

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>
14	4	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Eight Christian Youths. A copy of original memo attached along with a list of the eight christian youth's names and an outline of the meeting dated for July 21, 1972. 4 pg.
14	4	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Eight Christian Youths. 2 pg.
14	4	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: L. Higby To: Gordon Strachan RE: Young leaders and campaign slogans. 2 pg.
14	4	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Governor Whitcomb Telephone Call. Page of handwritten notes regarding telephone call attached. 2 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>
14	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking Paper for the Enrichman Political group RE: General Matters. 2 pg.
14	4	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Democratic Convention Poll. 10 pg.
14	4	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H. R. Haldeman RE: Harry Dent-George Wallace. 1 pg.
14	4	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H. R. Haldeman RE: Bumper Stickers, Buttons and "N" pins. A page of handwritten notes attached. 2 pg.
14	4	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Campaign Direct Mail. 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>
14	4	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Domestic Council Analysis of the Democratic Platform. 1 pg.
14	4	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Campaign Surveys- Wave II. 2 pg.
14	4	7/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: Clark MacGregor RE: Polling Data Clearance. 2 pg.
14	4	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: Clark MacGregor RE: State sample ballot race. 54 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 239

Folder: Strachan Chron HRH only July 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
123	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-20-72
124	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-20-72
125	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-25-72
126	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-20-72
127	Return Private/Political "Talking Paper for the Ehrlichman Political Group," 7-20-72
128	Return Private/Political memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-19-72
129	Retain Open
130	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-19-72
131	Return Private/Political memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-19-72
132	Retain Open
133	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-17-72
134	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-17-72
135	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-17-72
136	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-15-72
137	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-14-72
138	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-12-72
139	Retain Open
140	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-10-72
141	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-10-72
142	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-8-72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Eight Christian Youths

You gave Ken Riets and me a list of eight Christian youths on July 12. Riets reached all but one on July 13 and invited them to a meeting with Clark MacGregor at 9:30 a.m., July 21. Only Steve Douglas will not be at the meeting. He has sent a substitute, Eddie Waxer. Seven of the eight will arrive today and stay at the Statler Hilton.

After one-half hour with MacGregor, the group will spend two hours with Riets to review the campaign's plans for youth and then discuss the group's recommendations. Riets is primarily interested in their suggestions and advice.

At 12 noon, MacGregor will host a luncheon in the White House Executive Mess for the eight plus Senator Brock, Ken Riets, Lea Jablonsky (Mitchell's former secretary) and possibly Congressman Steiger.

The group asked for an opportunity to ask substantive questions on the economy, environment, race relations, and foreign affairs. The briefings will occur in the Roosevelt Room from 1:30-2:30 p.m. From the NSC, John Lehman (Vietnam and general), Winston Lord (China and Russia), and Mary Brownell will be available. Brownell will be present because one of the group is particularly interested in Latin America. Ken Cole has asked Ed Harper (General), Dick Fairbanks (environment), and either Bob Brown or Sallyann Payton to brief. Marina Whitman will be available for questions on the economy from 2-2:30 p.m.

Nothing is scheduled after 2:30 p.m. tomorrow.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Eight Christian Youths

You gave Ken Rietz and me a list of eight Christian youths on July 12. Rietz reached all but one on July 13 and invited them to a meeting with Clark MacGregor at 9:30 a.m., July 21. Only Steve Douglas will not be at the meeting. He has sent a substitute, Eddie Waxer. Seven of the eight will arrive today and stay at the Statler Hilton.

After one-half hour with MacGregor, the group will spend two hours with Rietz to review the campaign's plans for youth and then discuss the group's recommendations. Rietz is primarily interested in their suggestions and advice.

At 12 noon, MacGregor will host a luncheon in the White House Executive Mess for the eight plus Senator Brock, Ken Rietz, Lea Jablonsky (Mitchell's former secretary) and possibly Congressman Steiger.

The group asked for an opportunity to ask substantive questions on the economy, environment, race relations, and foreign affairs. The briefings will occur in the Roosevelt Room from 1:30-2:30 p.m. From the NSC, John Lehman (Vietnam and general), Winston Lord (China and Russia), and Mary Brownell will be available. Brownell will be present because one of the group is particularly interested in Latin America. Ken Cole has asked Ed Harper (General), Dick Fairbanks (environment), and either Bob Brown or Sallyann Payton to brief. Marina Whitman will be available for questions on the economy from 2-2:30 p.m.

Nothing is scheduled after 2:30 p.m. tomorrow.

GS/jb

G → Rietz 7/22 - good FC on lists, etc,  
will do update  
report in call or so

H  
FC  
#27

*Gordon-F41*

YOUTH MEETING, FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1972

---

9:00 a.m.           Arrival at Suite #472 to be escorted to  
to                    Conference Room-Suite #407.  
10:30 a.m.           Meeting with Ken Rietz

10:30 a.m.           Meeting with Mr. Clark MacGregor and Ken Rietz  
to                    Conference Room-Suite #407  
11:50 a.m.

11:55 a.m.           Depart for the White House

12 noon to  
1:15                   White House Conference Dining Room  
                      (See attachment)  
                      Enter West lobby-N.W. Gate  
                      All participants cleared.

1:30 to  
2:30                   Briefings-Roosevelt Room, The White House.

LUNCHEON PARTICIPANTS

The Honorable Clark MacGregor  
The Honorable Bill Brock  
The Honorable William Steiger  
Mr. Paul Eshelman  
Mr. Josh McDowell  
Mr. Jim Smith  
Mr. Kenneth Overstreet  
Mr. Jay Kessler  
Mr. Paul Robbins  
Mr. Harry Williams  
Mr. Eddy Waxer  
Mr. Ken Rietz  
Miss Lea Jablonsky

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: Eight Christian Youths

To answer the questions raised in the attached memorandum, Ken Rietz reports that:

1) It is true that MacGregor did not meet with the Eight Christian Youths at 9:30 a.m. because MacGregor attended the Cabinet meeting. Instead Ken Rietz met with them from 9-11:30 a.m.;

2) MacGregor met with the group at 11:30 a.m., then took them to lunch at the Executive Mess. Lunch lasted until 1:45 p.m. Both Senator Brock and Congressman Steiger attended the luncheon with MacGregor, Rietz, and Lea Jablonsky, Mitchell's former secretary;

3) The specific follow-up is:

- (a) All Eight are sending lists of contacts who will work for us in key states;
- (b) Suggested youth events for spokesmen are being prepared by the Eight;
- (c) The 175,000 young church leader list will be forwarded with the Eights' recommendations on the 100-200 key leaders. Simultaneously, the Eight will recommend the best approach to the 175,000 -- whether by letter, telephone call, or personal contact;
- (d) The most helpful individual will be Harry Williams, Billy Graham's man;

- (e) The Campus Crusade group, especially Josh McDowell and Paul Eshelman, will also be very helpful;
- (f) The Youth for Christ foursome, which is older and somewhat challenged by the Campus Crusade group, will be less helpful;
- (g) Rietz characterizes his follow-up as top priority, though nothing will appear publicly yet because of the desire to avoid any publicity at this time; and
- (h) The contacts from here will be Ken Rietz personally and Lea Jablonsky.

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob reviewed the attached memorandum that I submitted to him on the Ken Riets situation. He raised several points that he would like answers on from Riets by 5:00 p.m. today:

1. It is highly doubtful that the group met with MacGregor at 9:30 a.m. since MacGregor was in a Cabinet meeting at 9:30 a.m. here.
2. He would like a very specific idea of what we are going to do on follow-up. How are we going to follow-up with them, what are we going to do to approach the young leaders whose names they give us, what is the degree of value each one of these people will have to us?
3. He would also like an evaluation of each of the individuals.

Basically he feels the follow-up Riets is proposing is pretty low key and there probably is a lot more we could be doing here. Who are their contacts going to be here for example?

On a different subject, as I indicated to you, he would like to have the material on Daley regarding the slogans. He seemed to be rather surprised when Chapin raised the fact that the slogan "Help him finish the job" was 20 points ahead of the slogan "Nixon Now". I mentioned to him that you indicated that Daley had covered this with him in a meeting, which he said is not the case.

I also wonder if it wouldn't be a good idea now to put out the memo regarding never saying Republican or Democrat or referring to the Democratic convention, but rather the McGovern convention, etc. Our people are starting to put out a lot of things and this distinction should probably be made clear to them. Perhaps the memo should come from MacGreger. Why don't you think about this and put a plan together.

LH:kb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Governor Whitcomb Telephone Call

Governor Whitcomb called you this morning to ask for a meeting with the President. He wants to discuss the request by several Indianapolis people that he address the RNC Convention on behalf of a Vice Presidential candidate other than Agnew. Yet Whitcomb favors Agnew; he claims he is caught as the Chairman of the Indiana delegation.

I told the Governor the President was not having any political meetings, and so that a meeting with him would probably not be possible. Whitcomb accepted that.

Whitcomb would not elaborate on this Vice Presidential challenge which he referred to as the "Indianapolis Situation".

Recommendation:

That Clark MacGregor be asked to call Governor Whitcomb to obtain more of the facts and to prevent any further request for a meeting with you.

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

GS/jb

Whiteomls.

Needs to talk to P on matter  
of Nat'l Convention

- 10 mins.

- How much help I can

Been asked by gov of India  
people to make a  
presentation by someone  
interested in UP.

- Yet Whit strong for agree  
as head of Ind Delegation

Indianap sit.

Precarious situation

In event there was to be  
a change, Whiteomls wants

Tomorrow in car at 12 n,

back by 26

G to call - 631-4402

317

TALKING PAPER FOR THE EHRLICHMAN POLITICAL GROUP

RE: General Matters

- 1) Democrats for President Nixon - Is this moving quickly enough? Should the names be released daily or in one large group? Can we obtain more "Kennedy" Democrats or should we continue to rely on "Johnson" Democrats?
  
- 2) Local Officials for the President - The Vice President is concerned that not enough attention is being paid to involving Mayors, County Executives, and other local officials in the re-election of the President effort. Should this activity be run entirely by the Vice President's staff?
  
- 3) First Family - How active should they be in the campaign? What type of events should they be programmed into?
  
- 4) Surrogate Scheduling - Is this system now established to everyone's satisfaction? Clark, do you personally clear the political line distributed to the spokesmen? or have you delegated this to Magruder?
  
- 5) Democratic National Convention - Other than poor timing, what was the main negative of their convention?

6) 1701 Reorganization - What is the reaction to Malek's new role? Has the attitude of the White House Staff toward 1701 improved?

7) Republican National Convention - Are the Platform Hearings being arranged for TV coverage? What theme should be used for the Convention? Should Connally or Wallace appear?

GS  
7/20/72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Democratic Convention Poll

ORC received the final, approved questionnaire last night at 7:25 p.m. A copy of the receiving questionnaire is attached. The questionnaire was printed and distributed to their telephone centers and interviewing began at 10 a.m. this morning. The McGovern busing position question was added this morning at 9:30, but missed a few interviewees (Benham estimates between 50-60).

The results will be available no later than Saturday, July 22, in the early afternoon. Benham is working to obtain additional telephone capability through McGraw-Hill in Princeton. If Benham gets these lines, additional interviewing will be done tonight and tomorrow night making it possible to complete the 1,000 interviews and have results on Friday, July 21, 1972. Benham will be able to tell me tomorrow when the results will be available.

XXXXXXXXXX

GS/jb

One unanswered question is what we tell Clark MacGregor and Bob Teeter about this poll. As my July 15 memorandum indicated MacGregor told Teeter to prepare w questions and to be ready to conduct the poll. I have been telling Teeter, as he has been submitting questions, that no decision has been made. If you decide to give MacGregor and Teeter any of the results, a suggested version will be prepared for your review.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION POLL  
 Polling Dates:  
 Respondents:

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>N.O.</u>	<u>Date Relsd.</u>
<u>1972</u>				
H-Dec 28- Jan 4	49	47	4	
T-Jan 3-20	54	35	11	
G-Jan 7- 9	49	39	12	1/20
O-Jan 26-27	<u>54</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>10</u>	
G-Feb 4- 7	53	36	11	2/17
H-Feb 8-15	55	44	1	2/28
O-Mar 3- 5	<u>59</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>13</u>	
G-Mar 3- 5	56	32	12	3/9
O-Mar 18-19	<u>54</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>11</u>	
G-Mar 24-27	53	37	10	4/13
O-Apr 27-29	<u>52</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>13</u>	
O-May 9-10	<u>57</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>10</u>	
H-May 9-10	52	46	2	
G-May 26-29	61	32	7	6/4
H-Jun 10-15	56	42	2	
G-Jun 16-19	60	32	8	6/25
G-Jun 23-26	56	33	11	7/16
O-Jul				

Polling Dates:

Respondents:

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
<u>1971</u>			
O-Aug 21-22	<u>47</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>13</u>
G-Sep 3-16	42		
H-Sep	44	54	2
H-Oct 28- Nov 10	41	55	4
O-Nov 19-21	<u>50</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>1972</u>			
H-Dec 28- Jan 4	40	54	6
T-Jan 3-20	55	38	7
O-Jan 26-27	<u>54</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>8</u>
G-Feb 4- 6	51	39	10
H-Feb 8-15	41	56	3
O-Mar 3- 5	<u>53</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>11</u>
G-Apr 21-24	48	44	8
O-Apr 27-29	<u>47</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>9</u>
O-May 9-10	<u>52</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>10</u>
H-May 9-10	37	59	4
G-May 26-29	53	38	9
H-Jun 10-15	42	55	3
O-Jul			

Polling Dates:

Respondents:

3. If the 1972 Presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Richard Nixon and George McGovern, which one would you vote for - Nixon or McGovern?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McGOVERN</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
<u>1971</u>			
O-Jan 26-28	59	26	15
O-Apr 12-13	56	28	16
<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
H-	55	35	10
O-Jul			

Polling Dates:

Respondents:

4. Now suppose the candidates were Richard Nixon, George McGovern and George Wallace as a third party candidate, which one would you vote for - Nixon, McGovern or Wallace?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McGOVERN</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
<u>1971</u>				
O-Jan 26-28	55	22	12	11
H-Feb 22-27	45	34	12	9
O-Apr 12-13	49	24	15	12
H-Apr 18-25	46	36	13	5
H-Aug 24-27	48	33	13	6
G-Nov 19-22	49	33	12	6
H-Nov 1-12	49	31	12	8
<u>1972</u>				
G-Feb 4- 7	49	34	11	6
H-Feb 28- Mar 7	53	28	13	6
H-Apr 1- 7	47	29	16	8
G-Apr 15-16	46	31	15	8
G-Apr 21-24	45	32	16	7
G-Apr 28- May 1	43	35	15	7
H-May 9-10	40	35	17	8
G-May 26-29	43	30	19	8
H-Jun 7-12	45	33	16	6
G-Jun 16-19	45	32	18	5
H-	45	31	16	8
O-Jul				

5. If the 1972 Presidential election were being held today and the Republican ticket were Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew and the Democratic ticket were George McGovern and Thomas Eagleton, which ticket would you vote for?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Nixon-Agnew</u>	<u>McGovern-Eagleton</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	--------------------	--------------------------	-------------

6. Do you favor the death penalty?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
G- '53	68	25	7
G- '60	51	36	13
G- '65	45	43	12
G- '66	42	47	11
G-Feb 16 '69	51	40	9
G-Nov '71	49	40	11
G-Mar 3- 5, '72	50	41	9 *
O-Jul '72			

7. Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of the following crimes:

<u>Crime</u>	<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
Murder of a Police Officer				
Kidnapping				
Hijacking of an airplane				

\* Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

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



Polling Dates:

Respondents:

12. (cont.)

- e) We should grant unconditional amnesty to those who left the country or went to prison to avoid the draft;

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	--------------	-----------------	-------------

- f) We should cut our defense budget by \$32 billion even if it puts us behind the Soviet Union in military strength;

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	--------------	-----------------	-------------

- g) Busing school children is essential to achieve racial integration.

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	--------------	-----------------	-------------

13. How much of the Democratic National Convention did you watch on TV (read choices to respondents):

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>%</u>
	Watched all or almost all	
	Watched more than 2 hrs each day	
	Watched 1-2 hours each day	
	Watched less than 1 hour each day	
	Watched very little	
	Didn't watch at all	

14. In general, how do you rate your reaction to George McGovern's acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention - very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, didn't hear it?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>VF</u>	<u>SF</u>	<u>SU</u>	<u>VU</u>	<u>Didn't Hear It</u>
---------------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------------------

15. Did the Democratic National Convention make you more likely or less likely to vote for George McGovern?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	--------------------	--------------------	-------------

16. Do you feel that you and people like yourself were really represented at the Democratic National Convention or not?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	------------	-----------	-------------

17. Did the Democratic National Convention reflect a real change in American politics or was it politics as usual?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Real Change</u>	<u>Politics As Usual</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
---------------------	--------------------	--------------------------	-------------

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Harry Dent - George Wallace

Dent called me this morning to ask whether you could talk with him today before 1:20 p.m. After your conversation with Dent on Saturday, he contacted John Mitchell and will meet with him today, hopefully at 12 noon. Dent hopes to arrange a meeting Friday or Saturday between Mitchell and his two contacts in the Wallace organization.

Dent wants to update you on the Mitchell meeting and suggest some specific action steps. Since you talked with him personally on Saturday, he was reluctant to cover them with me.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Bumper Stickers, Buttons  
and "N" Pins

Printed samples of the new campaign bumper stickers -- "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever" and "Nixon Now" -- will arrive from the New York November Group offices this afternoon. Buttons with the same slogans and "N" pins with flags will also arrive.

Contrary to what I told Higby, these materials have not been distributed in states. The bumper stickers and buttons will be distributed with the rest of the campaign materials 10 days after you and MacGregor approve the materials in the ring binder submitted by Phil Joanou on July 15, 1972. It was my incorrect understanding, from Phil Joanou on July 5 that samples had been distributed within the states. Instead samples had only been prepared within the November Group in New York after you approved of the styles on June 30.

The materials have not been distributed because the cost of the items will be borne by the states and most of the state budgets were on hold during the transfer from Mitchell to MacGregor. On Saturday, July 15 Malek and Stans cleared 25 state budgets, so the states are now in a position to purchase and distribute campaign materials.

GS/jb

7/19

"N" Pin -

w/ flange - not yet ordered.  
- some used in NH + NY

7 days catalogue - for approval  
10 days for order to receipt  
4 warehouse in U.S.

Bob → Dent on Sat + ~~Bob~~ 2 fellows  
to see JM Fri or Sat +  
Dent to see JM today  
Dent has recomms on what  
we shld do + do it fast.  
- const am ~~ag~~ ag/ business.

July 17, 1972

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

Magruder is asking whether a direct mail letter over the President's signature can be considered for the campaign. He claims he is under severe time pressure or I wouldn't have forwarded this to you without complete staffing.

I believe such a letter would be a mistake. It raises the President's campaign profile too high. It demeans the Presidency. It cannot be self-laudatory, harshly critical of McGovern's issue stands, or "political" enough to accomplish the goal of getting the President's voters to the polls.

**ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL**

July 17, 1972

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

**H. R. HALDEMAN**

**FROM:**

**GORDON STRACHAN**

**SUBJECT:**

**Domestic Council Analysis  
of the Democratic Platform**

The Domestic Council has prepared three analyses of the Democratic Platform. Ed Harper, who directed the work for John Ehrlichman, sent you copies of their analyses. Buchanan has copies.

Although you may not be interested in reading the documents, you should know that the Domestic Council plans to use them to contrast the Republican Platform positions as they are released from Miami the week before the Convention. Buchanan urges use of McGovern's positions as contrast regardless of the actual Democratic Party position.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Surveys - Wave II

The Campaign Surveys - Wave II data is presented in the attached binders. You reviewed the questionnaire and format on June 6 and discussed the timing with John Mitchell on June 7, 1972.

Seven states - New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, and California - had long form questionnaires (sample questionnaire for Ohio (L) attached). Nine states - Alabama, Connecticut, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin - had short form questionnaires. Those questions asked only in the long form key states are circled.

The first of Tester's analytical memoranda is at the front of the binder. The most important conclusion is that the public's rating of the President's ability to handle the second most important issue (inflation - Vietnam is still the most important) has dropped 20% since the January Wave I survey.

According to Tester all of the state results have been carefully proofread. However, the National results arrived late and have not been personally proofread. There is an error on Page 1 of the National results (Wave I RN-NHR should be 9 not 4). Tester will continue checking for other errors.

Members of the Staff and Campaign personnel are very anxious to have access to any of the Wave II results. To prevent confusion, Tester prepared the July 11 memorandum (attached at Tab A) to MacGregor, who has not yet approved the entire procedure. Provisional authority for Tester to give the

ballot information to Dailey, Finkelstein, LaRue, Magruder, Malek, Marik, and Miller has been given. Teeter hopes to obtain a decision on release of the polling information from MacGregor on July 18. Teeter's discussions with MacGregor and Magruder indicate that MacGregor will decide who receives what information within the Campaign organization while you will decide who on the White House Staff is to receive what information.

Chapin and Parker are very anxious to receive the type of briefing on Wave II that they received on Wave I - that is, Teeter discussed the President's strengths and weaknesses in certain issue areas in the key states. Specific figures are not given.

Recommendation:

That Teeter brief Chapin and Parker on the Wave II results.

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

Because of joint purchasing agreements with state candidates or sponsors, the results of specific Wave II states will be available to Blount in Alabama, Stone in Illinois, Griffin in Michigan, Andrews (Republican State Chairman) in Ohio, and Cliff Jones (Republican State Chairman) in Pennsylvania. The results of sample ballots for the local offices in these states are attached at Tab B.

Finally, the demographer at 1701, Art Finkelstein, who has had complete access to Wave I and Wave II results, has asked to examine the 1968 data. It is available at ORC in Princeton, New Jersey. He is particularly interested in Catholics and urban ethnics in light of his involvement in Buckley's 1970 New York campaign.

Recommendation:

That Finkelstein be granted access to the 1968 survey information.

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

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 11, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12958, Section 6-102

By Er Duse MMSG, Date 1-14-80

CONFIDENTIAL

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

As we are just finishing the second wave polling, I need your approval to distribute the data to those who need it for their particular activity.

In the past the following people received all of our survey reports and had access to the data books, although they were kept in my office.

Pete Dailey  
Arthur Finkelstein  
Fred La Rue  
Jeb Magruder  
Fred Malek  
Bob Marik  
Cliff Miller  
Gordon Strachan

The voting block people were furnished with special books on their particular groups which included only the Presidential approval rating and the issue material for that particular group.

I met with Dwight Chapin and Dave Parker to brief them on specific areas of the country in terms of the President's strengths and weaknesses and issues of special interest in those areas.

The issue data was made available to Ed Harper and Roy Morey of the Domestic Council.

Finally Mr. Mitchell had agreed that I should meet with each of our state political coordinators for our top priority states and brief them fully on the data for their state. We would avoid, however, giving them exact ballot figures or giving them anything in writing.

As requests from individuals other than covered by this memorandum arise, our operating guideline has been, and I think it should continue to be, that you clear any additional requests from the campaign staff or state organizations and that Mr. Haldeman clear any requests from the White House staff.

Recommendation:

That you approve the above procedure for the dissemination of the second wave polling data.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 10, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*

SUBJECT:

State Sample Ballot Races

Attached are the sample ballot results of the various state races we measured in the current wave of polling.

CONFIDENTIAL

ALABAMA

Senator:

Winton "Red" Blount (R)	24
John J. Sparkman (D)	64
Undecided	8

Winton "Red" Blount (R)	25
John J. Sparkman (D)	68
John LaFlore (black Ind.)	*
Undecided	7

---

ILLINOIS

Governor:

Richard Ogilvie (R)	35
Daniel Walker (D)	57
Undecided	8

Senator:

Charles H. Percy (R)	58
Roman C. Pucinski (D)	31
Undecided	11

Secretary of State:

Edmund Kucharski (R)	39
Michael Howlett (D)	48
Undecided	13

Attorney General:

William Scott (R)	55
Thomas Lyons (D)	32
Undecided	13

States Attorney:

Bernard Carey (R)	40
Edward Hanrahan (D)	42
Undecided	18

MICHIGAN

Senator:

Robert Griffin (R)	41
Frank Kelley (D)	49
Undecided	10
Robert Griffin (R)	40
Frank Kelley (D)	47
Robert Huber (Conservative)	2
Undecided	11

---

MISSOURI

Governor:

Christopher "Kit" Bond (R)	48
Earl Blackwell (D)	41
Undecided	11
Christopher "Kit" Bond (R)	43
Joseph Teasdale (D)	44
Undecided	14
Christopher "Kit" Bond (R)	48
William Morris (D)	39
Undecided	13

---

NEW JERSEY

Governor:

Clifford Case (R)	50
Paul J. Krebs (D)	32
Undecided	18

OREGON

Senator:

Mark Hatfield (R)	43
Wayne Morse (D)	39
Undecided	18

---

PENNSYLVANIA

Auditor:

Franklin Mc Corkel (R)	22
Robert Casey (D)	61
Undecided	17

Treasurer:

Glenn Williams (R)	23
Grace Sloan (D)	61
Undecided	17

TEXAS

Senator:

John Tower (R)	36
Barefoot Sanders (D)	48
Undecided	16

Governor:

Henry Grover (R)	16
Dolph Briscoe (D)	66
Undecided	18

Treasurer:

Maurice Angly (R)	16
Jesse James (D)	55
Undecided	29

---

WASHINGTON

Governor:

Daniel J. Evans (R)	35
Martin Durkan (D)	38
Undecided	26

MARKET RESEARCH  
28 W. WOODS 5th Floor  
Detroit, Michigan 48226

STATEWIDE POLITICAL STUDY

Wave 2 6-7-72

FIELD NO. \_\_\_\_\_

Office Use Only
Respondent No. _____
Area No. _____

	Time Of Call		DISPOSITION						
	Date	Hour	Circle One	Completion Rate	PG. TIME	No How	No Answer	Other	Refuse
Designated Address _____	_____	_____	AM PM	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
First Substitute _____	_____	_____	AM PM	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Second Substitute _____	_____	_____	AM PM	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Third Substitute _____	_____	_____	AM PM	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

FILL IN AFTER COMPLETION

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ TELEPHONE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTY: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY: \_\_\_\_\_ STATE: \_\_\_\_\_

I have read this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring response were covered in this respondent's case record, and that all boxes and circles reflecting no, yes, don't know, or a tick mark filled in. This house file interview has been conducted in accordance with all interviewing specifications.

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

FILE NO: \_\_\_\_\_

(i)

No. 1-4  
Wave 5  
State 6-7  
Card 8  
Job 9-10  
Area 11-20

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

1. Are you now registered to vote here in \_\_\_\_\_?  
(state name)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

(IF "YES" CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW BEGINNING WITH QUESTION 2)

(IF "NO" ASK:)

a. 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 BEGINNING WITH QUESTION 2)

(IF "NO" TERMINATE)

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

21-22 \_\_\_\_\_  
23-24 \_\_\_\_\_  
25-26 \_\_\_\_\_

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

4. Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction today or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

- 27-1 Right direction
- 2 Wrong track
- 0 Don't know

L 5. What does the phrase "general unrest" mean to you? \_\_\_\_\_

28-29 \_\_\_\_\_  
30-31 \_\_\_\_\_  
32-33 \_\_\_\_\_

RESTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 6 AND 7.

L 6. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think about President Nixon?

34-35 \_\_\_\_\_

a. Do you consider this good or bad? 36-1 Good  
2 Bad

b. Is there anything else? \_\_\_\_\_

37-38 \_\_\_\_\_

c. Do you consider this good or bad? 39-1 Good  
2 Bad

- L 7. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think about George McGovern? 40-41

---

  - a. Do you consider this good or bad? 42-1 Good  
2 Bad
  - b. Is there anything else? 43-44
  - c. Do you consider this good or bad? 45-1 Good  
2 Bad
  
- 8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?

46-1 Approve  
2 Disapprove  
0 Don't know
- 9. Why do you say that? (PROBE) 47-48

---

49-50
- L 10. Do you think President Nixon has an overall plan for this country? 51-52

59-1 Yes  
2 No  
0 Don't know 53-54

IF "YES" ASK:

  - a. What is it? 55-56

---

  - 57-58
  
- S 11. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? 60-61

62-1 Approve  
2 Disapprove  
0 Don't know
  
- S 12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country? 64-65

63-1 Approve  
2 Disapprove  
0 Don't know

  - a. Why? (PLEASE FOR A SPECIFIC ANSWER) 65-67

---
  
- 13. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President? 68-69

72-1 Approve  
2 Disapprove  
0 Don't know 70-71

(L)

Card 2  
1-10 35  
07

14. I'd like to hand your 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 in the cards in order of their importance until you have handed me all of the cards.  
(HAND ISSUE CARDS AND BE SURE TO ROTATE THEM.)

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

- Drugs \_\_\_\_\_
- Taxes \_\_\_\_\_
- Health Care \_\_\_\_\_
- Vietnam \_\_\_\_\_
- Unemployment \_\_\_\_\_
- Racial Problems \_\_\_\_\_
- Foreign Policy \_\_\_\_\_
- National Defense \_\_\_\_\_
- Crime \_\_\_\_\_
- Inflation \_\_\_\_\_
- Pollution/Environment \_\_\_\_\_
- Busing \_\_\_\_\_
- General Unrest \_\_\_\_\_
- Welfare \_\_\_\_\_

11-35

ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 15 AND 16.

15 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. (HAND ABILITY CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

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

39-52

53 KPI

- L 16. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate George McGovern on his ability to handle each problem. (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

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

54-67

- L 17. As you may know, the Congress has passed very little of President Nixon's domestic program. Do you think this is primarily because the President's program is not a good one or because of politics?

68- 1 Program is not a good one  
2 Politics  
0 Don't know

- L 18. According to some recent court cases, our traditional method of financing schools with local property taxes may be in for some changes. Do you favor or oppose retaining the local school property taxes to finance schools?

69- 1 Favor  
2 Oppose  
0 Don't know

(IF "OPPOSE" ASK:)

- a. Which of the following would you prefer as a replacement for local property taxes? (READ LIST)

70 ( ) Increased federal income tax  
71 ( ) Increased state income tax  
72 ( ) Increased state sales tax  
73 ( ) Increased state property tax  
74 ( ) Some type of national sales tax

- L 19. Generally speaking, do you believe the steps taken by President Nixon have satisfactorily slowed inflation?

75- 1 Yes  
2 No  
0 Don't know

76-80 54-67

L 20 Do you believe inflation of food prices has been slowed?

- 11-1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Don't know

(IF "NO" ASK:)

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

- 12-1 Support
- 2 Oppose
- 0 Don't know

L 21 Do you think business, labor unions, the President, Congress, or the consumer is most responsible for rising prices and inflation?

- 13-1 Business
- 2 Labor Unions
- 3 President
- 4 Congress
- 5 Consumer
- 0 Don't know

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

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

Strong National Defense	Spend At Home and Less Strong Defense
-------------------------	--

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- |   |       |    |
|---|-------|----|
| a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?        | _____ | 14 |
| b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? | _____ | 15 |
| c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? | _____ | 16 |

L 23 Do you think that we should spend more, about the same amount, or less money on national defense in the next few years as we are now?

- 17-1 Spend less
- 2 About the same amount
- 3 Spend more
- 0 Don't know

(IF "SPEND LESS" ASK: a AND b.)

a. Do you favor or oppose a proposal to cut the size of our military forces by about 1/3?

- 18-1 Favor
- 2 Oppose
- 0 Don't know

(Question 23 Continued)

b. Is the reason you think we should spend less mainly because you don't think we need as much military strength as we now have or because you think there is a lot of waste in the Defense Department?

- 19-1 Don't need as much military strength
- 2 There is a lot of waste in the Defense Department
- 0 Don't know

L 24. Regarding Vietnam, some people think we should continue to withdraw our troops gradually but not withdraw them completely until our prisoners of war have been released. While others think that we should withdraw all of our troops immediately in the belief that North Vietnam will then release our prisoners.  
(HARD SCALE CARD 14)

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

Gradual Withdrawal	Immediate Withdrawal
--------------------	----------------------

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?						_____		20
b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale?						_____		21
c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale?						_____		22

L 25. As far as the war in Vietnam is concerned, do you think President Nixon has been frank and straight forward, or do you think he has not told the American people the truth about the situation?

- 23-1 Frank and straight forward
- 2 Not told the truth
- 0 Don't know

L 26. Some people have said that we ought to give amnesty immediately to those who have left the country or have gone to prison to avoid the draft during the Vietnam war. Others have said that we should not grant amnesty at this time and that we shouldn't consider it until after the war is over. While others feel we should never grant amnesty. (HARD SCALE CARD 20)

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

Grant Amnesty Immediately	Consider Amnesty After the War	Never Grant Amnesty
---------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------------

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?						_____		24
b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale?						_____		25
c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale?						_____		26



L 31 Some people think that our laws regarding abortion should be changed so that the decision to have an abortion would be made only by the woman involved and her doctor. Others think that the laws should not be changed and abortions should not be performed unless the woman's life is in danger. (HERE SCALE CARD 31)

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

Legalize Abortions

Do Not Legalize Abortions

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?								38
b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale?								39
c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale?								40

L 32 At this time do you think that it is more important for the President to be able to handle foreign affairs or domestic affairs?

- 41-1 Foreign affairs
- 2 Domestic affairs
- 0 Don't know

a. Why?	42-43	F
	44-45	F
	46-47	D
	48-49	D

33. GO TO GREEN SCALES. (MAKE SURE THE RESPONDENT COMPLETES THE SELF RATING.)

-S 34 Now, I'm going to hand you four 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, and return them in this sealed envelope to me.

S 35 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?

- 50-1 Care very much
- 2 Care somewhat
- 3 Don't care very much
- 4 Don't care at all
- 0 Don't know

S 36 In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?

- 51-1 Definitely vote
- 2 Probably vote
- 3 May or may not vote
- 4 Probably not vote
- 5 Definitely not vote
- 0 Don't know

L 37 Is there anything President Nixon might do that would make you more likely to vote for him?  
\_\_\_\_\_

L 38 Is there anything in particular that would make you vote against President Nixon?  
\_\_\_\_\_

L 39 In light of the assassination of several public figures in the last few years, and the shooting of Governor Wallace, do you think all Presidential candidates should or should not limit their public appearances and reach the voters through television during this fall campaign?

64-1 Should  
2 Should not  
0 Don't know

52-53 \_\_\_\_\_

54-55 \_\_\_\_\_

56-57 \_\_\_\_\_

58-59 \_\_\_\_\_

60-61 \_\_\_\_\_

62-63 \_\_\_\_\_

65-80 Blank

40. Overall, do you think Ohio as a State is better off or worse off than it was three or four years ago?

- 11- 1 Better off
- 2 Worse off
- 3 About the same
- 0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

12-13 \_\_\_ B  
14-15 \_\_\_ B  
16-17 \_\_\_ B

41. Overall, how do you think things are going in the state capital in Columbus -- excellent, good, fair, poor?

- 24- 4 Excellent
- 3 Good
- 2 Fair
- 1 Poor
- 0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that: (PROBE) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18-19 \_\_\_ W  
20-21 \_\_\_ W  
22-23 \_\_\_ W

42. Do you approve or disapprove of the way John J. Gilligan is handling his job as Governor?

- 37- 2 Approve
- 1 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

25-26 \_\_\_ EG  
27-28 \_\_\_ EG  
29-30 \_\_\_ EG  
31-32 \_\_\_ FP  
33-34 \_\_\_ FP  
35-36 \_\_\_ FP

43. In what area do you think Governor Gilligan has done his best job?

\_\_\_\_\_

38-39 \_\_\_ A  
40-41 \_\_\_ A  
42-43 \_\_\_ A

44. In what area do you think he has done his poorest job?

\_\_\_\_\_

44-45 \_\_\_ D  
46-47 \_\_\_ D  
48-49 \_\_\_ D

45. Do you approve or disapprove of the way William B. Saxbe is handling his job as U.S. Senator?

- 62- 2 Approve
- 1 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

\_\_\_\_\_

50-51 \_\_\_ G  
52-53 \_\_\_ G  
54-55 \_\_\_ G  
56-57 \_\_\_ F  
58-59 \_\_\_ F  
60-61 \_\_\_ F

46. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Robert Taft, Jr. is handling his job as U.S. Senator?

- 63- 2 Approve
- 1 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Ohio General Assembly is handling its job?

- 64- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PLEASE) \_\_\_\_\_

65-66 \_\_\_\_\_ A

67-68 \_\_\_\_\_ A

69-70 \_\_\_\_\_ A

48. Can you tell me whether the Republicans or the Democrats control the Ohio Assembly?

- 71- 1 Republicans
- 2 Democrats
- 0 Don't know

71-72 \_\_\_\_\_ D

73-74 \_\_\_\_\_ D

75-80 Blk

49. Do you approve or disapprove of the claim that the state government needs more money to maintain and improve state services?

- 12- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

Card 6  
1-10 as C1

50. Do you think that it is the job of the legislature to determine how much money the state needs, and then enact taxes to raise it or do you think the people should vote on all tax increases?

- 13- 1 Job of legislature
- 2 People should vote
- 0 Don't know

51. As you probably know, the General Assembly passed a state income tax. Do you agree or disagree that a state income tax was the best way to raise additional money for the state?

- 14- 1 Agree
- 2 Disagree
- 0 Don't know

52. If it should become necessary to raise more money to maintain state services, would you prefer this be done by increasing the sales tax, the income tax or property taxes?

- 15- 1 Sales tax
- 2 Income tax
- 3 Property tax
- 0 Don't know

53. As you may know there is an effort being made to repeal the present state income tax and this proposal may be on the ballot in November. If it is on the ballot would you vote for or against the repeal of the present state income tax?

- 16- 1 For
- 2 Against
- 0 Don't know

CONTINUE QUESTION 52 (IF "YES" ON Q3 ASK:)

a. If the income tax is repealed, should the revenue that is lost to the state be made up by increasing the sales tax or property taxes?

- 17-1 Sales tax
- 2 Property tax
- 3 Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 0 Don't know

54. Do you think that any future increases in the state income tax should or should not be put to a vote of the people.

- 18-1 Should
- 2 Should not
- 0 Don't know

PAST VOTING/DEMOGRAPHICS (I)  
1-10 as CI 11-14 as

I. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat an Independent or what?

- 15-1 Republican
- 2 Independent
- 3 Democrat
- 0 Don't know

II. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (PAST POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

- 16-1 Straight Democratic
- 2 Mostly Democratic
- 3 A few more Democrats than Republican
- 4 About equally for both parties
- 5 A few more Republicans than Democrats
- 6 Mostly Republican
- 7 Straight Republican
- 8 Never voted
- 0 Don't know

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

- 17-1 Nixon
- 2 Humphrey
- 3 Wallace
- 4 Didn't vote
- 0 Don't know

IV. How where do you get most of your information on the major issues such as Vietnam, taxes, and crime during a political campaign?

18-19 \_\_\_\_\_

20-21 \_\_\_\_\_

22-23 \_\_\_\_\_

V. Where do you get most of your information on the candidates for major offices such as President and Senator during a campaign year?

24-25 \_\_\_\_\_

26-27 \_\_\_\_\_

28-29 \_\_\_\_\_

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

VI. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

30-31 \_\_\_\_\_ R

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

32-33 \_\_\_\_\_ H

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

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

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

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

IX. What is your religion?

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

a. (IF JEWISH) Are you Orthodox, Reform, or Conservative?

- 38-1 Orthodox
- 2 Reform
- 3 Conservative

X. (BY OBSERVATION) Race:

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

## XI. What is your nationality?

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

East European

50 Czechoslovakia  
51 Estonia  
52 Hungary  
53 Latvia  
54 Romania  
55 Russia  
56 Ukraine  
57 Yugoslavia  
59 Other East European

Scandinavia

60 Denmark  
61 Finland  
62 Norway  
63 Sweden

West European

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

Spanish

80 Mexico  
81 Portugal  
82 Spain  
89 Other South American

90 Other \_\_\_\_\_

(Specify)

00 Don't know

41-42

## XII. Are you a labor union member?

43- 1 Yes  
2 No

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

44- 1 Yes  
2 No

## XIII. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

45- 1 Male  
2 Female

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

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



HOW TO RATE

and the other is being a very successful entrepreneur. There are many ways you can judge a political candidate. He can be good or bad, interesting or uninteresting, liberal or conservative, or any other category.

We will be judging two candidates in several ways.

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

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

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

YOURSELF

Liberal        Conservative

PLEASE TURN TO NEXT PAGE



SCALE SHEET

RICHARD STREI

liberal : : / : : conservative

closed-minded : : / : : open-minded

trained : : / : : untrained

bold : : / : : timid

dishonest : : / : : honest

safe : : / : : dangerous

uninformed : : / : : informed

meek : : / : : aggressive

just : : / : : unjust

incompetent : : / : : competent

tough : : / : : soft

experienced : : / : : inexperienced

SECRET BALLOT D

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

---

REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY
President		
<input type="checkbox"/> Richard Nixon	<input type="checkbox"/> Hubert Humphrey	<input type="checkbox"/> George Wallace

SECRET BALLOT E

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

---

REPUBLICAN

DEMOCRAT

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY

President

Richard Nixon

George McGovern

George Wallace

SECRET BALLOT A

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

---

REPUBLICAN

DEMOCRAT

President

Richard Nixon

Hubert Humphrey

SECRET BALLOT B

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

---

REPUBLICAN:

DEMOCRAT

President

Richard Nixon

George McGovern

---

ABILITY CARD

EXTREMELY WELL

VERY WELL

FAIRLY WELL

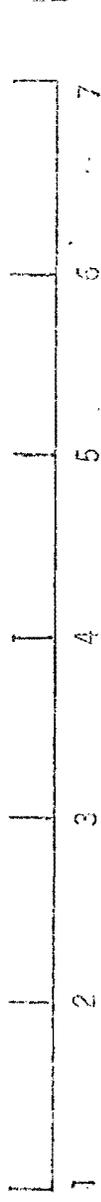
NOT VERY WELL

NOT AT ALL WELL

SCALE CARD 22

SPEND AT HOME AND  
LESS STRONG DEFENSE

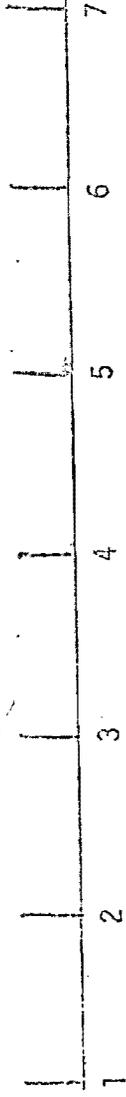
STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE



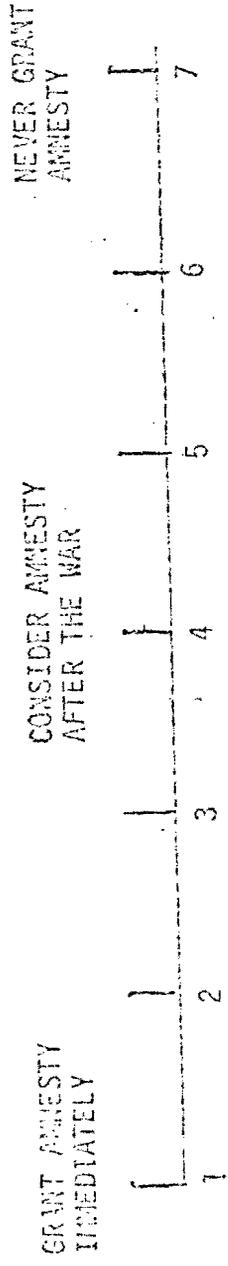
SCALE CARD 24

GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL

IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWAL



SCALE CARD 26



-----

SCALE CARD 27

GOVERNMENTAL AND ECONOMIC  
SYSTEMS NEED DRASTIC CHANGE



GOVERNMENTAL AND ECONOMIC  
SYSTEMS DO NOT NEED CHANGE

7

6

5

4

3

2

1

SCALE CARD - 28

NEED TAX REPORT

DO NOT NEED TAX REPORT



SCALE CARD 30

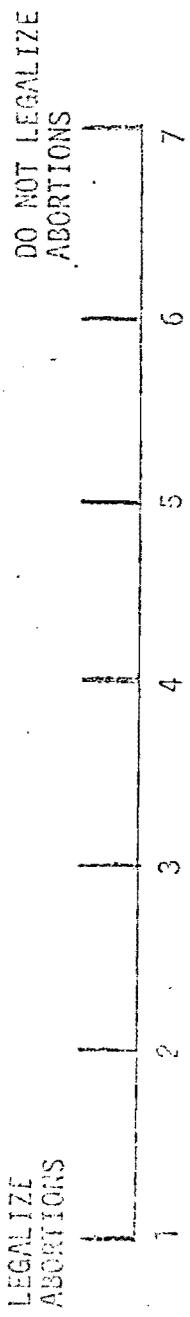
LEGALIZE USE AND CONTROL  
SALES OF MARIJUANA



DO NOT LEGALIZE  
MARIJUANA



SCALE CARD 31



POLITICAL CARD

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC

MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC

A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS

ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES

A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS

MOSTLY REPUBLICAN

STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN

AGE CARD

17 - 20

21 - 24

25 - 29

30 - 34

35 - 39

40 - 44

45 - 49

50 - 54

55 - 59

60 - 64

65 and over

INCOME CARD

0 - \$2,999

\$3,000 - \$4,999

\$5,000 - \$5,999

\$6,000 - \$6,999

\$7,000 - \$9,999

\$10,000 - \$14,999

\$15,000 - \$24,999

\$25,000 and over

RACIAL PROBLEMS

UNEMPLOYMENT

---

POLLUTION/ENVIRONMENT

INFLATION

CRIME

---

BUSING

NATIONAL DEFENSE

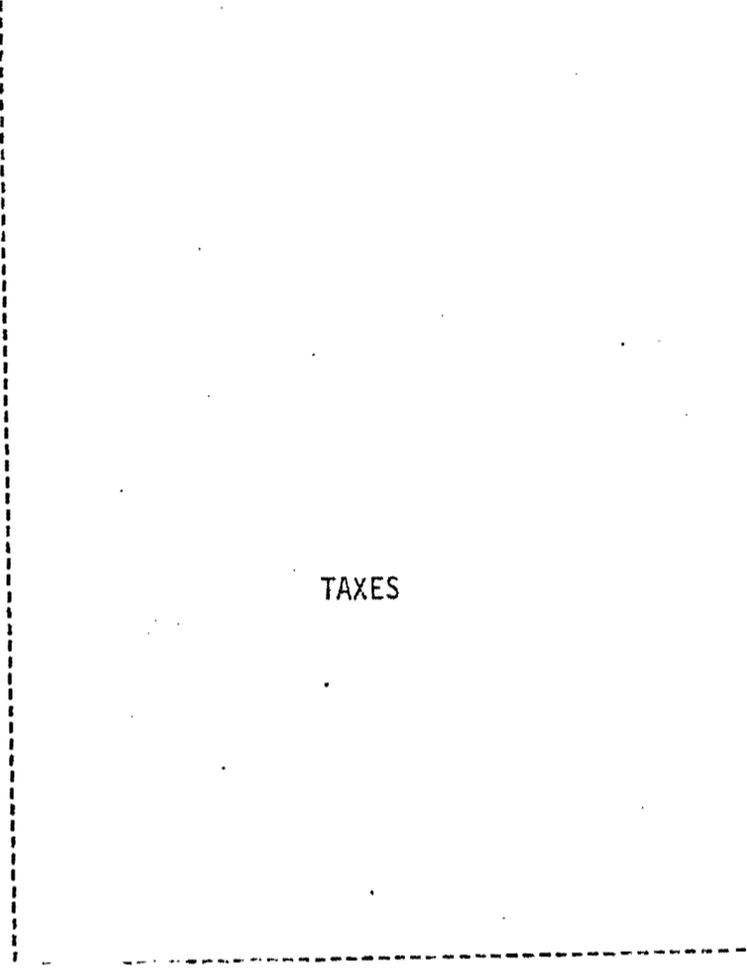
FOREIGN POLICY

DRUGS

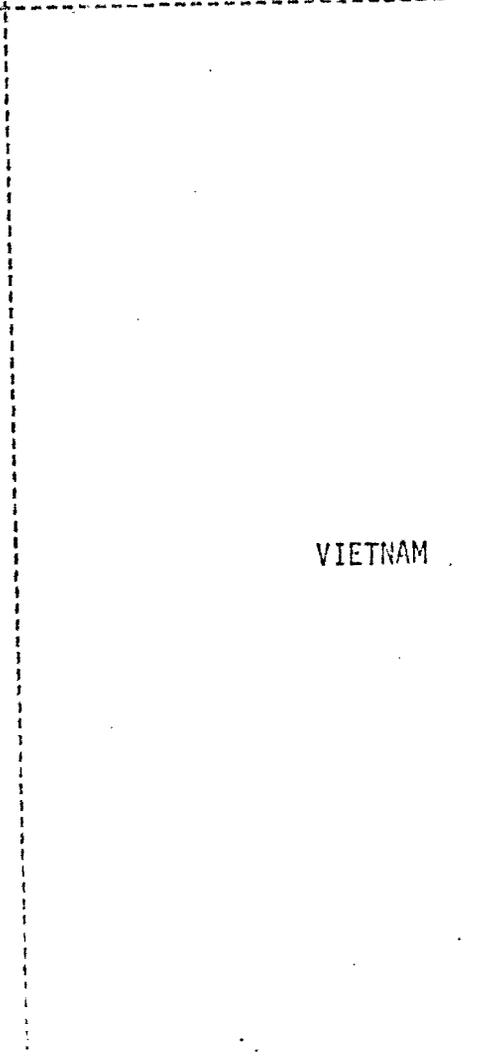
WELFARE

GENERAL UNREST

---

A dashed rectangular box is drawn on the page, spanning from approximately x=460 to x=920 and y=180 to y=540. The word "TAXES" is printed inside this box.

TAXES



VIETNAM

DRUGS