selected by Voters to Describe Top Three Candidates	Candidates		
	Wallace %	McGovern %	HHH %
Puts country's interest ahead of politics	20	29	22
Too much of a politician	26	22	35
Old fashioned in style	28	13	29
Modern in style	14	33	16
Has innovative solutions to problems	16	35	24
Old fashioned solutions to problems	25	9	18

Says what he believes	48	28	23
Changes what he says to fit audience	15	20	29
You know where he stands on issues	39	30	25
Hard to know where he stands	15	21	25
Colorful, interesting personality	33	31	26
Dull, uninteresting	13	17	24
Presents his ideas clearly	32	36	25
Presents ideas in vague, confused manner	14	15	21
Intellectual	21	43	35
Non-intellectual	20	6	9
Extremist, takes extreme position	46	13	11
A moderate, takes moderate positions	9	33	31

Blacks a Key Source of Humphrey's Strength

# McGovern Trails HHH by Slim 4-Point Margin in Both East and Far West

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 25 — Although Sen. Hubert Humphrey holds a substantial lead over his nearest rival, Sen. George McGovern, among rank-and-file Democrats nationally, his margin over the South Dakota Senator is 4 to 1 in four points in both the East and the Far West.

Humphrey's national margin over McGovern is due largely to his strength in heartland America — the Midwest and the South.

In the Midwest, Humphrey holds a commanding 19-point lead over McGovern, while in the South he holds a 25-point lead over his rival, as determined by a survey of Democrats asked to select their top nomination choice from a list of ten people.

Governor Wallace runs a distant third — behind Humphrey and McGovern — in all regions except the South. In the South, however, Wallace ties Humphrey for the lead with each man receiving 35 per cent of the vote of Democrats. McGovern with 19 per cent runs a weak third in this region.

Following is an analysis of the nomination choices of Democrats by key groups in the population. The results are based on the latest two surveys, which were combined in order to provide large enough sample bases for certain groups.

— Vote by Race —

Humphrey's current national lead over the top contenders for the Democratic nomination, in terms of his appeal among grassroots Democrats, is due in large measure to his popularity with Blacks.

Among Black Democrats, Humphrey is selected over McGovern by the ratio of seven-to-one.

Outside the South, for example, Humphrey's margin over McGovern is slim, 29 to 26 per cent, when Blacks are excluded from the sample. However, for the total population in this region, including both races, Humphrey has a wide 32 to 23 per cent lead.

The importance of the Black vote to Humphrey is also apparent in the South.

Among Southern white Democrats only, Humphrey is far outstripped by Wallace, 42 to 24 per cent. But when Blacks are included in the sample, the race is a virtual stand-off between Humphrey and Wallace.

— Vote by Occupation —

Humphrey and McGovern run virtually neck-and-neck in most key occupation groups, with the exception of manual workers.

Humphrey is preferred by a large margin over McGovern among manual workers who identify themselves as Democrats, 34 to 15 per cent. The margin is somewhat less among skilled workers than among the unskilled.

— Vote by Education —

McGovern scores well with the better-educated Democrats while Humphrey's base of support is among the party faithful who have not gone past high school in formal education.

Democrats with a college background lean heavily to McGovern over Humphrey, 56 per cent to 22 per cent. On the other hand, a mere 9 per cent of Democrats with only a grade school education choose McGovern, compared to 39 per cent who pick Humphrey.

— Vote by Age —

Democrats under 30 years of age are about evenly divided between Humphrey and McGovern, while older Democrats, 50 and older, lean three-to-one to Humphrey over McGovern.

Following are the results in tabular form, based on the three most frequently selected aspirants:

	Choices of Democrats (from list of 10 persons)		
	HHH %	Mc- Govern %	Wal- lace %
East .....	28	24	14
West .....	28	24	10
Midwest .....	40	21	10
South .....	33	10	33

Outside South .	32	23	12
South .....	33	10	33
Whites .....	28	21	22
Blacks .....	54	8	3
Whites outside South	29	26	13
Southern whites	24	10	42
Manual workers	34	15	19
Unskilled ...	37	12	17
Skilled ....	28	19	22
College background .	22	36	10
High school ..	33	18	20
Grade school .	39	9	20

Under 30 years old ...	27	25	18
30-49 years ..	31	21	18
50 & older ...	37	13	19

This analysis is based on interviews with 1317 Democrats out of a total sample of 3098 adults, 18 and older, reached in two national surveys con-

ducted between April 21 and May 1. Interviews were conducted in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation.

Each Democrat in the surveys was shown a card listing the names of ten leading candidates and asked the following question:

*Which ONE of the people on this list would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972?*

The national figures for the latest two surveys combined show Humphrey with 33 per cent, McGovern and Wallace each with 19 per cent; others and undecided, 29 per cent.

The latter of the two surveys, reported May 19, shows Humphrey with 35 per cent, McGovern with 20 per cent, and Wallace with 18 per cent. The earlier of the two surveys showed Humphrey with 30 per cent, Wallace with 19 per cent, McGovern with 17 per cent.

## Independent Vote is Key Reason

# McGovern Now as Strong as Humphrey In Test Races Against President Nixon

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 20 — In the two latest nationwide surveys — conducted one week apart — Sen. George McGovern demonstrates for the first time that he is as strong a vote-getter as Sen. Hubert Humphrey in test races against President Nixon.

The President, however, continues to hold a wide, though reduced, lead over both Humphrey and McGovern, who most political observers consider to be the two most viable contenders at the present time.

In the latest nationwide survey, completed in early May, Nixon holds an eight-point lead over McGovern. He wins the support of 43 per cent of registered voters to 35 per cent for McGovern and 15 per cent for Gov. George Wallace, a possible third party candidate this year.

The President's margin over Humphrey is three percentage points greater than against McGovern, but this difference cannot be considered statistically significant. Nixon wins the support of 45 per cent in the latest survey, to 31 per cent for Humphrey and 15 per cent for Wallace.

In the earlier of the two most recent surveys, McGovern also ran as strongly as Humphrey against Nixon.

Until the latest two surveys, McGovern's performance had consistently failed to match Humphrey's in these test election contests.

### Strong Among Independents

The fact that McGovern currently offers as strong a challenge to Nixon among the total electorate as does Humphrey is due in large measure to McGovern's relatively greater strength among voters who describe themselves as Independents.

In the latest trial heat, McGovern wins the support of 31 per cent of Independent voters, when matched against Nixon and Wallace, compared to 18 per cent for Humphrey, as revealed in the following tables:

Choices of Independent Voters Nationwide	
Nixon	40%
McGovern	31
Wallace	21
Undecided	8
	100%
Nixon	49%
Humphrey	18
Wallace	22
Undecided	11
	100%

Further evidence of McGovern's appeal with the Independent bloc is seen in that McGovern is the top choice of Independent voters, who were asked which one of ten leading contenders they would like to be the Democratic standard-bearer. He is picked by 27 per cent, compared to 18 per cent for Humphrey and 21 per cent for Wallace.

Humphrey, however, is number one with voters who describe themselves as Democrats, selected by 35 per cent, compared to 20 per cent for McGovern and 18 per cent for Wallace.

The latest trial heats are based on in-person interviews with a total of 1180 registered voters out of a total sample of 1542 adults interviewed April 28-May 1 in more than 300 localities across the nation. This question was asked:

*Suppose the presidential election were being held TODAY. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candi-*

*date and George McGovern (Hubert Humphrey) were the Democratic candidate, and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?*

Following are the trends in the case of each trial heat:

Nixon - McGovern - Wallace				
	Mc-	Wal-	Un-	
	Nixon	lance	dec.	
	%	%	%	%
April 28-				
May 1 ..	43	35	15	7
April 21-24 .	45	32	16	7
April 15-16 .	46	31	15	8
Nixon - Humphrey - Wallace				
	Nixon	H/H	Wal-	Un-
	%	%	lance	dec.
	%	%	%	%
April 28-				
May 1 ..	45	34	15	6
April 21-24 .	44	31	16	9
March 24-27	46	35	15	4

### If Wallace Does Not Run

To gain insight into how the presidential race would be affected if Wallace does not run as a third party candidate this year, survey respondents who selected Wallace in the trial heat question were then asked how they would vote if their candidate were *not* in the race.

The results show that Humphrey and McGovern would each benefit about equally from Wallace's withdrawal:

Trial Heats with Wallace Not Included	
Nixon	49%
McGovern	39
Undecided	12
	100%
Nixon	50%
Humphrey	38
Undecided	12
	100%

**Both IHH, McGovern Register Gains**

# Humphrey Holds Clear Lead Over 1972 Field

By George Gallup

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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 18 — Sen. Hubert Humphrey continues to hold a clear lead over the field of Democratic hopefuls, winning 35 per cent of the vote of Democrats for the presidential nomination.

McGovern is in second place, winning 20 per cent of the support of Democrats, having registered a dramatic 15-point gain in just over a month.

Gov. George Wallace is close behind McGovern, winning 18 per cent of the vote in the survey, which was conducted two weeks prior to the recent attempt on his life.

The latest results are based on interviews with Democrats in a total sample of 1,542 adults, 18 and older. Survey respondents were interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation. Interviewing was conducted April 28-May 1.

Each Democrat was asked the following question:

*Which ONE of the people on this list would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972?*

Here are the results of the latest nationwide survey, compared with the two previous surveys:

	Choices of Democrats For '72 Nomination		
	April 28- May 1 %	April 21-24 %	March 24-27 %
Humphrey ..	35	30	31
McGovern ...	20	17	5
Wallace ....	18	19	17
Muskie .....	11	17	22
Chisholm ...	3	5	4
Jackson .....	3	4	5
McCarthy ...	3	3	4
Mills .....	2	1	1
Others, no preference	5	4	11
	100%	100%	100%

**If Wallace Does Not Run**

McGovern would stand to gain slightly more than Humphrey if Wallace were to withdraw from the Democratic race.

This is seen when Wallace supporters in the current survey are asked to choose between the two current leading Democratic choices — Humphrey and McGovern.

All Democrats who selected Wallace from the candidate list were asked this question:

*Suppose the choice for President in the Democratic convention this year narrows down to Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern. Which ONE would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?*

Here are the results:

Wallace Supporters	
Prefer McGovern .....	43%
Prefer Humphrey .....	34
Undecided .....	23
	100%

It may seem paradoxical that Wallace supporters, who are largely conservative in their views, lean somewhat more to McGovern, the more liberal of the other two Democrats. One explanation may be that the McGovern vote like the Wallace vote, is, in part, a protest against "the way things are going in this country."

Widens Lead Since October

# Agnew Now Clear Choice of GOP Voters for Vice Presidential Nod

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 17 — Vice President Spiro Agnew has a clear lead as the first choice of the nation's Republican voters to repeat as President Nixon's running mate in November.

Agnew wins 43 per cent of the vote to 20 per cent for Calif. Gov. Ronald Reagan, runner-up in the latest Gallup measurement of Vice Presidential preferences. Republicans in this survey were asked to choose from a list of eight men who have been mentioned as possibilities for the second spot on the ticket.

In third place is N. Y. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (14 per cent), followed by Treasury Secretary John Connally, and Sen. Charles Percy, both receiving 8 per cent of the mentions.

**Agnew Ups Lead Since October**

Agnew was also the first choice of GOP voters last October, but his margin over the rest of the field in that survey was not nearly so great as it is today. In the earlier survey, in which nine men were tested, Agnew was mentioned by 27 per cent to 19 per cent for Reagan, with Percy at 13 per cent. Connally and Rockefeller each won 10 per cent, and HUD Secretary George Romney received 8 per cent. Romney was not included on the most recent list.

This question was asked in both surveys:

*Which of the men on this list (respondent was handed card listing names) would you like to see as the Republican candidate for Vice President in 1972?*

Here are the choices of the Republicans reached in the latest survey. Interviewing took place April 15-17.

**Choice of GOP Voters for V-P Nomination — Nationwide —**

Spiro Agnew .....	43%
Ronald Reagan .....	20
Nelson Rockefeller .....	14
John Connally .....	8
Charles Percy .....	8
Edmund Brooke .....	3
Others no preference .....	1
	100%

**Agnew Clear Favorite of GOP Voters to Run Again with Nixon**



Vice President Agnew  
43%



Governor Reagan  
20%

The standings in October, 1971, follow for comparison:

**Choice of GOP Voters — October, 1971 —**

Spiro Agnew .....	27%
Ronald Reagan .....	19
Charles Percy .....	13
John Connally .....	10
Nelson Rockefeller .....	10
George Romney .....	8
Paul McCloskey .....	2
Others, no preference .....	11
	100%

**Agnew Also Top Choice Of Independent Voters**

In view of the minority status of the Republican party in American politics today, the GOP must count heavily on Independent voters to boost the ticket in a national election. Thus, their views on the selection of Nixon's running mate are of prime importance.

Among these non-affiliated voters, Agnew is the first choice of 26 per cent, but he is followed closely by Reagan (22 per cent), with Rockefeller and Connally receiving 14 and 13 per cent, respectively.

**Views of Voters In Southern States**

Agnew's selection to run with Nixon in 1968 was based, in part, on the hope of winning over Southern voters, many of whom were leaning to Alabama's George Wallace, the third party candidate. Since the possibility exists that Wallace will again make a third party presidential bid, it is instructive to see how Southerners of all political persuasions divide among the various Vice Presidential possibilities.

Agnew emerges with 34 per cent of Southern voter preferences, followed by 21 per cent for Reagan and 17 per cent for Texas Democrat Connally.

-- Final Report in Series --

Economy Seen as Major Campaign Issue

# Democratic County Chiefs Favor National Primary Election Plan

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 14 — The idea of selecting party presidential candidates in a nationwide primary election rather than by the present system wins the backing of a slim majority of the nation's Democratic county chairmen.

The plan wins the support of 52 per cent of these Democratic party professionals; 40 per cent express opposition and the remaining 8 per cent have no opinion.

Senators Mike Mansfield and George Aiken recently proposed the election-reform plan which would replace the many state primary races with a single national primary election.

Such a concept has had the bi-partisan backing of the American public for twenty years. In fact, a survey in March of this year found 72 per cent of the nation's adults over 18 backing such a proposal.

The fact that Democratic party leaders support the plan is highly significant, particularly since a nationwide primary could result in the party professionals losing some of their political power. These chairmen, it should be noted, have traditionally played a major role in the selection of delegates to the national party conventions. If the National Primary plan were adopted, the voters would select the nominee directly, leaving the role of the conventions to selecting the Vice Presidential candidate and drafting the party platform.

Here is the question asked, both of the county chairmen and the general public:

*It has been suggested that Presidential candidates be chosen by the voters in a nationwide primary election, instead of by political party conventions as at present. Would you favor or oppose this?*

Views of . . .	General	
	County Chairmen	Public
	%	%
Favor . . . . .	52	72
Oppose . . . . .	40	18
No opinion . . . . .	8	10

**'Pros' See Economy As No. 1 Issue**

Prior to Nixon's recent announcement to seal off North Vietnam from its major supply sources, the nation's "economic dilemma" — inflation, unemployment, high taxes — was viewed by the overwhelming majority of Democratic county chairmen as their party's strongest issue in the upcoming presidential campaign.

A New York State county chairman, one of the 1522 who returned mail ballots in this special national survey, summed up the thinking of many of the local party leaders who viewed the economy as the number one issue, with this comment:

"The people realize that our economy is in trouble — prices have skyrocketed, people are not working and taxes have become unbearable. Nixon, himself, knows the potential impact of this issue. Why, he even took on a Democrat, Connally, to bail him out of the mess."

Some aspect of the economic issue was cited by 7 out of every 10 chairmen (71 per cent), with many naming more than one economic problem. A total of 28 per cent of the chairmen pointed to the Vietnam war as the most powerful campaign issue and 27 per cent said unsatisfactory national leadership on the part of Nixon and the Republicans.

Following is the question asked and the full listing of responses:

*As you approve the political situation, what is the strongest argument the Democrats can use against the Republicans in the coming presidential campaign?*

- Strongest Campaign Argument for Democrats?**
1. "The economy" . . . . . 49%
  2. Vietnam . . . . . 28
  3. Unsatisfactory national leadership . . . . . 27
  4. Inflation, high prices . . . . . 22
  5. Unemployment . . . . . 17
  6. High taxes, need for tax reform . . . . . 7
  - All others . . . . . 8
  - No opinion . . . . . 5

163%\*

\* Total adds to more than 100 per cent because of multiple responses.

**A Summary of This Special Survey**

A summary of this four-part series follows:

1. First choice of 'Pros' for nomination — Sen. Hubert Humphrey
2. Preference if Convention Narrows to just Humphrey and McGovern — Humphrey 48%, McGovern 19%
3. Kennedy as Compromise Candidate — Favor, 52%; oppose, 40%; no opinion, 8%
4. Who Will Actually Receive Nomination? — Sen. Hubert Humphrey
5. Outlook for Democratic Victory in November — A majority (59%) foresee difficulty
6. Major Campaign Issue for the Democrats — The Economy

-- Part 3 in Series --

# County Chairmen See HHH as the Nominee, But 'Pros' Pessimistic About Beating Nixon

By George Gallup  
Copyright, 1972,  
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 13 — A majority of the nation's Democratic county chairmen believe Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey will capture their party's nomination in the July convention, but these local party professionals are growing increasingly pessimistic that the nominee — whoever he happens to be — will capture the presidency in November.

As reported last week, Humphrey is the preferred choice of these local party leaders for the nomination. In addition, a majority (54 per cent) think he will actually receive the nomination this year. Sixteen per cent of the "pros" favor Sen. Edmund Muskie emerging as the standard bearer, and 13 per cent prefer Sen. Edward Kennedy will be nominated. Sen. George McGovern is named by 8 per cent as the likely winner. Only 2 per cent envision Gov. George Wallace as the nominee.

**Seen Winning Nomination**



Senator Humphrey

At the same time, the county chairmen — whose own preferences have traditionally mirrored the eventual outcome of party conventions — currently predict rough sledding for their nominee against Nixon in November, particularly when compared to their predictions of a year ago. About 6 in 10 (59 per cent) either give their nominee a "50-50 chance" or say "it will be difficult." Another 37 per cent believe the race will be "close, but we will win." Only 3 per cent hazard the guess that the final vote count across the nation will show a "landslide" for their ticket.

**Dramatic Shift in Views Noted Since a Year Ago**

A year ago, in June, 1971, a majority of the "pros" (57 per cent) predicted that Muskie would be the nominee. And, 64 per cent predicted a close win or a landslide in the general election.

It should be noted that at the time of last year's survey, Gallup Poll "test election" contests — matching the Maine Senator against the President — showed the general public giving Muskie a slight edge. And, Humphrey and Kennedy were running virtually even against Nixon. In a recent survey, however, all of the chief Democratic contenders — Humphrey, Muskie, Ken-

nedly and McGovern — trail the President in these trial heat pairings. Humphrey, the current front-runner to receive the Democratic nomination (both among rank-and-file Democrats and the party professionals), runs 11 points behind the President (46 to 35 per cent, with 15 per cent for Wallace and 4 per cent undecided).

**1522 Chairmen Returned Ballots**

Following are the questions asked of the 1522 Democratic county chairmen who returned the mail ballot, and the results. Balloting began one week after the Wisconsin primary.

**Who Will Win?**

Regardless of which one of these men you prefer, which ONE do you think WILL WIN the nomination for President in 1972?

	Latest	June, 1971
	%	%
Hubert Humphrey . . .	54	19
Edmund Muskie . . .	16	57
Edward Kennedy . . .	13	12
George McGovern . . .	8	1
George Wallace . . .	2	—
Others, no pref. . . .	7	11
	100%	100%

**Predictions for November Election**

How confident are you that a Democratic candidate will beat Nixon?

	Latest	June, 1971
	%	%
A landslide . . . . .	3	12
Close, but we will win . . .	37	52
50-50 chance . . . . .	17	20
Will be difficult . . . . .	42	15
Undecided . . . . .	1	1
	100%	100%

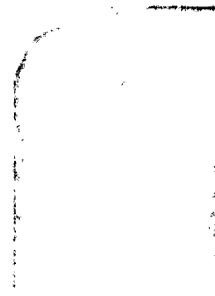
**Coming Monday!**

**—LAST REPORT IN THIS SERIES—**

- How do the nation's Democratic Chairmen react to the National Primary Election Proposal?
- What do the Chairmen see as their party's strongest issue this year?

**Chairmen Divided on Gov. Wallace's Plans**

PRINCETON, N. J., May 13 — The nation's Democratic county chairmen are about evenly divided on the question of whether Gov. George Wallace will run on a third party ticket this year, if he fails to get the Democratic nomination.



Gov. George Wallace

Forty-four per cent think he will again head a third party ticket, while 42 per cent think he will not. Regional differences are only slight, with Midwestern county leaders slightly more inclined to think Wallace will run as he did in 1968 than the "pros" in the East, South or Midwest.

It will be remembered that in 1968, Wallace, the candidate of the American Independent Party, captured 13.6 per cent of the national popular vote.

-- Part 2 --

# Party 'Pros' Favor HHH Over McGovern by Wide Margin

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 7 — If the choice of the Democratic convention in Miami narrows down to Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern, local leaders of the Democratic party say they would prefer Humphrey over McGovern by a ratio of more than two-to-one.

With the exit from the primaries of both Edmund Muskie and Henry Jackson, such a confrontation is a growing possibility particularly in view of the fact that McGovern is revealing increasing strength with Democratic voters at the grass-roots level.

The 1552 county chairmen who took part in this survey represent the traditional arm of the party which may explain their preference for Humphrey in the present poll.

The influence of this group on convention choices can be judged from the fact that in both Republican and Democratic conventions their views generally prevail. In fact, not since 1952 have their choices for the nomination failed to win the convention vote.

To simulate a two-man convention struggle between Humphrey and McGovern, the Gallup Poll asked this question of the county chairmen. Balloting began a week after the Wisconsin primary.

*Suppose the choice for the Presidential nomination narrows down to Humphrey and McGovern, which man would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?*

The results follow, nationally and by section of the country:

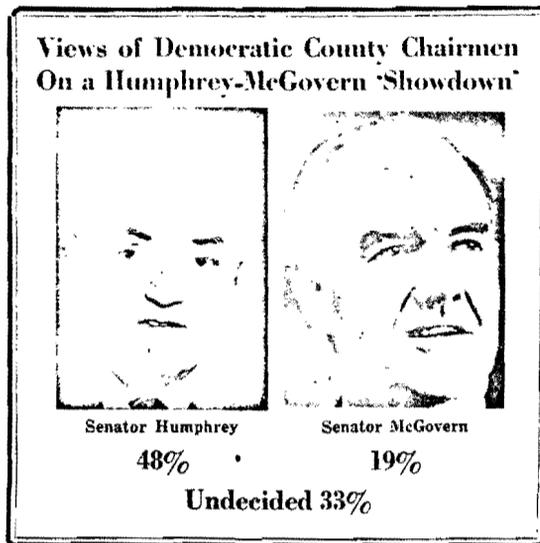
**Views of Democratic County Chairmen — National —**

Humphrey ..... 48%  
McGovern ..... 19  
Undecided ..... 33

	East	Midwest	South	West
	%	%	%	%
Humphrey ..	51	45	51	44
McGovern ..	13	24	13	31
Undecided ..	36	31	36	25

**How Do Muskie, Jackson Followers Lean?**

With Muskie and Jackson bowing out of upcoming state primaries, the question arises as to how their followers divide between just Humphrey and McGovern. In the case of the "pros"



who favor Muskie for the nomination, his supporters go to Humphrey over McGovern by a ratio of 3-to-1, as shown in the following table:

**Muskie's Followers Go to:**  
Humphrey ..... 46%  
McGovern ..... 17  
Undecided ..... 37

Jackson's supporters move to Humphrey rather than McGovern by nearly 10-to-1, as shown below:

**Jackson's Followers Go to:**  
Humphrey ..... 59%  
McGovern ..... 6  
Undecided ..... 35

**Chairmen Divided Regarding Kennedy**

Given the current situation in the race for the Democratic nomination, political observers are speculating that Sen. Edward Kennedy may emerge as a compromise candidate, should the convention become deadlocked.

When asked how they might react to a Kennedy draft, the Democratic county chairmen voted this way: 52 per cent in favor, 30 per cent opposed, and 8 per cent no opinion. In the South, a majority (55 per cent) react negatively to nominating Kennedy.

While a bare majority of local party leaders favor the selection of Kennedy, the opposition of a sizable number of county chairmen could spell trouble for the candidate. As one anti-Kennedy chairman in the survey put it: "If Kennedy's the candidate, we'll simply ignore the top of the ticket and push only for our local candidates."

Here is the question asked, and the national and sectional vote:

*If the convention becomes deadlocked, would you favor or oppose the selection of Edward Kennedy as the Democratic nominee?*

**—National —**  
Favor ..... 52%  
Oppose ..... 40  
No opinion ..... 8

	East	Midwest	South	West
	%	%	%	%
Favor .....	59	64	38	50
Oppose .....	30	28	55	41
No opinion .....	11	8	7	9

**Coming Sunday!**

**How Do Democratic County Chairmen size up the chances of defeating Nixon in the November Presidential Election?**

NOTE TO EDITORS: The next report in the current series is for release Monday, May 8, and will replace the report regularly scheduled for Thursday, May 11.

# The Gallup Poll

For Release: Sunday, May 7, 1972

-- 1972 Convention Preview --

# HHH Replaces Muskie as 'Pros' Top Choice

By George Gallup  
Copyright, 1972,  
Field Enterprises, Inc.

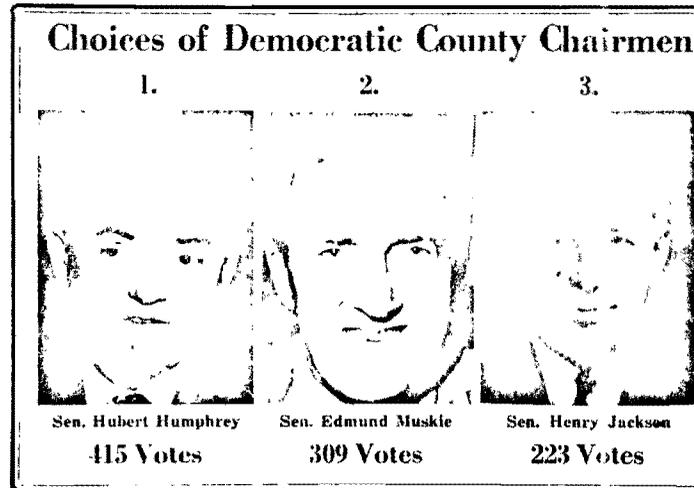
PRINCETON, N. J., May 6 — Sen. Hubert Humphrey emerges as the top national choice at this time of the nation's Democratic County Chairmen with 27 per cent of their vote to 22 per cent for Sen. Edmund Muskie.

In the latest survey, Humphrey and Muskie are followed in the balloting by Sen. Henry Jackson, who receives 14 per cent. Sen. Edward Kennedy with 13 per cent, Sen. George McGovern with 11 per cent, and Gov. George Wallace with 9 per cent.

Although McGovern ranks fifth among the County Chairmen, his popularity with the party rank-and-file has increased sharply in recent weeks. This, coupled with Humphrey's strength among the "pros," could lead to one of the hottest convention fights in the last two decades.

In conventions of recent years the views of the party "pros" have prevailed in each major party, excepting only the GOP convention of 1952. In that year the rank and file of the party preferred Dwight Eisenhower; the county chairmen favored Sen. Robert Taft. This was the last time the "pros" lost.

Surprisingly, ballots received after Sen. or Muskie bowed out of the primaries but kept himself available as a candidate are not significantly different from those tabulated before his state-



### Details of Survey

Indicative of the great interest in the coming presidential election is the high proportion of local leaders who participated in the present survey. Within a period of about two weeks, over half of the nation's county chairmen have cast their ballots. The results reported today are based on 1552 questionnaires received to date. Balloting began a week after the Wisconsin primary and completed questionnaires are still coming in at this writing.

This question was asked:

*As of today, which ONE of these people (10 leading presidential possibilities were listed) do you personally prefer as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972?*

Following are the results:

First Choice of Democratic County Chairmen — Nationwide — Spring, 1972		
	Actual Vote	Per Cent
Hubert Humphrey	415	27%
Edmund Muskie	309	20
Henry Jackson	223	14
Edward Kennedy	195	13
George McGovern	169	11
George Wallace	139	9
Wilbur Mills	66	4
Shirley Chisholm	17	1
Others, no preference	19	1
	1552	100%

For comparison purposes, here are the results of the earlier survey of Dem-

ocratic county chairmen, conducted last May and June, which showed Muskie holding better than a 2-to-1 lead over Humphrey, his closest rival:

First Choice of Democratic County Chairmen — Nationwide — Spring, 1971		
	Actual Vote	Per Cent
Edmund Muskie	532	37%
Hubert Humphrey	209	15
Edward Kennedy	165	11
Henry Jackson	126	9
Wilbur Mills	109	8
George McGovern	80	6
Birch Bayh	72	5
Harold Hughes	48	3
John Lindsay	20	1
Others	63	5
	1424	100%

### Sectional Support Varies Markedly

Support for the Democratic presidential hopefuls among the local "pros" varies markedly by section of the country, as shown in the following tables:

#### East

Muskie	33%
Humphrey	28
Kennedy	18
Jackson	12
McGovern	6
All others	3

#### Midwest

Humphrey	34%
Muskie	22
McGovern	18
Kennedy	16
Jackson	6
All others	4

#### South

Humphrey	22%
Jackson	21
Wallace	20
Muskie	13
Mills	9
All others	15

#### West

Muskie	22%
Humphrey	21
McGovern	21
Jackson	19
Kennedy	9
All others	8

### Coming Monday!

**SECOND IN SERIES — If the Convention Choice Comes Down to Humphrey and McGovern, Which Would the Party 'Pros' Prefer?**

Would the local leaders favor the selection of Sen. Edward Kennedy, if the convention were deadlocked?

Be sure to read tomorrow's Gallup Poll Report in the

(NAME OF PAPER)





**In a Noncandidate**

# Trying to Figure Out What Kennedy Is Up To Is All but Impossible

## Everything He Says Can Be Interpreted on Two Levels: Is It Innocence or Intrigue?

### No Draft, No Endorsements

By ALAN L. OTTEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Patrick, not quite five, walks in and out impatiently, prodding his father to finish talking and come swimming.

Daddy obviously wants to go along, but he politely answers a standard question. "I don't know how I can say it any more precisely than I've said it again and again," Sen. Edward M. Kennedy says as he rises from his chair in the den of his suburban Virginia home. "I am not a candidate. I don't expect a convention deadlock. I wouldn't accept a convention draft. I can see no circumstances that would make me reconsider this."

But many people simply won't believe it, no matter how precisely or how often he says it.

*This is the second of two articles on Sen. Edward Kennedy. The first, which appeared yesterday, dealt with the public's attitudes toward the Massachusetts Senator.*

Politicians and ordinary voters, they remain convinced that the Democratic convention will deadlock, that Ted Kennedy will be the one man on whom party regulars and reformers can then agree, that in an emotional outpouring the Miami delegates will nominate the brother of martyred President John and Senator Robert, and that 40-year-old Ted Kennedy will yield to the convention's call.

Many, in fact, believe Mr. Kennedy is playing his cards most skillfully and most purposefully to achieve precisely that end.

But the Senator insists with every appearance of honesty that those dopesters are wrong. And he adds:

—More than ever, he believes that the primaries, particularly the big ones ahead in June in California and New York, will produce the nominee and that it now seems likely to be Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota. "It will be awfully difficult to deny the nomination to anyone who's successful in the major primaries."

—He certainly won't be part of any stop-McGovern movement. Some party leaders may try to push Mr. Kennedy as a McGovern alternative, should Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota collapse in coming primaries, but Mr. Kennedy asserts, "I'm not going to be used as a foil against George or in any way hurt or detract from him."

—It is still "very unlikely" that he will endorse any candidate before the convention votes in July, though he admits that neutrality is more difficult as the active field narrows. But if he were going to endorse anyone, it would certainly be the South Dakotan.

#### "George Has to Win It Himself"

"The whole reform movement was to let the people decide," he explains. "If anything emerges clearly from the primaries so far, it's that endorsements don't mean anything. George has to win it himself—he has to establish his own presence, his own views, his own positions—if he's to be able to put the party together and get his views clear for the election in November and serve effectively as President. I think he's on the road to doing that."

Wouldn't an endorsement of Sen. McGovern help quiet suspicions that Mr. Kennedy is still seeking the nomination himself? Otherwise, one adviser argues, "It will look as though Ted is crossing his fingers and hoping George will fall on his face so the convention will turn to him."

But the Senator doubts that even endorsing another man would convince the skeptics. "If I were campaigning for George in Harlem or East Los Angeles and got a very warm reception, I can see them saying that I'm really doing it all for myself anyhow."

That, of course, is at the heart of the problem of trying to decide just what Mr. Kennedy is up to. Everything he does or says can be read on two very different levels: as innocently as he and his staff explain it, or more deviously as part of a carefully conceived game plan for stirring a draft—since Chappaquiddick, the best and perhaps only way for him to win nomination and election.

#### A Busy Noncandidate

If he isn't running, why is he speaking so widely? Columnist Art Buchwald satirically describes the Senator dashing frantically from state to state to assure the voters he isn't a candidate. In the last few weeks, Mr. Kennedy has made a dozen major appearances: a handful of union rallies and the Americans for Democratic Action banquet in Washington, a Wilbur Mills testimonial in Arkansas, the Auto Workers convention in Atlantic City, a teachers meeting in South Carolina, a medical students convention in California and party fund-raising functions in Indiana and California.

Tonight he will address a party dinner in Detroit and tomorrow one in Milwaukee. Between now and convention-time, he'll testify before the party platform committee and fulfill important party engagements in Chicago, Columbus and perhaps one or two other cities. The message he carries to all these meetings: the need to "build the kind of society that President Kennedy worked for and Robert Kennedy dreamed of."

How, ask the cynics, could he signal his availability any more clearly?

Kennedy aides argue that most of these appearances were scheduled long ago, at a time he thought Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine would have the nomination locked up by now. Some speeches, they claim, aim to repay candidates or party leaders who once aided his brothers, while others seek to drum up support for his sweeping plan for national health insurance. "I am speaking out," he says, "because I am concerned about the problems and issues, and I will continue to be."

But why must he attack President Nixon as

# That Noncandidate: Its Hard To Figure Sen. Kennedy Out

Continued From Page One

harshly as he does—doesn't that draw the battle lines for November? Of all the top-name Democratic liberals, he is probably the most outspoken in assailing the "failures" of the Nixon administration, the bombing of North Vietnam, the President's proposal to halt new school busing, the nomination of Richard Kleindienst as Attorney General.

"To me, the ITT case says it all," he told a Steelworkers Union health care conference in Washington last week. In a typical applause-grabbing line, he added, "The doors of the White House are open wide to every chairman of the board, but they are closed tight to the American working man." Small wonder that some people get the idea he's available.

Sure, the Senator says, he's trying to defeat Richard Nixon this year—but with some other Democratic standard-bearer, not himself. And, aides add, if he were really trying to become a compromise draft choice, wouldn't his proper strategy be to speak more softly, wooing the party's center and right as well as its left?

## Rephrasing Gen. Sherman

Well, why doesn't he use General Sherman's famous words and declare he "will not accept if nominated and will not serve if elected." The critics charge that his failure to make this pledge merely keeps speculation stirring.

"I think I've used my own words to say the same thing," Mr. Kennedy declares. "I feel most people understand I'm not a candidate, even if not all the writers and commentators do. I don't know that using his words would convince many more people." (The Senator expressed some surprise at a Wall Street Journal survey finding that 30% of the voters still don't believe him. The survey was taken by the Gallup Organization in mid-April.)

Associates cite an even more important reason for his reluctance: He wants his liberal point of view and his criticisms of the President heard as widely as possible, and "he knows that once he slams that door shut tight, those TV cameras are going to stop following him around."

Of the continued wide interest in the Senator there can be little doubt. He's still the Democrats' biggest draw on the fund-raising circuit. In hotel lobbies and convention halls, people crowd around to see and touch and get an autograph. Three new Kennedy biographies are on the bookstands. His appearance at the UAW convention last week touched off a spontaneously warm demonstration that kept him from starting his speech for almost five minutes.

## The Scenario

Despite Chappaquiddick and his protestations of non-availability, he still rates high in the polls; the Journal's survey showed that while 48% of the people oppose his election, 43% would seriously consider voting for him. A Time magazine survey found that if he'd been

on the ballot, he'd have won the Wisconsin primary.

A convention deadlock remains the essential element of any draft-Kennedy scenario—and right now, with fallen candidates littering the wayside, many politicians think a deadlock is less and less likely. Contends one Kennedy supporter: "The race is effectively down to two, George and Hubert. It's easier now to see someone wrapping it all up by the end of the California and New York primaries than it was when there were more candidates in the field."

Yet the primary results could be inconclusive, and enough uncommitted votes may remain to tie up the convention. In that case, Ted Kennedy would be the leading compromise candidate. As did his brothers, he enlists enthusiastic support among blacks, Chicanos, young people. His liberal stands—for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, for amnesty for draft evaders, against the antiballistic missile, for tough gun controls—make him completely acceptable to liberal party ideologues; his latest rating of The Americans for Democratic Action was 100%, topping Mr. McGovern's 96%, Mr. Humphrey's 89% and even Shirley Chisholm's 97%.

At the same time, though, top union officials and such old-time party leaders as Chicago Mayor Richard Daley see him as the candidate who can best help them hold on to the white, ethnic, blue-collar workers who have been slipping away to George Wallace or even Richard Nixon. These voters respond to the Kennedy mystique, or his Catholicism, or his strong advocacy of broader health care and other aid to workingmen's pocketbooks.

## The \$64 Question

All of which still leaves the \$64 question: If there is a deadlock and a draft, would he accept? One advantage that cynics see in his present stance is that he could wait until the very last moment to decide, after the latest possible reading on the war, the economy and other factors affecting President Nixon's reelection chances.

The case against accepting a draft can be laid out fairly clearly. Delay might make good political sense, even apart from his firm pledges not to run. Only 40 now, he'll still be young enough to run four years hence, or eight, or even 12 or 20; why not wait rather than taking on an incumbent—even one who might seem vulnerable in July? Passage of time would almost surely dim voters' memories of the accident at Chappaquiddick, too, and might even ease their fears that another Kennedy candidacy would mean another Kennedy assassination.

But there are substantial arguments against delay, too. Time could unravel the network of academicians and political pros who now stand ready to rally round. If someone else becomes the Democratic nominee, he might win—and then Mr. Kennedy, who might prefer to run

four years from now, might have to wait eight years for another turn.

Fresh new faces may develop in the party to challenge the inevitability of Ted Kennedy. (Back in 1968, when draft-Teddy talk was buzzing around the Chicago convention, the Senator was canvassing the situation with top advisers at Hyannisport, and most were urging him to wait. "I just want you guys to know," he said then, "that I expect you to be around in 1972 when I call from Coos Bay, Oregon, and tell you to get out there in a hurry because Jack Rockefeller is about to whip my ass in the Oregon primary.")

## How About 1976?

And there will be emotion-charged appeals to Mr. Kennedy's loyalties—that only he can keep the party from splintering, or save congressional and state candidates from defeat, or beat Mr. Nixon, or carry on his brothers' work. The Senator stoutly asserts he'll resist all these appeals and also any effort to make him the vice presidential nominee—a rumor that kept popping up, particularly from the Humphrey camp.

If not this year, might he be a candidate in 1976? "I assume there'll be a Democratic incumbent then," he evasively replies. And what about after 1976? After all, The Wall Street Journal survey showed that half the country believed he'd be President some day.

"I've learned," he says, "that you don't plan too long in the future—certainly not in my family." And the Senator reaches for Patrick's hand and goes off to change into swim trunks.

Makes Dramatic Gain Since Wisconsin

# McGovern Moves Into Virtual Three-Way Tie for Second Place in Latest Standings

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 3 — Following his impressive victory in the Wisconsin primary, Sen. George McGovern has registered a dramatic 12-point gain in popularity with the nation's Democratic voters. In the latest survey, McGovern is in a virtual three-way tie for second place, winning the vote of 17 per cent of Democrats for the nomination, compared to 19 per cent for Gov. George Wallace and 17 per cent for Sen. Edmund Muskie.

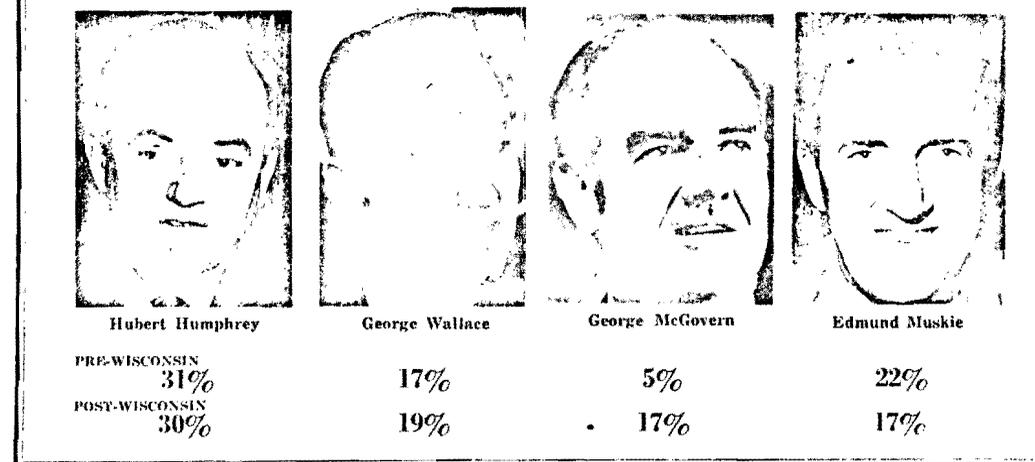
Sen. Hubert Humphrey continues to lead the front-runners, winning 39 per cent of the vote of Democrats in the latest survey.

McGovern's performance in Wisconsin — and the resulting media coverage — have apparently given him the identity which he previously lacked with many Democratic voters. Until the latest Gallup survey, McGovern's name never exceeded 7 per cent in 14 tests of Democratic presidential possibilities covering a period of two and one-half years.

**Muskie's Vote Off Slightly**

McGovern's recent decision to forego active participation in the remaining primary contests came at a time when his fortunes had ebbed with Democratic voters nationwide — from 22 per cent in the previous (late-March, early-April) survey to 17 per cent in the latest survey, conducted in late April.

Top Nomination Choices of Democratic Voters — Nationwide



Support for the other candidates on the list, including Humphrey and Wallace, has shown little change between surveys.

The latest results are based on interviews with Democrats in a total sample of 1,556 adults, 18 and older. Survey respondents were interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation. Interviewing was conducted April 21-24 — after the Wisconsin primary and before the

Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries.

Each Democrat was asked the following questions:

*Which ONE of the people on this list would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972? And who is your second choice?*

Here are the results of the latest nationwide survey, compared with the earlier survey:

Latest Standings

	April 21-24	March 31-April 3
Humphrey	39%	31%
Wallace	19	17
McGovern	17	5
Muskie	17	22
Lindsay	/	5
Chisholm	5	4
Jackson	4	5
McCarthy	3	4
Mills	1	1
Hartke	/	*

Yorby	1	*
No preference	3	6
	100%	100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent / No longer a candidate

**Muskie Vote Divides Equally Between Humphrey, McGovern**

Muskie's decision to stay out of the primary contests has led political observers to speculate as to which candidate would stand to gain most if Muskie loses substantial ground with the nation's Democratic voters.

A special analysis of the second choices of Muskie supporters shows the vote going about equally to Humphrey and McGovern with each man picking up about a third of the Muskie vote. The remaining third is divided among the other candidates on the list.

By [Name] and [Name]

# Americans See Kennedy As President Someday But Hope It Isn't So

## They Admire Him Greatly, Do Not Want Him to Run; As No. 2, He'd Hurt Ticket

### And Many Fear for His Life

By [Name] and [Name]

Henry Brown, a self-styled "sex and scandal" figure in Detroit, has the political scene all figured out. "It is destiny" that Edward Kennedy will someday be President, she says. "The people want him."

Mr. Brown is probably only half right, however. Many well-to-do people in Massachusetts believe the senator will someday be President. But, right now at least, the people don't want him.

There are two key findings of a survey conducted for The Wall Street Journal by the Gal-

*This is the first of two stories on Sen. Edward Kennedy. The second will deal with his own view of his situation this past year.*

lop Organization. The survey sought to determine Americans' attitudes about Sen. Kennedy, his abilities and his life style. The findings are interesting, and, if announced Democratic candidates can't keep knocking each other out, could be important as well. Indeed, the findings indicate that, want it or not, Sen. Kennedy will get the Democratic presidential nomination at Miami Beach in July, if today's primary results didn't clarify the Democratic position.

The survey also indicates that when he is elected, 58% of the people surveyed intend to vote for him. This is a high percentage, especially in light of the fact that he is a Democrat. What's more, 61% of the people surveyed believe that Kennedy is a better man than any other man in America who rule the country. This is a high percentage, especially in light of the fact that he is a Democrat.

Yet, 58% of the people surveyed believe that Kennedy is a better man than any other man in America who rule the country. This is a high percentage, especially in light of the fact that he is a Democrat.

What's more, 61% of the people surveyed believe that Kennedy is a better man than any other man in America who rule the country. This is a high percentage, especially in light of the fact that he is a Democrat.

#### Admiration for the Man

The Gallup survey was conducted the weekend of April 14 to 16. (Details of the polling technique are given in the box on page 21.) The following week, Wall Street Journal reporters across the nation interviewed hundreds of Americans to supplement the statistical data. The quotes in this article come from those interviews; the statistics come from the Gallup survey.

One conclusion from the survey and the interviews is that Americans admire Sen. Kennedy the politician and Edward Kennedy the man—even though they aren't likely to vote for him. Three years ago, a car driven by the senator went off a bridge at Chappaquiddick Island after a party, and a female companion of his was drowned. The senator did not report the accident to police until nearly 16 hours later, and at the time it was widely assumed that his chances of ever becoming a national leader had been instantly wiped out.

But now, 58% of the people surveyed believe that Sen. Kennedy conducted himself as well as he could under the circumstances (38% say he didn't), and half the people won't even venture a guess on whether the senator was drunk at the time. (Of the other half, though, the feeling runs three-to-two that he was drunk.)

At any rate, there's no widespread feeling that he's too much of a playboy to be President—only 19% of the people have that view. "All men play around, but he was stupid enough to get caught one time," says Ann Muehlbauer, a Pittsburgh housewife who is active in Democratic politics. Judy Fisher, a 33-year-old San Francisco Democrat, agrees. "I don't think he has done anything worse than most. The circumstances were such that it happened to come out in his case." Republican Anthony Olenick, a retired pressman in Fleming-



6 in 10 Women Afraid to Go Out Alone at Night

# Growing Fear of Crime Could Become Number One Issue in Nov. Election

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J. April 22 — "They have shaken" drastically around my neighborhood in recent years," said a Trenton, N. J. civil service employee interviewed in the latest Gallup survey. "Five years ago I wouldn't have thought twice about walking out and the block to the grocery store in the evening. But now, I'm taking my chances. We've had at least six burglaries in our area in the last year or so."

An urban housewife, like many others, has become increasingly fearful of predators and burglars: "A year or two ago, I walked my dog every night here. With all the trouble around here, I might get hit over the head."

The proportion of women who say they are afraid to go out alone at night in their neighborhoods has grown from 44 percent, high 41 percent four years ago to nearly six in ten (58 percent) in the nationwide survey just completed. The ratio is as high as three in four among both white and black women who are 50 years old or older.

Fear is growing among men, as well, but to a lesser extent. Four years ago the figure was 16 percent; today it is 20 percent.

**No Longer Just Big City Problem**

Crime and lawlessness have traditionally been "big city" problems, yet

the percentage of citizens living in smaller cities (pop. 2,500-50,000) who express fear has shot up 19 percentage points — to 41 percent. This is not far behind the figure of 49 percent for people living in the nation's largest cities.

**Survey Covered 300 Localities**

A total of 1,178 persons, 78 and older, were interviewed in person in the latest survey which covered more than 300 scientifically-selected localities across the nation. Interviewing was conducted March 24-27. This question was asked:

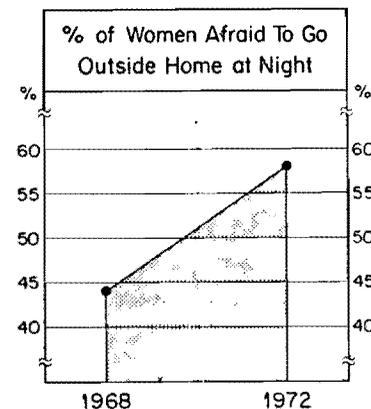
*Is there any area right around here — that is, within a mile — where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?*

The following table shows the latest results compared with those recorded four years ago, in February, 1968:

	Afraid to Walk Alone at Night		
	1968 %	1972 %	Point Change
NATIONAL	44	58	+14
Men	16	20	+4
Women	44	58	+14
<b>Community Size:</b>			
500,000 & over	40	49	+9
50,000-500,000	38	49	+11
2,500-50,000	22	41	+19
Under 2,500	21	24	+3

**Only One in Nine Says 'Less Crime' in Area**

Consistent with the growing fear of crime in one's neighborhood, is the find-



In 1968, 44 per cent of women said they were afraid to walk alone at night in their neighborhoods. Today the figure is 58 per cent.

ing that one person in three (35 percent) believes there is more crime in their communities than there was a year ago. Four in ten (42 percent) say "about the same" while only eleven percent say "less."

**Could Be Key Issue In November Election**

Crime could become a key issue in the presidential election this fall, particularly among women. It is rapidly becoming a "close-to-home" issue for many Americans and could gain in prominence if economic conditions continue to improve and the Vietnam war has been defused as a key issue by November.

**Second Biggest Domestic Issue**

A recent Gallup audit of the public's worries shows crime and lawlessness (including drug abuse) to be the public's greatest concern on the domestic front, second only to the economic situation.

Despite the widespread concern over crime — in all regions and in all levels of society — no presidential candidate in primary races has yet come up with a program for dealing with crime by which to attract voters.

**Became a Top Worry in '60's**

Worry over crime and lawlessness came into prominence in early 1965, and by the time of the 1968 presidential election had become the number one domestic concern of voters.

Crime (including looting and riots) was the number one domestic issue at the time of the 1968 presidential election.

**What's Behind the High Crime Rate?**

What's behind the high crime rate in the United States?

When the sample of citizens interviewed in the latest survey was asked this question, here's what they had to say:

**'Hands of Police Are Tied'**

A 60-year old real estate salesman from the state of Washington: "The hands of the policeman are tied.

He has to be an attorney to bring someone to court and when he succeeds the suspect is usually set free anyway.

This is what a 44-year old housewife from Beaverton, Oregon, responded: "People, not today, in the past with their kids. Children run their parents and insist on doing their thing. I do good hard work never get anything."

Reflecting the views of many in the survey, an elderly man who responded: "I think the biggest reason for crime is drugs — people on drugs will do anything to get money to pay for them."

The following table summarizes the responses of all persons interviewed:

Public's Reasons for High Crime Rate	
Laws are too lenient/penalties not strict enough	25*
Drugs/drug addiction	21
Lack of supervision by parents	13
Not enough jobs/poverty	13
Too much permissiveness in society	10
Lack of proper law enforcement	8
Bad feelings between groups/races	7
Lack of responsibility among younger people/listless respect for laws	6
People have too much money/luxury	4
All other responses	23*
No opinion	10
Total: 146	

\* Includes: lack of attention, alcohol, and mental abnormality, crime, and other reasons.  
\* Total adds to more than 100 percent since some persons gave more than one reason.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies of Gallup Surveys today disclosed several matters of interest:

1. The Gallup Release for Sunday, April 23, 1972 will focus on the increased fear of crime by Americans. One of the lead lines, if not the headline, will be that "6 in 10 women are afraid to walk in their own neighborhoods in the evening." This concern by 58% of the women compares with 41% five years ago. The public blames too lenient laws, drugs, and permissiveness by parents and society. Crime is now a critical domestic problem equal to the economic issue in John Davies' mind. He believes it will hurt candidates with a soft position on crime or drugs;

2. Gallup's April Survey will be in the field this weekend, probably April 21-23. In addition to Presidential popularity, trial heats, and the standing of the Democratic contenders, Gallup will ask several questions on the Indochina situation. The questions will not be the same as ones Gallup has asked before according to Davies. Rather, there will be questions on reaction to a Senate vote to cut off funds for the war provided the POWs are released. The question on the bombing will be something like "Do you favor or oppose the stepped up bombing of Indochina in recent days?" There will be no questions on the N.V.N. invasion. Davies would not indicate any release date to me.

In light of this information you should consider two steps. First, ORC could poll April 21-23 on pending matters and offer a comparison with Gallup. The last ORC poll occurred on March 18-19.

\_\_\_\_\_ Proceed with development of questionnaire.  
(Areas to be tested include drugs, ITT, Vietnam and Ehrlichman's busing questions which have not been received.)

\_\_\_\_\_ Forget ORC poll for now.

\_\_\_\_\_ Other.

The second step might be to ask Counsellor Rumsfeld to call George Gallup, Jr. If Rumsfeld has called him in the last two months, neither Colson nor I are privy to the conversation. You would probably have to ask Rumsfeld personally to talk to George Gallup about the Indochina questions.

GS/jb

# Poll Analyzes Strength of Three Leading Democratic Possibilities

By George Gallup  
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., April 15 — When the delegates to the Democratic convention meet in Miami Beach in July to choose the presidential nominee, they will face two basic considerations in mind: (1) Which candidate commands the greatest strength *within* the party and (2) Which candidate can attract the greatest number of independent voters and dissident Republicans?

In the latest "showdown" test, which reduces the field of Democratic candidates to two from the presently fragmented field of eight, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey leads Sen. Edmund Muskie among Democratic voters by a vote of 54 to 39 per cent with seven per cent undecided.

Sen. Edward Kennedy also leads Muskie in a showdown test among Democrats who are registered to vote, but by a smaller margin, 50 to 42 per cent.

Despite Muskie's poorer showing than Humphrey and Kennedy among the party faithful, he leads both men among the large bloc of independent voters who constitute about a third of the electorate.

## Kennedy Demonstrates Greatest 'Charisma'

Of the three men tested, Kennedy demonstrates the greatest "charisma"

with the public, as determined by an attitude scale designed to measure degree of enthusiasm for leading presidential possibilities.

Here are the strengths of the three leading Democrats tested, based on "showdown" contests:

### — Humphrey's Greatest Strengths —

Humphrey's base of support among Democrats registered to vote is with manual workers, blacks, persons with relatively little formal education and citizens in lower income groups.

— Muskie's Greatest Strengths —  
Muskie's appeal is with middle-income and better-educated Democrats, as well as the Independent voters.

### — Kennedy's Greatest Strengths —

Kennedy owes much of his strength among Democrats to the support of women, blacks, persons with relatively little formal education and with young voters under 30 years of age.

Following are the questions asked in the latest survey, which was conducted March 24-27 with 1,478 adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 localities across the nation:

*Suppose the choice for President in the Democratic convention this year narrows down to Edmund Muskie and Hubert Humphrey. Which ONE would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select? (The same question was asked about Muskie vs. Edward Kennedy).*

The following tables show the national vote in these showdown tests, and the results by party affiliation of respondents:

	Muskie %	HHH %	Undec. %
Democrats ...	39	54	7
Independents ...	47	35	18
Republicans ...	42	41	17
NATIONWIDE ...	42	45	13

	Muskie %	Kennedy %	Undec. %
Democrats ...	42	50	8
Independents ...	48	38	14
Republicans ...	66	19	15
NATIONWIDE ...	50	39	11

## Kennedy Winning 'Charisma' Battle

Senator Kennedy is currently winning the "charisma" battle, despite the fact that he trails Muskie in a two-way showdown test.

The degree of enthusiasm generated by leading Democratic presidential possibilities has been measured by means of a sensitive 10-point attitude scale. The two top positions on the scale represent a rating of "highly favorable."

Kennedy receives a "highly favorable" rating of 33 per cent among all persons interviewed in a recent survey, compared to 26 for Muskie and 23 per cent for Humphrey.

## Nixon Has 41 Per Cent Scale Rating

Each Democrat tested fails to match President Nixon's current "highly favorable" score of 41 per cent. The President's lead in this respect is reflected in recent trial heats which show him leading Humphrey among register-

ed voters, 46 to 35 per cent, with 15 per cent for Wallace and four per cent undecided. Nixon leads Muskie by about the same margin, 46 to 36 per cent, with 14 per cent for Wallace and four per cent undecided.

When Nixon and Kennedy were matched — in an earlier (February) trial heat — the President held a 47 to 39 per cent lead over Kennedy, with 9 per cent for Wallace and five per cent undecided.

## McGovern's National Vote Post-Wisconsin

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota was not included in the latest survey because, prior to the Wisconsin primary, he had not been able to establish himself as a leading contender for the nomination in *nationwide* surveys.

McGovern's strategy has been to concentrate on key primaries rather than to campaign nationally, relying on his showing in those individual states to make him strong nationally. Whether this strategy pays off will be measured by Gallup surveys in the coming weeks.

# Nixon Widens Lead Over HHH, Muskie

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J.—Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie have lost ground in trial heats against President Nixon and now trail the President by the widest margin to date.

Humphrey and Muskie now show about equal strength in races against Mr. Nixon, with Humphrey trailing by 11 percentage points and Muskie by 10.

Mr. Nixon wins the support of 46 per cent of registered voters to 35 per cent for Humphrey and 15 per cent for Wallace as a third-party candidate. Four per cent are undecided.

In a contest with Muskie, Mr. Nixon now leads 46 per cent to 36 per cent, with 14 per cent for Wallace and 4 per cent undecided.

Until the latest survey, Muskie had consistently made a better showing than Humphrey in trial heats against Mr. Nixon and Wallace. In contrast, Humphrey's best showing against the President to date was last May, when he won 39 per cent of the support of registered voters to 42 per cent for Mr. Nixon.

Humphrey has retained the front-runner position for his party's nomination, winning the support of 31 per cent of Democratic voters nationwide, compared to 23 per cent for Muskie and 15 per cent for Wallace.

Despite Humphrey's lead among Democrats for the nomination, his showing against Mr. Nixon is no better than Muskie's. This is explained in large part by Muskie's far greater appeal among independent voters.

Among independents, Mr. Nixon leads Muskie 46 per cent to 29 per cent, but against Humphrey, Mr. Nixon's margin is 52 per cent to 23 per cent.

Wallace's current vote as a third-party candidate in these trial heat races is the highest since the 1968 election when he won 13.6 per cent of the national vote to 43.4 per cent for Mr. Nixon and 43 per cent for Humphrey.

The latest trial heats are based on in-person interviews with a total of 1,151 registered voters out of a total sample of 1,173.

interview March 24-27 in more than 300 localities across the nation. This question was asked:

*Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and Hubert Humphrey (Edmund Muskie) were the Democratic candidate, and George Wallace ran again as a third-party candidate, which would you like to see win?*

Following are the results of trial heats with Mr. Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace since January, 1971:

		Nixon	HHH	Wallace	Un- dec.
March 24-27	46%	35%	15%	4%	
Feb. 4-7	46	39	10	5	
Nov.					
19-22, '71	47	37	12	4	
Aug. 20-23	43	37	11	9	
May 7-10	42	39	12	7	
March 12-14	45	36	12	6	
Jan. 9-10	48	38	10	4	

Following are the results of trial heats with Mr. Nixon, Muskie and Wallace since January, 1971:

		Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	Un- dec.
March 24-27	46%	36%	14%	4%	
Feb. 4-7	43	42	10	5	
Nov.					
19-22, '71	44	41	10	5	
Oct. 8-11	43	35	13	9	
Aug. 24-23	42	36	11	11	
May 7-10	39	41	12	8	
March 12-14	43	39	12	6	
Jan. 9-10	44	44	9	3	

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GALLUP AND HARRIS TRIAL HEATS •

1968 - 1972

GALLUP POLLS - TRIAL HEATS 1968

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
October 31, 1968	42%	40%	14%	4%
October 17, 1968	44	36	15	5
October 3, 1968	43	31	20	6
September 27, 1968	44	29	20	7
September 20, 1968	43	28	21	8
September 3, 1968	43	31	19	7
August 21, 1968	45	29	18	8
July 20, 1968	40	38	16	6
June 29, 1968	35	40	16	9
June 15, 1968	37	42	14	7
May 25, 1968	36	42	14	8
May 4, 1968	39	36	14	11
April 6, 1968	43	34	9	14

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McCARTHY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
August 21, 1968	42%	37%	16%	5%
July 20, 1968	41	36	16	7
June 29, 1968	36	39	18	7
June 15, 1968	39	41	14	6
May 25, 1968	40	38	13	9
May 4, 1968	39	37	14	10
April 6, 1968	41	38	10	11

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
April 6, 1968	41%	38%	10%	11%

HARRIS SURVEY - TRIAL HEATS 1968

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
November 1, 1968	42%	40%	12%	6%
October 27, 1968	40	37	16	7
October 9, 1968	40	35	18	7
September 27, 1968	44	29	20	7
September 20, 1968	43	28	21	8
September 11, 1968	39	31	21	9
September 3, 1968	43	31	19	7
August 24, 1968	40	34	17	9
July 25, 1968	36	41	16	7
July 6, 1968	35	37	17	11
June 11, 1968	36	43	13	8
May, 1968	36	38	13	13

HARRIS SURVEY - TRIAL HEATS 1968 CONT.

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
May, 1968	40%	38%	14%	8%
April, 1968	35	41	8	16
March, 1968	39	44	10	7

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McCARTHY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
August 24, 1968	41%	35%	16%	8%
July 26, 1968	35	43	15	7
July 8, 1968	34	42	16	8
June 10, 1968	36	44	12	8
Late May, 1968	40	39	14	7
Early May, 1968	37	40	13	10
March, 1968	43	34	14	9

HARRIS SURVEYS - TRIAL HEATS 1969-1972

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE TREND

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	44%	40%	11%	5%
January, 1972	42	42	11	5
November, 1971	43	39	11	7
September, 1971	47	35	11	7
August, 1971	43	41	12	4
June, 1971	40	42	13	5
May, 1971	40	42	11	7
April, 1971	39	47	11	3
February, 1971	39	44	12	5
January, 1971	40	43	11	6
November, 1970	40	46	10	4
September, 1970	43	43	10	4
May, 1970	42	38	12	8
April, 1970	47	36	10	7
February, 1970	49	35	11	5
November, 1969	49	35	11	5
October, 1969	51	35	9	5
May, 1969	51	35	11	3

NIXON-MUSKIE RACE TREND

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	47%	45%	8%
January, 1972	45	48	7
November, 1971	48	43	9
September, 1971	50	40	10

NIXON - MUSKIE RACE TREND CONT.

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
August, 1971	47%	45%	8%
June, 1971	46	46	8
April, 1971	44	50	6
February, 1971	42	48	10
January, 1971	46	49	5

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE TREND

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
March, 1972	48%	35%	12%	5%
February, 1972	47	36	12	5
January, 1972	46	37	12	5
November, 1971	45	36	12	7
September, 1971	45	36	12	7
May, 1971	44	39	10	7
April, 1971	42	41	13	4
November, 1970	46	39	11	4
April, 1970	50	36	11	3
November, 1969	48	37	12	3
November, 1968 (actual vote)	44	43	13	-

GALLUP POLLS - TRIAL HEATS 1969-1972

TREND SINCE 1969

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	43%	42%	10%	5%
January 7-10, 1972	43	42	12	3
November 19-22, 1971	44	41	10	5
October 8-11	43	35	13	9
August 20-23	42	36	11	11
May 7-10	39	41	12	8
March 12-14	43	39	12	6
January 9-10	44	44	9	3
December 5-6, 1970	44	43	9	4
June 19-22	43	36	13	8
January 30-February 2	47	35	13	5
September 12-15, 1969	49	34	11	6

GALLUP POLLS - TRIAL HEATS 1969-1972 CONT.

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	47%	39%	9%	5%
November, 1971	44	41	10	5
August, 1971	43	38	10	9
May, 1971	42	41	10	7
March, 1971	46	38	11	5
January, 1971	47	38	9	6
December, 1970	47	37	11	5
January, 1970	49	35	11	5
September, 1969	53	31	10	6
July, 1969	52	36	9	3
April, 1969	52	33	10	7

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	46%	39%	10%	5%
November, 1971	47	37	12	4
August, 1971	43	37	11	9
May, 1971	42	39	12	7
March, 1971	46	36	12	6
January, 1971	48	38	10	4
April, 1970	50	32	11	7
February, 1970	54	34	12	X
January, 1970	50	33	13	4
September, 1969	53	33	11	3

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>LINDSAY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	53%	29%	12%	6%
August, 1971	45	30	12	13
December, 1970	48	35	12	5
June, 1970	46	29	15	10

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McGOVERN</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	49%	34%	11%	6%
November, 1971	49	33	12	6

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McCARTHY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
January, 1970	55%	24%	12%	9%

File  
Gallup

Administratively Confidential

March 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Poll -  
Democratic Contenders

Discussion with the Gallup Organization this morning indicated that the Sunday, March 19 release on the Democratic Contenders will show Humphrey as the leader for the Democratic nomination.

The question: "Which One of the men on this list would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972:"

	<del>Feb 19</del> 3/-3-5	2/4-7	1/7-9
Humphrey	35%	28	29
Muskie	28	29	39
Lindsay	8	3	7
McGovern	7	3	3
McCarthy	6	4	3
Jackson	5	4	3
Chisholm	3	3	2
Hartke	1	1	2*
Yorty	1	1	2
No Preference	6	9	7

The polling dates were March 3 - 5.

The headline will be "Humphrey Takes Lead as Top Choice."  
When the question included Wallace the results were:

Humphrey	31%
Muskie	23
Wallace	15
Lindsay	7
McGovern	6
McCarthy	5
Jackson	3
Chisholm	2
Mills	2
Hartke	1
Yorty	0
No Preference	5

There Jan an Feb tests did not include Wallace

File  
Gallup

Administratively Confidential

March 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

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Muskie	28
Lindsay	8
McGovern	7
McCarthy	6
Jackson	5
Chisholm	3
Hartke	1
Yorty	1
No Preference	6

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The headline will be "Humphrey Takes Lead as Top Choice."  
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Muskie	23
Wallace	15
Lindsay	7
McGovern	6
McCarthy	5
Jackson	3
Chisholm	2
Mills	2
Hartke	1
Yorty	0
No Preference	5

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/15

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You have reviewed the Gallup Opinion Index that is the basis for Khachigian's comments.

The comments on California colleges are particularly apt.

His memorandum will be sent to Colson and Reitz for follow-up.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN *KLK*

Information coming out of the February Gallup Opinion Index sheds interesting light on the political views of college students. We can learn from it profitably.

Although the President's approval rating is negative with college students -- 43%-51% -- certain groups within the general survey show potentiality for our side. For example, those college students 18 years of age and under approve of RN 48% to 43%. It gets less up the scale to students 21 to 24 whose approval is around 36% while disapproval is at 57%. By class, freshmen approve RN 49%-43% while graduate students approve at 20% and disapprove at 75%.

The lesson here is that Freshmen political views are much more conventional and have had less time to be radicalized. And, we ought to be focusing on the younger college students in terms of appeals. However, it should be noted that nonregistered voter students approve of RN in higher percentages than do the registered students. The lesson there is that we have got to get more of our supporters registered. *Right!*

Moreover, Protestant students approve of RN 57% to 37% while Catholic students are a toss-up 47%-47%. Finally, the President's support at denominational colleges is overwhelming -- 66% approve of him and only 29% disapprove. Are we looking at these statistics and making a big effort at denominational schools (which include Protestant schools, e.g., Southern Methodist, and the like)? *We sure should be*

Some of the above statistics are confirmed in that 18 and 19 year old college students preferred RN to McCloskey in a trial heat by a 43% to 37% margin while the older students favored McCloskey by about 51% to 30%.

*Maybe  
or maybe it  
is that the  
trend is to  
RN*

Recommendation. that the above information be taken into consideration on how our college activities are targeted. Of greater interest is the fact that the younger college students will be likely more pro-RN, and perhaps we have forgotten about all the hundreds of two-year colleges in the country.

California alone has about 100 junior colleges, where students living close to parents will vote more like their parents and probably be more pro-RN. Why don't we make a special effort to emphasize two-year colleges throughout the country in our organizing activities -- stir up the latent vote for RN which exists there. It seems to me it is information of this sort (we need more) which would help target the youth effort, and targeting is precisely what we need to make the most out of this vote that we can.

Good!

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN 

Even though the Gallup Polls are published regularly in the media, the published polls do not give the detail that is often desirable. Each month, Gallup puts out an opinion index which breaks down into subpopulation groups the prevailing opinion that the poll measured.

From time to time I have broken out some of the more interesting data to send to Buchanan and Whitaker. Pat asked that I send these to you on a regular basis each month for the President's perusal. Below are the most recent ones I sent to Buchanan. If there is any particular item you are interested in, let me know, and I can break it out when the index comes to me each month from the RNC.

FARMERS

Popularity (December 10-13, 1971)

	approve	disapprove	no opinion
National	49%	37%	14%
Farmers	55	30	15

Trial Heats (November 19-22, 1971)

	RN	Muskie	Wallace	No opinion
National	44%	41%	10%	5%
Farmers	50	34	11	5

	RN	Kennedy	Wallace	No opinion
National	44%	41%	10%	5%
Farmers	51	32	12	5

	RN	Humphrey	Wallace	No opinion
National	47%	37%	12%	4%
Farmers	49	36	10	5

	RN	McGovern	Wallace	No opinion
National	49%	33%	12%	6%
Farmers	62	18	11	9

CATHOLICS

Popularity (December 10-13, 1971)

approve	disapprove	no opinion
48%	39%	13%

Trial Heats (November 19-22, 1971)

RN	Muskie	Wallace	No opinion
35%	51%	9%	5%
RN	Kennedy	Wallace	No opinion
34%	53%	9%	4%
RN	HHH	Wallace	No opinion
39%	44%	11%	6%
RN	McGovern	Wallace	No opinion
40%	42%	12%	6%

The trial heat should be compared to RN's showing among Catholics in 1968 where he got 33% to HHH's 59% to Wallace's 8%.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

January 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Gallup Popularity

Dwight Chapin reached John Davies at Gallup and learned that on Thursday, January 20, the new Presidential popularity figures will be released. They are as follows:

Approve 49%  
Disapprove 39%  
No Opinion 12%

Also to be released is a special college popularity figure:

Approve 43%  
Disapprove 51%  
No Opinion 6%

John Davies believes this college popularity is much better than most would expect.

Also, John Davies told Dwight that he believes Humphrey will be the Democratic nominee because "Muskie is so bad".

The polling dates were January 7-8.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1971

*Polls  
churn*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable Earl Butz  
Secretary of Agriculture

~~Honorable H. R. Haldeman~~

FROM: John C. Whitaker *JCW*

SUBJECT: Gallup Poll

These figures, if accurate, are a significant erosion of the President's position among farmers if you follow the conventional theory that the President must do very well indeed among farmers to overcome strong Democratic margins in the larger cities of the farm states.

It will be interesting to see the next poll, if you accept the premise that the poll could well represent a low point due to farm belt being stirred up over Secretary Butz' nomination fight and low corn prices.

The next poll should reflect higher corn prices and a very positive image of Secretary Butz.

cc: John D. Ehrlichman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN C. WHITAKER

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN *KLK*

SUBJECT: GALLUP POLL

As in the past, we have received information on the latest trial heats breaking out farmer opinion from the general sample. Here are the latest findings (note that McGovern has been included for the first time).

	RN	Muskie	Wallace	Und.
National Farmers	44%	41%	10%	5%
	51	34	10	5

	RN	EMK	Wallace	Und.
National Farmers	44%	41%	10%	5%
	45	41	10	4

	RN	HHH	Wallace	Und.
National Farmers	47%	37%	12%	4%
	45	41	10	4

	RN	McGovern	Wallace	Und.
National Farmers	49%	33%	12%	6%
	59	18	14	9

You should note that the interview dates for this polling were November 19-22 -- during the confirmation fight for Earl Butz. That may account for the softening of support vis 'a vis the opposition. Muskie pulled up a little bit, as did Kennedy. Humphrey made an enormous jump since the last poll -- perhaps reflecting his outspokenness during the Butz confirmation. McGovern, who is supposed to be the farmer's friend, gets absolutely wiped out by RN.

Please compare these figures with the ones included in a memo I sent you on November 22. I send these with the usual caveats that I don't take complete stock in their accuracy while believing they help show trends.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*H. R. Haldeman  
See  
File  
Galloway*

Date: 11/15

TO: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: John C. Whitaker

FYI

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN WHITAKER

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN *KLK*

SUBJECT: GALLUP POLL - FARMERS

The latest Gallup trial heat to come out pits the President head to head with Muskie, and with the farmers the news is very good. Shown below is how it compares with the previous poll. The October poll had 136 farmers in its sample which is a bigger sample than they have used before and therefore more reliable. But with my usual warnings that these figures are not rock hard reliable, here are the results:

## Interview dates - October 8 - 11

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	Undecided
Farmers	55%	22%	13%	10%
National	43%	35%	13%	9%

## Interview dates - August 16-20

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	Undecided
Farmers	43%	30%	16%	11%
National	41%	37%	10%	12%

This is before the added \$600 million and before the Russian grain deal. We must be doing something right!

Gallup file

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

George Gallup, Jr. -  
Rumsfeld Meeting

Dwight Chapin has been acting as the "White House Contact" with the Gallup Organization (John Davies). Chapin has had very limited success either in obtaining the results of polls in advance or in explaining our substantive complaints about some of the releases. Chapin believes that a more senior contact with the Gallup Organization might be more fruitful. To that end, Colson and Chapin met with Rumsfeld and strongly urged him to contact George Gallup, Jr.

After some considerable pressure, Rumsfeld had lunch on September 16 with George Gallup, Jr. to explain some of the White House concerns with Gallup polls. Rumsfeld used the following specific examples in his discussion:

- 1) The unfairness of having the "73% favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam" without follow-up questions about the consequences (loss of POWs, communist takeover, etc.);
- 2) The six month lock on a 50% approval rating when Harris and our private polls show a rise following the Red China and new economic policy announcements;
- 3) The unfairness of the question "Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III (keep the country prosperous) -- the Republican Party or Democratic Party?". This question, of course, favors the Democrats because of their higher registration. Rumsfeld suggested that the question be asked: "Do you think Richard Nixon or Edmund Muskie would be more likely . . ."

The possibility of using polling contacts similar to the Harris-Family Issues In Depth Poll was raised with Counsellor Rumsfeld as a follow-up to a meeting that Colson and Chapin had with Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld would not suggest the possibility of polling contracts to Gallup because "they are not the type" and would not be receptive.

Recommendation:

Rumsfeld should now replace Chapin as the contact with Gallup to acquire interesting results early.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

If approve, a memorandum for your signature to Rumsfeld is attached.

GS:lm

April 2, 1971

Roll  
Gallup

MEMORANDUM FOR LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Gallup Organization

Gallup's organization, the American Institute of Public Opinion, is owned by George Gallup and a minority passive partner. George Gallup Senior has begun to distribute his majority stock control interest to his three or four children. However it is very clear that the Gallup family still controls the majority interest. President of the Gallup organization, Paul Perry, has control of 10% of the minority interest. Similarly other officers in the Gallup organization control small minority shares.

cc: Gallup File