

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>
15	1	9/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the results of a recent telephone poll. 1 pg.
15	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Kehrlri to Strachan RE: a message for Haldeman. 1 pg.
15	1	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Klein to RN RE: newspaper polls and endorsements. 1 pg.
15	1	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Buchanan's opinion on a Connally television spot. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	1	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Peter Dailey's work and opinions on a campaign spot. 1 pg.
15	1	9/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the latter's opinions on various published and televised campaign advertisements. 2 pgs.
15	1	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dailey's revised advertising plans. Handwritten notes on original added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
15	1	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Strachan RE: a revised schedule of campaign advertisements for the week of 10/2/1972. Proposed schedule attached. 2 pgs.
15	1	9/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the results of a Gallup survey. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	1	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the November Group taking over the responsibilities of the Jen0 Paulucci Advertising Agency. 1 pg.
15	1	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Harry Williams and youth demonstrations. 1 pg.
15	1	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dailey's revised advertising plans. 1 pg.
15	1	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Malek's opinion on campaign materials. 1 pg.
15	1	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an ad attacking McGovern and the opinions of various White House staffers on that ad. 1 pg.

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15	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Text arranged by Colson for an ad portraying McGovern as changing his mind on various issues. 3 pgs.
15	1	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	September 18, 1972 edition of "Monday" criticizing McGovern. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 8 pgs.
15	1	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Sheet of handwritten notes, possibly generated by Haldeman, focusing on McGovern's inconsistent views. 1 pg.
15	1	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Senator Tower's desire for Ed Nixon to circulate a fundraising letter in Texas. 1 pg.
15	1	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Bob Morgan to Magruder RE: Senator Tower's desire to obtain RN's approval for a mass mailing bearing his name. Handwritten notes added by Magruder. Proposed letter attached. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	1	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the questionnaire for a national telephone poll. Attached are the questionnaire, comments from Harry O'Neil, and a proposed updated questionnaire from Strachan. 13 pgs.
15	1	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Tom Benham's proposed national ORC surveys. 2 pgs.
15	1	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Higby to Strachan RE: a proposed weekly national poll to "check against all the other polls." Handwritten notes added by unknown. Attached is a marked-up plan for the telephone poll. 4 pgs.
15	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Plans for an internal telephone poll, including dates, proposed questions, and costs. 3 pgs.
15	1	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: MacGregor and Malek's meeting to discuss campaign materials. 2 pgs.

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15	1	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a recent meeting between MacGregor, Timmons, Anderson, and Flemming to discuss support for congressional candidates. 1 pg.
15	1	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to MacGregor RE: a proposed plan laying out the degrees of White House support for various candidates. 12 pgs.
15	1	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a Malek report forwarded by MacGregor. 2 pgs.
15	1	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Malek to MacGregor RE: the state of the presidential campaign in various states. Figures on budgets, completed workshops, and telephone campaigns attached. 11 pgs.
15	1	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Bill Safire's appearance on "NBC Reports." 1 pg.

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15	1	9/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information on ORC, Gallup, and Harris polling. 2 pgs.
15	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sample opinion survey and a memo from Teeter to MacGregor. 29 pgs.

September 30, 1972

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

Pennsylvania

Bob Teeter called with the results of the 500 interviews in the Pennsylvania telephone poll conducted September 27-28.

		<u>N</u>	<u>McG</u>	<u>Un</u>
T-9/27-28	Without Leaners	59	24	17
	With Leaners	63	28	9

Illinois

The Chicago Tribune poll tomorrow will show the President ahead 60-24-16, based on interviewing the last week of August and the first two weeks of September.

GS:car

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: *G.S.*
~~H. R. HALDEMAN~~

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

*PLSE cover
with
B*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HERBERT G. KLEIN

Herb Klein

The Chicago Tribune will publish its first poll on Illinois Sunday. It will show: Nixon - 60; McGovern - 24; Undecided - 16. The sampling was of 3 weeks. One week in August and the first 2 weeks in September.

The Dallas Times Herald will endorse you in its Sunday newspaper. You have already been endorsed by the Dallas News.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Connally 5-Minute Spot -
Buchanan's Views

Pat Buchanan favors the press conference 5-minute spot to the "straight on" address. The press conference is more powerful and specific. It uses concrete terms and is memorable. The "set" spot is too much like LBJ, and the "he would" and "he would not" series is not strong enough.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Connally 5-Minute Spot

Peter Dailey called to say the Mutual Broadcasting tape was prepared "several days ago" so there is no opportunity to film it and then cut it to a 5-minute spot. George Christian is on his way to Texas and Dailey will try to check whether he had a film made of the radio taping.

Dailey is working on the "straight on set" version but does not think it can be changed. He recommends against using an announcer before the Connally statement, "I am a Democrat", because he does not have an appropriate back@rop. He is considering using a videotape freeze picture of Connally with a voiceover by an announcer. Dailey believes he will probably recommend leaving the spot exactly as it is.

GS/jb

September 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaigning Advertising
Matters

Television
Positive Ads - CRP

Next week on Network TV, the China 5 minute, China 60, the Passport 60, the Older American 5 and the Youth 5 will run according to the schedule, attached at Tab A. Yesterday on the memorandum attached at Tab B, you asked why the Youth 5 would run. Dailey's response is that the China 5 gets such emphasis that by the end of the week, a little variety would add to the audience. The Youth 5 can be replaced by the China 5 on Saturday October 7.

_____ Change Youth 5 to China 5

_____ Leave Youth 5 on Saturday,
October 7

_____ Other

Negative Ads - DFN

Because of your comment yesterday that the DFN 60's are better than the positive 60's, the local TV markets where McGovern is relatively close will carry the DFN "Welfare" spot. Colson, in this morning's 9:15 meeting, confirmed that next week was reaffirmed as National Defense Week in

the Ehrlichman Political Meeting on September 29. Last week the DFN local ran the Defense ad. The question is whether the Defense, instead of the Welfare ad, should be run locally.

_____ Run Defense Ad

_____ Run Welfare Ad

+ _____ + Other

Newspaper

The "Welcome McGovern" full page ad that you approved will run in Boston on October 3 when McGovern arrives. Buchanan and Colson reviewed the copy this morning and generally approved. Their only concern was that the headline not carry a question which McGovern could pick-up and use to his advantage by repudiating past positions. Buchanan and Colson suggest: "The People of Boston Don't Trust You Because: " This option will be given to you for the next McGovern Welcoming ad.

The layout for Boston ad will be available for review late tonight or first thing in the morning. The question is whether you want to review the layout.

_____ Yes, send layout to H. home

_____ No, unnecessary to review layout

_____ Other

GS:car

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Campaign Advertising

You have Peter Dailey's Revised Advertising Plans memorandum. Although it is addressed to Clark MacGregor, he wants final word from you before committing for next week's campaign television advertising. In addition to the Connally 1/2 hour on October 4, Dailey seeks authority to run:

- 1) the China 5 minute spot on Network;
- 2) the Youth 5 minute and Passport 60 second spot instead of the Record spots because of necessity to revise the Russia segments on network; and
- 3) the DFN "~~Welfare~~" spots on local TV. - 60's.

S → Dailey 9/29

*good
why? -
how does this
fit our
strategy*

"Russia to China"

*all
Dailey*

Dailey's only concern is that in the 1st two weeks of campaign TV, the DFN has outspent the Committee to Re-Elect the President positive materials two to one.

*AD what? It probably should
be 15:1*

RECOMMENDATION:

That Dailey be authorized to go ahead with his recommended schedule.

*I think the DFN
60's are better
to have than
the positive 60's.
Wouldn't the
operating 5 min*

AGREE

DISAGREE

COMMENT

NEED MRS - STR.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 28, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12958, Section 6-102

By Emp. Use MRS, Date 1-14-80

CONFIDENTIAL

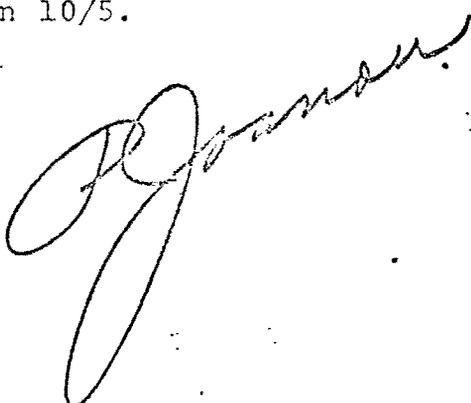
TO: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: PHIL JOANOU

SUBJECT: Network Schedule - Week of 10/2

Attached is a revised schedule for next week, eliminating "Russia". Note that "China" is scheduled back-to-back on 10/3 on Welby and the Movie, providing 46.0 total rating points, as is "Passport" on 10/5.

cc: Pete Dailey



CONFIDENTIAL

9/22/72

Week of: 10/2/72

WEEKLY NETWORK TV SCHEDULE

Division #: 1

Day	Net	Program	Approx. Time (EST)	Annot. Length	Commit. Date	Estimated Cost (Net)				Req. (\$)	Commercial Scheduling	
						Time Cost (\$)	TRNG Chgs. (\$)	TIME Chgs. (\$)	LINE Chgs. (\$)		Total Cost (\$)	Name
Mon	CBS	Guiding Light	2:25-2:30PM	5-Min.	8/25	5,214	470	-	-	5,684	9.0	Older Amer.
Tue	NBC	Bonanza	8-9PM	60"	9/26	24,650	298	-	-	24,948	21.0	Passport
	ABC	Marcus Welby	10:55-11PM	5 Min.	9/21	5,766	213	5,314	-	11,293	26.2	CHINA
	CBS	Tues. Movie	10:55-11PM	5 Min.	9/26	6,889	235	2,000	-	11,124	19.9	CHINA
Wed	CBS	Secret Storm	3:55-4PM	5 Min.	8/25	5,271	470	-	-	5,741	7.0	Older Amer.
	CBS	Cannon	10:55-11PM	5 Min.	9/27	13,152	235	2,000	-	15,387	19.1	CHINA
Thur	ABC	The Mod Squad	8-9PM	60"	9/26	30,300	300	-	-	30,600	18.6	Passport
	NBC	Flip Wilson	8-9PM	60"	9/25	37,400	298	-	-	37,698	26.0	Passport
Sat	ABC	Alias Smith/Jones	8:55-9PM	5 Min.	9/21	6,559	213	5,614	-	12,386	14.4	Classica Youth
	NBC	Emergency	8-9PM	60"	9/29	19,550	298	-	-	19,848	13.2	CHINA
	NBC	Sat. Movie	10:55-11PM	5 Min.	9/22	11,921	149	200	-	12,270	17.3	Youth
	CBS	Mission Impossible	10-11PM	60"	9/29	37,150	250	-	-	37,400	18.3	Passport
			TOTAL DAY	2 Ann.		10,485	940	-	-	11,425	10.0	
			TOTAL NIGHT	10 Ann.		195,337	2,439	15,128	-	212,904	193.9	
			GRAND TOTAL	12 Ann.		205,822	3,429	15,128	-	224,379	209.9	

September 30, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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

Discussion with John Davies at 11:00 a.m. today disclosed that the Gallup figures for Sunday, October 1, based on the September 23 - 24 interview, will be "very close to 60-34-6". These rough figures are based on 1000 unweighted interviews. Fifteen hundred interviews will be tabulated. Davies said "McGovern has narrowed the gap ever so slightly". The change probably will "fall within sampling error".

The "final figures" will be obtained later this afternoon.

GS:dg

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Jeno Paulucci
Advertising Agency

On September 20, you read the memorandum attached at Tab A outlining 1701 problems with Jeno Paulucci, who has raised \$8500 for the campaign but will receive 95-100,000 in commissions for placing all DFN ads.

Dailey has asked MacGregor for authority for the November Group to take over the media buying responsibility from Paulucci/JFP Advertising. MacGregor is expected to accept Dailey's recommendation but is out of town.

Dailey called George Christian to get Connally's reaction to November Group taking over the DFN placement responsibility from JFP/Advertising. Christian says Connally doesn't care. However, there was apparently a financial agreement arranged by Colson with Paulucci when DFN was established. If there are no insuperable political problems Dailey would prefer to assume the cost (\$100,000) of paying off Paulucci in order to place DFN commercials accurately. Last week JFP/Advertising violated the law placing the ads, has only one buyer, and suffers from a series of ills described in the Dailey/Joanou material attached at Tab B.

RECOMMENDATION

That Colson inform Paulucci/JFP Advertising that November Group will all DFN ads. Colson should arrange the financial payoff to Paulucci as best he can.

_____ AGREE _____ DISAGREE
_____ COMMENT

GS:car

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Harry Williams

The Billy Graham assistant, Harry Williams, who is working for Ken Rietz, is spending 1/2 of his time with Tom Bell organizing the three large youth rallies scheduled in Chicago, Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles on October 20, 24 and 29. Rietz talked with Williams four days ago and believes he is pleased to be spending 1/2 of his time for the President and 1/2 of it for Billy Graham.

Rietz mentioned that he hoped the President would not say anything about demonstrators in the next 5 weeks, because all youth, including the President's voters, identify to some extent with the demonstrators.

September 29, 1972

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

You have Peter Dailey's Revised Advertising Plans memorandum. Although it is addressed to Clark MacGregor, he wants final word from you before committing for next week's campaign television advertising. In addition, to the Connally 1/2 hour on October 4, Dailey seeks authority to run:

- 1) the China 5 minute spot on Network;
- 2) the Youth 5 minute and Passport 60 second spot instead of the Record spots because of necessity to revise the Russia segments on network; and
- 3) the DFN "Welfare" spot on local TV.

Dailey's only concern is that in the 1st two weeks of campaign TV, the DFN has outspent the Committee to Re-Elect the President positive materials two to one.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Dailey be authorized to go ahead with his recommended schedule.

_____ AGREE _____ DISAGREE
_____ COMMENT
GS:car

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Materials

Fred Malek received a copy of my description of the Campaign Materials situation with your comments. He respectfully disagrees and says that the criticisms from the states are exaggerated or consciously created. Malek believes that in New York, John Ehrlichman suggested to Peter Brennan that he complain personally to the President about no materials. Malek had been in New York the previous week to resolve their materials problems.

Malek decided against the Magruder suggestion of a "bumper sticker blitz" in conjunction with the Canvass Kick-Off. Malek decided to put all resources on the Canvass Kick-Off in order to do one event well, instead of two events poorly. He has no current plans for a bumper sticker blitz.

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: McGovern Attack Ad

The first McGovern attack ad is attached. These newspaper ads would be run in cities the day McGovern arrives. McGovern is to be in Boston on October 3.

Peter Dailey suggested the layout.

Chuck Colson recommends extensive use of McGovern quotes. Colson agrees with the headline but would replace the copy with the quotes on the attached page.

The ad would be run by the local Re-Elect the President Committee, not the national.

Colson says Dailey's ad would get McGovern votes in Massachusetts. Colson has "rough figures" from a Massachusetts survey in two Congressional Districts which will show the President ahead of McGovern by approximately 15 points.

Recommendation:

That the Colson re-draft using McGovern's quotes be approved.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

COLSON TEXT:

Which Senator McGovern is Coming to Boston?

One might think there were two Senator George McGoverns -

Senator Eagleton

"I am 1000 percent for Tom Eagleton and have no intention of dropping him from the ticket."
Newsweek, August 7, 1972

"We have jointly agreed that the best course is for Senator Eagleton to step aside."
UPI, July 31, 1972

Pierre Salinger's Visit to Paris

"Pierre Salinger had no instructions whatsoever from me. There wasn't the slightest instruction on my part to him."
AP, August 16, 1972

"Mr. Salinger, at my request, met with members of the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris."
Press Release, August 16, 1972

Welfare

"I propose that every man, woman and child receive from the federal government an annual payment ... At the present time a payment of almost \$1,000 per person would be required."
"McGovern's Tax Program", Congressional Record, January 19, 1972

Amnesty

"A good Democrat doesn't run away from his party, any more than a good soldier runs away from his country."
Speech before VFW group, August 23, 1972

"Amnesty to be granted to those who, on the basis of conscience, have refused to participate in the Vietnam tragedy."
Campaign brochure "McGovern on the Issues"

Vietnam

"I propose ... that the United States announce that we are withdrawing all American forces from Indochina."
Press Release, February 7, 1972

"I would ... retain military capability in the region - in Thailand and on the seas."
Statement before group of POW relatives, Miami, AP, July 11, 1972

Abortion

"Abortion is a private matter which should be decided by a pregnant woman and her own doctor."
Time magazine, June 26, 1972

"There has to be some regulation and that I would leave to the state. I'm not advocating abortion on demand."
Christian Science Monitor, July 17, 1972

Estate Taxes

"... we must set a ceiling on the amount that might be received and then place a 100 percent tax on all gifts and inheritances above that amount even if the ceiling were set as high as \$500,000, the amount of new government revenues would be considerable."
January 13, 1972

"I do not suggest that ceiling be placed on inheritance at \$500,000 or any other level."
Wall Street Journal, May 22, 1972

Wage and Price Controls

"The wage-price freeze is about four years overdue. I am glad that the President has finally come to his senses on the need for such a step."
Press Release, August 15, 1971

"... we can end the wage and price controls, and I think that can be done within 90 days of the inauguration. And I'm committed to that goal."
Speech, Labor reception, Springfield, Illinois
August 15, 1972

For 14 years Senator McGovern has opposed aid to parochial schools.

"As for the change in sex mores, I'm not particularly concerned about it."
Playboy, August 1971

Can You Really Trust The Man? Ask Him.

Monday. SEPT. 18, 1972





McGovern Promise To Farmer Means Food Prices Would Be Higher

(Excerpts from the remarks of Herbert Stein, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors, before the American Political Science Association Convention, September 8, 1972.)

“Food prices are a case in which the gulf between truth and perception is so great that one hesitates to tell the truth, for fear of being considered either a fool or a scoundrel.

“The American people are better fed, and for a lower proportion of their income, than ever before.

“The policies of the Government in the past three years, including its farm policies, its import policies and its control policies, have been a consistent package to hold consumers’ food prices down, given the variety of national objectives to be served.

“Food prices in the past year have risen 3.7 percent. It is less than the average rate of increase in the period 1967 to 1971 when food prices were not generally considered to be among our most serious problems.

“The rise of incomes in the past year has been much greater than the rise of food prices. For example, after-tax weekly earnings of non-farm production workers rose by 7.2 percent, about twice as much as food prices. The average worker’s ability to buy food has increased substantially in the past year.

“Non-food items bought by consumers have risen by 2.9 percent in the past year. These items accounted for 78 percent of the budget of a typical urban worker a year ago.

“With food prices up 3.7 percent, he could have bought 18 percent more food. Of course, he didn’t actually buy 18 percent more food, but that was because he chose to buy more of other things.

“...during the year from July to July prices of cereals and bakery products, poultry, eggs and non-alcoholic beverages declined. Prices of dairy products rose less than 1 percent. Prices of fruits and vegetables rose less than 2 percent.

“From 1964 through 1971 the number of minutes of work required to earn enough money to buy a pound of hamburger was never less than 11.8 and never more than 12.7. In July 1972 the figure was about 12.4 minutes. In only 4 of the previous 8 years was the amount of worktime required to buy a pound of hamburger smaller than in July 1972, and never much smaller.

“Moreover, the price of meat is coming down. In the past 7 weeks, the wholesale price of beef has fallen 13 percent.

“But the basic fact is that food prices rose because consumers wanted to buy more than was available. There was no excess supply of food. Unless there had been a way to increase supply or curtail demand, there would have been shortages at lower prices.

“Per capita food consumption in the United States was at its all-time high in 1971 and will be down less than one-half of one percent in 1972.

“Meat consumption per capita will be about 3 percent higher than in that same year.

“From 1968 to the first part of this year, food prices rose substantially in all the major industrial countries. The increase in the United States was less than in the United Kingdom, France, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands and Sweden, for example.

“Politicians who go through supermarkets squeezing packages of hamburgers and blaming this Administration for the food prices should consider whether they want to hold this Administration responsible also for record per capita incomes, record per capita food consumption, and low increases of non-food prices.

“...the policy of this Administration has been a policy to make food a good buy for consumers.

“Senator McGovern has committed himself to raise farm prices to 90 percent of parity. This, of course, means higher food prices to consumers. The Senator acknowledges this.

“‘Well,’ McGovern replied, ‘if grain prices go up, then beef prices will go up too.’”

“That was surely the right answer. An increase of farm prices to 90 percent of parity would raise the farm cost of food by about 15 percent.”

Herbert Stein

Monday. SEPT. 18, 1972

MONDAY, a weekly publication is sent to contributors of \$25.00 or more. Of which \$5.00 is for subscription to MONDAY per annum.



Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

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Vol. 4 No. 25

GREAT DEBATE IS BETWEEN McGOVERN AND McGOVERN . . . AND McGOVERN IS LOSING, SAYS DOLE

"I've been turned off by McGovern and his constant hassles. I really don't know what he thinks now. He's not like God. He's more like Hubert Humphrey."—Princeton coed, quoted by columnist Joseph Kraft.

The great debate in this year's Presidential campaign "is the one that's been going on for some months between George McGovern and himself," says RNC Chairman Bob Dole. "So far on almost every major issue from tax reform to Vietnam—and even on most of the minor issues like Pierre Salinger—George McGovern has taken at least two positions and is still wrong." It is becoming increasingly apparent, Dole observes, "that what George McGovern says often depends less on what he believes than on where he is and who he is talking to....So the debate goes on. The great debate between George McGovern and George McGovern. And it appears to almost all who are keeping score that George McGovern is losing."

Specific examples of McGovern's Meanderings cited by Dole include the following:

Vietnam

"I propose...that the United States announce that we are withdrawing all American forces from Indochina."—*Press Release, Feb 7, 1972*

"I do not have the slightest doubt that every American troop and soldier will be out within 90 days of my inauguration and that's the pledge I make."—*Providence Journal, July 13, 1972*

"I would...retain military capability in the region—in Thailand and on the seas."—*Statement before group of POW relatives, Miami, AP, July 11, 1972*

Amnesty

"A good Democrat doesn't run away from his party, any more than a good soldier runs away from his country."—*Speech before VFW group, Aug. 23, 1972*

"Amnesty to be granted to those who, on the basis of conscience, have refused to participate in the Vietnam tragedy."—*Campaign brochure "McGovern on the Issues."*

Party Loyalty

"A good Democrat doesn't run away from his party, any more than a good soldier runs away from his country."—*Speech before VFW group, Aug. 23, 1972*

[The loss of the California delegates] "would be such an infuriating, disillusioning experience...that I would repudiate the whole process. I would run as an Independent, or support someone else on an Independent ticket."—*Life magazine, July 7, 1972*



Sargent Shriver Meet George McGovern



"This business about the \$1,000 grant to everybody. He [McGovern] never proposed that."—*Sargent Shriver, UPI, Sept. 12, 1972*

"I propose that every man, woman and child receive from the federal government an annual payment...At the present time a payment of almost \$1,000 per person would be required."—*George McGovern, Congressional Record, Jan. 19, 1972*

"He'll [McGovern] stay with the plan that will be very similar to that [\$1,000 per person plan] in dollars....it'll be based around \$1,000, it may be a little more for adults and a little less for children. But that basic principle that he enunciated through the primary campaign is certainly one that he'll stand by."—*McGovern aide Frank Mankiewicz, "Thirty Minutes With....", June 29, 1972*

(Note: In 1948, McGovern did in fact "run away from his party" to support Independent Party candidate Henry Wallace, against Democrat nominee Harry S Truman.

Abortion

"Abortion is a private matter which should be decided by a pregnant woman and her own doctor."—*Time magazine, June 26, 1972*

"There has to be some regulation and that I would leave to the state. I'm not advocating abortion on demand."—*Christian Science Monitor, July 17, 1972*

South Carolina Challenge

"...full and unequivocal support for the challenge."—*Newsweek, July 24, 1972*

"...that that [South Carolina challenge] was not a risk worth taking."—*"A Conversation with the McGoverns," PBS-TV, July 26, 1972*

Warfare

"I propose that every man, woman and child receive from the federal government an annual payment...At the present time a payment of almost \$1,000 per person would be required."—*"McGovern's Tax Program," Congressional Record, Jan. 19, 1972*

Quote on Meat Prices in Greiner article
V. Food Price Solution
worth going

6 Boston Phidy
Phidy
Phidy

3

V. Newsweek

(continued on next page)

GREAT DEBATE

(continued from previous page)

The \$1,000 per person figure is only "one suggestion and it may have been a mistake."—*New York Times interview, June 7, 1972.*

"And I think we did make a mistake in trying to present a full-blown program before we had all the facts that we needed. But nobody's getting killed by it."—*Philadelphia Inquirer interview, July 11, 1972.*

Marijuana

"That experience [prohibition], along with limitations on enforcement personnel...suggest that a more promising route might be to regulate marijuana along the same lines as alcohol."—*UPI, Feb. 16, 1971.*

"I have not in the past, nor do I now advocate the legalization of marijuana."—*Press Release, Feb. 17, 1972.*

Wage and Price Controls

"But I continue to believe that flexible economic policies, using the wide range of tools available to the federal government, coupled with allocation of resources in the budget would be a far wiser course [than wage and price controls]." —*Congressional Quarterly, April 2, 1971.*

"The wage-price freeze is about four years overdue. I am glad that the President has finally come to his senses on the need for such a step."—*Press Release, Aug. 15, 1971.*

"...we can end the wage and price controls, and I think that can be done within 90 days of the inauguration. And I'm committed to that goal."—*Speech, Labor reception, Springfield, Ill., Aug. 15, 1972.*

Corporate Taxes

"I propose that the actual corporation income tax be returned to its 1960 level (Ed. note: 52 percent) by the elimination of the special loopholes that have been opened since then."—*"McGovern's Tax Reform Program," Congressional Record, Jan. 19, 1972.*

"I have not suggested that the present corporate tax rate of 48 percent be increased to the old rate of 52 percent."—*Wall Street Journal, May 22, 1972.*

Estate Taxes

"...we must set a ceiling on the amount that might be received and then place a 100 percent tax on all gifts and inheritances above that amount even if the ceilings were set as high as \$500,000, the amount of new government revenues would be considerable."—*Jan. 13, 1972.*

"I do not suggest that ceiling be placed on inheritance at \$500,000 or any other level."—*Wall Street Journal, May 22, 1972.*

Capital Gains

"I have not suggested the elimination of capital gain limitations existing in the present code."—*Wall Street Journal, May 22, 1972.*

"We must phase out the tax preference or loophole for capital gains..."—*Speech before Security Analysts, Aug. 29, 1972.*

Senator Eagleton

"I am 1000 percent for Tom Eagleton and have no intention of dropping him from the ticket."—*New York Times, Aug. 7, 1972.*

"We have jointly agreed that the best course is for Senator Eagleton to step aside."—*UPI, July 31, 1972.*

Pierre Salinger's Visit to Paris

"Pierre Salinger had no instructions whatsoever from me. There wasn't the slightest instruction on my part to him."—*AP, Aug. 16, 1972.*

"...no truth" in the report.—*UPI, Aug. 16, 1972.*

"Mr. Salinger, at my request, met with members of the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris."—*Press release, Aug. 16, 1972.*

Speaking recently about his problem, McGovern said he thought he deserved an "A plus" in credibility. If this is true, the South Dakota Democrat must be grading on a heck of a curve.

THE CREDIBILITY GAP AND WHERE IT IS

"The upper middle class, the group running the media, educators, city planners, some students—all are basically out of touch with reality. It's a very specific illness of a very specific group, less than 10 percent of the country....The average American is extremely concerned about the future of the country. He also feels that something is going wrong, but what's going wrong is the upper middle class. The average American is asking why the Harvard graduate wants to burn down the school. Why doesn't anybody understand that being against busing does not mean being against Negroes? Why don't newspapers and television and the movies reflect the world as it is? Americans are bothered by a credibility gap. Not the gap between the hippies and the President, not the gap between Spiro Agnew and the press, but between the average American and the prestige newspapers and the documentary on television. That's where the credibility gap is."—*Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute, in an interview in the Washington Star-News.*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, NIXON CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN MEET IN WASHINGTON FOR JOINT CAMPAIGN BRIEFINGS



RNC MEMBERS and Nixon State Chairmen listen to Administration briefings.

In an impressive display of unanimity and cooperation as they move into the 1972 election campaign, members of the Republican National Committee and the Nixon Campaign Chairmen met in Washington last week for joint briefings by Administration officials and campaign leadership. The day long briefings were capped by a White House reception, hosted by President and Mrs. Nixon.

Armstrong, Evans Open Sessions

RNC Chairman Bob Dole, and Co-Chairmen Anne Armstrong and Tom Evans opened the sessions and addressed the group. Evans also served as the moderator throughout the day.

Approximately 140 attended the sessions to hear John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs; Major General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and Harry S. Dent, Special Counsel to the President.

Praise for "Target '72"

In the afternoon session, a complete outline of campaign plans and strategy was discussed with Clark MacGregor, Campaign Director, and Fred Malek and Jeb Magruder, Deputy Directors of the Committee to Re-elect the President.

High praise and major emphasis was placed on the "Target '72/60 Days to Victory" program of voter identification, registration and turn out, and the way in which the Party leaders and the Nixon campaign chairmen are working together to insure successful accomplishment of these objectives.

HUMPHREY TO HIT TRAIL FOR McGOVERN, MAN HE SAID WOULD CUT DEFENSE MUSCLE, THROW PEOPLE OUT OF WORK, MAKE WELFARE A MESS AND WHO IS WRONG ON ISRAEL

According to his office, Sen. Hubert Humphrey will soon be hitting the campaign trail in California for George McGovern. The last time Humphrey was in California talking about the Democrat Presidential nominee was during the primary and he had some thought-provoking things to say. Some are reprinted below.

While in California this time on behalf of McGovern, Humphrey owes it to the voters in that state and the voters in the country to explain to them why they should vote for McGovern, a man whom Humphrey has said would: cut the muscle out of our defense budget, make America a second class power, throw people out of work, make the welfare problem "a horrible mess" and "unbelievable burden on the taxpayer," and who is "wrong" on Israel.

Humphrey on McGovern

Defense

"If the McGovern defense budget became the budget for the Department of Defense, idle factories, increasing unemployment, dying communities, continual recession and thwarted opportunities would abound."—*Anaheim, Calif. Town Hall Meeting, May 25, 1972.*

"George McGovern would cut the muscle from our security. America will become a second class power, without a job, you will become a second class citizen."—*Burlingame, Calif., campaign press release, June 2, 1972.*

"Sen. McGovern's proposals are unrelated to the realities of Soviet power, intentions and capabilities. As such, they are dangerous to the best interests of our national security."—*Anaheim, Calif., Town Hall Meeting, May 25, 1972.*

"Senator McGovern's unwillingness to state precisely what areas or who would be affected is certainly good politics, but given the actual facts of his proposals, it is inevitable that some of California's 75 military bases will be the targets of his meat ax cuts."—*Santa Barbara Channel City Club, Calif., May 31, 1972.*

Jobs

"Senator McGovern is telling California working families that he is their friend. But you and I know what a real friend is. I say that he is a false friend of millions of working families in this state."—*Burlingame, Calif., campaign press release, June 2, 1972.*

"A real friend of California working families would not have a record with votes against unemployment

(continued on next page)

HUMPHREY TO HIT TRAIL

(continued from previous page)

compensation, votes against civil rights, votes against organized labor and votes against tax reform. That's part of Sen. McGovern's record that he's not telling the people of this state. No real friend of working families would propose programs which threaten their jobs and put people out of work. Yet that's what Sen. McGovern's meat ax defense cuts would accomplish."—*Burlingame, Calif., campaign press release, June 2, 1972.*

"Sen. McGovern has proposed a defense cutback program which threatens the economic health and the jobs of people who live and work in the San Diego area. Sen. McGovern proposes halting all further building of naval surface ships. What will this do to the shipyard here in San Diego? How many thousands of people will be tossed out of work?"—*San Diego, Calif., June 5, 1972.*

"It's Lockheed's Tri-Star they're building, and here in Southern California that means 15,000 jobs and feeding 20,000 wives and children. I cast the deciding vote to create those jobs. Sen. McGovern voted no. I voted yes."—*Baltimore Sun, May 30, 1972.*

"Sen. McGovern has been busy with his own conversion plan. He fails to understand the problems of conversion. His plan is not technically or financially sound, and that's why it has been held in subcommittee since 1963. Sen. McGovern's plan provides no real hope for the aerospace or defense worker."—*Los Angeles, campaign press release, June 2, 1972.*

Taxes

"On taxation, he's contradictory and inconsistent, he's wrong."—*"Face the Nation," May 28, 1972.*

Welfare

"There is a bill that the Senator [McGovern] introduced...It's S. 2372. Now...you talk about a welfare mess, that's not a welfare mess—that's a compounded mess. [McGovern's \$72 billion welfare proposal] He [McGovern] doesn't even know what the price tag to his bill is."—*"Face the Nation," May 28, 1972.*

"When it comes to certain other aspects, such as in welfare legislation he calls a horrible mess, let me say that a \$72 billion welfare proposal that Sen. McGovern makes today is not only a horrible mess, it would be an unbelievable burden upon the taxpayer."—*"Face the Nation," May 28, 1972.*

Israel

"Sen. McGovern is wrong on Israel. Sen. McGovern has been wrong on labor law, and on the three great issues here in California, on his massive, unrealistic, and I think rather outsized welfare program, he's wrong."—*"Face the Nation," May 28, 1972.*

\$2.5 MILLION LAW SUIT FILED AGAINST LARRY O'BRIEN FOR ABUSE OF FEDERAL COURT PROCESS

A \$2.5 million law suit for malicious abuse of Federal court process has been filed against Lawrence O'Brien by the Committee for the Re-election of the President and its Finance Committee.

In announcing the action, Clark MacGregor, the Re-election Committee's Campaign Director, stated: "O'Brien and his associates have taken willful advantage of the honorable procedures of the United States Court that are intended for the protection of individual rights and perverted them into an instrument for creating political headlines.

Abused Subpoena Powers

"They have abused the subpoena powers of the Court to parade innocent witnesses before the public in a concerted effort to create an appearance of guilt by association.

"If their tactics are allowed to continue, they will succeed in turning McGovernism into a synonym for McCarthyism."

The complaint referred to an earlier suit filed by O'Brien and a subsequent attempt to amend it, and charged that its purpose was unlawful and political in nature.

O'Brien is also accused of using the Court as a forum in which to publicize accusations against innocent persons which would be libelous if published elsewhere.

Improper Inquisition

Additionally, O'Brien was charged with using his civil action to improperly conduct a private inquisition while a grand jury investigation is in progress.

Francis L. Dale, the Committee's Chairman and Maurice H. Stans, Chairman of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, ask in the civil complaint for \$2,000,000 in punitive damages and \$500,000 in compensatory damages.

Mr. MacGregor announced last week that the civil action would be taken. It was filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

SHRIVER AND KENNEDY WEALTH

"Sirs: I wonder how Sargent Shriver will explain to his in-laws what George McGovern says about nobody having the right to live on vast inherited wealth."—*Frank C. Worbs, Jr., Vanport, Pa., letter-to-the-editor, Life magazine.*

LATEST COMMUNIST PROPOSAL PUTS MCGOVERN TO THE LEFT OF THE VIET CONG

A quick check of recent news stories shows that George McGovern is now promising the Communists in Vietnam more than even the Communists are asking for. In other words, on the issue of Vietnam, the Democrat Presidential nominee is now to the left of the Viet Cong.

In an article in the *New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1972, reporter James Naughton wrote: McGovern indicated that "a Communist-dominated coalition" would take "control of South Vietnam if Mr. McGovern is elected President of the United States on November 7." McGovern was quoted as saying:

"I would expect General Thieu and his cohorts to leave very quickly....My guess is that they would leave if I won the election and that there would be an exodus of the top generals and political figures out of the country and that emerging behind that would be [a] coalition group that would be willing to deal with Hanoi."

The *Times* further reported that: "Mr. McGovern theorized that the Communist-based coalition 'might be willing to settle for a temporary leader.'"

On September 11, 1972 the Viet Cong issued a statement saying that it is "prepared to accept a provisional government of national concord that shall be dominated by neither side."

Thus the Viet Cong is now saying that the Communists need not cominate a coalition government while George McGovern is saying that he would expect a Communist-dominated coalition government.

Truth is stranger than fiction, but it is the truth nonetheless: George McGovern is further to the left than the Viet Cong.

INCONSISTENCY NO. X

"Sen. McGovern in June assured Negro congressmen that as president he would appoint minority group members to federal judgeships and other government posts 'in reasonable proportion' to their representation in the population.

"Sen. McGovern in August, writing to the chairman of the American Jewish Committee, said: 'I share the concerns you have expressed and reject the quota system as detrimental to American society.'

"It appears that the senator is 1,000 percent for or against quotas."—*Editorial in the Omaha World-Herald.*

POLITICAL POTPOURRI

Sargent Shriver says he has yet to see the U.S. male or female "who prefers to beg rather than work." Is this Sarge's subtle way of telling us that George McGovern has changed positions on yet another issue and now believes working is better than bombing to get our POW's back?

McGovern Media Campaign Bypasses People

Back at the beginning of this year while campaigning in the Florida primary, George McGovern blasted Mayor John Lindsay for running a slick TV campaign and "substituting media for issues..." Now, McGovern is doing what he criticized Lindsay for. The *N.Y. Times'* R.W. Apple says the McGovern campaign while supposedly populist and reformist has recently seen little of "the people" and has had very little to say about reform or other major issues. "Instead, the McGovern campaign has turned into an airborne media device," says Apple, "with the schedule dictated by his advisers determination to put him on local news shows in at least three cities a day..." The *Philadelphia Inquirer's* Robert Boyd notes one "goofy" McGovern visual: The candidate solemnly examining a sack of potatoes at a free food center in Seattle while a press aide shrieked at the TV crews: "You're missing the potatoes. You're missing the potatoes."

Harriman Aide Criticizes Shriver

Speaking of the Shriver allegation, Chester Cooper writes in the *Christian Science Monitor*: "It is an ill omen of the tone and level of the forthcoming great debate that the Democratic vice presidential candidate should kick off his campaign by accusing the Nixon administration of having "blown" the chance for a negotiated settlement of Vietnam in the early months of 1969." Cooper says that if, as Shriver has said, the thinning out of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam in '69 did represent a signal from N. Vietnam that it was ready to negotiate seriously, "then the possibility for a peace settlement first appeared not in early 1969 during the Nixon Administration, but in the summer of 1968 during President Johnson's tenure..." Cooper was principal policy adviser to Averell Harriman, when Harriman was top U.S. peace negotiator in Paris.

Mrs. McGovern's Wardrobe

While the McGovern campaign is reportedly hard up for funds, the cash shortage does not seem to have effected the buying habits of the Prairie Populist's wife. *Women's Wear Daily* reports that Mrs. McG recently visited Adolfo at Saks Fifth Avenue in N.Y. where she ordered "five numbers—all for the campaign." Adolfo's outfits range in price from \$260 to \$1,000 per suit.

The Press: Arguing for a "redefinition of news" and additional time to present the redefined news, Byron Shafer and Richard Larson write in the *Columbia Journalism Review*: "If TV news is a major force in unraveling the American social fabric, and if it has a heavy effect on the way we (fail to?) adjust to this new journalism, it is also an influential teacher when it comes to the type of political decisions that could meet the problem. What it teaches is not the "old politics" of hard work and compromise, but the "new politics" of theatricality. The key characteristic of the world presented through TV is that life is apocalyptic. The news can deliver only the major events of the day—the outstanding deviations from civil norms."...**All the News That Fits:** 14 inch UPI story detailing RNC Chairman Dole's seven charges of "serious violations" of Federal law by the McGovern campaign organization, played on page 38 of the *N.Y. Times* under Alan Truscott's column on bridge.

Public Backs President on Vietnam

Pollwatch: By an overwhelming majority, the American public backs President Nixon on the Vietnam war, the issue which George McGovern originally based his entire campaign on. According to the Lou Harris Survey, by 55 to 32 percent a majority of likely voters support the continued heavy bombing on North Vietnam. By 62 to 22 percent the mining of North Vietnamese harbors is also backed by U.S. public opinion. By 74 to 11 percent, a lopsided majority support President Nixon's contention that "it is important that South Vietnam not fall into control of the Communists." By 49 to 20 percent, a plurality of the voters do not agree with the charge by the Democrat VP candidate, Sargent Shriver, that the Nixon Administration "blew" a real chance for peace in 1969.

Iowa Rep. William J. Scherle reports in his newsletter to his constituents that only two people are listed as contributors to the Farmers-for-McGovern Committee: One is a Connecticut industrialist, and the other is *Playboy* publisher Hugh Hefner. "Maybe Hefner thinks he's a farmer because he cultivates Bunnies," says Scherle.

SPEAKING:

Today—Counsellor **Finch**, Decatur, Ill. Rotary Club, Comm. Dir. **Klein**, Hasting School of Law, San Francisco; Tues.—Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, Amer. Soc. for Indus. Security, NY; Comm. Sec. **Peterson**, Pittsburgh Economic Club; CEA Chmn. **Stein**, IBM Conf., Wash., D.C.; Vice President **Agnew**, Internat'l City Management, Minneapolis; RNC Chmn. **Dole**, GOP fund-raiser, Richmond; OMB Dir. **Weinberger**, Internat'l City Management; HUD Sec. **Romney**, GOP fund-raiser, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Wed.—**VP Agnew**, Jt. Service Club lunch, St. Louis, Mo. & GOP dinner, Columbus, Ohio; Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Ind. Farm Rally, Indianapolis; Lab. Sec. **Hodgson**, Steelworkers Conv., Wash., D.C.; Thurs.—**Hodgson**, Nat'l Retail Merchants, Wash., D.C.; **Butz**, Nat'l Conf. on Ag. Exports & State FHA, Chicago; **Dole**, N.C. GOP, Raleigh; **Finch**, DAR, Los Angeles; **VP Agnew**, GOP Rally, Chattanooga & Downtown rally, Nashville; Fri.—**Butz**, FS Service mtg & Exec. Club, Chicago; **Finch**, GOP fund-raiser, Calif.; **Peterson**, Nat'l Export Expansion Council, Wash., D.C.; **Stein**, World Affairs Council, Los Angeles; Sat.—**Finch**, GOP dinner, Marina Del Rey & GOP Women's club, Huntington Beach, Calif.; **Butz**, Indust. Council for Economic Education, Lafayette, Ind.; **VP Agnew**, GOP fund-raiser & Nat'l Assn. of Furniture Manufacturers, Louisville, Ky.; **Volpe**, Italian-American Bus. & Pro. Assn., Chicago.

Where is Jean Westwood?

Monday. SEPT. 18, 1972

republican national committee

Senator **Bob Dole**—Chairman

310 First Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003

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NEWSPAPER

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- Det. News - st wide poll?
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CUC

- Help McG - get him votes in Boston

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On such date he me:

- ⑧ - For 14 yrs ^{sen} McG has opposed aid to ^{by public} ~~aid~~ ^{aid}
- and ^{can you really trust} the man? ask him.
- local committee
- ~~To be~~

Mass Poll - CUC - 15 pt lead

- ⑨ "as for the change in sex roles, I'm not particularly concerned about it." Playboy, (date) Aug, 1971

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Ed Nixon Letter
for Senator Tower

Senator Tower's office (Brad O'Leary) called Tom Evans to obtain approval for a 500,000 fundraising letter over Ed Nixon's signature to Texans on behalf of Senator Tower. Evans balked, citing the rule that the First Family does not send fund-raising letters. O'Leary said that during the Texas trip, Ron Ziegler said that this type of mass mailing, rather than a personal letter was alright.

You indicated on the last Political Matters memorandum that you wanted to see Ed Nixon's endorsements and fundraising events. Chapin will handle Ed Nixon's scheduling as another member of the First Family.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Ed Nixon not send a fundraising letter in Texas.

_____ AGREE _____ DISAGREE
_____ COMMENT

On a related Texas/Tower matter, Clark MacGregor today approved the attached memorandum suggesting the President send a letter to all Texas voters who favor the President but are undecided about Tower. You may want to review this in the Political Meeting in Ehrlichman's office.

GS:car

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

116
4-11-72

MEMORANDUM

RECOMMENDED TO BE AN

ADVISED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON October 18, 1972

E.O. 12812, Section 102

By Emp use DATE, Date 1-14-90

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MORGAN
SUBJECT: Senator Tower's Mail to Undecided Voters

Senator Tower's people want to send the official letter from President Nixon to all voters in Texas who are identified as for the President and undecided toward Senator Tower, or for the President and for Barefoot Saunders (Senator's opponent).

This voter identification is in process in the top 27 counties. Their timing for undecided letters is not the first week in October, as previously indicated weekly, as the canvass forms are processed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you give Senator Tower's people a letter on the undecided voter mailing signed by President Nixon.

Approve X Disapprove _____

*can see
Hawener
9/28*

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter attached (A)

Approve X Disapprove _____

*slight
change*

OR

That you request a new letter to be approved by the President.

Approve X Disapprove _____

Attachment:

TAB A

September 18, 1972/SUGGESTED LETTER
FROM SENATOR TOWER'S STAFF

Dear :

Our nation needs responsible leadership in the U. S. Senate to meet the problems and challenges that confront us.

I've known John Tower for a long time, and I have always considered him to be an articulate, effective spokesman for Texas. He has proven himself to be one of the Senate's leading authorities on economic policy and national defense.

I commend Senator Tower to you as a man in whom I have the utmost confidence. I hope that you will ~~support his~~ re-election on November 7.

*give serious consideration to his
bid for*

Sincerely,

Richard M. Nixon

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

National Telephone Survey

ORC submitted the questionnaire and comments for the first private nationwide telephone survey this weekend (attached at Tab A). The Teeter-directed ORC survey of key states is using the questionnaire attached at Tab B. Teeter's argument for putting issue and rating questions first is that the interview simulates the actual campaign and thereby gives a more accurate trial heat reading. Teeter cites extensive research in 1960 and 1964 to support this thesis. O'Neill at ORC argues that the "most important question" is a good opening for the interview. O'Neill doubts any new information will be developed. It is merely a throw away opening question.

Concerning the registration information, Teeter opens the interview with the registration question to obtain results from only registered voters. Gallup is now reporting the results based on registered voters only. Harris is also expected to change after registration stops on October 7-10. ORC recommends asking the registration question at the end because the results can be given both for registered voters and the total population. By having total population figures, the last two years of ORC surveys remain comparable.

A questionnaire incorporating my recommendations is attached at Tab C. A total of 20 questions are offered. Questions 1-11 would always be asked for trend. Nine "optional" questions could be asked each week. To conduct the poll on September 29-October 1 with results Monday, October 2, final approval for the questionnaire is needed September 29 at 4 p.m.

T A B A

COMMENTS FROM HARRY O'NEILL

The questionnaire's basic thrust is to get a reading on people's awareness of and reaction to campaign activities and to some of the charges that the McGovern campaign has been making.

In terms of the trial heat question - question 4 - you will note that it has been somewhat re-worded because I think we're getting close enough to the election now that we need to include in the question the party identification of both candidates in order to pick up those people who vote a party line rather than a candidate and may not necessarily associate the candidate with a party without being told.

Note question 8. This is a Congressional trial heat question which we have asked in past elections and it helps to give some idea of what difference exists between the President's vote and the Congressional vote.

Question 22 is a new question for analytical purposes in which we will be able to look at the results in terms of the probability or likelihood that people will vote.

The usual background question that we ask regarding registration is a two-part question. We ask somebody who says they're not registered if they intend to register. I think now either registrations are finished or almost finished and the question we ask should now just be "Are you or are you not registered?", and not ask the follow-up question about intention to register.

As far as trend for subsequent surveys is concerned, I would suggest that questions 1 through 8 always be trended. Questions 9 through 14, which deal with the campaign, might be useful questions to trend from survey to survey although some or all of them might be dropped in any given survey if more room on the questionnaire were needed for important issues of the moment.

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?
3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
4. If the 1972 Presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Richard Nixon the Republican candidate or George McGovern the Democratic candidate?

If neither or undecided on question 4, ask question 5 -

5. Would you say that you lean more toward Richard Nixon or more toward George McGovern?
6. Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President, or is there a possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?
7. If you had to make a guess, who do you think will win the Presidential election - Nixon or McGovern?
8. If the election for U.S. Congressman from your District were being held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?
9. Overall, what is your reaction to George McGovern's Presidential campaign so far - very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?
10. What if anything stands out in your mind about George McGovern's Presidential campaign?
11. Overall, what is your reaction to Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign so far - very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?
12. What if anything stands out in your mind about Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign?
13. Have you seen or heard any commercials on television in behalf of George McGovern?

If yes on question 13, ask 13a -

- 13a. Was your overall impression of these commercials very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?
14. Have you seen or heard any commercials on television in behalf of Richard Nixon?

If yes to question 14, ask 14a -

14a. Was your overall impression of these commercials very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Senator McGovern has made a number of charges against President Nixon and his Administration. I would like to read some of these to you and, for each one, ask whether you agree with the charge, disagree with the charge, or haven't heard anything about the charge.

15. Senator McGovern has charged that, under President Nixon, Southeast Asia has become a major source of heroin supply because the Administration will not crack down on the narcotics trade in Laos Thailand and South Vietnam. Do you agree, disagree or haven't heard about this charge?

16. Senator McGovern has charged that inside information from the Nixon Administration allowed large company grain traders to make excess profit from the sale of wheat to Russia at the expense of the farmers. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

17. Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon ordered a whitewash in the investigation of the Watergate bugging case by the Department of Justice. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

18. Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon's wage/price controls have had the overall effect of hurting the average worker and benefitting the profits of big business. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

19. Senator McGovern has charged that the return to this country of the three recently released prisoners of war has been delayed because the President is afraid they will publicly disagree with his policies in Vietnam. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

20. Senator McGovern has charged that our prisoners of war will not be released until the U.S. stops the bombing of North Vietnam. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

21. Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon and his Administration are mainly interested in big business and upper income people, and that they don't understand or care about the average American working person. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

22. In the Presidential election this November will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?

T A B B

c. Is there anything that you can think of that might cause you to change your mind?

IF "UNDECIDED" IN QUESTION 6, ASK: (INSERT STATE RACES WHERE APPROPRIATE)

- d. As of today, do you lean towards McGovern or Nixon?
- 1 MC GOVERN
 - 2 NIXON
 - 3 UNDECIDED
7. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?
- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE
 - 2 PROBABLY VOTE
 - 3 MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE
 - 4 PROBABLY NOT VOTE
 - 5 DEFINITELY NOT VOTE
 - 6 DON'T KNOW
8. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?
- 1 STRAIGHT DEMOCRAT
 - 2 MOSTLY DEMOCRAT
 - 3 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS
 - 4 ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES
 - 5 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS
 - 6 MOSTLY REPUBLICAN
 - 7 STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN
 - 8 NEVER VOTED
 - 9 DON'T KNOW
9. What is your age?
- 01 17-20 YEARS
 - 02 21-24 YEARS
 - 03 25-29 YEARS
 - 04 30-34 YEARS
 - 05 35-39 YEARS
 - 06 40-44 YEARS
 - 07 45-49 YEARS
 - 08 50-54 YEARS
 - 09 55-59 YEARS
 - 10 60-64 YEARS
 - 11 65 AND OVER
 - 12 REFUSED
10. What is the last grade of school you completed?
- 1 GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (GRADES 1-8)
 - 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
 - 3 GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12)
 - 4 VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL
 - 5 SOME COLLEGE
 - 6 GRADUATED COLLEGE
 - 7 POST GRADUATE WORK
 - 8 REFUSED

11. What is your religion?

- 1 ROMAN CATHOLIC
- 2 PROTESTANT
- 3 JEWISH
- 4 OTHER(SPECIFY) _____

12. Are you a labor union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

IF "NO", ASK:

a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

13. Which classification included your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 AND OVER
- 9 REFUSED

T A B C

1. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
3. If the election for President were held today, would you be voting for Richard Nixon the Republican or George McGovern the Democrat?
4. Why would you be voting for him?
5. Is there anything that you can think of that might cause you to change your mind?
6. As of today, do you lean towards McGovern or Nixon?
7. Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President, or is there a possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?
8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?
9. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
10. If the election for U.S. Congressman from your District were being held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?
11. Overall, what is your reaction to George McGovern's Presidential campaign so far - very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?
12. What, if anything, stands out in your mind about George McGovern's Presidential campaign?

13. Overall, what is your reaction to Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign so far - very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

14. What, if anything, stands out in your mind about Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign?

Senator McGovern has made a number of charges against President Nixon and his Administration. I would like to read some of these to you and, for each one, ask whether you agree with the charge, disagree with the charge, or haven't heard anything about the charge.

15. Senator McGovern has charged that inside information from the Nixon Administration allowed large company grain traders to make excess profit from the sale of wheat to Russia at the expense of the farmer. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

16. Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon ordered a whitewash in the investigation of the Watergate bugging case by the Department of Justice. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

17. Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon's wage/price controls have had the overall effect of hurting the average worker and benefitting the profits of big business. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

18. Senator McGovern has charged that the return to this country of the three recently released prisoners of war has been delayed because the President is afraid they will publicly disagree with his policies in Vietnam. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

19. Senator McGovern has charged that our prisoners of war will not be released until the U.S. stops the bombing of North Vietnam. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

20. Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon and his Administration are mainly interested in big business and upper income people, and that they don't understand or care about the average American working person. Do you agree, disagree or haven't you heard about this charge?

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

ORC Weekly National Survey

Tom Benham can conduct six weekly nationwide 1,000 interview telephone surveys. Benham recommends conducting the surveys Friday, evening, Saturday, and Sunday because these are the most efficient days due to the approximately equal percentage of men and women home on weekends. Also, Gallup usually field interviews on weekends so comparability would be increased. The questionnaire, including standard trend questions such as approval, Vietnam, the economy, trial heats, and voter commitment, would have 10 open questions to probe particular issues. Final approval of the questionnaire would have to be given each Friday by 4 p.m. to assure 1,000 interviews and delivery of results by the following Monday at 12 noon.

The ORC nationwide surveys would be in addition to the Bob Teeter-conducted key states surveys, which began in New York yesterday at the rate of 300 interviews per day. In light of these key state surveys, Benham recommends using an exact nationwide sample instead of a 10 key state sample. The exact nationwide sample will also be more comparable with Gallup and Harris though not Yankelevich.

Benham has suggested a \$8,700 per survey cost but would charge less if the ORC costs were lower. The recent ORC telephone surveys have been running at about \$8,500-10,000 due to delays in approval and question changes. Recent bills in the approximate amount of 50,000 have not been paid to ORC to defer these private polling costs until after November 7. The polling budget at 1701 has a surplus of 45-50,000 which could be used to cover already incurred expenses. The additional 50-55,000 cost of the six weekly national surveys would have to be paid from other campaign funds. Stans may balk, but will probably acquiesce after tonight's fundraising dinners.

Recommendation

That ORC establish the capability to conduct 6 nationwide surveys for the approximate cost of 50-55,000.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

X We need to have this in today -- even if it means you calling Benham in Los Angeles. We should put together a plan that shows how we would take a national poll by telephone once a week as our own check against all the other polls that will be released. Bob thinks this is basically a good idea as does the President, but wants to see the plan before making a final decision. Please have this in today.

- 1) Pays -
- 2) G's * *X* *Orals*
definitely
- 3) cost
- 4) Confidentiality
- 5) Times -

PLAN FOR A WEEKLY NATIONAL TELEPHONE SURVEY

Barclay approved

*75
Send my notes*

Objective: A regularly scheduled weekly national telephone survey is to be conducted, using a questionnaire comprised in part of basic trend questions and in part of questions that will change from week to week depending on campaign activities and other important events.

*call me, then
cut out the
B.S. & go
in to find form
report for H*

*will
later*

Sample: For each weekly survey 1,000 interviews will be completed among a nationwide probability sample.

compute?

What about Key Staff

*could
do some
key staff
sample
10/8/53*

Schedule: Interviewing will be conducted Friday p.m., Saturday and Sunday - every weekend from now until Election Day.

Why those days.

*not efficient can work all days
get men
at home
tables*

each survey will be delivered as close to 12 noon as possible the following Monday.

Following is the schedule of interviewing and delivery of results:

Interviewing

Delivery of Results

9/29 - 10/1

10/2

10/6 - 10/8

10/9

10/13 - 10/15

10/16

10/20 - 10/22

10/23

10/27 - 10/29

10/30

11/3 - 11/5

11/6

Data Processing and Analysis of Results: The results of each survey will be shown as in previous national surveys - i.e. total respondents and the same demographic sub-group analysis. In addition, the data will be analyzed by strength of voter commitment (based

on the question as to whether the respondent has definitely made up his mind with respect to Presidential choice or might change his mind).

We will prepare, as in the past, an interpretative memorandum on each survey. We will deliver to you complete computer output and a table of reliability. These will be delivered to you by messenger Monday afternoon, as soon as the computer processing is completed.

Questionnaire Approval: The questionnaire should be approved in final form by noon on Friday, so that interviewing can begin no later than 5 p.m. on Friday. If changes are made after this time, the changes cannot be included on all 1,000 interviews. For example, a change made Saturday morning could be included in no more than 700 interviews in all likelihood.

Questionnaire Length: The length of the questionnaire should be such that the interview takes no more than 10 minutes to complete. (This is about the average length of your previous surveys.) This length questionnaire allows you to ask about 20 questions (depending, of course, on their complexity) plus the usual background questions.

Questionnaire Content: The mix of standard questions for trend purposes and questions on issues of the moment is obviously your decision. However, we recommend the following basic questions to be trended from survey to survey:

- 1) Overall approval of the way President Nixon is handling his job.
- 2) Overall approval of the way President Nixon is handling Vietnam.
- 3) Overall approval of the way President Nixon is dealing with economic conditions.
- 4) Trial heat question including a leaner question.
- 5) A question on voter commitment - has the respondent definitely made up his mind as to Presidential choice or might he change his mind during the campaign?
- 6) Who the respondent thinks will win the election regardless of his personal choice.
- 7) Overall reaction to the Nixon campaign.
- 8) Overall reaction to the McGovern campaign.
- 9) An open question asking for the respondents' testimony as to outstanding Presidential activities (on both sides).

Cost: The total cost for each weekly survey will be ~~10,000~~ \$9,700.

Confidentiality: The fact that these weekly national surveys are being conducted and the survey results will be held in strict confidence, results will be reported and delivered to only those persons authorized by you.

*-10-11000
10000
10000*

*1000 from
multi when
cost
why
2000
higher?*

PLAN FOR A WEEKLY NATIONAL TELEPHONE SURVEY

Objective: A regularly scheduled weekly national telephone survey is to be conducted, using a questionnaire comprised in part of basic trend questions and in part of questions that will change from week to week depending on campaign activities and other important events.

Sample: For each weekly survey 1,000 interviews will be completed among a nationwide probability sample.

Schedule: Interviewing will be conducted Friday p.m., Saturday and Sunday - every weekend from now until Election Day. The results of each survey will be delivered as close to 12 noon as possible the following Monday.

Following is the schedule of interviewing and delivery of results:

<u>Interviewing</u>	<u>Delivery of Results</u>
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10/6 - 10/8	10/9
10/13 - 10/15	10/16
10/20 - 10/22	10/23
10/27 - 10/29	10/30
11/3 - 11/5	11/6

Data Processing and Analysis of Results: The results of each survey will be shown as in previous national surveys - i.e. total respondents and the same demographic sub-group analysis. In addition, the data will be analyzed by strength of voter commitment (based

on the question as to whether the respondent has definitely made up his mind with respect to Presidential choice or might change his mind).

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- 3) Overall approval of the way President Nixon is dealing with economic conditions.
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- 5) A question on voter commitment - has the respondent definitely made up his mind as to Presidential choice or might he change his mind during the campaign?
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- 7) Overall reaction to the Nixon campaign.
- 8) Overall reaction to the McGovern campaign.
- 9) An open question asking for the respondents' testimony as to outstanding Presidential activities (on both sides).

Cost: The total cost for each weekly survey will be \$9,700.

Confidentiality: The fact that these weekly national surveys are being conducted and the survey results will be held in strict confidence, results will be reported and delivered to only those persons authorized by you.

September 26, 1972

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

MacGregor and Malek met September 22 to review the current campaign materials situation. Lewis Dale, who has been assigned as the man responsible for campaign materials, received specific instructions. The first being a weekly report of the status of materials distributed.

Malek attributes the materials problems to three factors. First, there is 2 to 3 times the demand for materials in 1972 than there was in 1968. Both the increased support for the President and the quality of the materials is cited. Second, the amount allocated in the national budget for materials is \$2,200 (1968 - \$2,000). The 1972 budget has been increased to \$2,400. Unlike 1968, the states have not had the freedom in allocating their budgets to materials. More is being spent on field organization. However, Malek has now directed certain states (Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana) to relocate some of their budgets to materials.

The third reason for the materials problem ~~for~~ the most serious. Over 80% of the scheduled materials have been shipped to various requested headquarters within the states. However, the State Chairmen, and other top officials, do not realize they have arrived and do not push for the distribution. In New York, for example, the State CRP and GOP leadership claimed they had not received materials. Lewis Dale and Peter Dailey reviewed the shipping orders and receipts signed by New York CRP officials. The result was that 80%

of all materials were in the state in the hands of local CRP officials but the top officials did not know this.

The solution will be that MacGregor will contact each state chairman indicating the percentage of materials in the state and that it is their immediate responsibility to distribute them.

Last night Ed Cox stopped in my office to review the Virginia Senate race. He asked me about the campaign materials situation because he had been receiving complaints. He asked for any description of the situation that I had. I gave him a copy of the Dale memorandum and an oral description of the MacGregor-~~Malek~~ actions.

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: 1972 Congressional Seats

Clark MacGregor chaired a meeting on September 22 of Bill Timmons, Stan Anderson, and Harry Flemming to review the target list of Congressional seats. Harry Dent was out of town. I sat in on the meeting.

Harry Flemming had completed a field survey. His impressions with sharp questioning by MacGregor and Timmons were included in the attached memorandum, which was drafted by Stan Anderson.

The memorandum recommends three levels of support for 84 candidates. The main unresolved question is finances. Stans is balking at using Presidential campaign funds and yet there does not seem to be a program to channel available money to either these House races or key Senate races. You may want to discuss this in the next 10 a.m. Political Meeting. MacGregor and Timmons believe that the sooner money is sent to key races the more efficiently it is spent.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SENSITIVE - EYES ONLY

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: Target Congressional Candidates

As you requested, this memorandum sets forth three categories for 84 Congressional races which deserve special attention and discusses the various types of support which may be undertaken for each group. Stan Anderson and Harry Flemming agree in these recommendations.

We have rated the target districts in three categories:

Category A - Maximum Support (30)

Category B - Moderate Support (15)

Category C - Little Support (39)

We also created three Divisions within each category:

Division I - Incumbent Republican (22)

Division II - Open Republicans* (21)

Division III - Net gain opportunity (41)

It was our feeling that incumbent Republicans facing stiff reelection challenges should receive maximum support if it appears they have any opportunity to win. We also feel that priority consideration should be given to Republican challengers in districts where the Republican incumbent is not seeking reelection.

Tab A contains our recommendations for Category A - Maximum Support - races.
Tab B contains our recommendations for Category B - Moderate Support - races.
Tab C contains our recommendations for Category C - Little Support - races.

* The Republican incumbent is not seeking reelection.

→bcc: Gordon Strachen

We also recommend specific types of support for each Category:

Category A (7 incumbents, 6 Republicans open, 17 net gain opportunities)
This group represents the tightest House races where maximum effort should be most helpful.

Finance - We recommend \$5,000 for each candidate.
This would total \$150,000.

Speakers - We recommend that a member of the First Family or the Vice President visit each district.

Endorsements - We recommend an endorsement letter from the President and a still photo of each candidate with the President.

Organization - We recommend a joint canvassing effort with the Nixon organization for each candidate. We also recommend joint telephone canvassing in those areas where telephone banks are located and a combined ballot security operation with the Nixon organization in each district. We also recommend that we make available lists of Republicans (where party registration is known) and identified Nixon supporters (at no cost) taken from our computer mailing tapes (in key states) and make available the list of contributors in each target district derived from our finance mailings. Campaign literature of each target candidate should also be allowed in each Nixon storefront.

Advertising - We recommend providing each candidate with a uniform television and radio tape of the President endorsing the need for a Republican Congress. A tag line then could be added to this tape by each candidate.

Category B (3 incumbents, 1 Republican open, 11 net gain opportunities)
This group represents moderately difficult races for incumbents and GOP open seat candidates as well as challengers who are "outside chances."

Finance - We recommend \$3,000 for each candidate. This would total \$45,000.

Speakers - We recommend scheduling at least one surrogate into each district.

Endorsements - We recommend an endorsement letter from the President and a still photo of each candidate with the President.

Organization - We recommend a combined ballot security operation and that we provide computer print-outs as explained above. We also recommend that we allow campaign materiel of each target candidate to be placed in Nixon storefronts.

Advertising - We recommend providing a uniform radio tape by the President for each candidate. This tape would be general in nature and each candidate would provide his own tag line.

Category C (12 incumbents, 12 Republicans open, 13 net gain opportunities)
This group represents districts that are apparent winners or losers and extra effort will have only marginal effect on the outcome.

Finances - None

Speakers - We recommend scheduling the surrogates if they are available after meeting the requirements of Category B.

Endorsements - We recommend an endorsement letter from the President and a still photo of each candidate with the President.

Organization - We recommend a combined ballot security operation and allow the target candidates to place their campaign literature in Nixon storefronts.

Advertising - None

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend strongly that a final decision on the above recommendations be made as soon as possible. We feel that money distributed in early October can be much more efficiently spent than money distributed in late October or early November. It will also require two to three weeks to produce the TV and radio tapes described above thus making the speedy approval of these recommendations mandatory.

T
A
B
A

CATEGORY A

Maximum Support

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division I (Incumbents)

California	6th	Mailliard
Connecticut	2nd	Steele
Indiana	10th	Dennis
Iowa	1st	Schwengel
Michigan	2nd	Esch
Minnesota	6th	Zwach
Texas	13th	Price *

Division II (Republicans Open)

Georgia	5th	Cook
Illinois	21st	Madigan
Massachusetts	5th	Cronin
Massachusetts	12th	Weeks
North Carolina	9th	Martin
Oklahoma	1st	Hewgley

Division III (Net Gains)

California	38th	Snider
Colorado	4th	Johnson
Connecticut	5th	Sarasin

* EXCEPTION: Should not have Presidential Tapes and endorsements should be tailored.

CATEGORY A

Maximum Support (Continued)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATE</u>
<u>Division III (Net Gains) Continued</u>		
Indiana	11th	Hudnutt
Illinois	10th	Young
Illinois	11th	Hoellen
Kentucky	6th	Jackson
Maine	2nd	Cohen
Maryland	4th	Hold
Minnesota	7th	Haaven
Missouri	6th	Sloan
New Jersey	13th	Maraziti
New York	26th	Gilman
New York	32nd	Koldin
North Carolina	4th	Hawke
South Dakota	2nd	Abdnor
Tennessee	6th	Beard

T
A
B
B

CATEGORY B

Moderate Support .

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division I (Incumbents)

Indiana	2nd	Landgrebe
New York	23rd	Peyser
Wisconsin	3rd	Thomson

Division II (Republicans Open)

Wisconsin	8th	Froelich
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Division III (Net Gains)

Connecticut	1st	Rittenband
Mississippi	2nd	Butler
Mississippi	4th	Cochran
New Jersey	3rd	Dowd
New York	24th	Vergari
South Carolina	1st	Limehouse
South Dakota	1st	Vickerman
Texas	5th	Steelman *
Washington	4th	Bledsoe
Wisconsin	3rd	Thompson
Wyoming	AL	Kidd

* EXCEPTION: Should not have Presidential tapes and endorsements.

T
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B
C

CATEGORY C

Little Support

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division I (Incumbents)

California	2nd	Dickerson
California	43rd	Veysey
California	1st	McKevitt
California	8th	Zion
Iowa	4th	Kyl
Maryland	1st	Mills
New York	36th	Smith
Ohio	8th	Powell
Tennessee	3rd	Baker
Tennessee	8th	Kuykendall
Utah	2nd	Lloyd

Division II (Republicans Open)

California	20th	Moorhead
California	39th	Hinshaw
Idaho	1st	Symms
Michigan	18th	Huber
Missouri	7th	Taylor
New Jersey	12th	Rinaldo

CATEGORY C

Little Support (Continued)

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division II (Republicans Open) Continued

New York	31st	Mitchell
New York	33rd	Walsh
Ohio	4th	Guyer
Ohio	16th	Regula
Pennsylvania	9th	Shuster
Virginia	6th	Butler
Virginia	8th	Parris
Washington	1st	Pritchard

Division III (Net Gains)

Arizona	4th	Conlan
California	36th	Ketchum
California	42nd	Burgener
Colorado	5th	Armstrong
Florida	5th	Insco
Florida	10th	Bafalis
Illinois	3rd	Hanrahan
Illinois	17th	O'Brien

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Malek's Field
Organization Report

Clark MacGregor forwarded Fred Malek's field organization report today. Malek apologized for the two week delay. To summarize Malek's points:

- 1) All staffing and start-up problems have been resolved;
- 2) The canvass control system under Millican enables Malek to monitor the headquarters by headquarter progress of the key state canvass;
- 3) All state budgets have been set, in spite of additional requests.
- 4) A separate, detailed report on campaign materials has been submitted. The man responsible is Lewis Dale, former patronage aide to Tom Evans at the RNC;
- 5) Key states with organizational problems (Texas, California, Pennsylvania and New York) have received personal attention and where appropriate, additional men to implement the programs;
- 6) The animosity between 1701, the RNC, and the regular GOP has been ameliorated. Even the press is reporting Malek is respected by the RNC.
- 7) Malek's assessment of the current position indicates the campaign will fall

short of its goal of canvassing 75% of the priority precincts. The problem states are New York, in spite of Mitchell's assistance, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, West Virginia, Washington, and Oregon.

GS:car

**Committee
for the Re-election
of the President**

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

September 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR.
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*
SUBJECT: Progress Report on Political Division Operations

The purpose of this memorandum is to review the progress over the last six weeks in the field organization and to assess at this point how the campaign generally is shaping up and what we can expect over the next sixty days. Generally, we've taken the following actions in the six weeks since the last written report.

1. Completed our 1701 re-staffing and staff break-in efforts.
2. Ironed out state campaign start-up problems - such as state budgets, state campaign and canvass materials allocations, etc.
3. Took steps to strengthen our ties with the Party organization in each state and at the national level.
4. Begun pushing state and county organizations to prepare for an all out effort on our canvassing, registration and voter turn out, which we formally kicked off September 16.

I will review the most important activities relating to the above actions and then assess where we now stand in the campaigns in each state and what we can realistically expect in the state campaigns over the next sixty days.

1701 FIELD DIVISION RE-STAFFING

Our 1701 staff went through its shake down in the month of August. As you know, our regional directors were on board by the first of August as were the major pieces of our support staff. In a couple of cases, we have had to make some adjustments in responsibility and duties in our headquarters staff.

Rick Fore, formerly director of training, has now been given a broadened mandate and is also responsible for programmatic elements of the canvassing effort and distribution of canvassing materials to the states.

Manyon Millican now is responsible only for control and accountability of the states' canvassing activities. As you know, we have set up a Master Control Room at 1730 to keep track of canvassing results in each county in the United States. Manyon is overseeing this tracking effort.

Lewis Dale has been given two important tasks: (1) to oversee state budget allocations and police state expenditures, and (2) to see that distribution of campaign materials goes smoothly.

Our team is through the shake down period and is devoting its entire energies toward operations.

LAYING AWAY STATE CAMPAIGN START UP PROBLEMS

As you know from your trips into the field, we have had several nagging start up problems which have hindered the states' efforts to get the campaign in gear. For the most part these are now behind us:

- a. State Budgets - All states now have approved monthly cash flow budgets. The finance division is sending money according to the cash flow schedules and this system is working satisfactorily. See Tab A for our present position on state spending. Nine or ten states have come back for supplements, but to now I have held the line on additional spending.
- b. Campaign Materials - As you have observed on your trips, we have also had materials problems in many states, as was described to you this morning. However, the operating structure has now been improved, backlog has been reduced to less than 20%, and the four distribution warehouses are now filling campaign orders at a rapid clip. Most of the complaints pertain to yesterday's problems, and we are working with individual states to improve distribution within the state.
- c. Campaign Canvassing Materials - There have been shortages and mis-allocations of materials in several instances. Three weeks ago I increased our budget for these materials by one-third so that each state will have adequate allocations to cover at least 50% of their households. The complaints have subsided in the last ten days.
- d. Efforts in individual states were strengthened as follows:
 - . In Texas, we appointed Bill Clements as Co-Chairman and Director of Operations for the state, to replace Fred Agnich, who was simply not getting the job done. In turn, Peter O'Donnell has been appointed by Clements to oversee the canvassing effort. This is a good move since Peter is one of the most knowledgeable canvassing pros in the business.

. In California, Marvin Collins is now plugged directly into the four regional chairmen. With Marvin properly positioned and after our trip there to push canvassing and build harmony among party leaders, I feel operations are moving much more rapidly than they were.

. New York has been dragging its feet and not implementing our canvassing program. I met with Bixby and his top lieutenants last week to attempt to remove the road blocks. I am now satisfied that we will have a good canvass effort in upstate. Perrotta, the New York City Chairman, is still not on board, and I will continue to work on him. Unfortunately, New York will require constant prodding and close supervision on both of our parts if we are to keep them motivated.

. Pennsylvania has also been slow off the mark. To a great extent, their problems have stemmed from a lack of strong leadership at the top. I have met with Specter on this and I expect that he will spend much more time on the campaign. We should see more rapid movement there.

REBUILDING TIES WITH THE PARTY

As you know, a great deal of resentment had built up over the last year between the GOP and the 1701 organization due to a number of factors. We knew that these resentments were building up before the convention; and because of this, our convention strategy was to direct our efforts almost exclusively to improving relations with Party and Nixon Chairmen.

I feel that the time we both have taken since the convention to meet with Party leaders has virtually eliminated the resentment which flaired at the convention.

. Your travels in the various states and meetings with the GOP and CRP officials has done a great deal to ameliorate the problem.

. As you know I have started a series of telephone calls to Party officials to discuss their problems and to get to know them. These are directed particularly at the hot spots. Discussions with Andrews in Ohio, Jones in Pennsylvania, Davenport in Washington and many others have begun to calm the water.

. In addition, I have directed the Regional Directors to pay particular attention to Party officials as they travel throughout the states and to call on them or phone them to let them know what we're doing.

- . We're making a great effort to jointly operate the voter identification, registration and turn out canvassing with the RNC, and the State GOP organizations. For example, the RNC took responsibility for some 20 of the 50 cities in our canvass kick off. In essence the two field divisions have merged for the purpose of getting the canvassing underway.
- . The carefully planned Tuesday, September 12th meeting of the RNC and CRP Chairmen here in Washington to explain the national campaign to the party apparatus bore real fruit. It was favorably reported in the press, and all feed back indicates that it laid away any resentments lingering after the convention.
- . Finally, I have been having regular contact with Dole and Evans on topics of mutual interest. The regular Friday lunch with Evans has turned around his formerly unfavorable tone.

In short, we are dealing with a problem which is a natural one and will never go away completely. However, the excess heat is now out of this situation and I expect the problem will be under control through the election.

GETTING STATE CANVASSING EFFORTS UNDERWAY

Since the convention, the major thrust of the Political Division has been to get the states organized and underway on their canvassing effort. This entailed efforts in the following areas:

- . We have held workshops in the states to explain the details of the canvassing program and how specifically to organize the canvass in each storefront across the country. Tab B indicates progress in holding these workshops to date.
- . We have pushed for development of state and county organizations and for headquarters openings. Our regional directors have spent almost their entire time working with the states to get them structured and operating for the canvassing.
- . The regional directors in the key states have been spending considerable time getting the telephone centers organized and operating. I have recently had a report on the progress of these efforts and am most satisfied that the telephone banks are opened and getting underway as planned. These banks will make a major contribution to our efforts to contact the voters. Tab C gives a summary of these activities for each state.

We have established the canvassing control and accountability system that you reviewed yesterday. We are asking each storefront headquarters to keep strict account of each door to door canvassing kit. Each canvasser's results will be posted on control panels at the storefront headquarters and summary panels permit storefronts to report progress to the county and state organizations. In addition, we have contracted for an 800 in-watts number so that on each Monday, each Nixon storefront in every state reports to our National Control Center the results of their canvassing for the campaign through the preceding Saturday. This helps to spot weak areas and get fieldmen involved to straighten out the problems, and it also allows us to set up competition between headquarters, states, and regional directors for canvassing performance.

We kicked off our national canvass program on Saturday, September 16. This took the energies of the entire Political Division for the two preceding weeks. The highly successful results which have been reported to you in previous memos made the exercise well worth the effort.

AN ASSESSMENT OF OUR PRESENT POSITION

As we knew from the beginning, our door to door canvassing project is a highly ambitious one. Because we started several months behind in getting the proper organization in place, funded, and instructed in canvass techniques, we have always been in the position of playing catch-up ball. In retrospect our goals are even more ambitious than we realized at the time. We're finding that canvassing is an activity that everyone gives great lip service to but is generally not well done. In addition, the present lead in the polls has eroded the sense of urgency of many of our state leaders.

Because of the lateness of our start as well as the complacency we all noted, we will fall short of our goal to canvass 75% of our priority precincts in many of our states. Right now I expect that we will have strong canvassing efforts in the New England states and the key states of Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, California, Maryland and Ohio. New Jersey is behind, but coming on fast and we will have a good effort there. The farm and mountain states will be spotty. Iowa, Nebraska and Minnesota will do a good job. Some of the other states - Kansas, Montana and Idaho will fall well behind our initial expectations. There will be only token canvassing in some of the southern and border states.

I am particularly concerned about the campaigns in New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, West Virginia, Washington and Oregon. I visited New York and Pennsylvania last week and will be in Texas, Washington, Oregon and California next week. The New York City organization is really weak and is

simply not pushing the canvassing/telephone effort. They will not perform above 30% of standard as things now stand. Pennsylvania is also behind due to poor direction but is more correctable than New York. The problem in Texas is a late start coupled with some friction among the leadership. At present their canvass/telephone effort is in trouble, but I am hopeful that we can still turn it around.

At this point there are only two ways to bolster these problem states. The first is to exert maximum pressure from here on the state leadership to get their job done. I have already begun to do this and you may well begin receiving complaints. The other avenue is to divert resources from our national staff into the problem states. Accordingly, the following steps are now being taken:

- . I have assigned experienced fieldmen permanently to several of the key states which are having difficulty in getting their organizations firmed up. Two men will be helping Gordon Gooch in New York; another two will be working exclusively in Pennsylvania. Also, I have assigned one fieldman to work with Marvin Collins in California and two full time men to go to Texas and work with Tom Reed and Peter O'Donnell. These men will work with state, county and storefront organization leaders to speed the canvassing efforts. All are good technicians who passed the canvass kick off test in the field. They will spend full time on the canvassing/telephone efforts and will be responsible to move these programs at the local levels.
- . In two secondary battleground states - Missouri and West Virginia - I have assigned Tom Crouch, one of the national fieldmen, responsibility for getting their canvassing activities underway. He in no way replaces Peter Sawers; but I felt that an extra push was needed by a man with Tom's expertise, as we have had real problems in these states. I have been quite impressed with Tom; his work in setting up Mrs. Nixon's canvassing kick off visit to Queens was particularly impressive and he will provide Sawers with strong day to day support.
- . Additional recommendations for Washington and Oregon will follow my visits this week.

Additional fieldmen from the voter bloc groups will be moved into the lagging states during October, as necessary.

In summary, I am more than pleased with the progress we have made since July in getting the campaign off the ground. Actually we've had fewer problems than we might have expected. While we may not reach our canvassing goals in all states, we nevertheless will have strong efforts in most states. Furthermore, I expect to be spending more and more of 1701's resources in those key states where we are having problems. While this takes resources and management time away from some of the sure states, I feel it is worthwhile.

Despite these efforts, we will never reach our standard in states like New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. Rather our goals in these states will be to raise their performance from the present 30% of standard to a 60% level as compared with other key states.

Finally, in spite of the above assessment, I'm sure that our efforts in the states will be the best ever mounted in a national campaign and that they will far surpass McGovern's vaunted ability in campaign organization.

WORKSHOP SESSIONS
(Completed and Planned)

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
Alabama	1
Alaska	1
Arizona	1
Arkansas	1
California	4
Colorado	1
Connecticut	1
Delaware	1
Florida	1
Georgia	1
Hawaii	1
Idaho	1
Illinois	1
Indiana	3
Iowa	1
Kansas	1
Kentucky	1
Louisiana	1
Maine	1
Maryland	1
Massachusetts	1
Michigan	1
Minnesota	1
Mississippi	1
Missouri	1
Montana	1
Nebraska	1
Nevada	1
New Hampshire	2
New Jersey	1
New Mexico	1
New York	1
North Carolina	Planned
North Dakota	Planned
Ohio	1
Oklahoma	1
Oregon	1
Pennsylvania	1
Rhode Island	1
South Carolina	1

WORKSHOPS, con't.

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
South Dakota	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	2
Utah	1
Vermont	1
Virginia	1
Washington	1
West Virginia	Planned
Wisconsin	1
Wyoming	1

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN PROGRESS CHART

STATE	BUDGETED NO. OF CENTERS	NO. OF PHONE CENTER CHAIRMEN RECRUITED	CENTERS LOCATED TO DATE	COMPUTER LISTS RECEIVE FOR HOW MANY CENTERS?	PROJECTED DATE FOR START OF OPERATIONS (Week of...)	DATE		WHO ATTENDED? NB RS CH	OVERALL STATUS
						# OF ORIENTATION MEETINGS			
California	46	46	46	46	9/4	2	7/22	NB RS CH	GOOD
Connecticut	6	6	6	6	9/4	1	8/30	NB CH	NEED LISTS
Downstate ILLINOIS	18	17	18	18	9/11	1	8/14	NB	NEED LISTS
Suburban	17	17	17	17	9/11	1	8/14	NB	
Maryland	4	4	4	4	9/4	1	8/5	NB CH	Good -- need list for Anne Arundel
Michigan	19	16	18	19	9/11	—	—	—	Different program from other states
New Jersey	22	16	17	18	9/11	1	8/26	NB RS CH	Late start but good progress
Upstate New York	22	22	21	20	9/11	3	9/28 - 8/29	NB CH	OK -- phone Co. delays, deferred start up.
NYC	1	1	1	1	9/11	3	8/29	NB CH RS	
Ohio	21	20	21	21	9/4	2	8/12	NB	GOOD --- need lists
Pennsylvania	33	28	33	33	9/11	1	8/12	NB RS CH	Need phone center leaders
Texas	49	29	35	26	9/11 - 9/18	2	8/19	NB CH	OK -- delayed start up

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Bill Safire Appearance
on "NBC Reports"

Bill Safire will appear on "NBC Reports" tomorrow night at 10 p.m. as part of a panel consisting of Frank Mankiewicz, Bob Healy, of the Boston Globe, and Richard Reeves, of New York Magazine. The subject for discussion is the Media In the Campaign. According to Safire, Mankiewicz complained that the media was biased against McGovern. Safire said the media is trying but hasn't focused on the real differences between the President and McGovern.

Safire believes the other one-half hour tape will be very exciting - the subject is the Media Handling of the Eagleton Affair. Mankiewicz was complaining about the re-run of the subject, but Safire believes it will be run anyhow.

Colson approved Safire's appearance through Al Snyder. Colson had not really focused on the request.

Ziegler believes the appearance will be "OK", though he was not aware of the request or decision.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Polling Matters

Bob Teeter reports that ORC will not deliver the Campaign Survey - Wave III National vendor's report today as scheduled. That will not be available until late Monday, September 25. However, the results will be "off the computer" late today or early tomorrow morning. Bob Teeter will give me the results over the telephone, which could be recorded on the questionnaire attached at Tab A. Clark MacGregor has asked Teeter to call him with the Watergate questions' results. Teeter did not disclose the presence of the Watergate questions on the poll. MacGregor specifically asked about them. The results on Watergate will only be given to MacGregor and you.

The ORC Iowa poll results should be available tomorrow around 12 noon, according to Tom Benham. A receiving memorandum for the results is attached at Tab B. ORC is ready to issue a press release from Princeton and Washington late Sunday.

A check with Bob Teeter and Chuck Colson (Dick Howard) indicates that there is only polling information available for Rhode Island (DMI - Sep 6-11; 52-21-21). There is no information available for Massachusetts. Teeter talked directly to Becker, who does the Globe poll and who received money last spring to provide 1701 with advance information. The Massachusetts youth poll reported in today's News Summary is only among youth. Senator Brooke has not yet conducted any polls according to Teeter who normally does Brooke's polling. In West Virginia there is no available polling information according to Bob Teeter. Dent is checking Arch Moore personally.

The Teeter Telephone Polling in the series of statewide polls begins Monday, September 25 pursuant to MacGregor's decision on the September 21 memorandum attached at Tab C. The questionnaire has been modified slightly to include Vietnam, the economy, the POW issue, and the grain deal. Without disclosing the IOWA poll with Teeter, I discussed the questions on the New York telephone poll. He urges an awareness question first, to be followed by the question of the charge of improper dealing. These state-by-state telephone polls can use modified questionnaires to test particular issues in the various states. Each state poll takes approximately two days with results on the third.

Yesterday I called Colson at 4:30-5:00 p.m. with the information I had on the Gallup release for Monday. He had received the Harris data at approximately 2:00 p.m., but did not give me the results. Today I mentioned to Colson that information should flow both ways. His response was "I was given the Harris information in the strictest confidence and since I told Bob I'll have to discuss with Haldeman your complaint".

After 5 attempts to reach John Davies, I talked to him this morning. From the tone of his voice I think he received the message that calls go both ways loud and clear. We will know this week when the results from the Gallup survey on September 23 and 24 are tabulated.

GS/jb

IDENTIFICATION
NUMBER: _____

69071
090572
NATIONAL

TIME INTERVIEW STARTED: _____

OPINION SURVEY

Hello, I'm _____ asking on a survey being made for Opinion Research Corporation of _____ persons. We are making a study of problems and political figures in the country today and would like to have your opinions.

1. Are you registered to vote in the Presidential election in 1972?

1 YES
2 NO

IF "YES," CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW BEGINNING WITH Q.2

IF "NO" ON Q.1, ASK:

1a. Do you intend to register so you will be able to vote in the 1972 Presidential election?

1 YES
2 NO

IF "YES," CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW

IF "NO," TERMINATE INTERVIEW

2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time? (INTERVIEWER: PUT EACH PROBLEM ON A SEPARATE LINE.)

(PROBE: Any others?)

		Q.3 Single Most Important
		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6

--	--

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



- 4. I'd like to hand you a group of cards. On each card is a problem or issue facing our country. I'd like you to hand me the card that will be most important to you in deciding how to vote for President this fall. Then hand me the card with the problem that will be second most important to you, and continue handing me the cards in order of their importance until you have handed me all of the cards.

(HAND ISSUE CARDS TO RESPONDENT. BE SURE TO THOROUGHLY SHUFFLE THE CARDS BEFORE GIVING THEM TO RESPONDENT.)

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

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ Vietnam | _____ Crime |
| _____ Inflation | _____ Drugs |
| _____ Unemployment | _____ Racial Problems |
| _____ Taxes | _____ Health Care |
| _____ National Defense | _____ Bussing |

TAKE BACK ISSUE CARDS.

- 5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
 - 1 APPROVE
 - 2 DISAPPROVE
 - 3 DON'T KNOW

5a. Why do you say that? (PROBE)



- 6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?
 - 1 APPROVE
 - 2 DISAPPROVE
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
- 7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
 - 1 APPROVE
 - 2 DISAPPROVE
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
- 8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?
 - 1 APPROVE
 - 2 DISAPPROVE
 - 3 DON'T KNOW

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

9a. Do you consider this good or bad?

- 1 GOOD
- 2 BAD

9b. Is there anything else?

9c. Do you consider this good or bad?

- 1 GOOD
- 2 BAD

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "A."

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

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

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

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

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

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

TAKE BACK CARD "A."

INTERVIEWER: ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 13 AND 14.

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "B."

13. Now, I'd like to read through the list of problems and issues again and, as I mention each one, I'd like you to rate President Nixon on how well he's handling each one. (INTERVIEWER: NOTE WHAT CARD FORM YOU HAVE AND START INTERVIEW ACCORDINGLY, AS INDICATED BELOW. ASK ABOUT ALL ISSUES REGARDLESS OF WHERE YOU START.)

		Extremely Well	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All Well	Don't Know
If card is Form 1, start here ↗	a. Vietnam	5	4	3	2	1	6
	b. Inflation	5	4	3	2	1	6
	c. Unemployment	5	4	3	2	1	6
If card is Form 2, start here ↗	d. Taxes	5	4	3	2	1	6
	e. National Defense	5	4	3	2	1	6
	f. Crime	5	4	3	2	1	6
	g. Drugs	5	4	3	2	1	6
If card is Form 3, start here ↗	h. Racial Problems	5	4	3	2	1	6
	i. Health Care	5	4	3	2	1	6
	j. Bussing	5	4	3	2	1	6

14. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate George McGovern on his ability to handle each problem. (INTERVIEWER: NOTE WHAT CARD FORM YOU HAVE AND START INTERVIEW ACCORDINGLY, AS INDICATED BELOW. ASK ABOUT ALL ISSUES REGARDLESS OF WHERE YOU START.)

		Extremely Well	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All Well	Don't Know
If card is Form 1, start here ↗	a. Vietnam	5	4	3	2	1	6
	b. Inflation	5	4	3	2	1	6
	c. Unemployment	5	4	3	2	1	6
If card is Form 2, start here ↗	d. Taxes	5	4	3	2	1	6
	e. National Defense	5	4	3	2	1	6
	f. Crime	5	4	3	2	1	6
	g. Drugs	5	4	3	2	1	6
If card is Form 3, start here ↗	h. Racial Problems	5	4	3	2	1	6
	i. Health Care	5	4	3	2	1	6
	j. Bussing	5	4	3	2	1	6

TAKE BACK CARD "B."

15(B) Considering the whole economic situation, which one of these concerns you most -- unemployment, inflation, or taxes?

- 1 UNEMPLOYMENT
- 2 INFLATION
- 3 TAXES
- 4 DON'T KNOW

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

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW

17. Do you believe inflation of food prices has been slowed at all?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW

IF "NO" ON Q.17, ASK:

17a. Would you support or oppose a total freeze on food prices similar to Phase I?

- 1 SUPPORT
- 2 OPPOSE
- 3 DON'T KNOW

IF "SUPPORT" ON Q.17a, ASK:

17b. Would you support such a freeze even though it might result in limiting the supply of some foods?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "C."

18. When you think about inflation, which of the items on this card concerns you the most? (INTERVIEWER: ONLY ONE ANSWER IS WANTED. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE, ASK FOR THE ONE OF MOST CONCERN.)

- 1 FOOD PRICES
- 2 PRICE OF CLOTHING
- 3 COST OF MEDICAL/DENTAL CARE
- 4 COST OF HOUSING
- 5 TAXES
- 6 COST OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, SUCH AS FURNITURE AND APPLIANCES
- 7 COST OF TRANSPORTATION
- 8 DON'T KNOW

TAKE BACK CARD "C."

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "D."

19. Some people say that giving certain tax breaks to business will create more jobs. Others say that business now receives too many tax breaks. On this scale card, 1 would represent those people who say that giving certain tax breaks to business will create more jobs; and 7 would represent those who say that business now receives too many tax breaks.

(INTERVIEWER: ASK 19a FIRST OF EVERYBODY. ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK 19b AND 19c. ENTER IN THE SCALE NUMBER GIVEN YOU BY RESPONDENT IN THE SPACE INDICATED.)

19a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____

19b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____

19c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____

TAKE BACK CARD "D."

20. Generally, do you think that the tax structure in our country is fair or not fair to the average person?

- 1 FAIR
- 2 NOT FAIR
- 3 DON'T KNOW



IF "NOT FAIR" ON Q.20, ASK:

20a. Why?

20b. Do you think national, state, or local taxes are least fair?

- 1 NATIONAL
- 2 STATE
- 3 LOCAL
- 4 DON'T KNOW

20c. Do you think that the whole system of taxes needs to be changed, or that existing loop holes be closed?

- 1 WHOLE SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE CHANGED
- 2 EXISTING LOOP HOLES BE CLOSED
- 3 DON'T KNOW

20d. What existing loop holes in the Federal tax structure concern you most?

21. Do you think Richard Nixon or George McGovern would do the most to do in the next four years to reform our national tax structure?

- 1 RICHARD NIXON
- 2 GEORGE MCGOVERN
- 3 DON'T KNOW

22. Are you in favor of retaining local property taxes as the primary means of financing education; or would you favor replacing the local property taxes with a value added tax, which is a type of national sales tax, as the primary means of financing education?

- 1 RETAINING LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES
- 2 REPLACING THE LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES WITH VALUE ADDED TAX
- 3 DON'T KNOW

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "E."

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

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

23a. Do you think this policy should apply both to those who have avoided the draft and to those who were in the service but deserted, or that they should be treated differently?

- 1 POLICY SHOULD APPLY TO BOTH
- 2 SHOULD BE TREATED DIFFERENTLY
- 3 DON'T KNOW

23b. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think Richard Nixon favors?

(Record number of response)

23c. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think George McGovern favors?

(Record number of response)

TAKE BACK CARD "E."

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

(INTERVIEWER: STAY BACK TO EMPHATICALLY AND LET RESPONDENT FOLLOW ALONG AS YOU READ THE QUESTION.)

In this particular instance, we will be judging two candidates on a liberal-conservative scale rating. There are three spaces on each side of the box which is exactly in the middle. If you feel the candidate is very liberal or extremely liberal, choose one of the spaces toward the word liberal, and mark the space with an: X. If you feel the candidate is neither conservative or liberal, mark the middle box . Use the conservative spaces in the same way.

Now, let's start with yourself as the example. Rate yourself on this scale. Then rate Richard Nixon and George McGovern.

(INTERVIEWER: HAND QUESTIONNAIRE AND PENCIL TO RESPONDENT.)

YOURSELF

24a. Liberal _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Conservative

RICHARD NIXON

24b. Liberal _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Conservative

GEORGE McGOVERN

24c. Liberal _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Conservative

HAND RESPONDENT THE "CONFIDENTIAL" ENVELOPE WITH TWO BALLOTS IN IT.

MAKE SURE THE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER ON THE ENVELOPE MATCHES THE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER ON THE FRONT OF THE RESPONDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE.

25. Now I'm going to hand you two sample Presidential election ballots. I would like you to mark each one of the ballots just as you would if the election were being held today.

INTERVIEWER: AFTER RESPONDENT HAS MARKED SECRET BALLOTS, HAND RESPONDENT SPECIAL BALLOT C AND SAY:

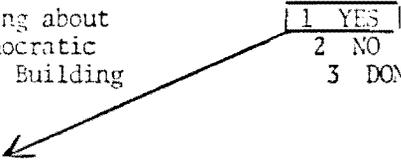
Here is another ballot on which you can indicate how strongly you feel about the candidate you voted for on the sample ballot. Please mark the position on it that best describes your feelings.

Please put them in the envelope, seal it, and return it to me.

MAKE SURE RESPONDENT PUTS ALL MARKED BALLOTS (SECRET BALLOTS AND SPECIAL BALLOT C) IN ENVELOPE AND RETURNS IT TO YOU.

26. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care very much who wins the Presidential election this fall, care somewhat, don't care very much, or don't care at all who wins?
- 1 CARE VERY MUCH
 - 2 CARE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 DON'T CARE VERY MUCH
 - 4 DON'T CARE AT ALL
 - 5 DON'T KNOW
27. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?
- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE
 - 2 PROBABLY VOTE
 - 3 MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE
 - 4 PROBABLY NOT VOTE
 - 5 DEFINITELY NOT VOTE
 - 6 DON'T KNOW
28. Now regardless of who you are for personally, who do you think will win the election for President this fall?
- 1 RICHARD NIXON
 - 2 GEORGE McGOVERN
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
29. Do you agree or disagree with Senator McGovern's decision to replace Senator Eagleton with Sargent Shriver on the Democratic ticket?
- 1 AGREE
 - 2 DISAGREE
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
30. Will this incident make you more likely to vote for McGovern, more likely to vote for Nixon, or not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote?
- 1 MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR McGOVERN
 - 2 MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR NIXON
 - 3 NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE
 - 4 DON'T KNOW

31. Have you read or heard anything about someone breaking into the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate Building in Washington?
- 1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW



IF "YES" ON Q.31, ASK:

- 31a. From what you have read or heard, who do you think was responsible for this? (INTERVIEWER: ASK AS AN OPEN-END QUESTION. DO NOT READ RESPONSES. CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE OR WRITE IN OTHER ANSWER.)
- 1 REPUBLICANS
2 PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMPAIGN/THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT
3 OTHER (Specify) _____
4 DON'T KNOW

32. Do you think that President Nixon himself knew anything about the incident before it occurred?
- 1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW
33. Will this incident make you more likely to vote for McGovern, more likely to vote for Nixon, or not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote?
- 1 MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR MCGOVERN
2 MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR NIXON
3 NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE
4 DON'T KNOW
34. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?
- 1 REPUBLICAN
2 INDEPENDENT
3 DEMOCRAT
4 DON'T KNOW

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "F."

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

TAKE BACK CARD "F."

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

- 1 NIXON
- 2 HUMPHREY
- 3 WALLACE
- 4 DIDN'T VOTE
- 5 DON'T KNOW

Now a few questions for statistical purposes.

37. What is your occupation? _____

37a. (IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD): What is the occupation of the head of this household? _____

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "G."

38. What is your age? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE AGE GROUP.)

- 01 17-20 YEARS
- 02 21-24 YEARS
- 03 25-29 YEARS
- 04 30-34 YEARS
- 05 35-39 YEARS
- 06 40-44 YEARS
- 07 45-49 YEARS
- 08 50-54 YEARS
- 09 55-59 YEARS
- 10 60-64 YEARS
- 11 65 AND OVER
- 12 REFUSED

TAKE BACK CARD "G."

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

- 1 GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (GRADES 1-8)
- 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
- 3 GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12)
- 4 VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL
- 5 SOME COLLEGE
- 6 GRADUATED COLLEGE
- 7 POST GRADUATE WORK
- 8 REFUSED

40. What is your religion?

- 1 ROMAN CATHOLIC
- 2 PROTESTANT
- 3 JEWISH
- 4 OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

IF "JEWISH" ON Q. 40, ASK:

40a. Are you Orthodox, Reform, or Conservative?

- 1 ORTHODOX
- 2 REFORM
- 3 CONSERVATIVE

41. (BY OBSERVATION) RACE:

- 1 WHITE
- 2 NEGRO
- 3 ORIENTAL
- 4 SPANISH-AMERICAN
- 5 OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

42. What is your nationality?

- 10 AMERICAN/U.S.
- 20 ITALIAN
- 30 IRISH
- 40 POLISH

EAST EUROPEAN

- 50 CZECHOSLAVAKIA
- 51 ESTONIA
- 52 HUNGARY
- 53 LATVIA
- 54 RUMANIA
- 55 RUSSIA
- 56 UKRAINE
- 57 YUGOSLAVIA
- 59 OTHER EAST EUROPEAN

SCANDANAVIA

- 60 DENMARK
- 61 FINLAND
- 62 NORWAY
- 63 SWEDEN

WEST EUROPEAN

- 70 AUSTRIA
- 71 BELGIUM
- 72 ENGLISH, BRITISH
- 73 FRANCE
- 74 GERMANY
- 75 NETHERLANDS
- 76 SCOTTISH
- 79 OTHER WEST EUROPEAN

SPANISH

- 80 MEXICO
- 81 PORTUGAL
- 82 SPAIN
- 89 OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN

90 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY)

99 DON'T KNOW

43. Are you a labor union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

IF "NO" ON Q. 43, ASK:

43a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

44. (BY OBSERVATION) SEX:

- 1 MALE
- 2 FEMALE

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "H."

45. Which classification includes your
TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before
taxes?

- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 AND OVER
- 9 REFUSED

TAKE BACK CARD "H."

46. Do you own or rent the residence where
you are now living?

- 1 OWN
- 2 RENT

DO NOT FORGET TO COMPLETE PAGE 14.

INTERVIEWER: Complete this page on all interviews.

Time Interview Ended: _____ Length of Interview: _____ minutes

Respondent's Name: _____

Respondent's Street Address: _____

City or Town: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Location Number: _____ Line Number: _____

INTERVIEWER: Inform respondent about possible follow-up interviews, using this statement:

"This survey in which you have just taken part is a part of a nationwide experiment to gather information about people's reaction to the election, the Presidential candidates, and the campaign. Between now and the election in November, we may wish to talk to you again, but next time the interview would be much shorter. We would like to have your telephone number and perhaps conduct this interview over the telephone. As I said, it will only take a few minutes. It will undoubtedly be a couple of weeks before we would call you."

Respondent's Telephone Number: _____
Area Code: _____

I certify that this is an honest interview taken in accordance with my instructions.

Interviewer's Name: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewer's Code Number (if any): _____

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
(IDENTIFICATION NUMBER)

SPECIAL BALLOT C-2

Conn.
Nat'l

- 7 Will definitely vote for McGovern.
- 6 Will probably vote for McGovern, but still thinking about it.
- 5 Undecided but leaning toward McGovern.
- 4 Completely undecided at this time, but will vote.
- 3 Undecided but leaning toward Nixon.
- 2 Will probably vote for Nixon, but still thinking about it.
- 1 Will definitely vote for Nixon.

SECRET BALLOT A

Nat'l

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates
in the following election situation?

REPUBLICAN

PRESIDENT

1[] Richard M. Nixon

Spiro T. Agnew
Vice President

DEMOCRAT

PRESIDENT

2[] George S. McGovern

Sargent Shriver
Vice President

SECRET BALLOT B

Nat'l

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

<u>REPUBLICAN</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT</u>	<u>AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY</u>
<u>PRESIDENT</u>	<u>PRESIDENT</u>	<u>PRESIDENT</u>
1[] Richard M. Nixon Spiro T. Agnew Vice President	2[] George S. McGovern Sargent Shriver Vice President	3[] John Schmitz Thomas Anderson Vice President

B

o .

IOWA POLL
 Polling Dates: Sep 22-23, '72
 Respondents:

1. If the 1972 Presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for - Richard Nixon or George McGovern?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McGOVERN</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
<u>1971</u>			
O-Jan 26-28	<u>59</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>15</u>
O-Apr 12-13	<u>56</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>1972</u>			
H-Feb 28- Mar 7	59	32	9
H-Apr 1- 7	54	34	12
G-Apr 28- May 1	49	39	12
H-May 9-10	48	41	11
G-May 26-29	53	34	13
H-Jun 7-12	54	38	8
G-Jun 16-19	53	37	10
T-Jun 16-26	52	32	16
H-Jul 1- 6	55	35	10
G-Jul 14-17	56	37	7
O-Jul 19-20	<u>54</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>19</u>
H-Aug 2- 3	57	34	9
G-Aug 5-12	57	31	12
G-Aug 26-27	64	30	6
O-Aug 29-31	<u>59</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>18</u>
H-Aug 29-30	63	29	8
T-Sep 5-16	62	32	6
O-Sep 22-23			

If neither or undecided on question 1, ask question 2.

2. Would you say that you lean more toward Richard Nixon or more toward George McGovern?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	63 (4%)	28 (5%)	9 (9%)
O-Sep 22-23, '72			

3. Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President or is there a possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Made Up Mind</u>	<u>May Change Mind</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	63	31	6
O-Sep 22-23, '72			

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Earl Butz is doing as Secretary of Agriculture in the Nixon Administration?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Sep 22-23, '72			

5. As you may know, the U.S. has recently concluded an agreement to sell 400 million bushels of wheat to the Soviet Union over the next three years. Do you think this sale of wheat to Russia was a good thing for the U.S. or wasn't it?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Sep 22-23, '72			

6. In your opinion, will the sale of U.S. wheat to Russia be helpful to American farmers, harmful, or won't it make any difference?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Helpful</u>	<u>Harmful</u>	<u>Won't Make Any Difference</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Sep 22-23, '72				

7. The charge has been made that some big grain exporters had advance inside information from government sources that was not available to farmers. This allegedly allowed the exporters to make excess profits at the farmers' expense. Do you think this charge is true or untrue?

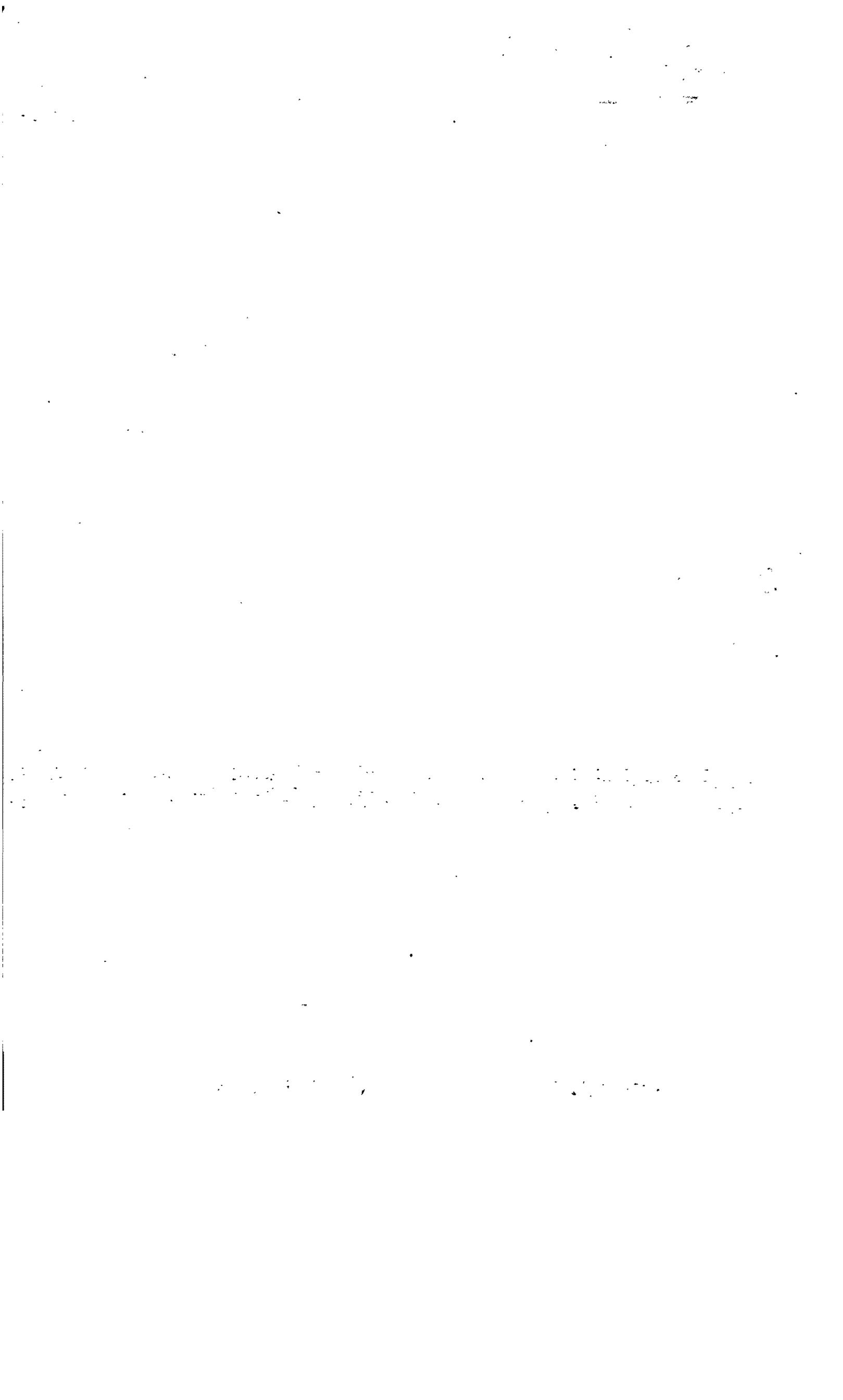
<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>True</u>	<u>Untrue</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Sep 22-23, '72			

8. President Nixon has ordered the FBI to investigate the sale of wheat to Russia to see if there was any wrongdoing. Do you think such an investigation should or should not be conducted?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Should Investigate</u>	<u>No Investigation</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Sep 22-23, '72			

9. If it is proven that advance inside information was leaked to big grain exporters, do you think this will make you less likely to vote for President Nixon or won't it have any effect on your vote?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72 (Watergate)	23	68	9
O-Sep 22-23, '72			



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEMER
SUBJECT: Telephone Polling

Attached is a draft of the base questionnaire I recommend we use in the series of statewide telephone polls we are starting Monday. In addition to this basic interview we will, of course, have the ability to add issue questions as the need arises to check some specific issue or something unique to one of the states.

You should also be aware that we are limiting our interviews to registered voters Monday, as registration closes in most states during the next week or two. This may cause some slight variance in our samples from Wave III but one which we anticipate and can measure. We will begin the polls on Monday with New York followed by California, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve this base questionnaire for use beginning Monday September 25. I will need to finalize this questionnaire tomorrow in order to begin New York Monday.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment: _____

c. Is there anything that you can think of that might cause you to change your mind?

IF "UNDECIDED" IN QUESTION 6, ASK: (INSERT STATE RACES WHERE APPROPRIATE)

d. As of today, do you lean towards McGovern or Nixon?

- 1 MCGOVERN
- 2 NIXON
- 3 UNDECIDED

7. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, maybe may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?

- 1 DEFINITELY VOTE
- 2 PROBABLY VOTE
- 3 MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE
- 4 PROBABLY NOT VOTE
- 5 DEFINITELY NOT VOTE
- 6 DON'T KNOW

8. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

- 1 STRAIGHT DEMOCRAT
- 2 MOSTLY DEMOCRAT
- 3 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS
- 4 ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES
- 5 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS
- 6 MOSTLY REPUBLICAN
- 7 STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN
- 8 NEVER VOTED
- 9 DON'T KNOW

9. What is your age?

- 01 17-20 YEARS
- 02 21-24 YEARS
- 03 25-29 YEARS
- 04 30-34 YEARS
- 05 35-39 YEARS
- 06 40-44 YEARS
- 07 45-49 YEARS
- 08 50-54 YEARS
- 09 55-59 YEARS
- 10 60-64 YEARS
- 11 65 AND OVER
- 12 REFUSED

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

- 1 GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (GRADES 1-8)
- 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
- 3 GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12)
- 4 VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL
- 5 SOME COLLEGE
- 6 GRADUATED COLLEGE
- 7 POST GRADUATE WORK
- 8 REFUSED

11. What is your religion?

- 1 ROMAN CATHOLIC
- 2 PROTESTANT
- 3 JEWISH
- 4 OTHER(SPECIFY) _____

12. Are you a labor union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

IF "NO", ASK:

a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

13. Which classification included your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 AND OVER
- 9 REFUSED

1. Are you registered to vote in the 1972 Presidential Election?

If no, terminate.

2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the U.S. as a nation at this time?

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

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

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

Instruction: Rotate questions 6 and 7.

6. How would you rate Richard Nixon in terms of his ability to handle the job of President - very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able, don't know?

7. How would you rate George McGovern in terms of his ability to handle the job of President - very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able, don't know?

8. If the election for President were being held today, would you be voting for Richard Nixon, the Republican, or George McGovern, the Democrat?

If Nixon or McGovern, ask -

a. Why will you be voting for him?

b. As of today, will you definitely vote for _____, probably vote for _____ but am still thinking about it, or are you undecided but leaning towards _____?

c. Is there anything you can think of that might cause you to change your mind?

If undecided in question 8, ask d -

d. As of today, do you lean towards Nixon or McGovern?

9. In the general election this fall, would you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote or definitely not vote?

10. Now regarding the POWs who are being held in North Vietnam, do you think Richard Nixon's or George McGovern's policies would get them released sooner?

11. Do you think the North Vietnamese are or are not using the prisoner release issue to try and influence our Presidential election?

12. Have you seen, heard or read anything about an agreement for our government to sell grain to Russia?

If yes, ask -

a. Have you seen, heard or read anything about a controversy or scandal related to this agreement?

If yes, ask -

b. The charge has been made that some big grain exporters had advance inside information from government sources that was not available to farmers. This allegedly allowed the exporters to make excess profits at the farmers' expense. Do you think this charge is true or untrue?