

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>
13	4	2/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Republican Leadership Conference/March 1-4." 2pgs.
13	4	2/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "White House Budget/Committee for the Re-Election of the President -- Support." 1pg.
13	4	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Republican Leadership Conference-- March 1-4." 1pg.
13	4	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "New Hampshire Mock Election." 1pg.

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13	4	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "The Loyal Opposition." 3pgs.
13	4	2/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Campaign Surveys." 2pgs.
13	4	2/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stachan To Haldeman RE: "Bob Teeter/Campaign Polling." 2pgs.
13	4	2/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Campaign Strategy." 2pgs.
13	4	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Presidential Papers and Estate Plan." 1pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	4	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hughes To Haldeman RE: "Proposed State Funeral Plan for President Nixon." 1pg.
13	4	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Vietnam Announcement Pol -- Jan 26-27." 38pgs.
13	4	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higsby To Haldeman RE: "Campaign Polling." 4pgs.
13	4	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stachan To Haldeman RE: "Republican National Convention/Use of Flag Placards." 1pg.
13	4	2/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Muskie Press Conference." 1pg.

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13	4	2/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: Convention Advertising Material." 1pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 236

Folder: Strachan Chron-HRH only February 1972 Book I

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
259	Retain Open
260	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/22/72.
261	Retain Open
262	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/16/72.
263	Retain Open
264	Retain Open
265	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/14/72.
266	Retain Open
267	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/10/72.
268	Retain Open
269	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/10/72.
270	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/10/72.
271	Retain Open
272	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/9/72.
273	Retain Open
274	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/8/72.
275	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/8/72.
276	Return Private/Personal Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/7/72.
277	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/4/72.
278	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan & Higby to HRH, 2/7/72.
279	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/3/72.
280	Retain Open
281	Retain Open
282	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/2/72.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

H. R. Haldeman
236

Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/1/72.

Administratively Confidential

February 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Republican Leadership
Conference/March 1-4

Harry Dent called concerning a Republican Leadership Conference to be held in Washington March 1-4. Discussion with the Attorney General encouraged Dent to get "the best Administration spokesmen" at this event which will be the last mass meeting of delegate types before the Republican National Convention in August.

Dent has approached Kissinger and Connally and received negative responses from their offices. Dent also approached John Scali to be moderator of one of the foreign policy discussions. Scali said he would be glad to do it, but that he has "been instructed to keep his head down and maintain low visibility". Dent asks that you grant an exception to this general rule that Scali not be an out front spokesman.

Chuck Colson believes that Scali should do this event. Kissinger has no opinion as to whether Scali should or should not do this event.

Recommendation:

That John Scali be informed that he should attend this Republican Leadership Conference.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

GS:lm

1
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

attach this to Owen
Rede
H FU 2/16
6:00 2/15

Administratively Confidential

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:
FROM:
SUBJECT:

H.R. HALDEMAN
GORDON STRACHAN **G**
Republican Leadership Conference--March 1-4

Harry Dent called concerning a Republican Leadership Conference to be held in Washington March 1-4. Discussion with the Attorney General encouraged Dent to get "the best Administration spokesmen" at this event which will be the last mass meeting of delegate types before the Republican National Convention in August.

negative response

Dent has approached Kissinger and Connally and received ~~some favorable indications~~ from their offices. Dent also approached John Scali to be moderator of one of the foreign policy discussions. Scali said he would be glad to do it, but that he has "been instructed to keep his head down and maintain low visibility". Dent asks that you grant an exception to this general rule that Scali not be an out-front spokesman.

Chuck Colson believes ^{*opinion*} that Scali should do this event.
has no view as to whether Scali should or should not do this event.
Recommendation:

That John Scali be informed that he should attend this Republican Leadership Conference.

Approve _____ ~~*sample*~~ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

H

Administratively Confidential

February 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

White House Budget/
Committee for the Re-Election
of the President -- Support

You have Bruce Kehrli's January 29 memorandum regarding the financial support for the White House by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. This memorandum is in your talking paper drawer indicating that you wanted to cover the subject personally with the Attorney General.

At your meeting today with the Attorney General and Fred Malek it might be appropriate to discuss this budget subject because Fred Malek will serve on the budget committee under Secretary Stans at 1701.

Another alternative would be to have Malek discuss the subject directly with the Attorney General.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Republican Leadership
Conference--March 1-4

Harry Dent called concerning a Republican Leadership Conference to be held in Washington March 1-4. Discussion with the Attorney General encouraged Dent to get "the best Administration spokesmen" at this event which will be the last mass meeting of delegate types before the Republican National Convention in August.

Dent has approached Kissinger and Connally and received some favorable indications from their offices. Dent also approached John Scali to be moderator of one of the foreign policy discussions. Scali said he would be glad to do it, but that he has "been instructed to keep his head down and maintain low visibility". Dent asks that you grant an exception to this general rule that Scali not be an out-front spokesman.

Chuck Colson believes that Scali should do this event.

Recommendation:

That John Scali be informed that he should attend this Republican Leadership Conference.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Mock Election

The Committee to Re-Elect the President conducted a mock election at New Hampshire College in Manchester, New Hampshire today. Sample ballots were given to 150 students (total enrollment 950). The results were:

Nixon-----	32%
Muskie-----	28%
McGovern-----	15%
Ed Cole (local)-----	6%
Humphrey-----	3%
Lindsay-----	3%
McCloskey-----	3%
Ashbrook-----	1%
Hartke-----	1%
Yorty-----	1%

At the direction of Jeb Magruder and Ken Rietz, Van Shumway and Tom Sias, the New Hampshire PR Director for the Committee to Re-Elect the President, are handling publicity in Washington and New Hampshire respectively.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

"The Loyal Opposition"

Bill Monroe of NBC News interviewed Minnesota Governor Anderson; Senator Bayh; Lawrence O'Brien; Mary Lou Burg (DNC); Robert Strauss (DNC Treasurer); and Patricia Harris (DNC Chairman of Credentials Committee) on January 30 between 5 and 6 p.m. The news summary note is attached at Tab A and the complete transcript (obtained by the RNC) is attached at Tab B. The video tape of the program is available upon request.

To summarize:

O'Brien attacked the Administration's PR expenditures, the political release of \$12 B, and \$50 M campaign budget when asked if it would be difficult to beat the President. O'Brien's policy criticisms focussed on the "veto minded President" . . . that blocked a Democratic Congress trying to bring this nation forward . . . in important social areas".

Strauss said it would be difficult for the Democrats to contend "with a \$50 or \$60 million campaign".

Bayh stated that the economy and Vietnam would be the critical issues within "the whole issue of confidence and credibility". O'Brien agreed strongly that the credibility issue encompassed all other issues.

Patricia Harris hit the President for vetoing every bill for the "benefit of the little man". She was the only one who would answer Monroe's question on bussing. Her answer emphasized "quality education" not transporting children, and that the Democrats would not rely on "phony signals".

Anderson believes that "the number one issue is unemployment". He also hit the VAT as unfair and regressive. He suggested closing tax loopholes instead.

O'Brien frequently returned to credibility, "the vetoes . . . the deficit . . . (and) the communications control".

In response to Monroe's question about why there were so many Democratic candidates, all responded that it is because the Democrats have so many good people. Similarly, all praised the Democratic party on its reform progress but did not attack the Republicans on lack of reform.

Monroe concluded by saying that the outlook for 1972 was "a tough hard fought campaign and, probably, in November a close election."

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To :

MS

From : L. Higby

By tomorrow

It needs 1 page summary
plus an indication of what
~~we are trying~~ happened here.
Get US report - if so how
did they get this? C

Administratively Confidential

February 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Surveys

PENN.

Bob Teeter submitted the attached seven-page summary of the ~~Presidential~~ poll conducted by MOR. In Teeter's mind this is the format agreed upon when you and the Attorney General met with him on January 31. Discussion with Teeter developed the following points for you to consider:

1) The Attorney General asked for the two pages on personality, but Teeter wonders whether you also want to receive them.

 Yes, Haldeman receive personality pages

 No, exclude personality material

 Other

2) The Attorney General has not asked for a Presidential approval page with full demographics, but you may want to have that page added.

 Yes, Haldeman receive Presidential popularity with full demographics

 No, exclude popularity demographics

 Other

3) Peter Dailey and Bob Marik will have direct access to all of Teeter's poll information except these summary memoranda and the trial heat results.

4) Jeb Magruder will have access to all of Teeter's polling information though it will be delivered to the Attorney General in the first instance.

5) Iowa, New Jersey, and North Carolina have also been received. The results are presented in the same format as the Pennsylvania results. The New Jersey polling information is attached. Larry has Iowa and North Carolina, as well as a special New Hampshire follow-up telephone poll.

6) The schedule for the receipt of the rest of the poll results is:

Ohio, Indiana, Missouri-----February 14
California, New York, Oregon, Virginia-----February 21
Texas, Tennessee, Maryland, and National---February 28

7) Upon completion of this first wave, Teeter will begin projects that you discussed with him on January 31 in this order -- Presidential travel, the President's image, and the President's handling of the issues.

8) Ken Cole, on February 9, asked you by memorandum whether the Domestic Council staff could receive the results of these campaign polls..He wants only the material dealing with "domestic policy issues" and would personally limit the distribution of the results.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Ken Cole receive the issue sections of the National poll which will be available on February 28. You and the Attorney General would sign off on the text to be given to Cole.

_____ AGREE

_____ DISAGREE

_____ COMMENT

Administratively Confidential

February 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Bob Teeter/Campaign Polling

Three questions remain after your meeting yesterday with the Attorney General and Bob Teeter. The first concerns the amount of information you wanted Bob Teeter to discuss with the Campaign Strategy Group (February 7 attendees: Malek, Moore, Miller, Flemming, Dent, Magruder, Joanou, Dailey, Kaupinen, and LaRue). Teeter told the group that the President was in good shape in all states polled so far except Wisconsin. He said the President was strong in either two-way, three-way, or four to five-way trial heats. When asked by Dent if the Becker poll on New Hampshire (71-14-4) was accurate, Teeter said yes. Presumably you and the Attorney General authorized these disclosures.

The second matter concerns the direction of Teeter's work load. You decided yesterday that Magruder and I should have tandem responsibility to direct Teeter's efforts. You now want Teeter to test various Vice Presidential candidates' strengths in certain states. Presumably you want Magruder, on behalf of the Attorney General, to be privy to this project.

Thirdly, is there any specific followup with Teeter from your meeting with him and the Attorney General yesterday?

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS

Date: 2/7

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Bob Teeter delivered his analysis of the Harris Domestic Issues Poll of September 1971. A copy of this memorandum was delivered by Teeter to the Attorney General on February 4.

I gave Fred Malek a copy of Teeter's analysis on February 4 because he received a copy of the Harris Poll at your direction in November. In light of Malek's new responsibilities, it seemed appropriate that he receive copies of Teeter's comments.

Should Ehrlichman and Ken Cole receive copies of the Teeter analysis and control distribution within the Domestic Council as they did with the original Harris Issues Poll?

Yes

No

Administratively Confidential

February 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Strategy

The Campaign Strategy Group discussed your statement on "consciously aiding and abetting" the enemy and the public effect.

Cliff Miller believes that it was a serious mistake; the timing was bad. Just when we had the Vietnam issue on our side, the Democrat's will now be able to turn the discussion to loyalty and not stupidity. Miller believes the matter is so serious that you may be on the cover of the news magazines next week. Miller believes Rockefeller should be asked to come to your defense along with other public officials.

Dick Moore also believes the matter is serious and damaging but not to the extent Miller does. Moore thinks it would be valuable for you to respond publicly to your critics.

Harry Dent was very pleased by your statement. He thinks you should have others in the Administration support you with similar statements. He believes most Americans still react favorably to charges of communist sympathizer. Dent believes Kissinger should support the substance of your charge by publicly disclosing what he has said in Leadership meetings -- that McGovern et al do damage to our negotiating position by making counter proposals.

Jeb Magruder thought that worse storms had been weathered (he cited the Judge Friday and Liddy example) and that we should all have confidence in the President's ultimately correct design.

Harry Flemming thought we should say nothing, let the issue drop, and rely on the fact that the American public neither knows you nor follows the debate.

Dwight Chapin believes that the purpose of the Today Show interview was to show you in a quiet, competent posture. What may have been undermined by such a large news item. He believes there should have been more staffing (Dick Moore,

Bill Safire, etc.) of your remarks. Chapin also believes that you will become the Victim of White House and Washington jealousies that will begin back stabbing you and diminishing your power.

Peter Dailey believes that the response by your defenders should permit only two alternatives -- either the Democrats are traitors or they are so stupid in undermining the President's negotiating position that they should be disqualified from national leadership positions.

Administratively Confidential

February 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Presidential Papers and
Estate Plan

Simultaneous with the return of my January 27 memorandum asking for guidance on the Presidential estate plan project, Hughes sent you the attached memorandum on the Proposed State Funeral Plan for President Nixon. Rose Woods also received a copy, but Hughes believes the next action step is yours.

Concerning the Presidential estate plan, your direction was to "hold" presumably after discussing the matter with Ehrlichman. There must be some excellent reasons for the delay because the arguments in favor of resolving this entire matter before the China trip are powerful. Without belaboring the subject you should know that:

- 1) If the President or Mrs. Nixon were to die, the President's papers would be controlled by his immediate family;
- 2) If either or both were to die, some of the papers and memorabilia would have to be sold to pay the federal estate tax;
- 3) If any member of the top White House Staff with personal control of some of the Presidential papers were to die, while a resident of Maryland, heavy state death taxes would be levied in addition to causing federal estate tax problems.

The Kalmbach, DeMarco and Mudge Rose plans can be consolidated and implemented quickly. I strongly urge you and Mr. Ehrlichman to reconsider the decision to "hold" the Presidential papers and estate project.

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By NARS, Date 1-8-80

SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

SUBJECT: Proposed State Funeral Plan for President Nixon

As we discussed, the updated plan has been modified to include several suggestions arising from considerations by you, me and Rose Woods. She now has the plan.

I think the first step and one that should be initiated immediately is the procurement of a plot for the President and the First Lady. In my opinion the one that has been recommended by Mr. Paul Miller as a result of a visit to Rose Hill Memorial Park is appropriate and we should move on that soonest. As you may remember, it overlooks the Milhous plot. I believe that we should recommend that only the President and the First Lady be buried there. There is more than ample room for this, yet a Presidential plot should probably have a little more space than the ordinary one.

If you concur, I would recommend that the President's personal lawyer on the West Coast, I guess that is Herb Kalmbach, start moving on this. Mr. Paul Miller, of the Military District of Washington, is available to assist on a very private basis. Vern Coffey is also well read in and can provide continuity.

Naturally, I am available to assist in any way that you wish me to.



MAJOR GENERAL JAMES D. HUGHES

Copy to: Rose Woods

Cytron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

February 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACIAN

SUBJECT:

Vietnam Announcement
Poll -- Jan 26-27

You asked several questions about the popularity and trial heat results within the various demographic groups (memoranda attached at Tab A). The questions in your memoranda have been numbered so that Benham's responses (attached at Tab B) can be quickly compared.

To the extent Benham's memoranda do not answer the questions asked, the reason is the statistical insignificance of certain demographic group shifts. The guide to "Statistical Significance of Survey", which is submitted with the package of detailed demographics, points out that the statistical margin of error is between 2% and 17% depending on the demographic group (copy of chart attached at Tab C). For example, when only 54 of the 18-20 year olds are interviewed the result that 59% approve, the actual results (if everyone in the statistical universe were interviewed) could be either 76% or 42% approval. Although on a probability argument the closer the results approach the statistical limit the more significant the shift, Benham strongly emphasizes that the chart's percentage figures should be considered conservatively. Unless the change is outside the statistical percentage, they should be disregarded.

To compare shifts within demographic groups from one poll to another, the differences must be even larger to be statistically significant. At Tab D is the ORC chart on the sampling tolerances for comparing two survey percentages. To respond to your specific question about the apparent drops in approval by women, those 50 years and older, and those with an education of 8th grade or less, discussions with Benham develop these comments:

The drop in approval by women from 52% to 49% between November 21-22 and January 26-27 is not statistically significant. That 3% variation does not come close to the 8% required when one 500 sample is compared with another 500 sample.

Concerning the shift of the 50+ age group, the drop from 55% approval on the November 19-21 survey to 49% on the January 26-27 survey is considerably below the 8-11% needed when comparing two demographic groups of between

250 and 500. The 12% drop in this older group between the September 7-8 survey and the January 26-27 survey is significant, especially since the bulk of the drop occurred between September 7-8 and October 9-10. However, the 61% approval in the September 7-8 poll is really a unique peak rather than a base against which a drop is to be measured. The ORC August 21-22 poll had approval at 55%, the ORC July 20-21 at 52% and June 5-6 at 57%. The 61% peak could be attributable to the President's anti-inflation announcements on August 15, as well as the identification with older voters by visiting the nursing home in Nashua, New Hampshire on August 6. Therefore, the constant approval level for the President among this group is approximately 55% with statistically insignificant variations from that base of support.

Concerning the drop by those with educational levels of 8th grade or less, again, the 6% between November 19-21 and January 26-27 is not statistically significant. Even the drop from 56% to 44% between September 7-8 and January 26-27 is not significant because the comparison of two groups of 100 interviewees requires a difference of 17%.

When a comparison is made between two demographic groups (men and women) between two surveys, the results must be considered even more carefully. It is not possible to conclude that because men rose 6% in approval and women dropped 3% that there is a net 9% drop which shows a very significant weakness among women. The reason that this conclusion is invalid is that there is an overlap for statistical variations of 7% (i. e., men - 58%=66% or 50%; women - 49%=57% or 41%). The only conclusion that can be drawn is that more men approve the President than women. To determine whether this 9% spread between men and women is a statistical quirk rather than an indication of a trend, another ORC survey in the next month or so would be required.

As you know, Tom Benham prepared an analysis of five surveys which allowed the demographic groups to be pooled so that the groups were large enough to yield statistically significant conclusions. An updated two-page summary that I prepared in November from this book of tables and conversations with Benham is attached at Tab E.

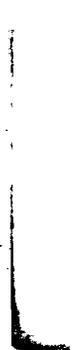
One solution to the "statistical significance" problem is the group interview technique which you used in 1968. When the same people are re-interviewed and their attitudes toward the President have improved that is significant. Of course, as the same people are re-interviewed again and again, they become "jaded" towards questions and their responses become increasingly questionable. Scylla and Charybdis.

The trial heat comparisons that appear in Benham's analysis at Tab B are his preliminary comments based on available data. He has gone back through the

demographic charts and had some more computer runs prepared. These were mailed on February 3 and should be available for your review on February 7. Benham will be in Washington on February 7 and would be available to discuss any of these materials with you.



A



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN *HR*

I don't understand some of the breaks on the demographic tab of the January poll, question 1.

1 For example, I don't see how both union families and non-union families can have dropped three points in the period from September to January when the overall total has only dropped two points. It just doesn't average out that way.

2 For another example, I don't see how the income split in September can be right when the total public shows a 56% approval, how can you have the under \$5,000 at 57, the over \$15,000 at 61, and the \$5 - \$15 at 55? It would seem to me that these would have to average out to more than 56.

*G → Benham 1/31, FU 2/1 -
delay to 2/3*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

Some questions it might be interesting to find the answer to with regard to the poll today --

#3

-- On the Trial Heats are the same people voting for us each time when it is Muskie and Kennedy. We get 52% on both. Also how similar are the the constituencies between Muskie and Kennedy with their 36 and 41. It appears that Wallace hurts us more than he does either Kennedy or Muskie. Where does Wallace hurt us more -- south or north or with a particular age group or what? Realistically the 2% increase over our ORC November poll is statistically insignificant. I assume you are finding out the shift here.

Received

With regard to question #2. We have to get a four-way break here rather than just the two-way.

#4

-- Question #3 doesn't really tell us very much except there has been a small upsurge in support of Vietnam. Where did it occur.

#5 will

-- Question #4 is very disturbing in that we have dropped a total of eight points here. It would be interesting to break question #4 against Question #1 to find out what our supporters are thinking.

#6 will

-- With regard to Question #9 it would be interesting to see if the 34% that don't think we did a good job on the speech are the same 34% who don't approve us.

#7 will

-- Also, is there anybody who is in the 17% on Question #10 who is not in the 34% on Question #9.

(17% ✓ ... with Mike)

#8

-- Who makes up the 46% on Question #11 that we are having problems with. How many are the same people on Question #9 and how many of these are the same people who disapprove us?

#9 *avail*

-- How many on Question #12 in the 38% are the same people who disapprove of the President?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

I don't know if you have seen a copy of this, but these are some notes Bob did as a result of taking the ORC data with him over the weekend.

It might be interesting to get Benham's reaction to the things Bob has noted since he failed to name most of them in his original analysis. It would also be helpful to have Tom Benham review the data from the ~~two~~ previous polls.

1
cards

Also, you should plan on making up one of these ~~cards~~ everytime we ~~do~~ one of these telephone polls.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

Bob asked that Benham do, as soon as possible, an analysis of the shifts involved in the demographics for the last four or five polls in the trial heat areas. What we would like Benham to do here is look for something a little more subtle than just the numbers which will be pretty obvious as soon as you do the necessary charts and what the reasoning is behind the shifts.

G₂ → Benham 2/1
FU 2/2 - delay
2/3 - new runs mailed

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 1, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

Bob has raised again the question of the shifts in the trial heats and asked that you give this project top priority in getting a report back in to him. Also, as I think I told you, with regard to his notes on the January poll, he would like an explanation or at least ORC's evaluation of an explanation of why some of these figures have changed. Why are we showing a serious weakness in women, why are people over fifty dropping, etc. Please get this in as soon as possible.

Is anybody making arrangements of getting our national data to Teeter or what's the situation here? The same would be true of getting stuff to the A.G.

Bob covered w/ AG personally 1/31

No, decision not to involve Teeter after SOTU project

NOTES ON JANUARY POLL

RE: Approval of the President

In October and November there was a very little difference between men and women in their approval. However, in the January poll, approval by men has gone up 6 points, while approval by women has gone down 3 points. There is now a very substantial 9 point spread indicating a serious weakness among women.

Why?

Age groups have been erratic over the last few months in their shifts up and down, but over the period from September through October, November and January, approval by 18-20 year olds is up very substantially, not much change in the 20s, a recovery from the November drop among the 30-50 age group, and a serious drop in the 50 and over.

By age group, there's a major drop in the grammar school education, a recovery of the drop among high school graduates, and a substantial increase among college people.

By political affiliation, there's a recovery of the drop among Republicans, no change among Democrats or Independents.

Regionally, there was a drop in the East in October which has gradually been recovered, a drop in the Mid-West in October which has

now turned to a substantial gain, a steady decline in the South, and a steady decline in the West.

In September the South and West were the two strongest regions, the Mid-West the weakest, and the East about average. Today, the Mid-West is the strongest, with the others about average. *Why?*

In summary, there has been a major and continuing drop among women, among those over 50, and among those with an elementary school education. *Why?*

HRH

1/31/72

QUESTION 1 62049 JANUARY 26-27, 1972 1026 INTERVIEWS

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY RICHARD NIXON IS HANDLING HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT

	PERCENTAGE BASE		OPINION											
	UNWTD	WTD	APPROVE				DISAPPROVE				NO OPINION			
			D-NOV 26-27 '72	D-NOV 16-21 '71	D-OCT 9-15 '71	D-SEP 7-8 '71	D-SEP 24-27 '72	D-NOV 16-21 '71	D-NOV 16-21 '71	D-SEP 7-8 '71	D-NOV 16-21 '71	D-OCT 9-15 '71	D-SEP 7-8 '71	D-NOV 16-21 '71
TOTAL PUBLIC	1026	1135	54	52	52	56	36	33	38	24	10	15	10	10
MEN	511	564	+58	52	52	53	33	34	42	25	9	14	6	7
WOMEN	515	572	-49	52	53	54	39	33	33	33	12	15	14	13
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	54	82	++59	46	55	36	35	27	41	53	6	17	4	11
21-29 YEARS	228	216	+54	50	47	53	39	38	41	40	7	14	12	7
30-49 YEARS	408	400	++58	49	56	56	33	35	35	35	9	16	9	9
50 YEARS AND OVER	335	437	-49	55	51	61	37	31	37	26	14	14	12	13
8TH GRADE OR LESS	110	261	-44	51	47	56	39	31	39	30	17	18	14	14
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	145	200	47	47	46	47	42	37	39	39	11	16	15	14
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	364	400	+58	52	55	54	34	35	38	33	8	13	7	8
SOME COLLEGE	404	270	+62	55	57	59	30	33	35	35	8	12	3	6
UNION FAMILIES	270	307	44	41	41	47	46	45	48	45	10	14	11	8
NONUNION FAMILIES	756	829	57	56	57	60	32	29	33	29	11	15	10	11
WHITE	929	1014	56	54	56	58	33	32	34	32	11	14	10	10
NONWHITE	95	119	32	34	25	34	58	44	60	52	10	22	15	14
PROTESTANT	536	600	58	56	55	60	31	33	37	30	11	11	8	10
CATHOLIC	281	304	48	48	50	54	42	36	38	26	10	16	12	10
JEWISH	41	44	29	41	24	X	63	55	76	X	8	4	0	X
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	151	237	49	49	43	57	35	36	44	32	16	15	13	11
\$5,000 - \$15,000	559	597	55	51	53	55	35	36	38	36	10	13	9	9
OVER \$15,000	234	207	56	58	60	61	39	33	36	31	5	9	4	8
NOW REGISTERED	827	899	55	53	54	56	35	35	37	34	10	12	9	10
WILL REGISTER	159	185	49	51	48	54	38	27	36	34	13	22	16	12
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	986	1085	54	53	53	56	36	24	37	34	10	13	10	10
WON'T REGISTER	40	51	48	28	25	60	31	29	59	33	21	43	16	7
REPUBLICAN	340	225	82	77	82	84	12	12	12	9	6	11	6	7
DEMOCRAT	572	382	38	38	38	37	51	47	44	49	11	15	13	12
INDEPENDENT	325	326	56	57	57	57	33	31	37	35	11	12	6	6
LEAN REPUBLICAN	115	113	78	77	83	81	18	12	12	17	4	9	5	2
LEAN DEMOCRAT	130	140	39	36	31	37	49	44	63	51	12	15	6	12
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	127	129	51	52	59	55	27	22	25	30	22	20	16	15
CONSERVATIVE	321	274	72	62	69	71	22	23	28	22	6	15	3	17
LIBERAL	200	217	44	53	55	59	49	55	58	53	7	12	7	5
IN BETWEEN	365	489	49	50	56	57	38	23	34	33	13	15	10	10
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	227	249	54	63	67	65	38	25	25	29	8	12	8	6
LEAN LIBERAL	165	185	47	47	43	47	41	32	46	42	12	21	11	11
OTHER BETWEEN	160	202	43	48	40	47	33	36	39	31	24	16	21	22
NIXON VOTERS	432	450	77	74	77	76	16	15	18	16	7	11	5	3
BUFFERY VOTERS	216	230	24	27	24	29	67	63	65	59	9	10	11	12
WALLACE VOTERS	55	67	39	40	43	56	48	45	53	35	13	15	4	9
NONVOTERS	251	299	48	41	45	44	37	32	42	44	15	21	13	12
EAST	266	230	+53	50	47	55	38	39	41	X	9	11	12	6
MIDWEST	239	312	+56	51	46	51	34	35	42	X	10	14	12	10
SOUTH	299	356	53	54	59	60	33	29	32	X	14	19	8	13
WEST	172	187	52	51	57	58	41	36	34	X	7	13	9	11

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION
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Big jump = women; 50+; 8th grade;

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

Polling Date	A	D	N.O.	DATE REFS
O-Aug 21-22	<u>56</u>	<u>31</u>	13	N.R.
Union	48	39	13	
Non-Union	59	28	13	
*G-Aug 20-23	51	37	12	9/1
*G-Aug 27-30	49	38	13	9/1
*H-Aug	48	50	2	10/
O-Sep 7-8	<u>56</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>10</u>	N.R.
Union	47	45	8	
Non-Union	60	29	11	
*H-Sep 20-25	51	48	1	10/
O-Oct 9-10	<u>52</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>10</u>	N.R.
Union	41	48	11	
Non-Union	57	33	10	
*G-Oct 8-11	54	35	11	10/
*G-Oct 29- Nov 1	49	37	14	11/
O-Nov. 19-21	<u>52</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>15</u>	
Union	41	45	14	
Non-Union	56	29	15	
*G-Oct 29- Nov. 1	49	37	14	11/
*H-Oct 28- Nov 12	53	46	1	11/
*G-Dec 10-13	49	37	14	12/
*H-Dec 28- Jan 4, '72	49	47	4	
*G-Jan 7-9	49	39	12	1/2
O-Jan 26-27	<u>54</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>10</u>	

*No union/non-union demographics given.

2. How would you rate the job President Nixon is doing as President -- excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Good-Excellent</u>	<u>Only Fair-Poor</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
H-Mar '70	52	45	3
H-Apr '70	52	46	2
H-May '70	51	45	4
H-Jun '70	52	45	3
H-Jul '70	52	46	2
H-Aug '70	48	49	3
H-Sep '70	50	45	5
H-Oct '70	54	44	2
H-Nov '70	47	50	3
H-Jan '71	48	50	2
H-Feb '71	43	54	3
H-Mar '71	41	56	3
H-Apr '71 (early)	46	53	1
H-Apr '71 (late)	47	50	3
H-May '71	47	50	3
H-Jun '71	50	48	2
H-Jul '71	44	53	3
H-Aug '71	48	50	2
H-Sep '71	51	48	1
H-Oct 28- Nov 12 '71	53	46	1
H-Dec 28- Jan 4 '72	49	47	4
O-Jan 26-27 '72	53	45	2

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
G-Feb 19-21, 1971	41	46	13
O-Mar 6-7, 1971	41	47	12
O-Apr 1, 1971	32	46	22
O-Apr 5-6, 1971	42	46	12
O-Apr 8, 1971	48	40	12
O-Apr 12-13, 1971	48	40	12
O-Apr 22, 1971	40	45	15
O-May 1-2, 1971	48	41	11
O-May 6-7, 1971	46	38	16
O-Jun 5-6, 1971	48	43	9
O-Jun 21, 1971	46	41	13
O-Aug 21-22, 1971	47	40	13
G-Sep 3-16, 1971	42		
H-Sep, 1971	44	54	2
O-Nov 19-21, 1971	50	39	11
Union	46	44	10
Non-Union	53	36	11
H-Dec 28- Jan 4, '72	40	54	6
O-Jan 26-27, '72	54	38	8

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
H-Feb 19-21, 1971	37	48	15
O-Aug 21-22, 1971	59	31	10
Union	48	38	14
Non-union	63	28	9
O-Sep 7-8, 1971	56	32	12
Union	49	41	10
Non-Union	60	28	12
O-Oct 9-10, 1971	57	35	8
Union	47	46	7
Non-Union	62	30	8
O-Nov 19-21, 1971	48	39	13
Union	41	51	8
Non-Union	51	34	15
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	46	45	9

5. Did you see President Nixon's television speech on the Vietnam peace negotiations Tuesday evening?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	60	40	0

If "no" or "don't know" on question #5 then question #6 is asked:

6. Did you hear or read anything about President Nixon's speech on the Vietnam peace negotiations Tuesday evening?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	17	23	0

VIETNAM ANNOUNCEMENT POLL
 Polling Dates: Jan 26-27, 1972
 Respondents: 1026

-5-

If "yes" to either question #5 or question #6 then ask questions #7 through #11:

7. In general, how do you rate your reaction to what President Nixon said in his speech on Vietnam peace negotiations?

<u>Polling Dates & Events</u>	<u>Awareness</u>	<u>Reaction</u>				<u>N.C.</u>
		<u>VF</u>	<u>SF</u>	<u>SU</u>	<u>VU</u>	
State of Union O-Jan 25-28, 1971	68	26	47	14	6	12
Annual Foreign Policy Report O-May 1-3, 1971	36	17	40	20	11	7
Press Conference on Foreign Policy O-May 6-7, 1971	55	20	39	18	14	9
Calley Case O-Apr 1, 1971	96					
Report on Vietnam O-Apr 8, 1971	69	25	38	16	13	8
O-Apr 12-13, 1971	74	20	42	18	10	10
Vietnam Veterans Demonstration O-Apr 22, 1971	77					
Press Conference of Apr 29 O-May 1-2, 1971	61	24	39	18	9	10
Press Conference of Jun 1 O-Jun 5-6, 1971	44	21	37	19	12	11
Pentagon Papers O-Jun 21, 1971	51					
China Announcement O-Jul 20-21, 1971	85	33	35	12	10	10
Economic Announcement G-Aug 18, 1971	91	46	22	6	5	12 (9:1 Aver
Economic Announcement O-Aug 21-22, 1971	82	27	46	13	9	5
Union	89	17	49	16	11	7
Non-Union	80	32	45	11	8	4
Vietnam Announcement	77	29	44	16	8	3

8. After President Nixon's speech on the Vietnam peace negotiations Tuesday evening, what do you feel are the chances of settling the Vietnam war by negotiation - excellent, good, fair, or poor?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	5	20	36	34	5

9. President Nixon has often been criticized in recent months for his handling of the Vietnam war. Do you feel the President, in his speech, adequately answered his critics regarding Vietnam negotiation, or not?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	56	34	10
Democrats	45	43	12
Republicans	75	16	9
Independents	57	35	8

10. Do you agree or disagree with President Nixon's decision to make public the details of the secret peace negotiations in Paris?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	76	17	7

11. Do you agree with President Nixon's statement on T.V. that he has "gone the extra mile" in trying to settle Vietnam at the negotiating table, or do you feel he should be making a stronger effort than he has?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	50	46	5

Ask everybody:

12. In his State of the Union Address last Thursday, the President announced an increase in defense spending to prevent the United States from falling behind Russia in defense capability. Do you support the President's stand in this area, or do you think we should not increase defense spending?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Support Pres.- Should Increase</u>	<u>Should Not</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	51	38	11

13. In his State of the Union Speech, the President said that "soaring property tax rates now threaten both our communities and schools." He said he would make a recommendation this year for relieving this burden and providing federal financing for our schools. Do you agree or disagree with the President that property taxes are now a major threat and must be reduced by federal action?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	75	17	8

14. There has been some criticism of the President's new budget because it proposes another deficit. Which do you feel is more important -- a balanced budget for the government, or a program to stimulate the economy even if it means a large deficit in the federal budget?

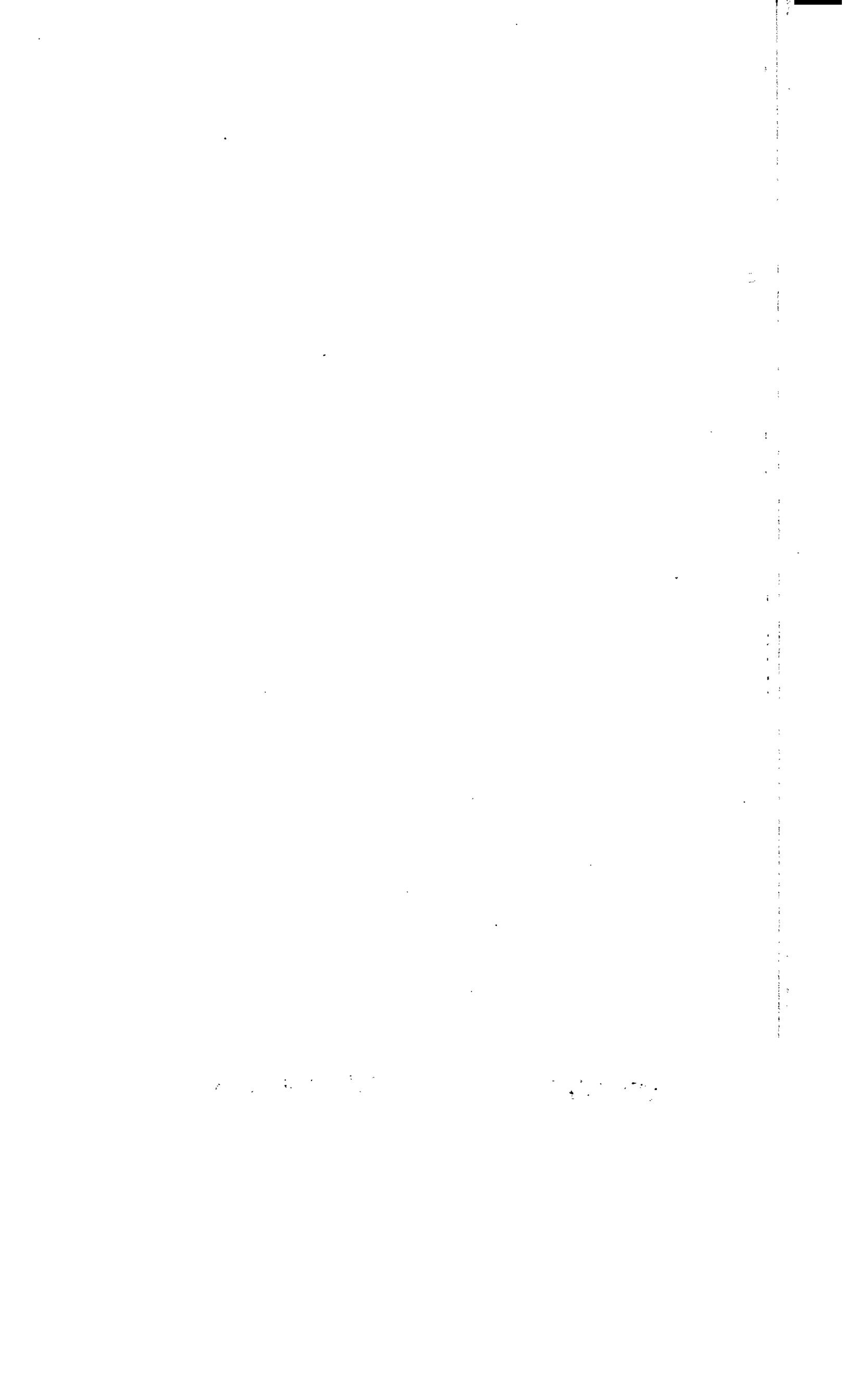
<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	36	47	17

15. There is currently a constitutional amendment pending in Congress that would prohibit any child from being assigned to a school on the basis of race. If this amendment were passed, it would overturn recent court decisions that have resulted in compulsory bussing of students. Do you favor or oppose such a constitutional amendment?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jan 26-27, 1972	66	27	7

1971

Poll Dates	MUSKIE	KENNEDY	HHH	McGOV	LINDSAY
G - June 4-7	39-41-12-8	42-41-10-7	42-39-12-7		
H - July	40-42-13-5	44-36-13-7			
G - Aug. 20-23	42-36-11-11	43-38-10-9	43-37-11-9		45-30-12-1
H - Aug. 24-27	47-45-8 43-41-12-4	48-37-11-4	45-36-12-7	48-33-13-6	48-33-13-
G - Sep. 3-16	41-37-10-12	42-40-9-9	42-38-11-9		45-29-15-1
H - Sep. 24 Oct. 1	50-40-10 47-35-11-7	45-38-11-6	45-36-12-7		50-31-11-
G - Oct. 8-11	43-35-13-9				
O - Nov. 19-21	45-39-16 40-33-16-11	47-42-11 41-39-12-8	51-38-11 43-34-14-9		
G - Nov. 19-22	44-41-10-5	44-41-10-5	47-37-12-4	49-33-12-6	
H - Oct. 28 Nov. 12	43-39-11-7	45-37-11-7	45-36-12-7		
H - Nov. 1-12	43-39-11-7		45-36-12-7	49-31-12-8	49-31-12-
H - Dec. 28 Jan. 4	42-42-11-5 45-48-7	50-41-9 45-39-10-6	51-40-9 46-37-12-5		
G - Dec. 10 13	44-41	44-41			
<u>1972</u>					
G - Jan. 7-9			47-37		
O - Jan. 26-27	52-36-12 46-32-13-9	52-41-7 45-37-12-6	58-33-9 50-30-12-8		



February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: TOM BENHAM
SUBJECT: Vietnam Announcement Poll
January 26-27, 1972

Question #1: "I don't see how both union families and non-union families can have dropped three points in the period from September to January when the overall total has only dropped two points. It just doesn't average out that way."

Answer #1: There are two factors. It is computer rounding basically. The difference between a total drop and the average of the subgroup drop is only one percent. The computer rounds out all numbers and forces the total to 100 percent. The various weights applied to the population also affect the subgroup slightly. As a matter of fact, none of the differences from September to January are significant for the size of sample. There are only three points for union families and three points for non-union families.

Question #2: "I don't see how the income split in September can be right. When the total public shows a 56% approval, how can you have the under \$5,000 at 57, the over \$15,000 at 61, and the \$5-\$15 at 55? It would seem to me that these would have to average out to more than 56."

Answer #2: Well, aside from computer rounding, another factor is that there are eight percent who don't disclose their income. These are left out of those three breaks but included in the total. That eight percent voted 56 percent approval, 32 percent disapprove and 12 percent no opinion. This group along with

the \$5,000-\$15,000 income category is well over half the sample so the two things together tend to bring the average down. In other words, you've got the figures grouped with 55 percent.

Question #3: "On the trial heats are the same people voting for us each time when it is Muskie and Kennedy. We get 52 percent on both. Also how similar are the constituencies between Muskie and Kennedy with their 36 and 41. It appears that Wallace hurts us more than he does either Kennedy or Muskie -- where does Wallace hurt us more -- South or North or with a particular age group or what? Realistically the two percent increase over our ORC November poll is statistically insignificant. I assume you are finding out the shift here."

Answer #3: We cross-broke the two runs, the Nixon/Muskie/Kennedy versus Nixon/Kennedy undecided. Now, taking the voters who voted for Nixon against Muskie -- when Kennedy is the opponent 82 percent vote for Nixon, 16 percent for Kennedy and two undecided. Those who voted for Muskie when it is a Nixon/Kennedy race, 17 percent vote for Nixon, 77 percent for Kennedy and six percent are undecided. Of the undecided in the Nixon/Muskie race we have 26 percent for Nixon, 36 percent for Kennedy and 38 percent undecided. So there is a cross-over. In other words, some of the Muskie voters refused to vote for Kennedy and some of the Nixon voters leave him to vote when Kennedy is the opponent instead of Muskie. If you look at the same data in the opposite direction -- take the Nixon/Kennedy race versus Nixon/Muskie, on those who vote for Nixon against Kennedy, 82 percent vote for Nixon against Muskie but twelve percent switch over to Muskie, six percent go to undecided. Among those who vote for Kennedy against Nixon, 22 percent go now to Nixon, 68 percent stay to Muskie, ten percent undecided. The undecided in the Nixon/Kennedy race go ten percent Nixon, twenty percent Muskie, 62 percent undecided. So it actually balances out, though in both cases there are some Democrats who will vote for the one candidate but not

for the other. There are some Republicans who will desert Nixon for one candidate but not for the other so it comes to the same 52 percent but there is a little difference.

Now, when you compare the background data on it too, you can see that there is a slight difference. President Nixon gets 52 percent of the vote against both Muskie and Kennedy. They are not the same types. When running against Muskie, President Nixon draws better among voters in the 18-20 year old and non-white and Catholics than when he runs against Kennedy. When Kennedy is the candidate, he does better among those groups. Those are the only significant shifts -- youth, non-whites and Catholics.

Question #4: There has been a small upsurge in support of the President's Vietnam policies -- which groups did it occur in?

Answer #4: All the significant categories are youth, those who attended college, Republicans and Conservatives. Among 18-20 year olds, even though it is a small sample, you have a change from 38 percent to 54 percent. Among the 21-29 age group moved from 43 percent up to 56 percent. Those who attended college went for 53 percent in November to 62 percent in January -- Republicans 67 percent up to 79 percent -- Republican leaners from 63 percent to 82 -- Conservatives from 57 percent to 70 percent. Obviously the President's handling of Vietnam, pulling troops out and his firmness of the whole thing is having a significant effect.

Question #5: "Question #4 (Do you approve or disapprove ^{of} the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?) is very disturbing in that we have dropped a total of eight points here. It would be interesting to break question #4 against Question #1 (Presidential popularity) to find out what our supporters are thinking."

Answer #5: This cross-break of the President's handling of the economic conditions against Presidential popularity appears as a matter of course on the detailed demographic charts. However, Benham had these comments.

Relatively few critics of President Nixon's overall performance approve of his handling of economic conditions. On the other hand, criticism of the Administration's efforts in the economic area does not necessarily carry over to the overall evaluation. Thirty percent who disapprove of President Nixon's handling of economic conditions approve of his overall performance in office; with the economy there is a relationship, but it is not one to one.

Question #6: It would be interesting to see if the 34 percent who don't think we did a good job with the speech are the same 34 percent who don't approve of us.

Answer #6: Among those who approve of Nixon's handling his job as President, 74 percent say he adequately answers his critics, 18 percent said no. On the disapprove of Nixon's handling of his job as President, 28 percent say he adequately answered, 60 percent say no. There is therefore a relationship but conclusions would be speculative.

Question #7: "Is there anybody who is in the 17 percent on Question #10 (Do you agree or disagree with President Nixon's decision to make public the details of the secret peace negotiations in Paris?) who is not in the 34 percent on Question #9 (President Nixon has often been criticized in recent months for his handling of the Vietnam war. Do you feel the President, in his speech, adequately answered his critics regarding Vietnam negotiation, or not?).

Answer #7: There are few people (read down on the chart on the next page) among those who say that Nixon adequately answered his critics, 62 percent of the total agree with his decision to disclose details and 28 percent do not. Among those who say he did not adequately answer, 33 percent agree and 57 percent disagree.

<u>Decision to Disclose Details</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
President Nixon adequately answered his critics.	62	33	51
He did not.	28	57	38
No opinion.	10	10	11

(Read figures down)

Question #8: "Who makes up the 46 percent on Question #11 (Do you agree with President Nixon's statement on T. V. that he has 'gone the extra mile' in trying to settle Vietnam at the negotiating table, or do you feel he should be making a stronger effort than he has?) that we are having problems with. How many are the same people on Question #9 (President Nixon has often been criticized in recent months for his handling of the Vietnam war. Do you feel the President, in his speech, adequately answered his critics regarding Vietnam negotiation, or not?) and how many of these are the same people who disapprove us?"

Answer #8: Opinion is divided regarding President Nixon's effort to settle the Vietnam situation. Fifty percent say he has gone the extra mile while 46 percent feel he should be making a greater effort. The critical point of view cuts across all of the demographical lines but is strongest among voters age 18-20, non-white and the Democratic leaners. Critics of President Nixon's overall performance in the handling of Vietnam and the economy also stand out in their criticisms. 76 percent of those who say that President Nixon did not adequately answer his critics in his Vietnam speech say that he should be making a stronger effort to settle the Vietnam situation.

	<u>Gone Extra Mile</u>	<u>Should Make Stronger Effort</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
President Nixon adequately answered his critics.	71	26	3
He did not.	19	76	5

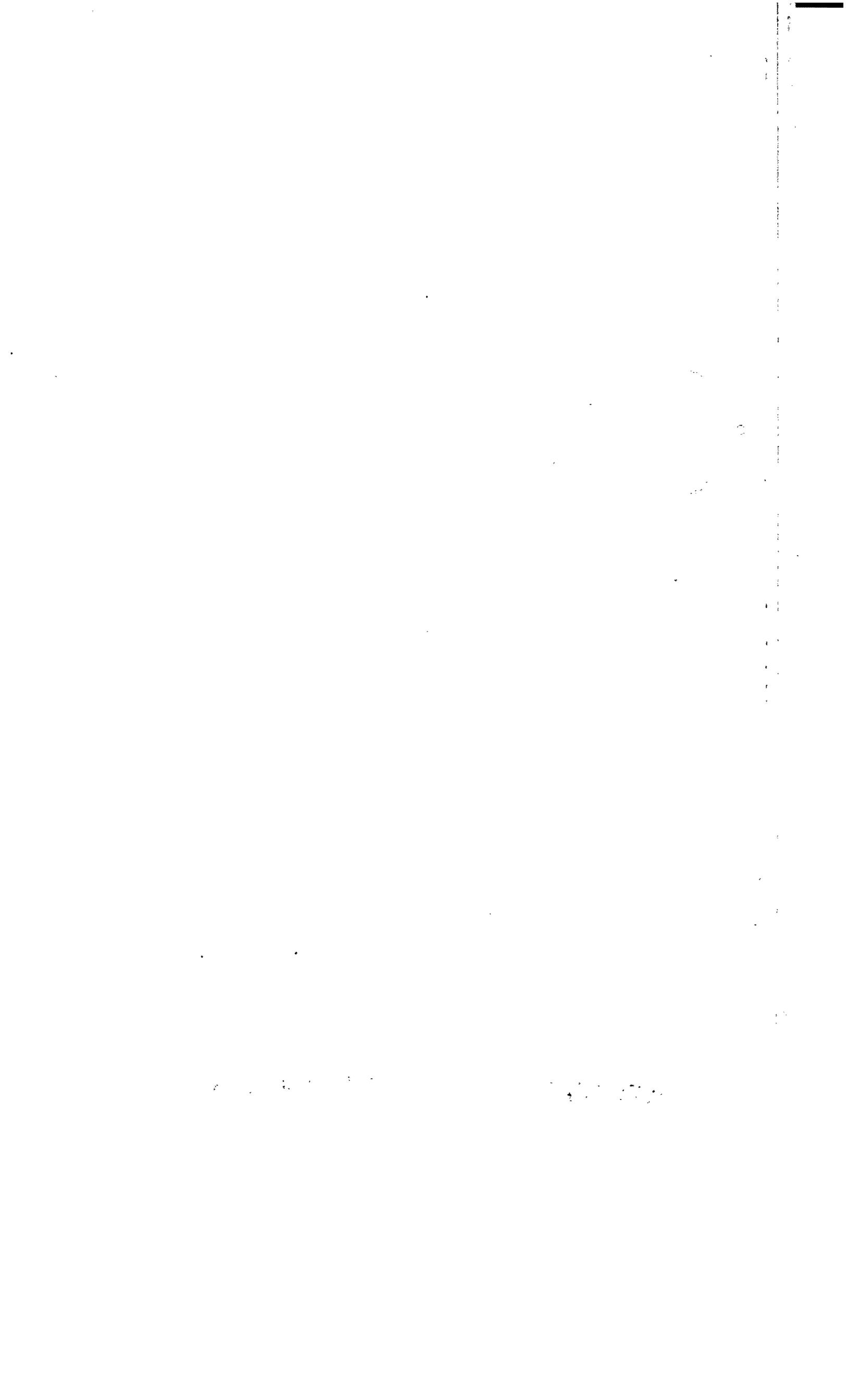
(Read figures down)

Question #9: "How many on question #12 (In his State of the Union Address last Thursday, the President announced an increase in defense spending to prevent the United States from falling behind Russia in defense capability. Do you support the President's stand in this area, or do you think we should not increase defense spending?) are in the 38 percent of the same people who disapprove of the President?"

Answer #9: The reaction to President Nixon's announcement regarding an increase in Defense spending to keep pace with Russia militarily is somewhat divided. 51 percent support the President and 38 percent do not. Those who approve of President Nixon's performance in office are far more likely to support the President on his Defense stand than to oppose him -- sixty percent versus 31 percent. Critics of the Administration divide pretty evenly -- 38 percent support the Administration and 48 percent do not.

	<u>Support the President's stand</u>	<u>Do not increase Defense Spending</u>	<u>N. O.</u>
Approve President Nixon's performance	60	31	9
Disapprove	38	48	14
N. O.	46	42	12

(Read figures across)



STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SURVEY RESULTS

Stub Item	Number of Interviews (Unweighted)	Approximate Sampling Tolerances for a Survey Percentage at or Near These Levels					1968 Voting Participation
		10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%	
Total public	1,026	2%	3%	4%	4%	4%	67.8
Men	511	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	69.8
Women	515	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	66.0
18 - 20 years of age	54	10%	13%	15%	16%	17%	33.3
21 - 29 years	228	5%	6%	7%	8%	8%	57.1
30 - 49 years	408	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%	70.0
50 years and over	335	4%	5%	6%	7%	7%	71.3
8th grade or less	110	7%	9%	11%	11%	12%	54.5
High school incomplete	145	6%	8%	9%	10%	10%	61.3
High school graduate	364	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%	72.5
Some college	404	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%	81.2
Married families	270	4%	6%	7%	7%	7%	
Non-married families	756	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%	
White	929	2%	3%	4%	4%	4%	69.1
Nonwhite	95	8%	10%	12%	12%	13%	56.2
Protestant	536	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	
Catholic	281	4%	6%	7%	7%	7%	
Under \$5,000 income	151	6%	8%	9%	10%	10%	56.0
\$5,000 - \$15,000	559	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	72.0
Over \$15,000	234	5%	6%	7%	8%	8%	84.1
Will register	827	3%	3%	4%	4%	4%	91.2
Will not register	159	6%	8%	9%	10%	10%	
Will register	986	2%	3%	4%	4%	4%	
Will not register	40	12%	15%	18%	19%	19%	

The 18 - 20 years of age category includes only persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 years old in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii. The other age groupings are extrapolations from census data.

Data for these income groups are "primary family" income.

Stub Item	Number of Interviews (Unweighted)	Approximate Sampling Tolerances for a Survey Percentage at or Near These Levels					1968 Voting Participation
		10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%	
Republican	225	5%	7%	7%	8%	8%	
Democrat	382	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%	
Independent	325	4%	5%	6%	7%	7%	
Lean Republican	115	7%	9%	10%	11%	11%	
Lean Democrat	130	6%	9%	10%	11%	11%	
Other Independents	127	7%	9%	10%	11%	11%	
Conservative	274	4%	6%	7%	7%	7%	
Liberal	200	5%	7%	8%	8%	9%	
In-between	489	3%	4%	5%	5%	6%	
Lean Conservative	227	5%	7%	7%	8%	8%	
Lean Liberal	165	6%	8%	9%	9%	10%	
Other in-between	160	6%	8%	9%	9%	10%	
Non voters	432	4%	5%	5%	6%	6%	
Shy voters	216	5%	7%	8%	8%	8%	
Place voters	55	10%	13%	15%	16%	17%	
Other voters	251	5%	6%	7%	8%	8%	
East	266	5%	6%	7%	7%	8%	71.0*
West	289	4%	6%	7%	7%	7%	71.0
Midwest	299	4%	6%	6%	7%	7%	60.1
South	172	6%	7%	9%	9%	9%	71.0
Heard or read about Nixon on TV	622	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	
Not heard or read about	198	5%	7%	8%	9%	9%	
Heard or read about Nixon	820	3%	3%	4%	4%	4%	
Not see, hear or read about	206	5%	7%	8%	8%	9%	
Disapprove Nixon handling job	578	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	
Approve Nixon handling job	352	4%	5%	6%	6%	7%	
Other opinion	96	8%	10%	11%	12%	13%	
Disapprove Nixon on Vietnam	575	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%	
Approve Nixon on Vietnam	376	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%	
Other opinion	75	8%	11%	13%	14%	14%	
Disapprove Nixon on economy	487	3%	4%	5%	5%	6%	
Approve Nixon on economy	453	3%	5%	5%	6%	6%	
Other opinion	86	8%	11%	12%	13%	13%	

census data show only the average voting participation for East, Midwest, and West combined (71.0%). Voting participation data for the South are computed separately.

* In the cases where subgroups do not add to the total, it is because respondents refused to answer the question or interviewer could not determine accurate reply.

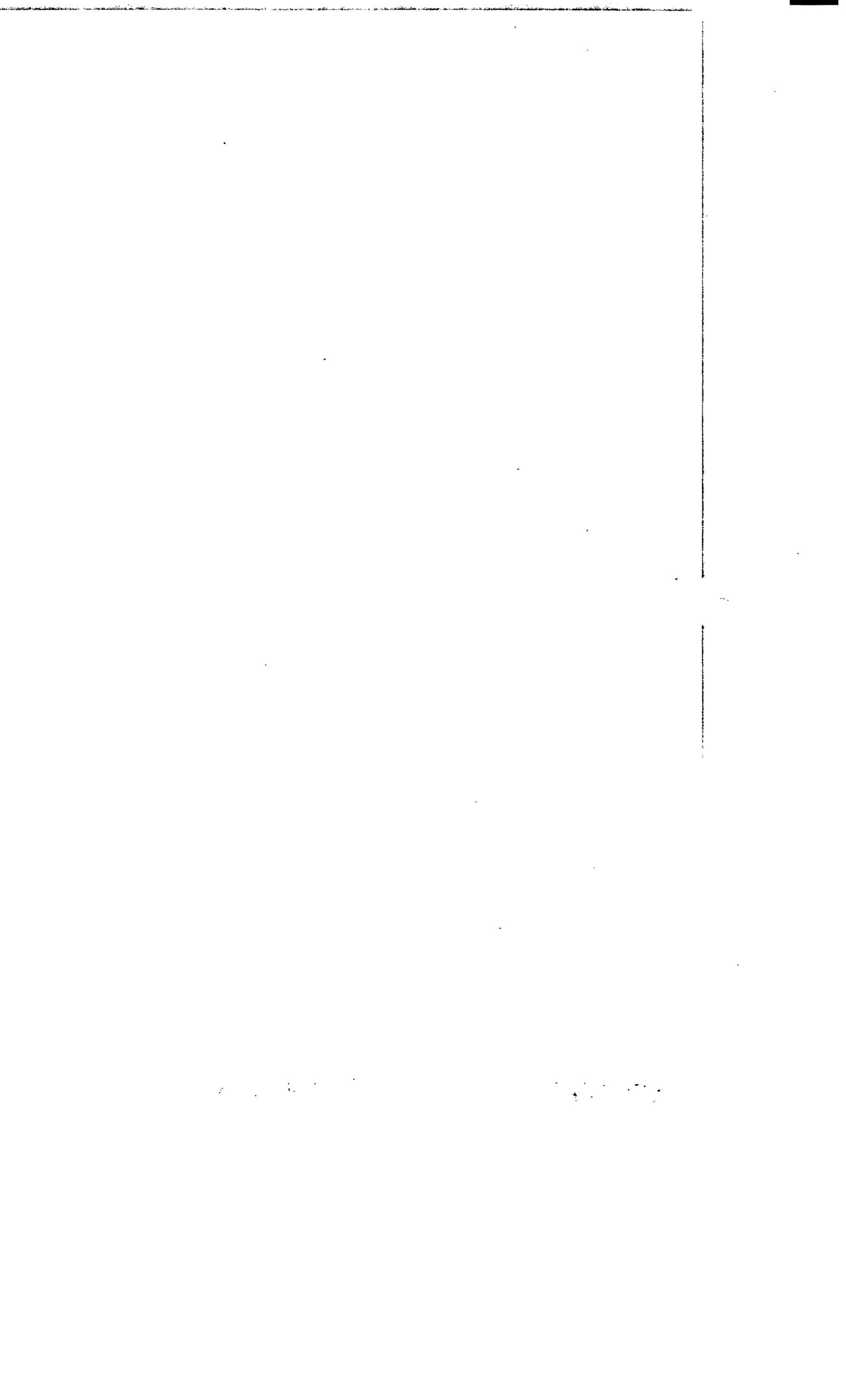


Table II

Approximate Sampling Tolerances for Differences
Between Two Survey Percentages or Near These Levels

Number of Samples	10%	20% or 30%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%
and 2000	2%	3%	4%	4%	4%
1500	2%	3%	4%	4%	4%
1000	3%	4%	4%	5%	5%
750	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%
500	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%
250	5%	7%	8%	8%	8%
100	7%	10%	11%	12%	13%
and 1500	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%
1000	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%
750	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%
500	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%
250	5%	7%	8%	8%	8%
100	8%	10%	12%	12%	13%
and 1000	4%	4%	5%	5%	6%
750	4%	5%	5%	6%	6%
500	4%	5%	6%	7%	7%
250	5%	7%	8%	8%	9%
100	8%	10%	12%	13%	13%
and 750	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%
500	4%	6%	6%	7%	7%
250	5%	7%	8%	9%	9%
100	8%	10%	12%	13%	13%
and 500	5%	6%	7%	8%	8%
250	5%	8%	8%	9%	9%
100	8%	11%	13%	14%	14%
and 250	7%	8%	10%	11%	11%
100	9%	12%	13%	14%	14%
and 100	10%	14%	16%	17%	17%

(95 in 100 Confidence Level)

Tolerances are also involved in the comparison of results from different sub-groups of a sample and in the comparison of results from two different samples. A difference, in other words, must be of at least a certain size to be considered statistically significant. Table II is a guide to the sampling tolerances applicable to such comparisons.

When to use Table II

Use this table when you need an approximate guide to statistical significance of a difference between two survey percentages. The question you usually wish to answer is: "Is the difference in percentages great enough to place some confidence in the result?"

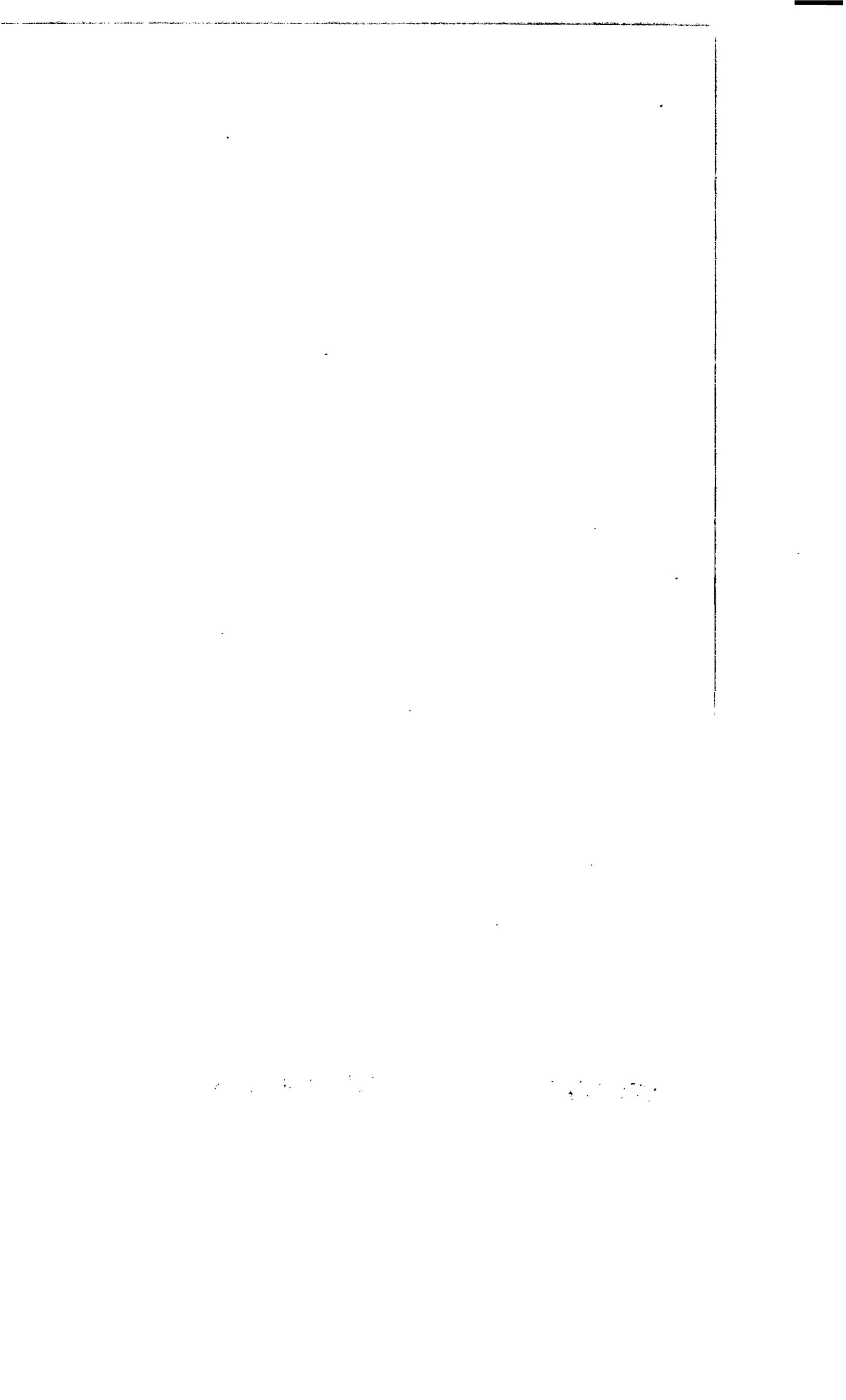
At ORC the term "statistically significant" is used to refer to a difference larger than that shown in the table. That is, the researcher can be reasonably confident (at least 95 times out of 100) that it is a true difference and not due to chance alone.

Avoid using the table as a statistical "crutch"

The subject matter importance of differences cannot be measured by this type of statistical test. The statistical test is always auxiliary to the main questions: "Is the result important?" and, "what does it mean?"

Very small and perhaps unimportant differences will be "statistically significant" if the samples are very large.

Differences which are perhaps very important because of their nature and magnitude may not be "statistically significant" if the samples are small.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

February 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

ORC Analysis of Demographic
Changes in Approval of the
President

ORC compared four surveys between March and May 1971 when the President's approval was approximately 50% with five surveys between June and August when the President's approval moved to 56%. ORC is currently working on the data from the September, October, November and January surveys to update these conclusions. However, Benham believes that these observations are still valid and therefore deserve your attention:

- 1) The President is weakest among educated youth. This group not only hasn't "come around", it is not even increasing its support with the rest of the public. Benham believes Vietnam and the draft are still issues among this group even though they are not immediate threats and constantly on the front page of the nation's newspapers. The low level of the President's popularity among the college educated youth is attributable to disagreement on all issues. The President cannot rely on the Peking trip to bring them around because of these other issues. Benham believes that the President is particularly weak in the Ecology and Consumerism areas. These generally weak areas are most pronounced among youth and women respectively.
- 2) Benham believes there will be a 50% youth turnout to vote because that was the percentage of first time 21-24 year old voters in 1968. Benham notes that since the President has a 47.5% approval rating and will get Republican and Independent youth support, he is not in as bad a position with the young voter as the media portrays.
- 3) In terms of increasing his popularity the President is doing better outside the South than in the South because his approval rate (59%) was already high in the South. Similarly, the upward move in the Midwest is attributable to our very low starting point (47-54%). The improvement in the Midwest is general, while in the

East it is concentrated in older persons, independents, and conservatives.

4) Benham believes that the best voting bloc for the President to go after is the Catholics because "that is where the ducks are" (25% of U.S. population is Catholic). Although they are traditionally Democratic they can be pursued on two basic issues -- abortion and aid to parochial schools. Muskie and other moderate-liberal Democrats are trapped on both of these issues.

5) Although the old people have increased their support of the President by 7%, they are historically a very volatile group (this conclusion of volatility of the older voter is born out in the comparison of results in the main body of this memorandum). The biggest issue for the older voter is inflation.

Benham discussed the televised appearances of the President and their relationship to Gallup approval ratings. He decided that: the "conversation with TV networks" format seems to improve ratings. On July 1, 1970, the President held a conversation with the three TV networks and the next Gallup poll (July 10-12) showed a jump of 6 percentage points to 61% approval. The effect of the conversations seemed to wear off as the July 31 - August 2 poll was back at 55%. Also, at the time of the conversation with four TV networks on January 4, 1971 the approval rating was 52% and a Gallup poll taken on January 10 showed an increase to 56%. The next Gallup poll (February 19-21) showed a drop to the 51% level. It has remained close to 50% since then.

There is a large binder containing the detailed demographics with cross breaks on all the population subgroups. Commentary is also included. To summarize, specific groups with interesting changes in their standing include:

Largest increase in approval - High School Incomplete	40-51
Next largest increase in approval - Non-white	25-35
Only drop in approval - Under 30	(18-20) 48-46 (21-29) 51-49

Benham also offered some general comments unrelated to specific poll results. He believes many people are "watching and waiting" for the economic conditions to give them a clear indication of what to expect in the way of jobs, salaries, and prices. There is no event currently crystallizing opinion; therefore, public opinion is in a slack, neutral posture. The unions can't afford to go against public opinion in the President's fight against inflation because if unions did walk off the boards or resist, the public would demand legislation. In the ecology area people are worried about air and water pollution, not solid waste. Muskie is in desperate shape because the President is dominating the news and he is out front too early. Youth are alienated from society in general -- not just Vietnam. Kennedy will have a very rough time with Chappiquiddick because the media will push it in the scramble for stories. Benham is not too worried about the Conservatives or the businessmen deserting the President because they have no place to go. He believes the theme for the Campaign should emphasize the professionalism of this President.

February 7, 1972

Ok
By H.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Campaign Polling

A review of the Campaign polling situation indicates two main weaknesses. First, you and the Attorney General are not receiving polling information in a simple usable form. Second, those individuals on the White House staff and at the Campaign Committee, who could implement directives developed from the polling information, are not receiving guidance.

The reasons the polling information is not in usable form are as follows:

1. First, each of the three vendors has a slightly different format for presentation of the statistical backup. Their comments are not standardized around a format that will answer quickly the questions common to all states being surveyed.
2. When these non-standardized results are summarized by Bob Teeter, the format he presents to you and the Attorney General make it difficult to quickly assimilate the information.
3. Teeter doesn't spend enough time on it.

At the December 7 meeting that you, Larry and I had with Bob Teeter, the discussion focused on the general outlines of the Campaign polling plans. You gave general approval to these plans and granted access to Teeter to our accumulated polling information. At that meeting,

Bob Teeter committed to certain deadlines for polling results which he was unable to make for a variety of reasons. It is true that there were some start-up problems incurred with some of the vendors. However, those problems have now ironed themselves out according to Tom Benham at ORC. Now the problem is one of giving Bob Teeter specific instructions and deadlines as to how and when you want to receive the results.

Teeter's methodology would not have to be radically changed in order for the results to be presented to you in a usable form. His current memoranda are disjointed, non-standardized and verbose. To solve these problems I suggest that four basic documents be presented as the results of each state arrives :

1. One-page summary cover sheet which would give the state, polling dates, thumbnail sketch of the current political situation as indicated by the poll, the President's approval, a brief issue summary, and trial heat position vis-a-vis the three major contenders. It would serve as the quick summary cover and the rest of the materials would serve as increasingly complex backup.
2. Teeter's analysis of the results and his strategy suggestions based on those results.
3. Teeter's recommendation of which material should be given to whom from the data. The type of material that Teeter might prepare here would be that the President's approval for handling both the economy and Vietnam are much higher in New Hampshire where the people are more conservative on the war and less troubled by unemployment. Issues of concern to those in New Hampshire (possibly pollution) would be noted so that those White House staff charged with substantive responsibility could

direct the federal government's effort toward this particular issue. Fred Malek, for example, through his control of the Grantsmanship Program, could direct an ecology project into New Hampshire. Florida material might also include a view that different people are blamed for school bussing in certain parts of the state, i. e., voters in the Northern Panhandle of Florida may in fact blame the "pointy head bureaucrats" that Wallace talks about, whereas in Miami the courts might be viewed as the institution primarily responsible. In any event, this material should receive very limited distribution. Agreement should be signed off on by you and the Attorney General prior to distribution.

4. The individual vendor's analysis of the results and the backup demographics with the details similar to those we receive from Opinion Research Corporation. Each of these three documents should remain within the exclusive control of you, the Attorney General and Bob Teeter.

Certain individuals should obviously receive various parts of the information and perhaps separate reports should be made for each of them. This, however, may be clumsy and perhaps one general report is better. ~~These~~

There are also certain peculiar examples where one individual should receive a certain piece of polling information. The example which comes to mind is Harry Dent's responsibility recently to go to South Carolina and negotiate Jim Holshouser out of the Senate race and stabilize the Republican party situation in that state. Had polling information been available for that state, Dent should have applied to you and the Attorney General for clearance to have trial heat results which would accomplish the goal established by the Attorney General.

This system would work if Jeb Magruder and Gordon Strachan were given tandem responsibility for directing Bob Teeter's efforts. They tried this for the first two weeks in January but were defeated for several reasons. First, Teeter became inundated with work in having all the fourteen first-wave polling results arrive almost simultaneously.

Therefore, he could not function effectively no matter who was asking him questions. Second, a series of basically non-campaign Presidential requests of Teeter's polling information were funneled through me to Teeter. He used these projects (which in total would comprise three full work-days) as an excuse to the Attorney General for non-delivery of results. The nature of these projects were disclosed to Magruder recently to convince him that Teeter's claims of overwork by the White House were unfounded. He agreed that they were no excuse. Nonetheless, Magruder and Strachan should be given authority to determine priorities for Teeter and jointly control his workload. Other members of the White House staff and Campaign staff should not have access to Teeter. This will insure project completion within an acceptable time frame. Reports would still come first only to the Attorney General and Haldeman. They could be reviewed and distributed as you and the Attorney General felt appropriate.

If you agree with this approach, Magruder will get the Attorney General's concurrence and this system will be initiated.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Other _____

LH:kb

Administratively Confidential

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Republican National
Convention/Use of Flag
Placards

Jeb Magruder called to report that the Republican National Committee will use the BBD&O recommended corner of the flag for the RNC Convention materials. Magruder advised the Attorney General that you strenuously opposed any use of the flag or part thereof, but the Attorney General decided not to overrule the RNC, Don Kendall, who volunteered BBD&O, on this matter.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

February 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Muskie Press Conference

You have a copy of Muskie's speech and all wires as of 12:30 p.m.

His press conference had 15 reporters and 40 supporters. He announced his Citizens Committee - Senator Pastore, Governor Scott, Leonard Woodcock, Ester Peterson (LBJ Consumer Adviser), and Myrlie Evers (Medger's widow), etc.

The foreign speech was billed as an ecology statement in all schedules that were obtained in advance. Buchanan believes Clark Clifford convinced Muskie to change the ecology subject and follow Clifford's line expressed in the New York Times Op Ed piece recently. Muskie did this and patched (note different type throughout text) this speech together.

Colson is having Noel Koch prepare statements for our supporters on the Hill. He is trying to get Buchanan to draft a tough speech for a major spokesman.

GS:lm

February 1, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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

The Attorney General has directed Jeb Magruder to get your views on the idea of using the corner of the flag on the convention advertising and convention materials before proceeding.

Magruder has already been told that you think the cut-out of the flag corner is a bad idea. He would like to know what your views are on using the whole flag on the convention materials. He points out that many of the materials will end up on the floor so in effect, people will be stepping on the flag, etc.

He would like your view as soon as possible this morning since he is scheduled to meet with the advertising people today.

I assume you are 100% opposed to either the whole flag or portions of the flag being used on the advertising and will so instruct him unless you indicate otherwise below.

GS:LH:kb