

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	11	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: President's Estate Plan. 1 pg.
14	11	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Use of " Johnson and Kennedy Administration" in Documents. 1 pg.
14	11	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Campaign Song. 1 pg.
14	11	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: DNC Convention. 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	11	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Gallup Surveys. 2 pgs.
14	11	8/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Name: The Gallup Poll Article: At This Early Stage of Campaign: McGovern's Standing in Trial Heat Lags Behind His Party's Lead on Top Issues. 1 pg.
14	11	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Phone Conversation between Gordon Strachan and John Davies RE: Campaign Surveys. 7 pgs.
14	11	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Rietz Youth Meeting with the President - August 4. 1 pg.
14	11	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: AIP Convention. 1 pg.

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14	11	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Haldeman Meeting with Murray Chotiner - August 2. 1 pg.
14	11	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: AIP Convention. 1 pg.
14	11	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Campaign Surveys - Wave II. 2 pgs.
14	11	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Second Wave Polling Results. 8 pgs.
14	11	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: John Ehrlichman To: Bob Haldeman RE: Availability of Poll Material. 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	11	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: Gordon Strachan RE: Survey Data. 50 pgs.
14	11	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: Clark MacGregor RE: Panel Interview Results. 2 pgs.
14	11	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: Clark MacGregor RE: Inflation and Taxes. 6 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 240

Folder: Strachan HRH only Chron August 1972 Part I

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>	
32	Return	Private/Personal Memo Strachan to HRH 8/10/72
33	Retain	Open
34	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/9/72
35	Retain	Open
36	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/8/72
37	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/8/72
38	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/4/72
39	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/7/72
40	Retain	Open
41	Retain	Close Invasion of Privacy Memo Strachan to HRH 8/7/72
42	Retain	Open
43	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/4/72
44	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/3/72
45	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/3/72
46	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/2/72
47	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/2/72
48	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/2/72
49	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/1/72
50	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/1/72
51	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/1/72
52	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to HRH 8/1/72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

President's Estate Plan

Dick Ritsel of Mudge Rose called this morning asking if there were any developments in the President's estate plan. On Friday, August 4, Mudge Rose delivered two complete sets of documents ready for execution, an outline of the materials, and an agenda for the correct handling of the meeting. John Dean has one set and John Ehrlichman has the other. I have not asked either for copies to review in light of Mr. Ehrlichman's desire to "keep the project close". According to Ritsel, the documents implement the Mudge Rose plan with none of the Kalsbach, DeMarco suggestions. Independent California counsel has approved the Mudge Rose plan.

Dean reports that no action can be taken until you and Mr. Ehrlichman have met and discussed the matter.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Use of "Johnson and Kennedy Administration" in Documents

The Domestic Council (Ken Cole and John Campbell) is confused as to whether the terms "Johnson Administration, Kennedy Administration, or previous Administrations" can be used in any political publications.

Ed Harper has excluded these terms from the Republican Platform at John Ehrlichman's direction. The question now is whether these terms may be used in the Nixon section of a history of the Republican Party, which the RNC will release during the campaign.

Recommendation:

_____ Do not use "Johnson Administration, Kennedy Administration, previous Administrations" in any political publications.

_____ OK to use "Johnson Administration, Kennedy Administration, previous Administrations".

_____ Other.

GS/jb

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Song

The Mike Curb Congregation recorded Campaign Songs #1 and #2 today in Los Angeles. August 9 and 10 will be used for "sound meshing" and reworking the recordings. These versions are to be in Washington August 11.

A new attempt at a "campaign rally song" has been written. A recording is being prepared in New York and is to be in Washington on August 11.

GS:car

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

DNC Convention

Ed Failor from 1701 has learned that after the opening of the Convention at 7:30, there will be opening ceremonies of thirty minutes, Shriver will then be nominated. He will be seconded by Hubert Humphrey and Ted Kennedy. The balloting and roll call should conclude around 9:30. Mansfield will introduce Shriver, who will deliver his acceptance speech. Shriver's speech will be followed by a "brief" address by McGovern. The DNC hopes to adjourn between 10:00 and 10:30 p.m.

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies today disclosed several interesting matters:

- 1) The Gallup release for Sunday, August 6, is attached;
- 2) Gallup is interviewing August 4-6. Trial Heats are included and the results are scheduled to be released Sunday, August 13. From now to November 7, Gallup will do bi-weekly trial heats;
- 3) McGovern is losing one in three Democrats. "It's the largest defection away from a party's candidate in twenty-five years", in Davies memory. Davies says McGovern will get some of them back. McGovern is caught with a two-edged sword, however, because "a sizeable proportion of the Democrats that support McGovern disagree with his position on amnesty". When McGovern's position becomes clear it may cost him more Democratic votes;
- 4) Gallup will do a series of issue polls testing McGovern's proposals, such as the income redistribution, amnesty, and abortion views beginning in the middle of September;
- 5) Contrary to what George Gallup, Jr. said, Gallup will conduct Presidential popularity questions. Davies said the results will not be released. He will try to give us the results;
- 6) Gallup will begin releasing union/non-union demographics on the questions.

Davies noted that the Gallup organization had issued a directive to all employees not to release any advance information. Davies balked and will try to continue to give me advance information. He urged strictest confidentiality and noted that Gallup stopped giving advance information to President Johnson "because he just became, if you'll excuse the expression and lack of courtesy, downright ridiculous about it".

GS/jb

At This Early Stage of Campaign

McGovern's Standing in Trial Heat Lags Behind His Party's Lead on Top Issues

By George Gallup
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 5 — The Democratic party currently holds a marginal lead over the GOP, 53 to 47 per cent, as the party voters believe can better handle the problem they consider to be most important.

Confidence in the Democratic party's ability to cope with the problems voters deem most important may seem inconsistent with the fact that Senator McGovern, the Democratic nominee, trails President Nixon by 19 points in the latest trial heat. Survey evidence in previous presidential election years suggests, however, that, at this early part in the campaign, many voters may be adopting a "wait-and-see" attitude regarding McGovern's stance on key issues. This is perhaps the principal reason why one Democrat in every three currently withholds support from McGovern.

Sensitive Barometer Of Voting Behavior

The question as to which of the two major parties can better deal with that problem uppermost in the mind of the voter has provided a sensitive barometer of voting behavior, particularly in surveys taken shortly before an election.

Contrast With '68

Although Nixon's lead over his Democratic rival today is closely comparable to his lead over Sen. Hubert Humphrey in July, 1968 — if the Wallace vote is taken into account — the present

pattern of voter concerns is strikingly different from that recorded exactly four years ago. In July, 1968, the GOP held the edge 52 to 48 per cent as the party voters thought could better deal with the problem of greatest importance.

In a mid-August survey in 1968, the GOP lead had stretched to 56 to 44 per cent. The margin narrowed to 53 to 47 per cent just before the election, anticipating the close division of the vote.

Vietnam, Inflation Now Top Problems

The Vietnam war and economic problems are running about even as the top concern of the American people at this time. Twenty-five per cent name the war and 23 per cent name the high cost of living.

Selected by the next greatest number of voters in the latest survey are crime/lawlessness (10 per cent) and drug use and abuse (9 per cent).

Together these four problems are named by almost two thirds of all voters as the most important facing the nation today.

Twice as Many Named Vietnam in 1968

In contrast, at a comparable point in the 1968 campaign, the Vietnam war was named by 52 per cent of voters — twice the proportion who name the war today.

The problem named next most often at that time, by 29 per cent, was crime and lawlessness (including riots and looting). Race relations were named the biggest problem by the third greatest number of voters (13 per cent), followed by the high cost of living (9 per cent).

The following tables show the top four problems named today, compared with the top four in 1968:

July, 1972	
Vietnam war	25%
High cost of living	23
Crime/lawlessness	10
Drug use and abuse	9
Others named	37
No opinion	2
	106%*

* Total exceeds 100 per cent since some persons named more than one problem.

July, 1968	
Vietnam war	52%
Crime/lawlessness	29
Race relations	13
High cost of living	9
Others named	11
No opinion	1
	115%*

* Total exceeds 100 per cent since some persons named more than one problem.

Details Of Survey

The latest findings are based on in-person interviews with 1527 adults interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period July 14-16.

This question was asked first: "What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?"

All persons who named a problem were then asked: "Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned — the Republican party or the Democratic party?"

Following are the results of the latest survey, compared with those recorded in July, 1968:

	Party Best Handle Top Problems?	
	July, 1972	July, 1968
	%	%
Democratic	53	47
Republican	47	52
No difference/No opinion	38	42
	100%	100%

When the views of those who said "no difference" and those who expressed no opinion are divided equally between the two parties, the results are as follows:

	July, 1972	July, 1968
	%	%
Democratic	53	48
Republican	47	52
	100%	100%

The importance of the Gallup issue barometer as it reflects the division of the vote in presidential elections is seen not only in 1968, but in the two previous presidential elections.

The Democrats had a 63-37 per cent advantage in this measurement in October, 1964. This division of opinion was reflected in the presidential vote the following month when President Lyndon Johnson defeated Sen. Barry Goldwater by a 61-39 per cent margin.

In the fall of 1960, the Democratic party had a narrow, 52-48 per cent, lead over the Republicans in terms of the party better able to deal with the top problem. This close division of opinion anticipated the results of the 1960 election, one of the closest in history.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES -- Friday, August 4, 1972

G - Hi, John, how are you?

D - Long time no hear.

G - Yeah, how was your vacation?

D - Oh, it was very good, but it was a little difficult getting back after a month and 5 days.

G - I can imagine.

D - I got back later than I thought, so I'm now getting back into the swing of things.

G - Sorry we missed each other last week, I guess. Kind of interesting - some of the results. That happens.

D - Oh boy.

G - What's up these days?

D - Well, a survey went out, let's see what's day is today, a survey went out Wednesday.

G - So that would be August 2nd, huh?

D - Right. Interviewing would be this weekend, tonight through Sunday night. And probably the first results of that will be published on the 13th which I would guess would be the trial heat again. There were a lot of things on that particular ballot that would be of interest to you. There were - we posed about 15 or so issues to respondents and asked them the degree of importance and then also which of the two candidates - Nixon and McGovern - they thought could better handle the problems and why. So, I think we're going to have a great deal of very good information for you - I'd say within a week or two.

G - Gee, that's great.

D - There's one thing I have to tell you. There's been a directive today, as I feared would happen, from the company here about receiving information. I don't know how to handle this, they didn't say, nobody said don't, you know, get out advance information, but I do think that you ought to be now extremely careful with how you use it. In other words, even if you and perhaps if it's possible the President are the only ones that realize that there is advance information coming.

G - Yes.

D - Not that we care that much because very often we give information to the Democratic National Committee also.

G - Sure.

D - But --

G - No, I understand.

D - I hate to see the doors closed.

G - No, I understand.

D - [We had to do that with Johnson finally because he just became, if you'll excuse the expression and the lack of courtesy, he became just downright ridiculous about it.

G - Well, that's why when we talked that day one of my assignments was to emphasize to you the extreme closeness with which it's kept.

D - Right.

G - No one else should call or cause you any problems about it.

D - And by all means, by all means, call for me.

G - I will. OK.

D - Because I don't think you'll get much information otherwise.

G - No and that'll be great because it will be between the two of us and we haven't had a problem before and I'm sure we won't.

D - That's the reason I balked. I said, Now look these guys have been very cautious about this stuff and there hasn't been one leak and so, they don't agree with me, but at any rate -- onward.

G - Onward we go. What's going to come out this Sunday?

D - An issue index - which party voters think can handle the key problems facing the nation. It's pretty much of a tossup. Democrats are given a slight edge partywise.

G - Sure, cause there's twice as many of them.

D - Right and also it's really a reflection of Congressional strength rather than Presidential, I think.

G - Is that going to be the tone of the story?

D - Well the tone of the story is that the Democrats hold the marginal lead over the Republicans on issues but McGovern's personal strength lags far behind his party's, you know,

G - Oh, I see.

D - Which indicates a couple of things. One, that McGovern has to make his position better known on the issues obviously; and two, there are many Democrats, one in three infact, that now say they are now going to vote for Nixon.

G - Jesus, and will that be in Sunday?

D - No, that was in last week's.

G - Yeah.

D - It was sort of hidden in there, but it's there.

G - Yeah.

D - In fact, it's the largest defection away from a party's candidate, I recall, in twenty-five years.

G - Jesus. Do you think he'll be able to get them back?

D - Uh - I don't know. It's hard to say. He will most certainly he'll get some of it back. The pattern of course for many, particularly intellectual Democrats and Democrats that are Democrats but lean sort of Independent, you know, is to withhold support for a new face until he becomes better known and his ideas and positions and so on are crystallized. But I think, just between us, the way McGovern's positions are running on issues now, it just might work the opposite direction. First of all, we find a sizeable proportion of the Democrats that support McGovern disagree with his position on amnesty, for example. And, of course, McGovern's position on amnesty isn't clear.

G - Right.

D - However, if it should become clear, who knows what this could do.

G - Yeah.

D - And how about the upper income Democrats who will ~~shudder~~ to find out that anyone over \$15,000 a year or \$20,000 a year will be specially taxed to pay for a new welfare program. These things haven't all come out yet, but I don't know how it will work but he certainly won't gain Republican supporters with a position like that. You have to either solidify what you didn't have among

the Democrats or lose more and I have a feeling it will be the latter.

G - Are you going to do a series of issue polls similar to the ones you did after the Democratic Convention?

D - Yes.

G - So these points will sort of be brought out.

D - Oh, absolutely.

G - The income proposals and so forth.

D - Right.

G - Will you schedule those through September --

D - Probably through the middle of September, right.

G - That's great. OK.

D - As soon as everything is a little bit more concrete. Still a little vague right now.

G - Yeah, understand. So then we'll get results back some time next week on that 4-6 interview.

D - Right.

G - This Sunday will be issues. Will one issue be headlined -- the war or the economy?

D - Well, the war and the economy rank one and two very close together in fact as the key issues. And it's quite a change from this time in 1968 when Vietnam was named about 3 to 1 over any other issue. The war has lost a lot of its emotional punch anyway.

G - Interesting. Will that point be mentioned?

D - Well, I think it's just clear. We try not to assume why these things may be because we don't really know either.

G - Yeah, yeah. OK, you're going to do monthly or bi-weekly trial heats between now and November.

D - Probably bi-weekly.

G - Bi-weekly and no more approval, right?

D - Well, we may slip one in every once in a while, just to see what happens, to see how it's looking. I mean, we may do it just for our own benefit and we may not report it.

G - Without releasing it. I understand.

D - That helps us try to figure out either a decline or increase in a candidate's standing. For example, if Nixon should go down in the next month, let's say 5 points against McGovern, we'd like to know whether it was more a plus for McGovern or whether it's a minus for Nixon. Has the President done something that the people don't go along with or is McGovern just coming up in the eyes of the public? You can get that information too.

G - Oh good. Because we keep this, you might imagine, trend information.

D - Oh yeah. By all means.

G - Did you ask any questions about the President's meeting with or Japanese trade relations or

D - No, I don't believe so really.

G - Oh, there's a lot of concern you know about how unhappy the Japanese were on the China trip.

D - That's the kind of thing though that doesn't filter down really to the general public.

G - Really?

D - The huge don't know. About 40% of the people don't have any idea.

G - Are you going to start releasing labor demographics?

D - Yes, yes absolutely.

G - Yeah, that's fascinates us as you might well imagine.

D - By all means.

G - Indicates some interesting ...

D - Gordon, are you getting a hold of any campaign materials?

G - I'm keeping everything for you. I kid you not.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

**Riets Youth Meeting with
the President - August 4**

Riets said the meeting was "great, fantastic", and he hoped it worked out as you wanted. He said the President seemed rather enthusiastic. Riets and his group were overjoyed to spend over an hour with the President, Tricia and Ed Cox and you.

Is there any specific followup from the meeting that I should get from Riets?

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

AIP Convention

George Wallace sent a telegram last night to T. Coleman Andrews, the Chairman of the AIP, confirming that Wallace would not accept a draft.

The rumor distributed by Tom Turnipseed and Peter Beater at the Convention that the telegram was not authorized by Governor Wallace is merely a continuing indication of the split within the ranks of the Wallace advisers.

The AIP will nominate their candidate for President this afternoon. Congressman Schmits (R-Cal) is still expected to receive the nomination. Schmits is now working on his acceptance speech, which will be delivered tonight.

There are no indications who Schmits will pick as Vice President.

Lester Maddox will address the AIP Convention, though a time has not yet been set.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Haldeman Meeting with
Murray Chotiner - August 2

Do you want me to follow-up with Murray Chotiner on any matters raised in your meeting yesterday at 5:30 p.m.?

_____ Yes, Strachan follow-up.

_____ No, follow-up unnecessary.

_____ Other.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

AIP Convention

The American Independent Party is holding its convention in Louisville, Kentucky from today through August 5.

Late tomorrow, the Presidential candidate will be nominated. The Dent office contact in Louisville, Ron Mitchell from the AIP delegation, reports that lame duck Congressman Schmits (R-Cal) will probably be nominated. Schmits is working the delegates hard and has captured the initiative from Richard Kay, the Cleveland lawyer who had been expected to receive the nomination when Wallace withdrew.

Wallace may receive a vote of confidence and receive the "Honorary Nomination". There is very little chance that Tom Turnipseed's "Draft Wallace" movement will be successful since Turnipseed has been all but repudiated.

There is only minimal TV, wire, and media coverage of the event because without Wallace the AIP is a shell, according to Ron Mitchell.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Surveys - Wave II

You decided on July 24 to permit Bob Teeter to brief members of the White House Staff on the results of the Campaign Surveys - Wave II. Chapin, Parker, Buchanan, and Ziegler were briefed last week. Colson re-scheduled and hopefully will be briefed today. The briefing they received is summarized in the August 1 memorandum from Bob Teeter, attached at Tab A. This memorandum is Teeter's second attempt to draw some conclusions from the Wave II data. You read his preliminary report when you received the data on July 17.

The Vice President and Ray Price should also be briefed on the Wave II results. Teeter could brief them this week. The briefing for the Vice President would be on the general political situation and issue information. Price would receive information on McGovern's image and issue information.

_____ Approve Vice Presidential briefing.

_____ Disapprove Vice Presidential briefing.

_____ Approve Ray Price briefing.

_____ Disapprove Ray Price briefing.

_____ Other.

Ehrlichman, Cole, Harper, and Roy Morey of the Domestic Council were briefed on August 1. Ehrlichman is requesting in the memorandum attached at Tab B access to the polling

information similar to that which the Domestic Council had to Wave I. Teeter prepared the issue materials for the Domestic Council attached at Tab C.

Recommendation:

That the Domestic Council receive the same access (general issue information) to Wave II that they received to Wave I, including receipt of the materials already prepared by Teeter.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

The state-by-state issue information that Teeter prepared for Chapin and Parker would also be helpful to John Whitaker and Bart Porter in their schedule planning for the Surrogates.

Recommendation:

That Whitaker and Porter receive the State-by-State Issue information.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Teeter has also submitted the results of the re-interviews conducted during the national survey. The results are at Tab D. Teeter's memorandum on Inflation and Taxes, which he considers the two most important problem areas, is attached at Tab E.

Recommendation:

That a copy of Teeter's Inflation and Taxes memorandum be forwarded to Ehrlichman.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 1, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Empuse NARS, Date 1-14-80

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Second Wave Polling Results

This memorandum is to summarize the briefings I am giving the White House personnel you requested I meet with.

We are in relatively good shape against McGovern in terms of the sample ballots. We have broken the pattern of the President only getting 42-46% of the committed vote for the first time. In several of the priority states his committed vote is near or above 50%. We continue to have some problems in Missouri, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Washington although our situation has improved from the first wave. We have rated each of the states we polled A, B, C, D, and E. With A meaning we are in very good shape, B in relatively good shape, C that it is close, D we are in not too good shape, and E we are in bad shape.

Ratings

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Alabama	California	Michigan	Wisconsin	None
Connecticut	Maryland	Missouri		
Illinois	New Jersey	Oregon		
Ohio	New York	Washington		
Texas	Pennsylvania			

The President is doing very well for a Republican candidate with all three voting behavior groups. He is losing almost no Republicans, he has substantial leads with the ticket-splitters and is cutting into the Democrats at the 25-30% level. At this point he is doing significantly better among the ticket-splitters than he did in 1968.

Our data indicates that there are two basic groups of ticket-splitters with which we need to be concerned. The first group has been splitting their ticket for some time and in recent years have been splitting in favor of winning Republicans. They tend to be in the 25-50 age group, to be somewhat better educated than the average voter, to have slightly higher incomes than the average voter, in general they are from the upper middle class, and are typically suburbanites.

The second group are those who have only begun to split their ticket in the past few years and who have previously voted straight Democratic. Even though they are now clearly ticket-splitters and are available to us in this campaign, they will still probably vote for a majority of Democrats. Many of them split for Wallace in the last election and many switched from Wallace to Humphrey late in the campaign. This group is lower on the socio-economic scale than the first group and age is somewhat less of a factor. They are often (but not necessarily) Catholic, and in the large cities of the East and Midwest, often have ethnic backgrounds. They are essentially the blue collar working middle class.

Candidate Perception

The President is rated quite well on the three key personality dimensions -- trustworthiness, strength, and competence. He is rated higher on the trustworthy dimension now than he was in January and this is a scale on which we rarely see any movement for a well-known figure. However, there is no significant difference between the President and McGovern on the trust or strength dimensions. He gets his highest ratings by far on the competence dimension and has a large advantage over McGovern.

Several specific questions were asked concerning credibility and the results indicate that a significant number, though a minority, do not think the administration has been completely honest with them, particularly with regard to Vietnam. However, when viewed against the President's personal trustworthiness ratings I think that the problem is as much one of government not being credible as it is of the President himself not being credible. More importantly, I think this is a problem that can be at least partially solved by separating the President from it and then having him attack the problem. Although he hasn't gotten much credit for it, he appears to have done this to a degree by ordering the reviews of classification and secrecy procedures. Another possibility might be for him to attack the pork-barrelling practice of Congress adding non-related spending items to major appropriation bills if and when he vetoes some major spending bills.

The President however does get fairly low ratings on the amiability or friendliness dimensions. While he is seen as trustworthy, strong, and competent he is not seen as warm, friendly, etc. There is no indication, however, that this is detracting from his support. In contrast to 10-12 years ago, being dynamic or friendly is simply not viewed as being an important qualification for the Presidency. This is not to say, however, that higher ratings on these scales would not be of some assistance in attracting new votes.

The President is also seen to a degree as a one dimensional President. That is, in contrast to some past Presidents, he is viewed almost exclusively as one who is the chief of State, and the head of the

government rather than as the head or leader of an entire culture -- sports, the arts, life style, etc. In a sense he is viewed as a "professional" President, that is, one who is trained, experienced, competent, respected for his ability, and concerned with the official duties of his job full time. There is also no evidence that this is losing us any votes at all.

McGovern's perception is still being set at this time. Although most of the respondents could rate him on the various personality and issue scales, his various ratings were similar indicating that the knowledge of him is quite superficial.

Compared to the President, McGovern's ratings for trustworthiness, strength, and amiability were not significantly different from the President's but he was rated much less competent than the President. I would expect to see McGovern's personal image take much more definite shape in the next few weeks.

The most important issues continue to be Vietnam and the economy, particularly inflation, both in terms of general concern and of importance in voting for the President. Taxes, drugs, personal safety are also important but definitely secondary to Vietnam and inflation. The minor issues such as abortion and marijuana do not appear to be affecting Presidential vote. The tendency to lump amnesty, abortion, and marijuana all together is not supported by the data. Amnesty is viewed as part of the Vietnam issues and therefore relatively important. Abortion is not seen as a major national problem and the voters are split almost equally on this question of liberalizing abortion statutes. Liberalization of the marijuana statutes is opposed by a substantial majority, but is not seen as an important issue in the Presidential election.

Bussing is seen as a moderately important problem in those local areas where it is a reality or there is a pending decision but is not at all an important issue outside of those areas. It is not a major national issue and while we may want to use it in those areas that have been directly affected, there is no reason for us to make it a national issue.

Unemployment is a moderately important issue but not one which is currently costing us any votes at this time. Very few people who are most subject to unemployment are potential Nixon voters. This will probably remain the case as long as it continues to decline. There appears to be a threshold at which unemployment becomes a major concern of large numbers of voters whether they are unemployed or not but below that level only those who are unemployed are immediately threatened are concerned. Undoubtedly this is also related to the trend of the unemployment statistics. The issue of more and better jobs has, however, always been an effective issue and even though unemployment per se is not a major concern, I don't think we should overlook the job issue.

The general issue of national defense is also seen as a moderately important issue but with varying attitudes about the specifics. There is support for the idea that a strong national defense is a means to peace. Yet a large majority think we should cut our armed forces. The reason for this is, however, a belief that there is great waste in the defense department, not that we don't need a strong national defense.

% Mention As One of Top
Three Problems Facing U.S.

Vietnam	57
Crime	14
Inflation	13
Drugs	13
Economy	12
Race	11
Unemployment	11
Environment	11
Poverty	9
Taxes	7
Bussing	5

There is some concern on the part of a large group of voters, many of them ours, or potentially ours, with the general issue of change and of the concentration of power in large institutions -- government, labor, business. This issue does not appear to be specific or to have taken shape yet but looks like one which could become of increasing importance. Any of our questions which even hinted at the need for change or the concentration of power issue got strong responses on the side of change and more concern for the individual citizen.

This appears to be particularly true with regard to large unions. More people blame them for inflation than blame business, or the President and Congress combined and other recent data indicates a real lack of sympathy with large or crippling strikes. With regard to business, the problem seems to be one of a lack of faith in the honesty or with being adequately concerned with either the customer's or the public's welfare.

Government is seen as too expensive, distant, inefficient, and simply ineffective. The citizenry simply does not think they are getting their moneys worth for their taxes. At the same time, however, they want and expect government to solve whatever problems they presumably think are important.

With just three exceptions the President's ratings on his handling of issues have held fairly constant and positive since January. Between January and June his ratings on the change issue increased significantly and his ratings on inflation and taxes dropped markedly. His rating on Vietnam remains high with 35% more people rating him positively than negatively.

McGovern's ratings are fairly positive but not very well defined as yet. This, however, may not change for the majority of the issues in the short time between now and the election.

ISSUE HANDLING

	<u>Nixon</u>		<u>McGovern</u>	
	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Vietnam	65%	30%	42%	26%
Inflation	47	46	41	42
General Unrest	57	33	43	20
Crime	56	36	46	17
Unemployment	50	43	43	20
Drugs	53	36	44	18
Taxes	46	48	40	24
Bussing	46	40	35	24
Health Care	69	21	50	12
National Defense	73	18	43	23
Environment	60	30	50	11
Racial Problems	60	31	43	20
Foreign Policy	81	11	40	22
Welfare	52	39	43	22

Conclusions

One of the unique things in this set of data is its consistency across the various states particularly with the perception of the President. His strong and weak points in terms of personal perception is very similar in all of the priority states. The major issue concerns are also fairly uniform across states but there is some significant variance in the importance of the secondary issues.

In the top priority states the President's pattern of support is very close to that which Republicans have won with before, that is to get 90-95% of the Republicans, 15-20% of the Democrats, and a large enough majority of the ticket-splitters to win.

Assuming we get 95% of the Republicans and 15% of the Democrats, the following table lists the percentages of the ticket-splitter's we must get in each of the priority states to win a two-way race.

Minimum Percentage of Ticket-Splitters
Needed to Win State

California	70%
Connecticut	60
Illinois	60
Michigan	75
Missouri	75
New Jersey	60
New York	65
Ohio	55
Oregon	60
Pennsylvania	70
Washington	65
Wisconsin	70

Our first priority is to re-create what has been the proven winning coalition in those states before. This means we need to get majorities among those who have traditionally split their ticket. Our next priority should then be to go after the Democrats who have just begun to split their tickets. We also should go after those Democrats who have not yet split their tickets but are similar demographically to those who have. Past experience indicates that some campaign effort directed at these people will cause some new ticket-splitting.

In terms of issues we should concentrate on the major national issue Vietnam, the economy, taxes, drugs, and crime. These are the issues that are going to decide the most Presidential votes and it is to our advantage to keep the campaign directed to them and not on the minor issues of abortion and marijuana.

While the data on the President is generally optimistic there are two soft spots or potential problems that need attention. His ratings on inflation and taxes are poor and down sharply from January. These issues are closely related and important to Presidential vote.

We have some weakness in the general issues of change. A large majority think we need fairly drastic change and they do not see the President as being for this change. I think it is important that we show the President as an innovator and as one who is for responsible change as opposed to McGovern who is for radical and irresponsible change.

We should move as soon as possible to harden up these soft spots while they don't appear to be costing us any sizable groups of votes now, they are points at which we are vulnerable to attack. We should move before McGovern has a chance too.

There are several elements that I think should be present in the general thrust or image of the campaign. First, it should have a central idea or theme. We know from the first wave data that the President is viewed as a tactican and as one without a master plan or strategy for the country. A theme or central idea would give us the common thread with which to tie together all of his accomplishments and give the voters a reason to vote for the President.

Second, the campaign should show the breath and complexity of the President's accomplishments and proposals. One of the elements of his support is that he is doing a good job in a very difficult or impossible job. This would take advantage of that feeling.

Third, it should show the President as an innovator and for responsible change for the reasons discussed earlier.

Fourth, it should show him as being concerned about improving the lives of the citizens. We need to emphasize that the ultimate purpose behind all the President's trips, programs, and actions is to help our citizens enjoy better lives. We need to communicate how his program is going to help "you" not some special interest group or institution.

Fifth, we should emphasize those plus qualities which the President is seen as having and which are believable - knowledgeable, wise, competent - and not try to make him something he isn't.

The campaign should have the element of hope. The voters have got to believe that things are going to improve over the next four years with Richard Nixon as President or they have no reason to vote for him. They are not going to reward him for the past four years. One of the basic elements of the American attitude and of American politics has always been hope for better times. People don't like negativism.

We should work to the people's desire for a more calm, orderly, and peaceful life style. Even though we may be on the side of the majority, it does not serve our purpose to become strident or increase the acrimony in the country. One of the problems with the '70 campaign was that while people were against long hair hippies, marijuana, permissiveness, etc. what they were for was a return to a peaceful, orderly life style and while our campaign was on the majority side, we were seen as making the fight two sided but adding to the acrimony.

We now have a fairly large lead which will probably decline, at least partially. However, as long as we have a substantial lead it is to our advantage to keep things calm and on the high road. We should take as few chances as possible and not let it get close.

This is not to say, however, that we should not do anything to introduce some negatives on McGovern. We do need to have a fairly regular flow of negative material on him while his perception is being set but we should take full advantage of his own problems and let the press do as much of it as they will without our help. However, if McGovern's negative press does taper off, we should be very careful about how we attack him. We simply cannot take a chance of damaging the President's respect and trust which are not yet particularly deep or well set. Any attacks on McGovern should be directed at the extreme nature of his positions and not at him personally.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JULY 31, 1972

FOR BOB HALDEMAN
FROM JOHN EHRLICHMAN
RE AVAILABILITY OF POLL MATERIAL

At the very minimum there should be three people on my staff, in addition to myself, who should have the latest poll information available to them.

They are Ken Cole, Ed Harper, Roy Morey.

I would appreciate it if you would see that their names appear on the appropriate access lists for the polls.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*

Attached is a copy of the survey data I propose to give to Erlichman and Cole. In addition to this, we will continue to work with them on specific issue problems as we have in the past.

NATIONAL STUDY RATING: A

	A		B		A		A		B		C		E		D		A		C		B		A		D			
	National*	RM**	Ala. Imp.	Ala. RN	Calif. Imp.	Calif. RN	Conn. Imp.	Conn. RN	Ill. Imp.	Ill. RN	Md. Imp.	Md. RN	Mich. Imp.	Mich. RN	Mo. Imp.	Mo. RN	N. J. Imp.	N. J. RN	Ohio Imp.	Ohio RN	Ore. Imp.	Ore. RN	Pa. Imp.	Pa. RN	Texas Imp.	Texas RN	Wis. Imp.	Wis. RN
Vietnam	65 30	50 22	76 41	54 39	60 39	57 35	64 35	60 35	63 35	51 32	67 32	53 42	56 42	54 37	62 37	58 41	56 41	56 32	67 32	49 39	57 39	60 39	59 39	51 32	67 32	63 39	59 39	
Inflation	47 46	24	56 41	28	45 33	41 33	41 36	31	47 32	48 32	51 31	25 43	43 35	30	45 33	31 37	37 32	47 32	31	40 31	56 29	47 29	47 23	53 46	32	49 31	51	
Drugs	53 36	39	68 28	20	53 43	25	51 42	27	56 42	33	57 40	27	54 43	24	58 38	29	47 44	47 29	52 44	27	53 41	34	55 43	34	61 37	16	63 34	34
Crime	56 36	31	62 35	20	53 43	24	48 47	25	52 45	37	50 48	25	45 52	30	51 47	20	43 52	27	50 48	24	49 46	24	50 49	25	53 45	16	56 42	42
Unemployment	50 43	19	63 33	30	45 32	33	42 33	28	49 49	21	54 45	31	45 32	34	49 49	32	39 37	35	47 31	23	45 31	31	47 32	23	53 44	30	47 31	51
Taxes	46 48	26	54 44	29	44 33	25	44 36	34	48 31	28	48 49	34	42 37	32	53 45	33	36 39	26	49 39	39	39 37	36	44 36	27	47 42	46	42 37	57
Race	60 31	23	60 36	13	59 38	16	57 38	21	54 44	17	62 36	21	53 44	16	60 37	16	51 44	14	59 39	10	61 33	16	56 42	13	59 39	11	69 30	30
Foreign Policy	81 11	11	81 13	18	78 20	17	79 15	16	78 21	10	81 17	9	80 17	13	80 17	13	74 20	14	82 16	13	72 23	11	83 15	15	80 18	16	86 13	13
Environment	60 40	10	70 26	21	51 46	18	58 36	16	55 42	17	60 37	13	63 33	13	64 33	15	50 43	13	59 38	17	64 31	15	50 38	12	59 39	16	65 36	36
General Unrest	57 33	9	65 30	15	48 49	12	53 41	11	52 47	9	60 37	19	57 41	13	58 39	11	43 49	13	55 42	14	48 46	11	53 45	10	57 41	11	60 39	39
Welfare	52 39	13	65 32	13	53 44	13	47 46	9	52 41	12	55 42	14	50 47	15	57 41	15	42 52	13	54 44	15	45 30	11	55 44	12	55 42	17	50 49	49
Health Care	69 21	8	80 16	10	63 32	7	64 28	9	63 30	9	68 29	8	69 28	9	70 27	9	60 33	8	67 30	10	62 32	9	72 26	10	70 27	7	74 24	24
Nat'l. Defense	73 18	16	82 13	22	74 23	16	75 19	13	77 21	13	80 17	8	80 17	13	80 16	14	70 23	13	80 17	14	73 21	13	81 17	20	78 19	16	85 14	14
Bussing	46 40	17	43 33	4	52 42	3	50 38	4	49 48	7	56 40	19	46 31	6	51 45	4	48 41	4	52 44	2	47 42	4	54 42	10	47 30	4	60 35	35

* June 16-26, 1972; 1,016 Interviews

** Because the National study was conducted by phone the scales are slightly different than the states. No questions ranking the issues by importance were asked.

ALABAMA

	A Mobile/ Meridian		A Montgomery		A Dothan		A Columbus, Ga.		A Huntsville/ Chattanooga		A Birmingham		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	54	74 23	48	75 22	55	53 38	44	77 21	49	75 22	50	81 19	50	76 22
Inflation	27	50 48	14	62 32	22	47 43	27	58 38	24	55 42	26	58 41	24	56 41
Drugs	34	59 36	35	78 18	41	70 23	46	71 27	44	62 35	41	70 26	39	68 28
Crime	43	51 47	34	67 30	32	53 40	36	56 42	24	56 41	29	69 28	31	62 35
Unemployment	20	59 38	14	63 33	13	51 43	23	69 29	24	57 39	18	68 28	19	63 33
Taxes	16	41 55	33	63 33	30	49 45	20	50 48	18	60 38	28	55 44	26	54 44
Race	30	45 52	26	60 32	33	49 40	23	58 40	13	62 34	22	66 31	23	60 36
Foreign Policy	5	74 23	5	84 8	7	68 13	14	77 17	16	84 9	11	85 13	11	81 13
Environment	4	66 30	10	72 22	4	70 17	16	63 33	11	71 26	12	70 25	10	70 26
General Unrest	7	55 40	12	68 23	8	60 32	8	65 31	12	66 29	9	68 29	9	65 30
Welfare	11	58 38	16	73 23	8	47 45	10	60 35	15	64 33	12	68 29	13	65 32
Health Care	7	80 15	11	80 14	4	62 30	8	73 23	8	84 14	11	82 15	8	80 16
Nat'l. Defense	11	77 19	10	80 13	17	77 11	10	83 10	20	80 15	16	87 9	16	82 13
Bussing	28	27 71	14	59 37	10	36 57	12	31 67	17	41 55	15	48 47	17	43 53

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Drugs
Crime
Taxes
Inflation

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Mobile/Meridian: Crime
Race
Bussing

Montgomery: Taxes

Dothan: Vietnam
Race

Columbus, Ga.: Drugs
Crime
Environment

Huntsville/
Chattanooga: Drugs
Crime
Foreign Policy

OVERALL RATING: B

CALIFORNIA

June 12-17, 1972
1,000 Interviews

	B San Diego		A Los Angeles		A Santa Barb/ Santa Maria		A Salinas/Monterey		A Fresno		D San Francisco		E Chico/Redding		D Sacramento/ Stockton		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	58	53 47	52	64 35	42	70 30	57	67 33	54	70 30	61	49 49	54	50 44	55	61 38	54	60 39
Inflation	18	55 42	30	47 51	30	52 42	27	58 42	24	45 48	25	36 62	27	32 62	18	45 53	28	45 53
Drugs	23	63 34	20	54 42	24	70 30	30	55 39	24	33 55	15	46 48	27	38 53	26	59 36	20	53 43
Crime	33	58 38	18	57 40	21	45 52	18	42 45	24	45 45	17	47 47	15	44 47	23	52 45	20	53 43
Unemployment	18	56 42	29	47 50	36	45 55	30	45 52	18	55 45	29	39 58	54	32 59	47	42 56	30	45 52
Taxes	27	47 52	28	46 51	33	58 39	36	42 52	18	48 48	30	39 57	12	35 56	32	39 58	29	44 53
Race	10	61 38	11	62 36	12	64 36	12	61 36	15	70 24	14	51 44	30	62 32	16	55 42	13	59 38
Foreign Policy	14	81 19	20	79 20	27	91 9	15	85 15	12	88 9	15	71 25	15	68 24	17	79 17	18	78 20
Environment	14	53 42	23	48 49	15	61 39	21	67 27	15	70 30	25	50 46	12	56 38	14	55 42	21	51 46
General Unrest	19	34 63	15	52 44	12	52 45	12	45 48	9	67 30	17	41 56	9	35 56	14	50 47	15	48 49
Welfare	16	59 39	14	53 43	15	67 33	18	58 36	15	61 39	8	51 46	12	32 59	8	48 50	13	53 44
Health Care	13	66 33	10	66 29	0	70 27	3	73 27	21	64 33	11	58 37	12	50 38	13	61 38	10	63 32
Nat'l. Defense	32	70 28	20	76 22	30	76 24	18	88 9	27	79 18	21	70 27	15	56 38	14	80 18	22	74 23
Bussing	5	47 48	3	54 41	0	52 42	0	70 21	3	48 42	4	46 47	3	38 47	8	59 38	4	52 42

ISSUES:

- Vietnam
- Unemployment
- Taxes
- Inflation
- National Defense

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

- San Diego: Crime
National Defense
- Santa Barbara/
Santa Marin: Unemployment
National Defense
Foreign Policy
- Salinas/
Monterey: Taxes
Drugs
Welfare
- San Francisco: Vietnam
- Chico/Redding: Unemployment
Race
Crime
- Sacramento/
Stockton: Unemployment
Drugs

OVERALL RATING: A

CONNECTICUT

June 11-20, 1972
615 Interviews

	A New York		A Hartford		A Providence		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	54	73 27	60	60 40	48	75 21	57	64 35
Inflation	25	45 52	36	39 60	32	52 45	33	41 56
Drugs	30	55 38	24	49 46	17	52 34	25	51 42
Crime	30	55 41	31	44 51	20	54 38	24	48 47
Unemployment	26	45 49	34	40 57	32	50 38	33	42 53
Taxes	27	48 46	25	42 55	27	52 38	25	44 51
Race	12	57 36	18	57 39	11	59 34	16	57 38
Foreign Policy	20	85 8	16	77 18	20	75 11	17	79 15
Environment	14	61 32	20	58 37	20	52 34	18	58 36
General Unrest	13	59 33	9	50 46	18	57 29	12	53 41
Welfare	14	48 46	11	46 48	11	52 38	13	47 46
Health Care	8	66 24	6	65 30	6	54 32	7	64 28
Nat'l. Defense	17	80 13	14	72 22	23	79 11	16	75 19
Bussing	5	50 39	3	51 38	5	45 39	3	50 38

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Inflation
Unemployment
Drugs
Taxes

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

New York: Drugs
Hartford: Crime
Providence: National Defense
General Unrest

	A		D		A		A		A	
	Rockford/ Davenport		St. Louis		Paducah/ Springfield		Chicago		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	65	72 26	63	56 40	51	74 24	59	59 39	60	63 35
Inflation	40	63 36	23	31 67	28	57 41	31	44 55	31	47 52
Drugs	20	69 26	30	54 41	38	64 33	26	52 47	27	56 42
Crime	23	63 35	29	47 51	20	59 35	24	50 49	25	52 45
Unemployment	25	72 28	35	39 60	24	60 38	29	44 54	28	49 49
Taxes	36	64 36	24	44 53	41	61 37	32	42 57	34	48 51
Race	13	74 26	29	49 50	19	62 35	21	50 48	21	54 44
Foreign Policy	24	90 10	10	67 31	13	84 11	16	75 24	16	78 21
Environment	14	79 21	14	54 44	11	70 26	16	49 49	16	56 42
General Unrest	13	67 33	15	43 53	15	64 33	10	48 51	11	52 47
Welfare	4	78 21	13	46 50	12	66 28	8	53 46	9	52 41
Health Care	6	83 15	3	54 40	6	81 15	10	64 35	9	68 30
Nat'l Defense	15	90 8	7	73 26	17	87 10	11	73 25	13	77 21
Bussing	3	54 40	5	37 57	4	53 43	3	49 49	4	49 48

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Inflation
Unemployment
Drugs

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Rockford/Davenport: Vietnam
Inflation
Foreign Policy

St. Louis: Unemployment
Race

Paducah/Springfield: Taxes
Drugs

OVERALL RATING: B

MARYLAND

June 13-23, 1972
600 Interviews

	B		A		A		B	
	Baltimore		Salisbury		Washington		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	47	66 33	58	58 42	55	70 29	51	67 32
Inflation	25	49 50	16	67 33	45	44 54	32	48 51
Drugs	40	52 45	50	74 26	22	62 34	33	57 40
Crime	40	44 55	16	53 47	36	61 37	37	50 48
Unemployment	22	53 46	12	75 20	19	52 46	21	54 45
Taxes	28	45 54	20	54 46	28	53 44	28	48 49
Race	21	60 30	20	75 25	14	63 34	17	62 36
Foreign Policy	11	77 19	12	83 17	11	86 12	10	81 17
Environment	14	60 36	12	92 8	24	55 43	17	60 37
General Unrest	9	59 30	8	67 29	10	62 35	9	60 37
Welfare	15	54 44	20	58 38	8	57 40	12	55 42
Health Care	10	70 27	12	75 25	7	65 31	9	68 29
National Defense	11	76 20	16	83 13	15	85 12	13	80 17
Bussing	7	58 39	16	62 38	7	53 43	7	56 40

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Crime
Drugs
Inflation
Taxes

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Baltimore: Drugs
Salisbury: Vietnam
Drugs
Welfare
Bussing
Washington: Inflation
Environment

OVERALL RATING: C

MICHIGAN

June 13-30, 1972
800 Interviews

	D Detroit		A Lansing		B Flint-Sag. Bay City		B Grand Rapids Kala./Chicago		C Traverse City		A Marquette Green Bay		C Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	52	53 46	50	59 38	60	58 37	48	65 34	68	51 43	74	67 33	53	56 42
Inflation	24	41 58	43	50 50	17	55 41	26	50 48	27	27 68	33	41 29	25	43 55
Drugs	30	49 49	19	74 26	19	53 41	26	61 33	25	59 35	10	74 26	27	54 43
Crime	27	44 54	29	48 52	29	42 54	23	48 48	6	43 51	20	52 48	25	45 52
Unemployment	33	41 57	22	58 42	26	53 41	28	53 45	41	27 65	33	63 33	31	45 52
Taxes	34	39 60	45	53 47	43	43 54	23	47 52	44	41 54	24	52 48	34	42 57
Race	21	50 47	31	58 42	23	61 34	19	55 40	7	46 49	10	67 30	21	53 44
Foreign Policy	9	80 19	6	91 9	7	82 11	8	77 17	11	70 24	17	89 11	9	80 17
Environment	11	63 34	6	75 25	17	56 39	20	68 28	7	59 35	21	44 44	13	63 33
General Unrest	23	56 43	6	73 27	13	55 42	18	59 37	7	41 51	3	70 26	19	57 41
Welfare	10	47 50	23	76 24	6	51 44	23	53 42	22	38 54	10	63 37	14	50 47
Health Care	9	65 18	0	72 16	9	77 16	7	77 19	5	70 22	0	85 15	8	69 28
Nat'l Defense	7	80 18	0	84 16	7	77 18	13	85 11	4	68 24	7	89 11	8	80 17
Bussing	23	43 55	6	66 31	13	45 47	18	53 42	7	43 51	3	49 56	19	46 51

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Unemployment
Drugs
Inflation
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Lansing:

Taxes
Inflation
Race
Welfare

Flint-Saginaw-Bay City:

Vietnam
Taxes

Grand Rapids-Kalamazoo/
Chicago:

Welfare
Environment
National Defense

Traverse City:

Vietnam
Taxes
Unemployment
Welfare

Marquette-Green Bay:

Vietnam
Inflation
Environment
Foreign Policy

	E St. Louis		C Paducah/ Springfield		A Columbia/ Quincy		D St. Joseph/ Kansas City		E Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	55	56 44	56	64 32	51	70 28	50	64 34	54	62 37
Inflation	29	40 59	27	47 49	29	57 42	33	44 54	30	45 53
Drugs	22	58 39	26	57 35	32	54 40	23	59 38	24	58 38
Crime	35	47 52	25	52 43	22	52 48	29	56 43	30	51 47
Unemployment	41	39 60	30	55 43	26	59 39	31	55 44	34	49 49
Taxes	22	50 49	46	51 46	32	62 34	33	55 44	32	53 45
Race	20	50 49	12	64 30	13	68 30	16	68 30	16	60 37
Foreign Policy	13	79 20	10	74 21	17	87 12	12	84 11	13	80 17
Environment	12	58 40	7	69 27	15	68 31	15	67 30	13	64 33
General Unrest	12	52 46	16	61 35	14	68 32	13	59 38	13	58 39
Welfare	14	54 46	17	56 40	16	68 32	12	57 42	15	57 41
Health Care	8	64 33	7	70 24	16	77 21	12	76 22	9	70 27
Nat'l. Defense	12	85 13	10	72 22	17	86 13	16	78 18	13	80 16
Bussing	7	47 50	9	50 43	2	58 37	4	55 41	6	51 45

Paducah/Springfield also includes Spring./Paducah-Cape Girardeau-Harrisburg/Joplin-Pittsburg/Memphis

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Taxes
Inflation
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

St. Louis:

Unemployment
Crime

Paducah/Springfield/
Harrisburg/Joplin/Memphis:

Taxes

Columbia/Quincy:

Drugs
Health Care

OVERALL RATING: B

NEW JERSEY

June 11-20, 1972
823 Interviews

	C		B		B	
	Philadelphia		New York City		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	60	56 40	58	56 41	58	56 41
Inflation	27	42 50	33	35 62	31	37 59
Drugs	24	47 42	31	47 44	29	47 44
Crime	18	46 46	21	42 54	20	43 52
Unemployment	33	43 52	32	37 58	32	39 57
Taxes	33	36 57	35	36 59	33	36 59
Race	15	51 43	16	51 45	16	51 44
Foreign Policy	12	72 23	12	75 19	13	74 20
Environment	13	54 38	14	49 45	15	50 43
General Unrest	13	40 50	10	44 49	11	43 49
Welfare	15	48 46	14	40 54	15	42 52
Health Care	12	57 35	7	62 32	9	60 33
Nat'l. Defense	16	67 25	13	71 22	14	70 23
Bussing	3	45 43	4	49 40	4	48 41

ISSUES:

- Vietnam
- Taxes
- Unemployment
- Inflation
- Drugs

OVERALL RATING: A

OHIO

June 13-27, 1972
800 Interviews

	A Toledo/Lima		A Dayton		A Cincinnati		A Columbus Parkersburg		B Cleveland Akron Canton		A Youngstown/ Pittsburgh		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	49	75 24	61	60 39	58	69 31	57	72 27	53	63 36	67	70 28	56	67 32
Inflation	25	59 40	42	44 56	38	50 50	29	57 42	33	38 60	33	45 53	32	47 52
Drugs	31	58 38	32	53 48	29	50 48	30	58 39	24	50 45	51	48 44	29	52 44
Crime	32	51 45	21	48 50	26	55 45	29	53 44	27	46 51	25	50 47	27	50 48
Unemployment	21	54 43	45	44 56	37	51 48	31	61 38	37	37 61	31	55 42	35	47 51
Taxes	25	61 39	18	55 44	21	52 48	31	60 37	29	41 57	24	41 55	26	50 49
Race	17	65 35	16	61 39	13	65 34	14	65 33	14	54 44	17	48 48	14	59 39
Foreign Policy	15	80 14	16	88 13	15	90 10	13	81 17	15	80 16	13	70 27	14	82 16
Environment	24	70 28	11	68 33	10	66 32	11	59 37	14	51 44	8	56 38	13	59 38
General Unrest	13	69 31	11	50 49	19	63 35	13	57 36	14	49 47	7	55 44	13	55 42
Welfare	15	51 48	13	55 44	9	57 43	18	55 44	13	52 44	12	53 44	13	54 44
Health Care	10	69 28	4	69 28	6	77 21	4	64 31	10	67 32	8	55 42	8	67 30
National Defense	19	85 13	9	79 20	13	83 17	15	77 19	14	80 17	12	83 14	13	80 17
Bussing	6	55 43	4	48 51	4	62 37	1	50 44	3	50 45	5	53 44	4	52 44

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Inflation
Drugs
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Toledo/Lima;

Crime
Environment
National Defense

Dayton:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Inflation

Cincinnati:

Inflation
General Unrest

Columbus/Parkersburg:

Taxes
Welfare

Youngstown/Pittsburgh:

Vietnam
Drugs

	E Eugene		D Portland		C Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	60	52 48	50	56 39	49	57 39
Inflation	30	38 63	30	41 53	31	40 56
Drugs	20	50 46	28	52 40	27	53 41
Crime	18	50 45	25	48 46	24	49 46
Unemployment	17	49 49	24	44 50	23	45 50
Taxes	50	39 58	32	39 56	39	39 57
Race	7	55 43	10	61 31	10	61 33
Foreign Policy	12	69 28	13	72 21	13	72 23
Environment	24	57 41	16	62 31	17	64 31
General Unrest	12	50 48	15	46 47	14	48 46
Welfare	16	43 57	13	45 48	15	45 50
Health Care	8	66 30	10	58 35	10	62 32
Nat'l Defense	12	74 23	15	71 21	14	73 21
Bussing	2	49 40	2	45 43	2	47 42

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Inflation
Drugs
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Eugene: Vietnam
Taxes
Environment

OVERALL RATING: B

PENNSYLVANIA

June 13-27, 1972
800 Interviews

	A Johnstown/ Altoona/Erie		B Pittsburgh/ Youngstown		A Harrisburg/ York/Lancaster/ Lebanon/Hagerstown		D Philadelphia		A Wilkes-Barre- Scranton/ Binghamton		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	49	79 21	60	65 34	65	69 27	62	48 51	46	70 28	60	59 39
Inflation	29	60 38	29	39 60	19	61 37	29	44 55	25	60 40	29	47 52
Drugs	32	73 25	32	49 47	44	65 32	30	51 48	46	68 32	34	55 43
Crime	29	54 44	17	46 53	27	61 36	26	46 52	23	62 38	24	50 49
Unemployment	19	62 37	33	41 58	13	63 36	36	42 56	39	64 36	31	47 52
Taxes	32	54 43	41	41 58	36	60 38	31	39 59	41	57 43	36	44 34
Race	14	75 21	14	56 43	10	66 31	18	46 53	10	85 15	16	56 42
Foreign Policy	15	94 6	11	85 14	14	89 9	8	79 20	15	83 17	11	83 15
Environment	10	76 22	21	51 47	17	63 34	12	59 39	12	89 11	15	60 38
General Unrest	20	67 30	10	49 48	11	60 37	10	50 49	8	62 34	11	53 45
Welfare	15	59 41	7	50 48	19	61 38	11	54 45	4	77 23	11	55 44
Health Care	12	83 14	7	67 30	7	78 18	10	70 29	12	87 11	9	72 26
Nat'l. Defense	26	90 6	15	81 18	9	85 11	9	77 21	14	89 11	13	81 17
Bussing	3	71 22	4	44 51	2	58 38	4	54 44	2	77 21	4	54 42

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Drugs
Unemployment
Inflation

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Johnstown/Altoona/Erie:

Crime
National Defense
General Unrest

Pittsburgh/Youngstown:

Taxes
Environment

Harrisburg/York/Lancaster/
Lebanon/Hagerstown:

Vietnam
Drugs
Welfare

Philadelphia:

Unemployment

Wilkes-Barre-Scranton/
Binghamton:

Drugs
Unemployment
Taxes

OVERALL RATING: A

TEXAS

June 12-17, 1972
1,000 Interviews

	K		D		A		A		A		A		A		A		B		A		A		A				
	Corp. Christi Imp.	El Imp.	Houston Imp.	HN	Beaumont/ Pt. Arthur Imp.	HN	Shreveport/ Terarkana Imp.	HN	Austin Imp.	HN	Waco/Temple Imp.	HN	Dallas/ Ft. Worth Imp.	HN	Odessa/ Midland Imp.	HN	San Antonio Imp.	HN	El Paso Imp.	HN	Abilene/ Sweetwater Imp.	HN	Lubbock Imp.	HN	Amarillo Imp.	HN	Total Imp.
Vietnam	55	34	49	58	57	82	77	64	67	47	61	48	75	53	61	57	72	27	62	67	64	38	78	50	72	51	67
Inflation	38	21	26	30	27	38	28	44	22	67	14	42	25	56	26	47	36	49	27	38	61	25	61	25	53	28	53
Drugs	38	28	34	60	30	55	22	72	17	61	33	50	30	64	46	58	21	54	10	62	17	67	42	69	47	58	61
Crime	21	38	23	47	24	55	19	89	28	61	25	39	29	58	24	50	22	58	20	48	3	61	30	51	20	47	25
Unemployment	28	21	24	51	21	52	26	58	6	64	25	47	24	59	16	46	32	62	24	52	12	61	17	57	15	69	23
Taxes	35	34	22	52	27	67	20	61	11	69	30	53	26	64	38	47	21	50	55	62	50	38	27	31	34	58	27
Race	3	45	16	51	18	70	20	69	23	58	23	50	16	67	9	56	25	51	10	59	25	64	24	68	20	58	18
Foreign Policy	16	59	22	76	12	85	22	86	24	92	20	69	14	84	24	21	17	85	10	83	12	67	15	83	15	86	18
Environment	7	34	15	48	3	79	6	67	28	64	15	56	12	61	3	89	8	68	34	45	6	67	16	75	6	69	12
General Unrest	3	38	13	52	12	58	12	69	8	47	12	53	13	58	23	44	12	59	33	52	11	61	15	24	6	69	13
Welfare	6	31	11	46	9	61	9	64	19	50	16	47	11	66	9	39	14	56	7	52	9	58	12	50	6	72	12
Health Care	17	66	13	59	9	70	6	92	9	72	3	64	10	75	6	75	11	68	13	72	3	67	6	78	21	83	10
Nat'l. Defense	21	32	18	74	33	88	31	81	28	83	22	78	19	81	25	75	21	83	3	79	25	72	19	78	17	86	20
Bussing	10	31	7	61	15	45	6	42	15	42	9	61	15	47	3	47	4	53	9	52	3	58	12	53	3	53	10

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Drugs
Inflation
Taxes
Unemployment

Corpus Christi:

Inflation
Taxes
Unemployment
Health Care

San Antonio:

Vietnam
Inflation
Unemployment
Race

Beaumont/Pt. Arthur:

Vietnam
National Defense
Bussing

El Paso:

Taxes
Environment
General Unrest

Shreveport/Terarkana:

Vietnam
National Defense

Abilene/Sweetwater:

Vietnam
Inflation
Taxes
Race
National Defense

Austin:

Vietnam
Environment
Race
Foreign Policy
Welfare
Bussing

Lubbock:

Drugs
Crime
Race

Waco/Temple:

Race

Amarillo:

Drugs
Taxes
Health Care

Dallas/Ft. Worth:

Bussing

Odessa/Midland:

Drugs
Taxes
National Defense
Foreign Policy
General Unrest

ADJ. SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

	A		E		E		B		D	
	Minneapolis		Madison/ Rockford		Chicago/ Milwaukee		Green Bay/ Wausau Rhinelander		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	55	59 33	61	61 37	63	53 45	58	69 31	63	59 39
Inflation	31	52 46	37	47 53	31	45 55	31	55 45	32	49 51
Drugs	19	65 27	21	59 36	12	59 38	18	71 28	16	63 34
Crime	23	59 40	13	64 34	15	50 47	18	59 40	16	56 42
Unemployment	19	56 42	29	47 52	36	38 60	25	58 41	30	47 51
Taxes	56	37 60	36	43 55	45	39 61	43	50 48	46	42 57
Race	8	67 28	10	76 24	14	64 35	8	76 23	11	69 30
Foreign Policy	13	82 15	11	87 12	15	84 14	18	90 10	16	86 13
Environment	11	67 31	19	71 28	18	57 41	14	73 27	16	65 34
General Unrest	10	61 38	15	58 40	9	58 41	12	63 35	11	60 39
Welfare	18	49 49	16	52 45	18	47 53	15	56 43	17	50 49
Health Care	9	75 21	2	76 24	6	69 28	8	82 17	7	74 24
Nat'l Defense	17	86 12	20	86 13	12	82 17	19	88 11	16	85 14
Bussing	6	62 29	4	67 29	3	52 42	2	68 29	4	60 35

Minneapolis also includes Minneapolis/St. Paul-
La Crosse/Eau Claire-Dubuque

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Inflation
Unemployment
Welfare

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Minneapolis: Taxes
Crime
Madison/Rockford: Inflation
Drugs
Chicago/Milwaukee: Unemployment

State: California
 Dates: June 12-17, 1972
 No. of Interviews: 1,000

F-5
 ISSUES

Domestic Program not passed because--

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program Not Good	18	4	11	28
Politics	73	91	79	62

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	37	39	33	38
Oppose	40	54	53	61	53

Replacement for local property tax--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal Income Tax	17	11	13	9	12
State Income Tax	15	10	6	10	12
State Sales Tax	17	24	33	22	20
State Property Tax	4	3	3	4	3
National Sales Tax	32	43	37	47	46

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	36	55	40	23
No	45	53	34	51	65

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	25	36	26	17
No	71	72	59	70	81

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	65	61	64	67
No	23	30	22	23

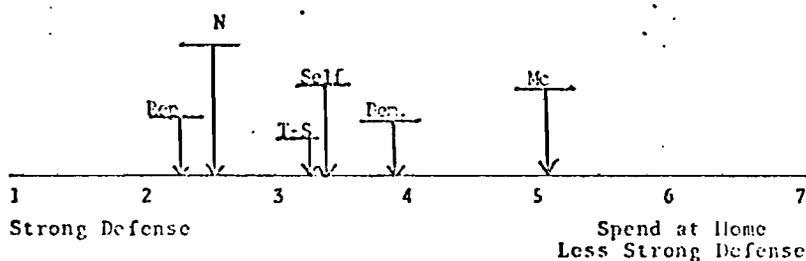
Responsible for inflation--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Business	26	27	13	25	38
Unions	37	41	65	45	27
President	8	7	1	4	11
Congress	9	6	4	8	6
Consumer	17	9	9	10	7

Assassination

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Should limit appearances	60	51	49	52	53
Should not limit appearances	31	40	40	40	39

National Defense



Self: 3.43	Total Rating Nixon: 2.56	Total Rating McGovern: 5.10
Rep: 2.33	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.15	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.54
T-S: 3.34	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.79	T-S Rating McGovern: 5.19
Dem: 3.95	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.65	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.84

Money spent on national defense--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Spend less	37	43	23	37	53
Spend same	39	39	53	43	33
Spend more	18	15	19	17	12

Favor or oppose a one-third cut in military forces--

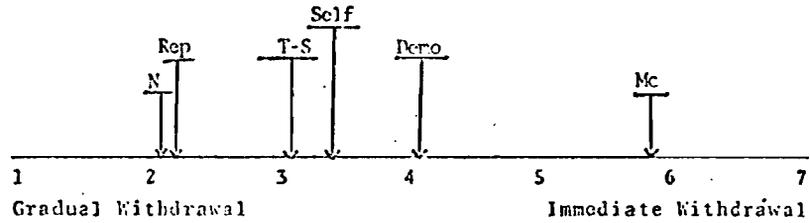
	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	73	69	57	72	66
Oppose	17	22	25	20	22

F-7

Spend less because--

	Nat'l	State	Rep.	T-S	Dem.
Need less military strength	18	21	10	19	24
Defense waste	71	72	80	74	69

Vietnam Withdrawal

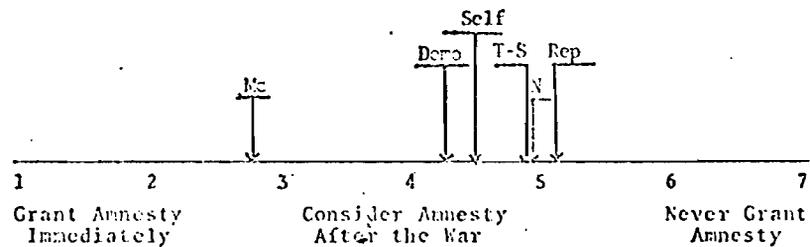


Self: 3.38	Total Rating Nixon: 2.11	Total Rating McGovern: 5.82
Rep: 2.17	Rep. Rating Nixon: 1.81	Rep. Rating McGovern: 6.24
T-S: 3.06	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.16	T-S Rating McGovern: 5.93
Dem: 4.07	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.17	Dem. Rating McGovern: 5.59

Nixon on Vietnam--

	Nat'l	State	Rep.	T-S	Dem.
Frank and straightforward	45	40	70	46	21
Not told the truth	46	51	22	43	69

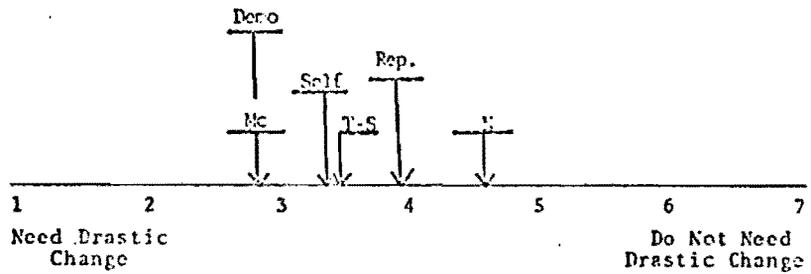
Amnesty



Self: 4.47	Total Rating Nixon: 4.81	Total Rating McGovern: 2.78
Rep: 5.10	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.66	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.19
T-S: 4.80	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.70	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.70
Dem: 4.22	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.96	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.16

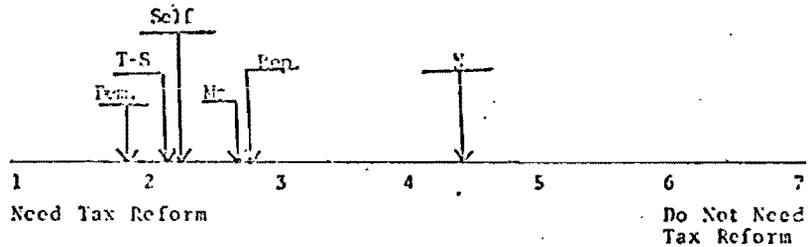
F-6

Government and economic system change--



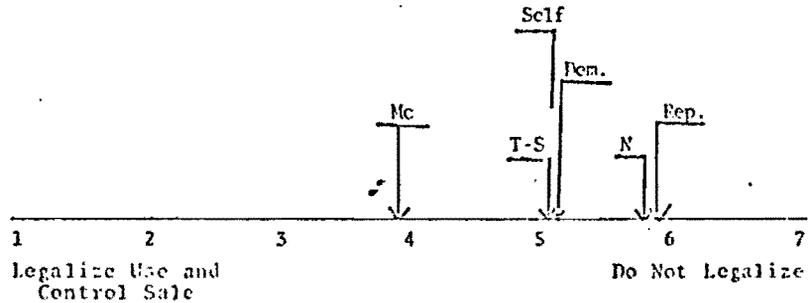
Self: 3.29	Total Rating Nixon: 4.66	Total Rating McGovern: 2.82
Rep: 3.94	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.39	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.49
T-S: 3.47	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.44	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.88
Dem: 2.82	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.01	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.91

Tax Reform--



Self: 2.23	Total Rating Nixon: 4.39	Total Rating McGovern: 2.76
Rep: 2.78	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.53	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.56
T-S: 2.18	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.37	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.90
Dem: 1.91	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.90	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.83

Marijuana

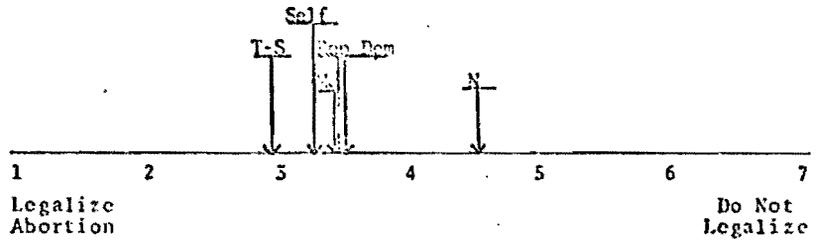


Self: 5.10	Total Rating Nixon: 5.79	Total Rating McGovern: 5.89
Rep: 5.83	Rep. Rating Nixon: 5.83	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.40
T-S: 5.10	T-S Rating Nixon: 5.79	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.66
Dem: 5.13	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.87	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.30

State: California
 Dates: June 12-17, 1972
 No. of Interviews: 1,000

F-9

Abortion--



Self: 3.23	Total Rating Nixon: 4.53	Total Rating McGovern: 3.42
Rep: 3.43	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.62	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.46
T-S: 2.97	1-S Rating Nixon: 4.33	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.29
Dem: 3.47	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.65	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.48

F-5

ISSUES

Domestic Program Not passed because --

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program Not Good	16	3	11	30
Politics	74	92	80	59

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	49	57	48	45
Oppose	40	42	38	43	44

Replacement for local property tax --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal Income Tax	17	16	17	14	16
State Income Tax	15	20	26	19	17
State Sales Tax	17	10	18	8	10
State Property Tax	4	2	2	4	1
National Sales Tax	32	38	29	42	39

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	40	62	42	28
No	45	54	33	50	69

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	23	34	26	13
No	71	72	60	70	83

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	66	56	66	69
No	26	33	23	24

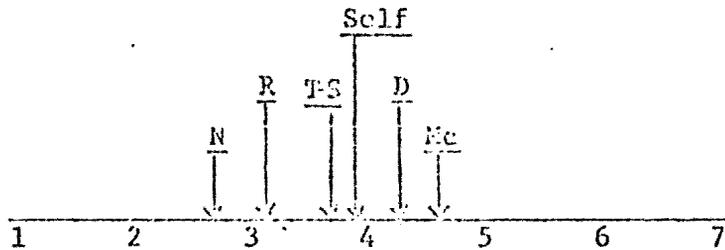
Responsible for inflation.--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Business	26	27	13	28	33
Unions	37	39	56	47	23
President	8	7	2	2	13
Congress	9	6	6	6	7
Consumer	17	12	14	10	10

Assassination

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Should limit appearances	60	55	66	55	55
Should not limit appearances	31	37	29	38	37

National Defense



	Strong Defense	Spend at Home Less Strong Def.
Self: 3.9	Total Rating Nixon: 2.7	Total Rating McGovern: 4.5
Rep.: 3.1	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.6	Rep. Rating McGovern: 4.6
T-S: 3.8	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.9	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.7
Dem.: 4.2	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.6	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.3

Money spent on national defense --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Spend less	37	46	33	46	48
Spend same	39	36	48	35	34
Spend more	18	12	14	11	12

Favor or oppose a 1/3 cut in military forces --

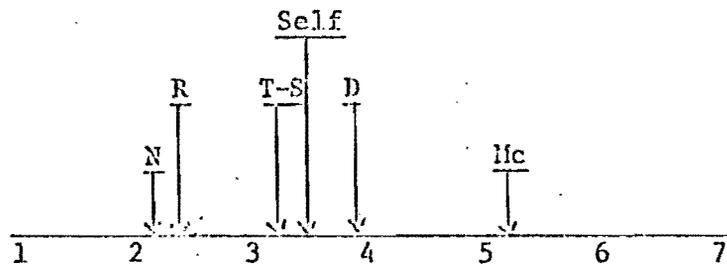
	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	73	75	66	81	75
Oppose	17	16	21	11	17

F-7

Spend less because --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Need less military strength	18	21	22	18	15
Defense waste	71	70	74	75	74

Vietnam Withdrawal



Gradual
Withdrawal

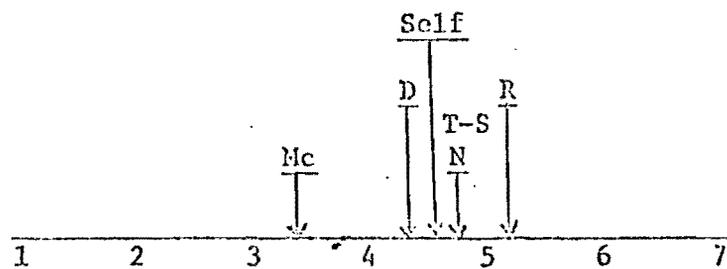
Immediate
Withdrawal

Self: 3.4	Total Rating Nixon: 2.3	Total Rating McGovern: 5.2
Rep.: 2.4	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.1	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.8
T-S: 3.2	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.2	T-S Rating McGovern: 5.5
Dem.: 3.9	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.4	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.7

Nixon on Vietnam --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Frank and straight forward	45	44	72	52	24
Not told the truth	46	49	21	40	71

Amnesty



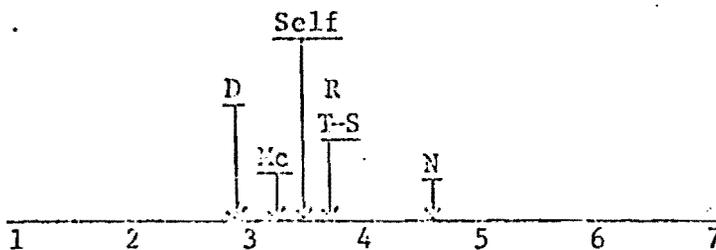
Grant Amnesty
Immediately

Consider Amnesty
After the War

Never Grant
Amnesty

Self: 4.6	Total Rating Nixon: 4.7	Total Rating McGovern: 3.3
Rep.: 5.1	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.7	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.1
T-S: 4.7	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.6	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.9
Dem.: 4.5	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.7	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.8

Gov't and Economic System Change

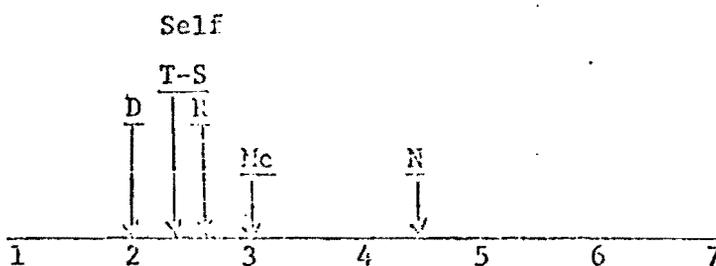


Need Drastic
Change

Do not need
Drastic Change

Self: 3.4	Total Rating Nixon: 4.6	Total Rating McGovern: 3.2
Rep.: 3.7	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.2	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.9
T-S: 3.7	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.6	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.1
Dem.: 2.9	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.9	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.4

Tax Reform

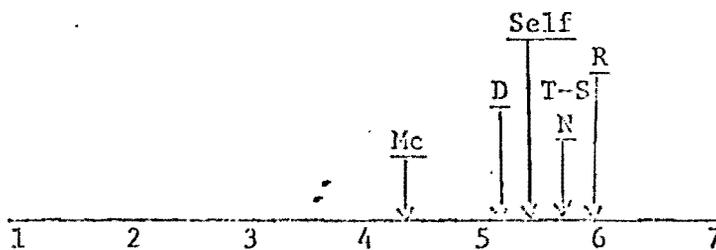


Need Tax
Reform

Do not need
Tax Reform

Self: 2.4	Total Rating Nixon: 4.4	Total Rating McGovern: 3.0
Rep.: 2.6	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.6	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.9
T-S: 2.4	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.2	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.9
Dem.: 2.0	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.9	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.2

Marijuana



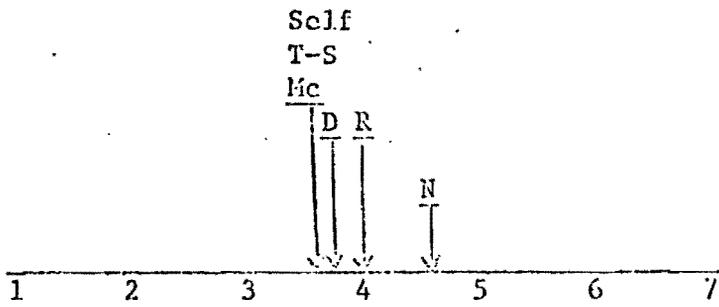
Legalize Use
and Control Sale

Do not
Legalize

Self: 5.3	Total Rating Nixon: 5.6	Total Rating McGovern: 4.3
Rep.: 5.9	Rep. Rating Nixon: 5.6	Rep. Rating McGovern: 4.4
T-S: 5.6	T-S Rating Nixon: 5.6	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.0
Dem.: 5.1	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.3	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.6

F-9

Abortion



	Legalize Abortion		Do not Legalize
Self:	3.7	Total Rating Nixon:	4.6
Rep.:	4.0	Rep. Rating Nixon:	4.9
T-S:	3.7	T-S Rating Nixon:	4.6
Dem.:	3.8	Dem. Rating Nixon:	4.5
		Total Rating McGovern:	3.7
		Rep. Rating McGovern:	3.9
		T-S Rating McGovern:	3.6
		Dem. Rating McGovern:	3.8

F-5

ISSUES

Domestic Program not passed because --

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program Not Good	13	3	9	24
Politics	69	80	78	56

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	37	42	43	31
Oppose	40	45	42	42	52

Replacement for local property tax --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal Income Tax	17	17	15	15	19
State Income Tax	15	33	42	32	33
State Sales Tax	17	9	17	8	5
State Property Tax	4	5	5	2	5
National Sales Tax	32	24	10	27	28

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	39	53	37	31
No	45	54	36	60	61

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	26	33	26	21
No	71	69	61	72	75

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	76	72	77	81
No	15	21	13	10

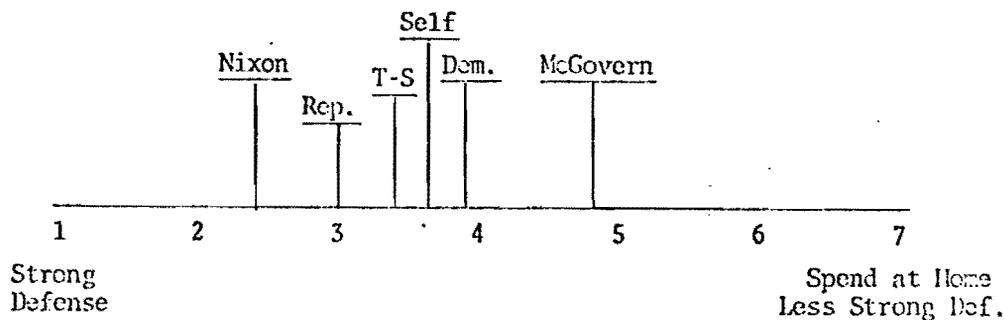
Responsible for inflation --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Business	26	30	21	33	29
Unions	37	35	44	42	29
President	8	7	2	7	11
Congress	9	5	7	2	5
Consumer	17	8	10	5	8

Assassination

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Should limit appearances	60	60	61	60	59
Should not limit appearances	31	34	34	36	34

National Defense



Self: 3.64	Total Rating Nixon: 2.34	Total Rating McGovern: 4.83
Rep: 3.03	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.40	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.25
T-S: 3.47	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.42	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.87
Dem: 3.92	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.26	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.59

Money spent on national defense --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Spend less	37	43	33	42	47
Spend same	39	39	41	43	39
Spend more	18	11	17	9	9

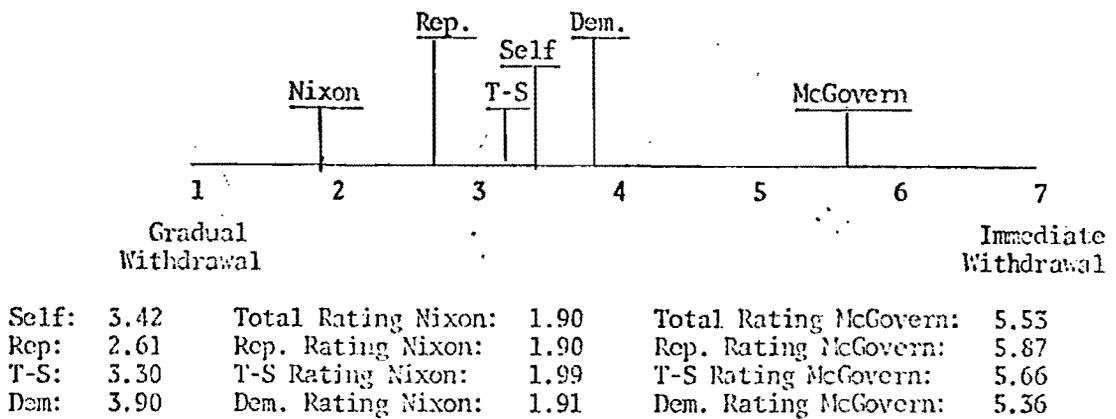
Favor or oppose a 1/3 cut in military forces --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	73	77	70	74	85
Oppose	17	16	23	22	7

Spend less because --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Need less military strength	18	18	21	27	16
Defense waste	71	71	66	65	77

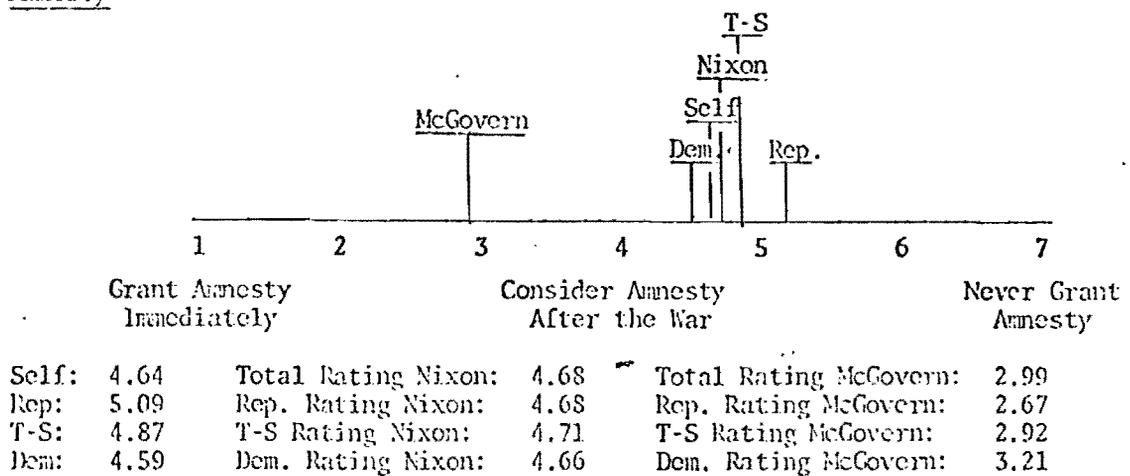
Vietnam Withdrawal



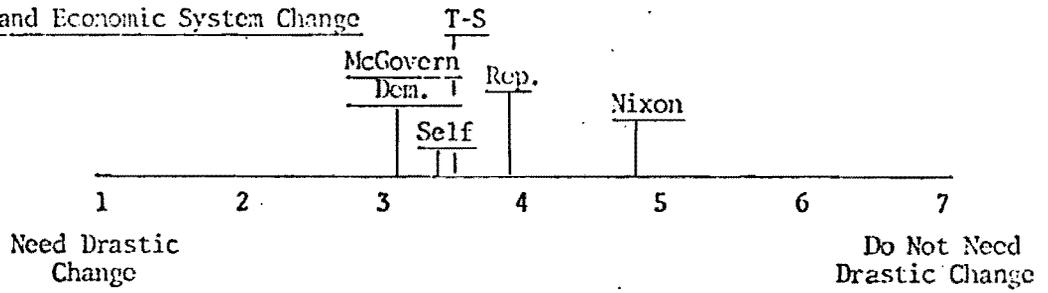
Nixon on Vietnam --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Frank and straightforward	45	41	62	44	27
Not told the truth	46	51	27	50	66

Amnesty

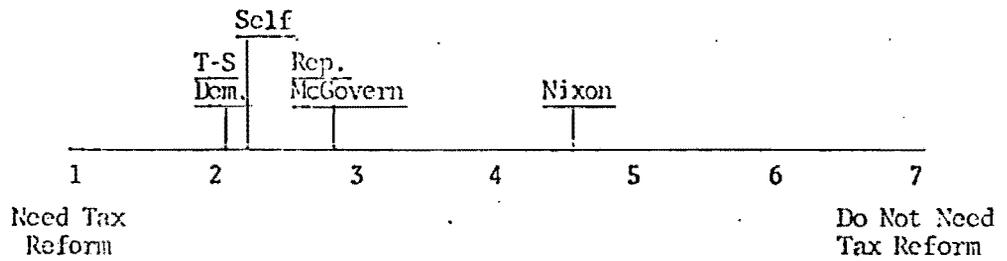


Gov't and Economic System Change



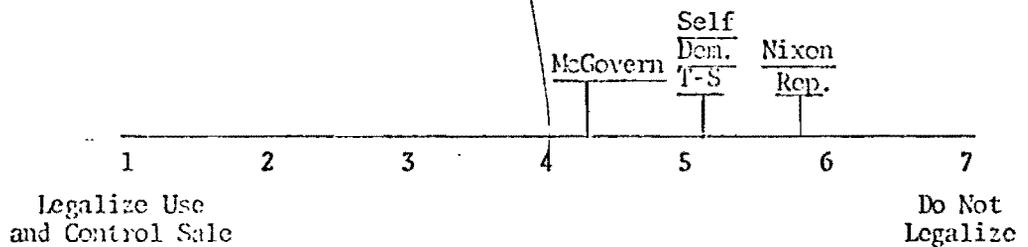
Self: 3.37	Total Rating Nixon: 4.80	Total Rating McGovern: 3.03
Rep: 3.96	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.67	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.74
T-S: 3.39	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.59	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.28
Dem: 3.03	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.97	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.99

Tax Reform



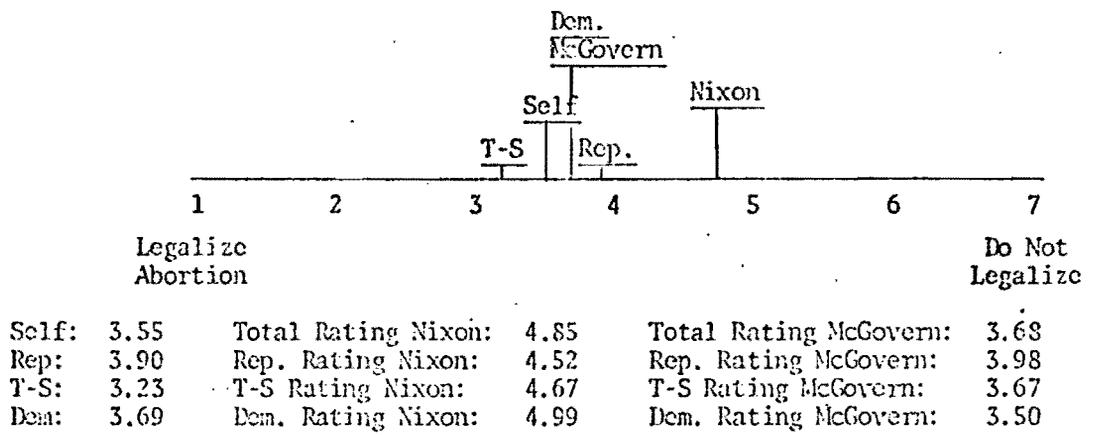
Self: 2.21	Total Rating Nixon: 4.51	Total Rating McGovern: 2.69
Rep: 2.70	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.97	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.54
T-S: 2.07	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.44	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.89
Dem: 2.08	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.79	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.55

Marijuana



Self: 5.13	Total Rating Nixon: 5.78	Total Rating McGovern: 4.21
Rep: 5.74	Rep. Rating Nixon: 5.57	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.84
T-S: 5.14	T-S Rating Nixon: 5.79	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.34
Dem: 5.12	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.71	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.36

Abortion



State: New York
 Dates: June 22-30, 1972
 No. of Interviews: 1,000

F-5
 ISSUES

Domestic Program not passed because--

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program not good	16	4	14	25
Politics	71	88	73	60

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	42	43	45	39
Oppose	40	40	40	38	42

Replacement for local property tax--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal income tax	17	20	16	20	26
State income tax	15	13	18	12	11
State sales tax	17	6	8	7	4
State property tax	4	6	4	6	5
National sales tax	32	43	46	44	39

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	39	58	38	28
No	45	55	31	56	67

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	22	30	23	16
No	71	74	65	71	82

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

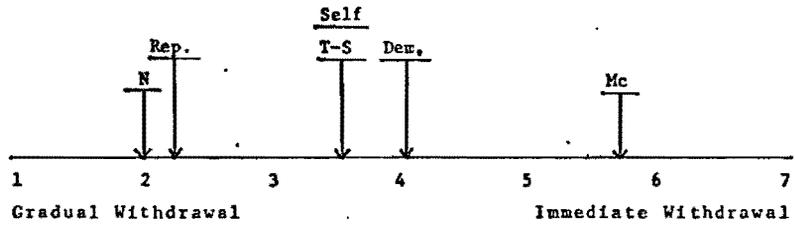
	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	74	73	77	75
No	15	17	12	15

F-7

Spend less because--

	Nat'l	State	Rep.	T-S	Dem.
Need less military strength	18	26	13	28	26
Defense waste	71	67	83	67	67

Vietnam withdrawal--

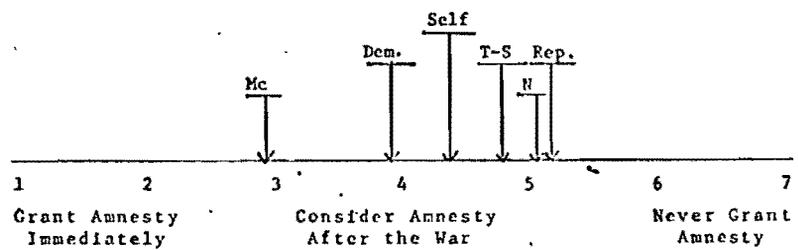


Self: 3.55	Total Rating Nixon: 2.01	Total Rating McGovern: 5.69
Rep: 2.22	Rep. Rating Nixon: 1.77	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.79
T-S: 3.55	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.09	T-S Rating McGovern: 5.92
Dem: 4.05	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.02	Dem. Rating McGovern: 5.49

Nixon on Vietnam--

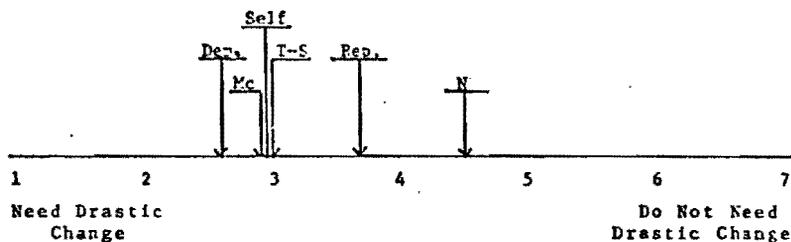
	Nat'l	State	Rep.	T-S	Dem.
Frank and straightforward	45	40	70	41	23
Not told the truth	46	52	26	48	70

Amnesty--



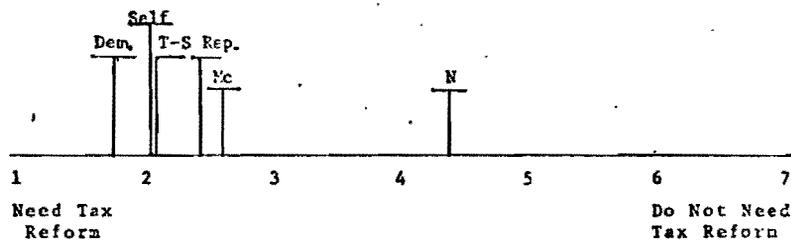
Self: 4.38	Total Rating Nixon: 5.03	Total Rating McGovern: 2.86
Rep: 5.11	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.64	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.37
T-S: 4.76	T-S Rating Nixon: 5.11	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.93
Dem: 3.87	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.18	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.95

Government and economic system change--



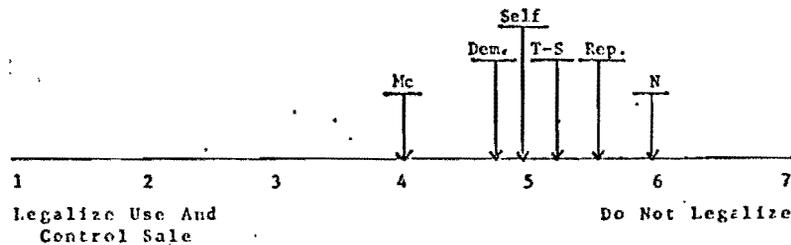
Self: 2.97	Total Rating Nixon: 4.51	Total Rating McGovern: 2.96
Rep: 3.67	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.97	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.07
T-S: 2.98	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.37	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.97
Dem: 2.59	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.89	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.88

Tax reform--



Self: 2.04	Total Rating Nixon: 4.36	Total Rating McGovern: 2.67
Rep: 2.43	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.45	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.69
T-S: 2.05	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.22	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.64
Dem: 1.75	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.98	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.60

Marijuana--

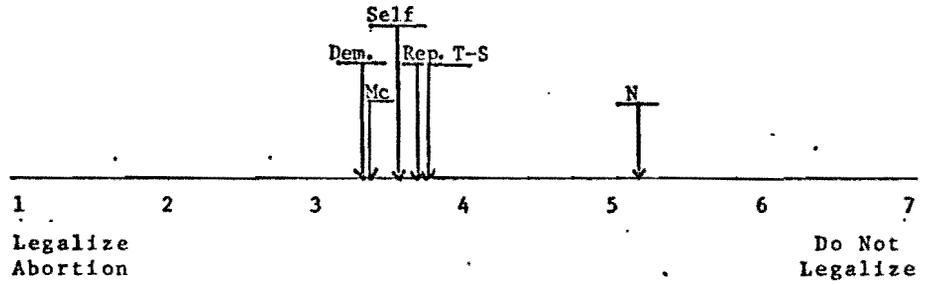


Self: 4.94	Total Rating Nixon: 5.93	Total Rating McGovern: 4.04
Rep: 5.53	Rep. Rating Nixon: 5.74	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.81
T-S: 5.19	T-S Rating Nixon: 5.99	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.06
Dem: 4.70	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.99	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.16

State: New York
Dates: June 22-30, 1972
No. of Interviews: 1,000

F-9

Abortion--



Self: 3.54
Rep: 3.64
T-S: 3.71
Dem: 3.32

Total Rating Nixon: 5.16
Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.97
T-S Rating Nixon: 5.24
Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.23

Total Rating McGovern: 3.36
Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.39
T-S Rating McGovern: 3.35
Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.31

F-5

ISSUES

Domestic Program Not passed because --

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program Not Good	14	5	9	24
Politics	75	90	80	63

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	48	51	48	45
Oppose	40	45	40	47	48

Replacement for local property tax --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal Income Tax	17	11	11	11	11
State Income Tax	15	20	20	25	17
State Sales Tax	17	27	31	24	29
State Property Tax	4	4	1	3	5
National Sales Tax	32	26	24	29	25

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	39	58	44	22
No	45	56	39	52	73

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	21	33	21	13
No	71	75	61	76	84

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	70	73	70	69
No	22	21	24	23

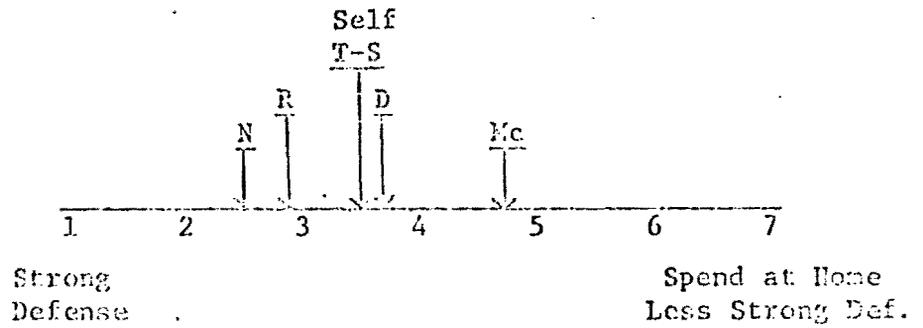
Responsible for inflation --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Business	26	23	9	22	32
Unions	37	43	61	43	34
President	8	6	2	3	9
Congress	9	4	5	4	3
Consumer	17	10	10	12	8

Assassination

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Should limit appearances	60	61	62	64	59
Should not limit appearances	31	31	32	27	33

National Defense



Self: 3.6	Total Rating Nixon: 2.5	Total Rating McGovern: 4.8
Rep.: 2.9	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.5	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.3
T-S: 3.6	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.6	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.9
Dem.: 3.8	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.5	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.6

Money spent on national defense --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Spend less	37	43	32	41	44
Spend same	39	42	55	43	41
Spend more	18	11	9	12	11

Favor or oppose a 1/3 cut in military forces --

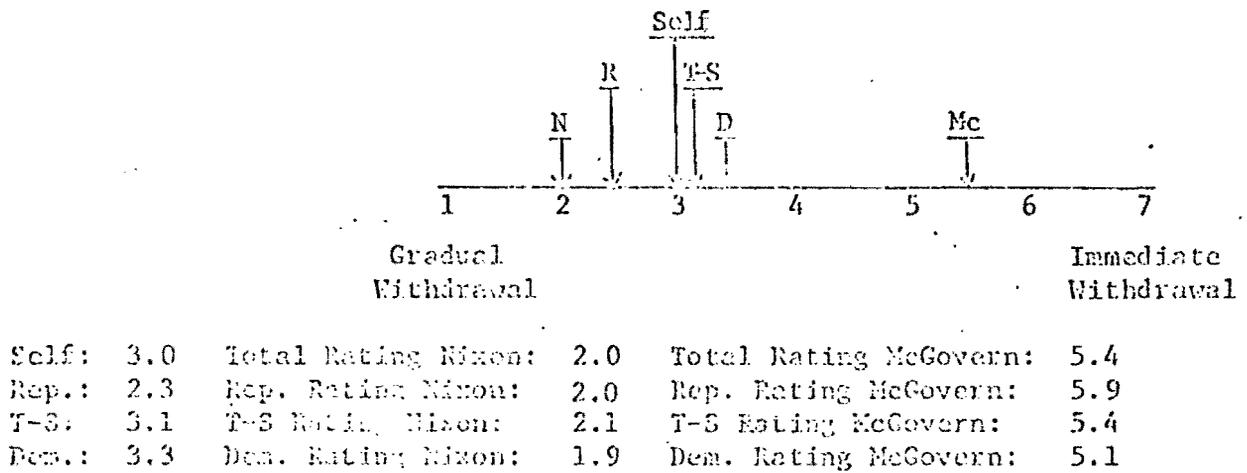
	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	73	75	64	60	72
Oppose	17	20	29	15	21

F-7

Spend less because --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Need less military strength	18	20	16	16	19
Defense waste	71	71	76	72	78

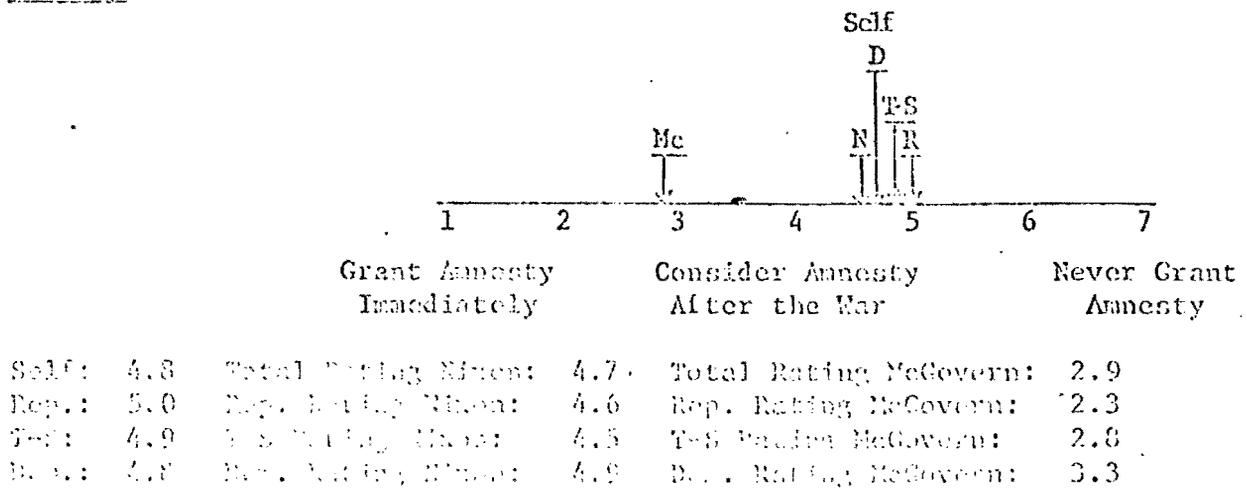
Vietnam Withdrawal



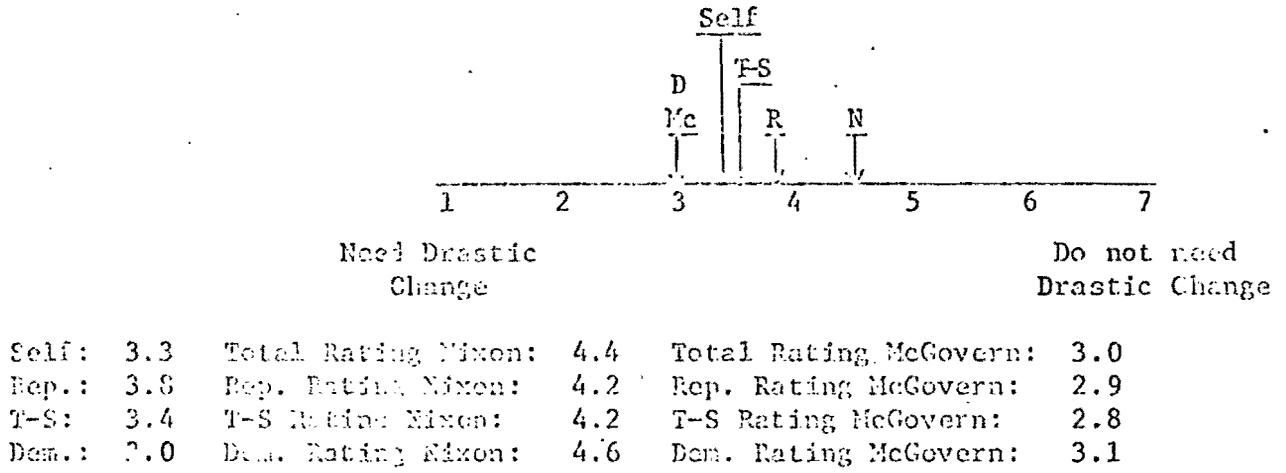
Nixon on Vietnam --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Frank and straight forward	45	45	74	45	25
Not told the truth	46	44	16	44	64

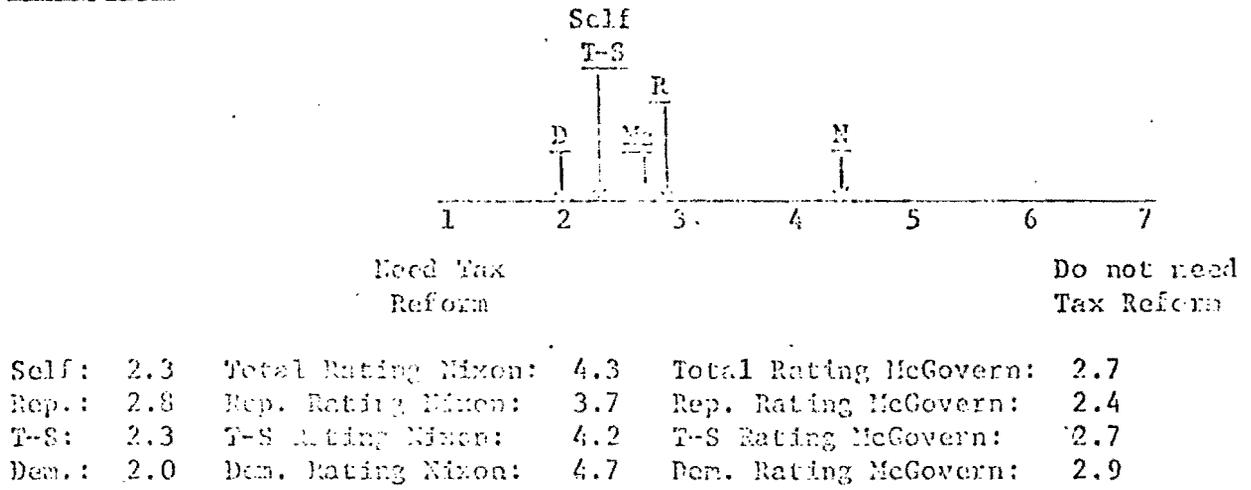
Amnesty



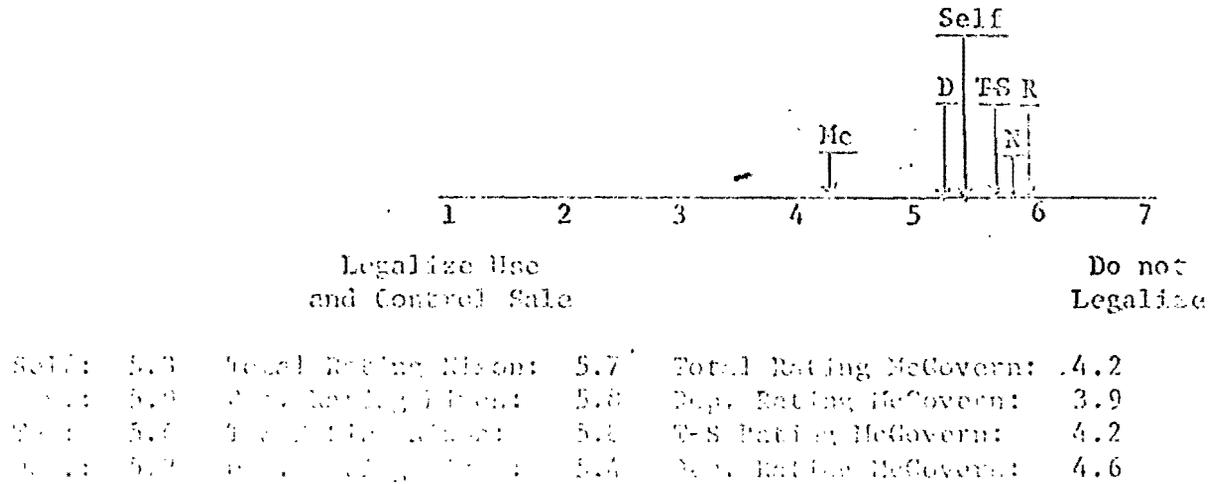
Gov't and Economic System Change



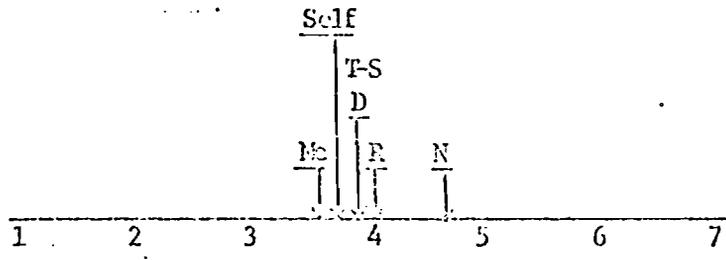
Tax Reform



Marijuana



Abortion



Legalize
 Abortion

Do not
 Legalize

Self: 3.8	Total Rating Nixon: 4.8	Total Rating McGovern: 3.7
Rep.: 4.0	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.8	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.5
T-S: 3.9	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.8	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.7
Dem.: 3.9	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.9	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.9

F-5

ISSUES

Domestic Program Not passed because --

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program Not Good	18	6	12	30
Politics	73	85	80	60

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	48	59	45	45
Oppose	40	42	34	46	45

Replacement for local property tax --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal Income Tax	17	20	13	22	21
State Income Tax	15	11	19	8	10
State Sales Tax	17	9	13	12	6
State Property Tax	4	5	6	3	6
National Sales Tax	32	45	36	46	48

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	38	51	38	31
No	45	56	43	55	65

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	31	47	28	26
No	71	65	50	69	71

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	76	83	72	76
No	19	11	23	18

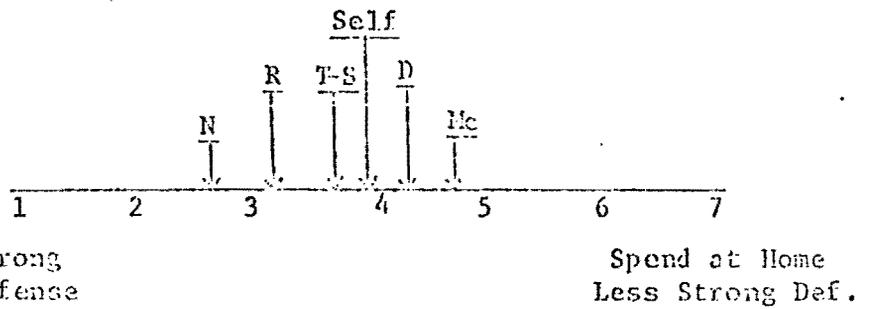
Responsible for inflation --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Business	26	28	20	24	32
Unions	37	38	55	42	29
President	8	7	0	7	12
Congress	9	4	3	5	3
Consumer	17	11	10	12	10

Assassination

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Should limit appearances	60	58	57	57	65
Should not limit appearances	31	37	39	39	29

National Defense



Self: 3.9	Total Rating Nixon: 2.7	Total Rating McGovern: 4.6
Rep.: 3.2	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.8	Rep. Rating McGovern: 4.8
T-S: 3.7	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.7	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.9
Dem.: 4.2	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.5	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.4

Money spent on national defense --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Spend less	37	45	27	43	52
Spend same	39	44	62	45	40
Spend more	18	7	7	8	6

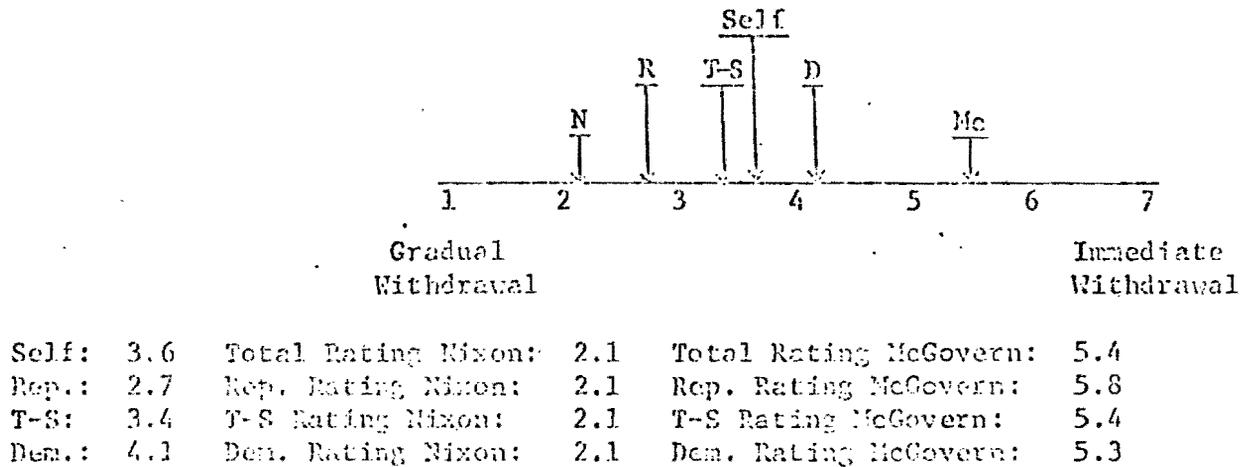
Favor or oppose a 1/3 cut in military forces --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	73	79	79	75	81
Oppose	17	15	13	17	15

Spend less because --

	<u>Nat'l.</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Need less military strength	18	18	21	10	17
Defense waste	71	69	72	76	69

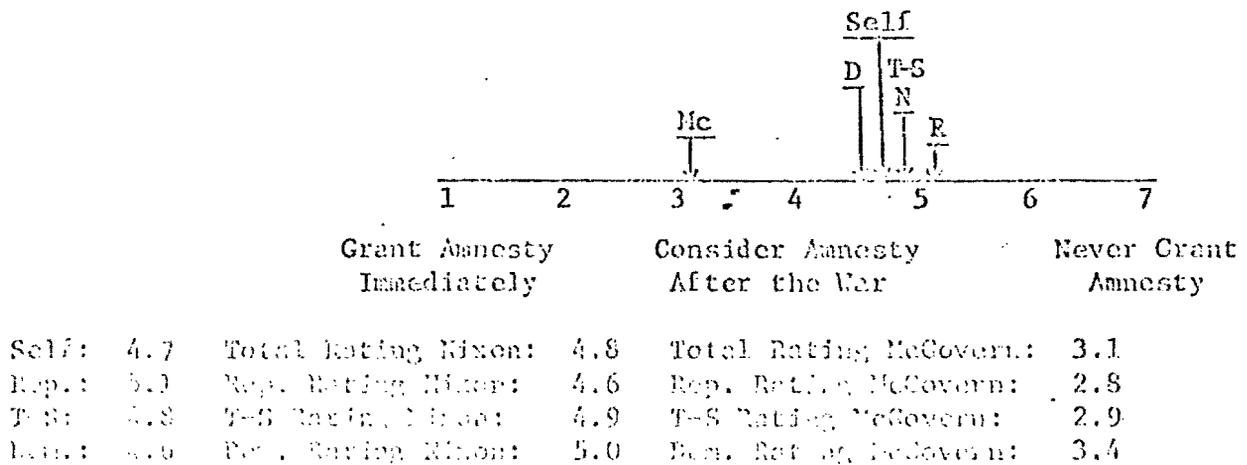
Vietnam Withdrawal



Nixon on Vietnam --

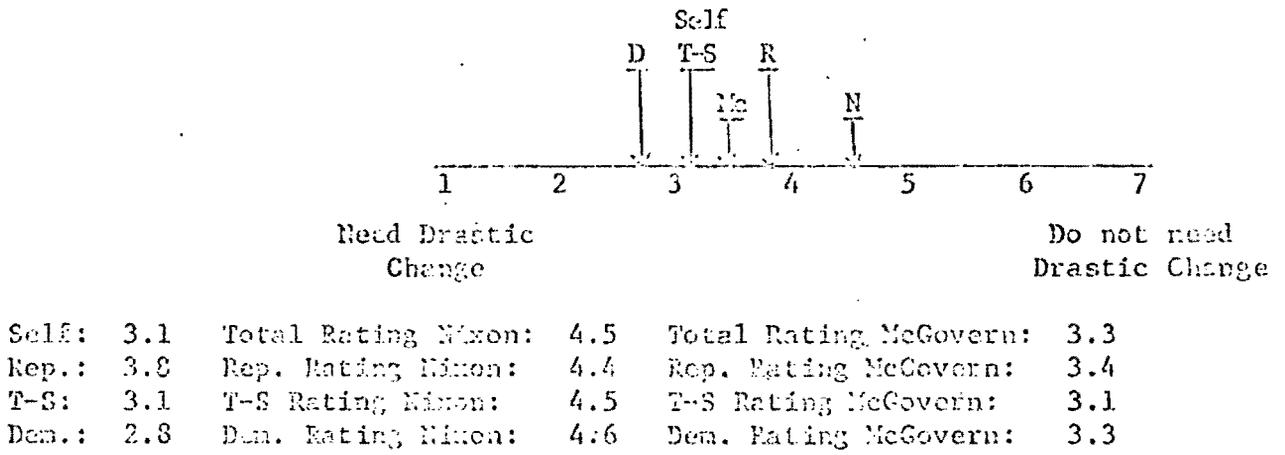
	<u>Nat'l.</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Frank and straight forward	45	39	64	42	25
Not told the truth	46	53	28	51	68

Amnesty

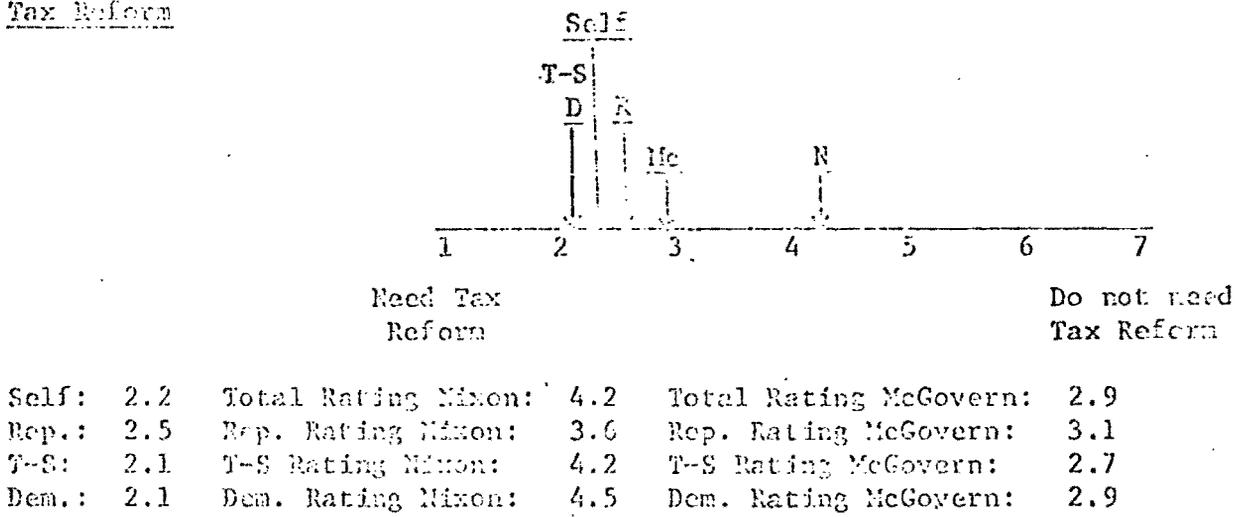


F-3

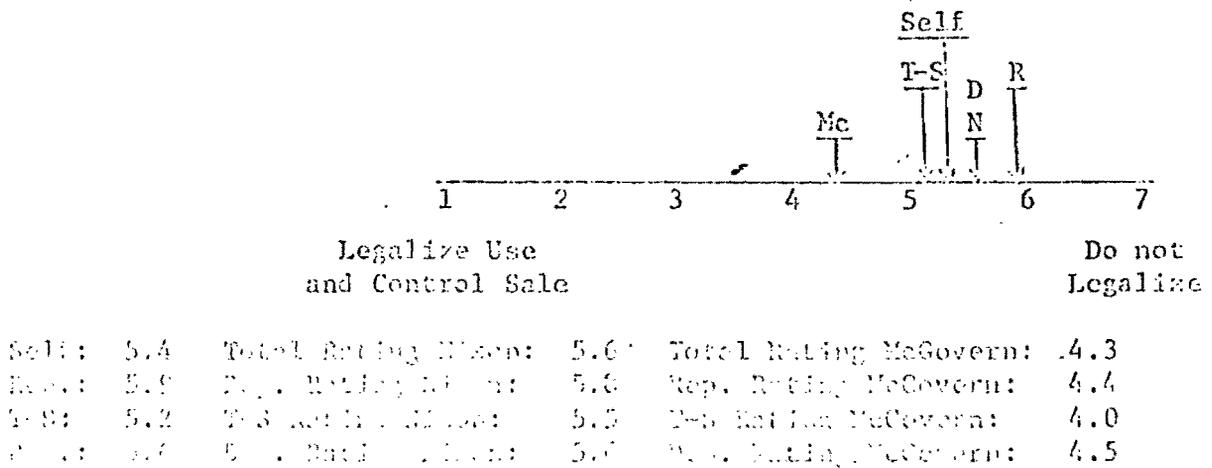
Gov't and Economic System Change



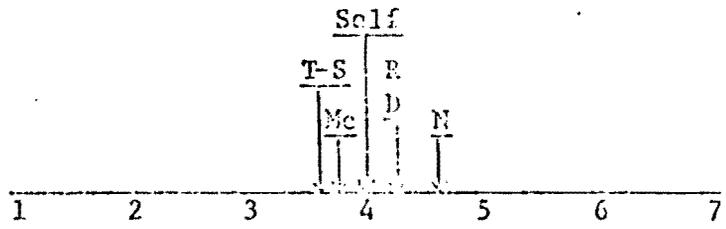
Tax Reform



Marijuana



Abortion



	Legalize Abortion	Do not Legalize
Self:	4.0	4.0
Rep.:	4.2	3.8
T-S:	3.7	3.3
Dem.:	4.2	4.0
Total Rating Nixon:	4.7	4.7
Total Rating McGovern:	3.8	3.8
Rep. Rating Nixon:	4.7	3.3
Rep. Rating McGovern:	3.3	3.3
T-S Rating Nixon:	4.5	3.6
T-S Rating McGovern:	3.6	3.6
Dem. Rating Nixon:	4.7	4.0
Dem. Rating McGovern:	4.0	4.0

F-5
 ISSUES

Domestic Program not passed because--

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Program not good	16	8	11	20
Politics	73	89	83	67

Favor or oppose local property tax for schools--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	51	61	58	62	60
Oppose	40	26	29	26	27

Replacement for local property tax--

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Federal Income Tax	17	10	4	13	11
State Income Tax	15	8	7	8	11
State Sales Tax	17	22	33	21	20
State Property Tax	4	10	11	14	8
National Sales Tax	32	33	33	38	30

Has inflation slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	46	40	63	46	32
No	45	48	29	40	57

Has inflation of food prices slowed?

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	26	23	35	26	19
No	71	71	60	68	76

Support or oppose freeze on food prices?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Yes	58	58	58	57
No	28	20	30	29

F-6

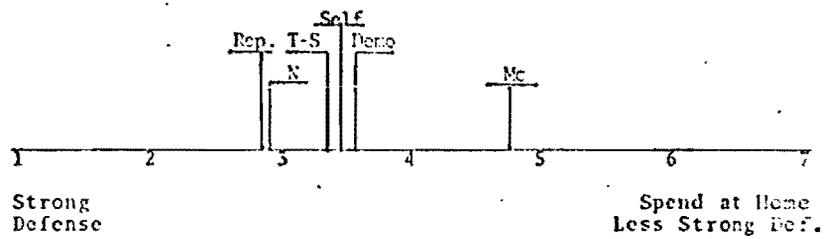
Responsible for inflation --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Business	26	26	24	24	26
Unions	37	33	39	41	28
President	8	9	4	5	12
Congress	9	7	11	6	7
Consumer	17	10	11	10	10

Assassination

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Should limit appearances	60	48	48	43	50
Should not limit appearances	31	37	42	40	34

National Defense



Self: 3.46	Total Rating Nixon: 2.91	Total Rating McGovern: 4.73
Rep: 2.89	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.83	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.00
T-S: 3.35	T-S Rating Nixon: 3.09	T-S Rating McGovern: 4.81
Dem: 3.54	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.88	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.68

Money spent on national defense --

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Spend less	37	28	13	27	29
Spend same	39	46	59	45	45
Spend more	18	17	16	16	18

Favor or Oppose a 1/3 cut in Military Forces --

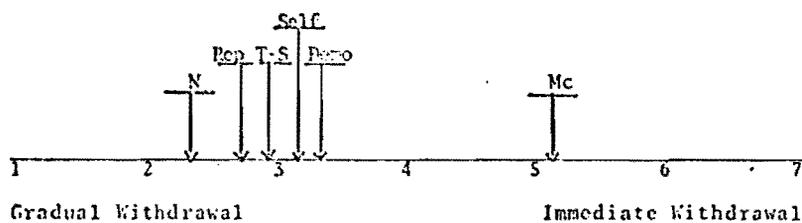
	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Favor	73	68	67	58	73
Oppose	17	22	8	29	19

F-7

Spend less because --

	Nat'l	State	Rep.	T-S	Dem.
Need less military strength	18	22	25	20	22
Defense waste	71	67	67	71	65

Vietnam Withdrawal

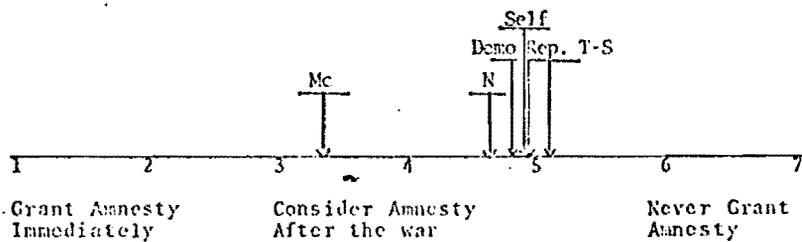


Self: 3.13	Total Rating Nixon: 2.35	Total Rating McGovern: 5.14
Rep: 2.70	Rep. Rating Nixon: 2.26	Rep. Rating McGovern: 5.68
T-S: 2.89	T-S Rating Nixon: 2.38	T-S Rating McGovern: 5.16
Dem: 3.29	Dem. Rating Nixon: 2.35	Dem. Rating McGovern: 5.05

Nixon on Vietnam

	Nat'l	State	Rep.	T-S	Dem.
Frank and straight forward	45	46	72	52	39
Not Told the truth	46	38	21	32	44

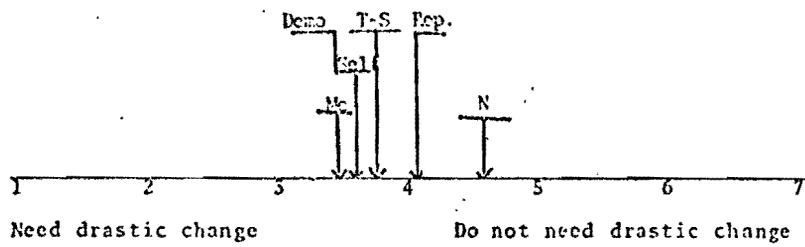
Amnesty



Self: 4.84	Total Rating Nixon: 4.60	Total Rating McGovern: 3.33
Rep: 4.85	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.35	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.84
T-S: 5.09	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.65	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.33
Dem: 4.79	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.61	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.40

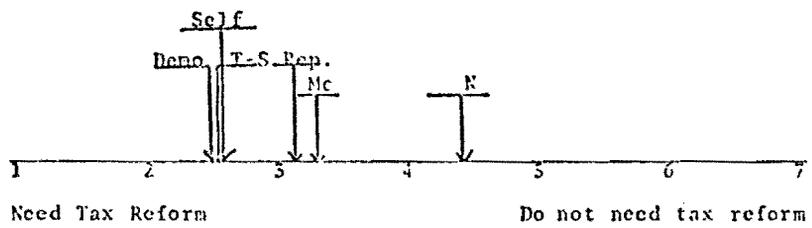
F-6

Government and economic system change



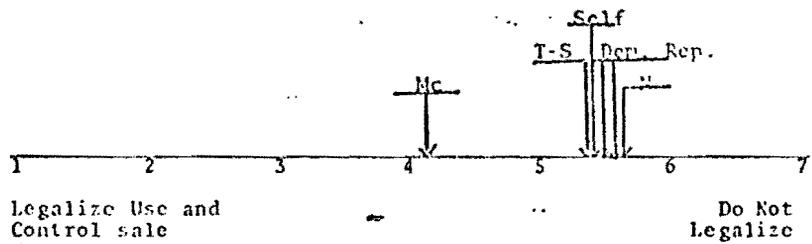
Self: 3.63	Total Rating Nixon: 4.58	Total Rating McGovern: 3.49
Rep: 4.02	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.47	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.57
T-S: 3.77	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.65	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.35
Dem: 3.49	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.57	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.53

Tax reform



Self: 2.66	Total Rating Nixon: 4.35	Total Rating McGovern: 3.35
Rep: 3.12	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.99	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.19
T-S: 2.64	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.38	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.38
Dem: 2.56	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.44	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.33

Marijuana

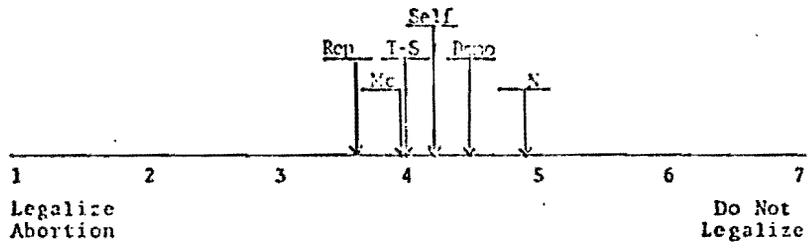


Self: 5.42	Total Rating Nixon: 5.61	Total Rating McGovern: 4.10
Rep: 5.59	Rep. Rating Nixon: 5.68	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.39
T-S: 5.40	T-S Rating Nixon: 5.57	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.93
Dem: 5.49	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.56	Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.50

State: Texas
Dates: June 12-17, 1972
No. of Interviews: 1,000

F-9

Abortion--



Self: 4.17
Rep: 3.66
T-S: 3.92
Dem: 4.43

Total Rating Nixon: 4.88
Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.58
T-S Rating Nixon: 4.85
Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.92

Total Rating McGovern: 3.91
Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.63
T-S Rating McGovern: 3.86
Dem. Rating McGovern: 4.03

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 31, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

by Empire NARS, Date 1-11-82

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Panel Interview Results

As you know, we paneled (re-interviewed) approximately 50% of the respondents from our Wave I national poll as part of our Wave II national study.

Attached is a table which shows the direction and amount of vote switching between January and June. As Muskie was the strongest Democratic candidate at that time, the most meaningful comparisons are between the January Nixon-Muskie race and the June Nixon-McGovern race. The distribution of the Wallace and Kennedy votes in the Nixon-McGovern race is also interesting.

The President retains significantly more of his January support than any of the Democrats, picks up as much or more of the undecided vote as McGovern and gets more of the Wallace vote than McGovern.

He loses 12% of his January support to McGovern but picks up 19% of the January Muskie support. Moreover, the January undecided vote splits 51% for Nixon, 23% for McGovern, with 26% remaining undecided.

The January Wallace vote now splits 40% for Nixon, 37% for McGovern, and 21% undecided on the two-way ballot. On the three-way ballot 64% stays with Wallace, 13% goes to Nixon, and 14% to McGovern.

It is also interesting that he gets 25% of the January Kennedy vote to McGovern's 58%. This is a further indication that Kennedy appeals to a unique coalition which is not transferable to any other Democrat.

During this period the President clearly gained more than he lost and he did not lose any specific group of supporters. This period was more of a shaking down period and the switching away from the President has no pattern and appears to be simply a random switching.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Wave II Trial Heats

				Q22			Q23				
		Un	Weight-	Nixon	McGovern	Undecided	Nixon	McGovern	Wallace	Undecided	
		weight-	ed								
		ed									
TOTAL	U.S. VOTERS	508	513	50	33	17	44	28	19	9	
Wave I Ballots	A	NIXON	271	262	77	12	11	64	11	21	4
		MUSKIE	211	224	19	60	21	20	49	17	14
		UND	26	27	51	23	26	37	25	29	9
	B	NIXON	292	276	77	13	10	63	11	21	5
		HUMPHREY	194	216	18	58	24	20	49	17	14
		UND	22	21	29	40	31	22	42	27	9
	C	NIXON	286	261	74	13	13	64	13	18	5
		KENNEDY	188	220	25	58	17	20	46	22	12
		UND	34	32	29	29	42	32	29	17	22
	D	NIXON	243	228	79	10	11	73	11	12	4
		MUSKIE	192	199	21	59	20	22	52	12	14
		WALLACE	56	68	42	37	21	13	14	64	9
		UND	17	18	49	29	22	28	31	28	13
	E	NIXON	266	246	80	12	8	71	12	12	5
		HUMPHREY	175	185	16	61	23	17	52	14	17
		WALLACE	50	59	45	28	27	13	14	71	2
		UND	17	22	27	50	23	34	52	7	7
	F	NIXON	256	233	77	12	11	71	13	11	5
		KENNEDY	179	202	24	58	18	23	49	16	12
		WALLACE	45	52	42	29	29	5	11	75	9
		UND	28	27	34	35	31	33	37	14	16
	G	NIXON	216	202	85	8	7	75	9	13	3
		MUSKIE	140	151	21	58	21	24	51	14	11
		WALLACE	42	51	41	33	26	16	16	66	2
		McCARTHY	48	42	33	47	20	29	39	18	14
		CHISHOLM	16	18	6	49	45	9	37	9	45
		UND	46	50	37	44	19	29	35	19	17

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 31, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
 SUBJECT: Inflation and Taxes

While the second wave data is generally very optimistic, two potential problems are apparent. The President's ratings on inflation and taxes have fallen sharply since January and he appears to be vulnerable on the more general issue of change against McGovern. This memorandum summarizes the data on inflation and taxes. The change issue will be covered in a subsequent memorandum.

In all states surveyed the President has experienced a substantial decline in his ratings on his handling of inflation.

<u>Selected States</u>	<u>Percentage Rating the President's Handling of Inflation as Positive</u>		
	<u>Wave I</u>	<u>Wave II</u>	<u>Change</u>
California	62%	45%	-17%
Illinois	*	47	N/A
Maryland	69	48	-21
Missouri	64	45	-19
New Jersey	65	37	-28
New York	62	43	-19
Ohio	69	47	-22
Oregon	59	40	-19
Pennsylvania	70	47	-23
Texas	68	52	-16
Wisconsin	63	49	-14

In January, approximately two-thirds of the voters gave the President positive ratings on handling inflation while today equal numbers of voters give him positive ratings as give him negative ratings. Overall the President's ability to handle inflation has dropped about 17%, across the priority states. A similar decline is also evident in the percentage approving of the way the President handled all economic matters.

* Comparable data on Wave I is not available.

This decline results from the feeling that the problem has worsened during the past six months and that his programs have not slowed rising prices. Half of all voters and more significantly half of the ticket-splitters now share this view. The problem is especially acute with respect to food prices. Seventy-two percent of the voters hold the opinion that rising food prices have not been slowed. This belief is held consistently by all demographic groups and in all geographic regions, although it is particularly pronounced in several large metropolitan areas.

Nearly two-thirds of the voters give the President negative inflation ratings in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York City, St. Louis, Detroit, Newark, Northern California, Milwaukee and Tacoma.

At the same time only 8% of the voters blame the President directly for causing inflation. The greatest mention went to unions blamed by 37% as most responsible for rising prices. Business is seen as the next greatest cause being mentioned by 36%.

In terms of solutions, 66% would favor more drastic measures such as a total freeze on food prices similar to Phase I.

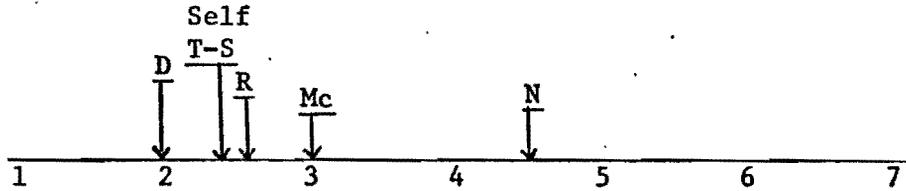
Taken together the above data may indicate that although the voters do not blame the President for causing inflation, they do not think he has been effective in solving it.

Similar to the situation in inflation, the President's perceived ability to handle taxes has declined significantly in most states since the first wave.

<u>Selected States</u>	<u>Percentage Rating President's Handling of Taxes as Positive</u>		
	<u>Wave I</u>	<u>Wave II</u>	<u>Change</u>
California	53%	44%	- 9%
Illinois	*	48	N/A
Maryland	65	48	-17
Missouri	61	53	- 8
New Jersey	48	36	-12
New York	50	43	- 7
Ohio	62	50	-12
Oregon	54	39	-15
Pennsylvania	57	44	-13
Texas	68	56	-12
Wisconsin	54	42	-12

*Taxes not included on Wave I Illinois poll.

Tax reform may be especially important in the campaign because it is an issue on which McGovern's perceived position is closer to the general population's position than Nixon's and one which is related to the change issue. The data from the seven large states is almost identical to Illinois which is demonstrated below.



	Need Tax Reform		Do not need Tax Reform
Self:	2.4	Total Rating Nixon:	4.4
Rep.:	2.6	Rep. Rating Nixon:	3.6
T-S:	2.4	T-S Rating Nixon:	4.2
Dem.:	2.0	Dem. Rating Nixon:	4.9
		Total Rating McGovern:	3.0
		Rep. Rating McGovern:	2.9
		T-S Rating McGovern:	2.9
		Dem. Rating McGovern:	3.2

(See Attachment for other states)

In Illinois 77% of the voters favor tax reform with only 11% opposed. The important point is not so much that a large majority favor major tax reform as it is that the President is seen as being opposed to tax reform. Although McGovern enjoys a better position overall than Nixon on tax questions, 63% of the voters specifically oppose the McGovern proposal to give direct financial aid to those with less than \$12,000 income and thereby resulting in higher taxes for those with incomes over \$12,000.

With regard to local property taxes, 51% favor continuation of it as the means to finance public education compared to 40% who are opposed. Those opposed would favor a national sales tax to replace local property taxes followed by federal income tax and sales tax as alternatives.

Conclusions

Inflation and taxes are clearly related in the minds of the voters and are the greatest potential problems evident in the data. While we do not appear to be losing any significant number of votes on these issues now, it is definitely a potential problem and one we should act to solve soon. I have seen instances where this kind of attitude shift has not immediately resulted in loss of ballot strength but later caught up with the candidate and cost him votes. Should McGovern begin to gain strength and segments of the Democratic coalition begin to come back together, inflation and taxes appear to be the issues that could be most effectively be used against us.

We should keep in mind that while inflation is related to all elements of the rising cost of living, including taxes, most voters relate it directly to food prices.

I think that the President should take some action dealing with the inflation problem immediately and that the tax reform problem should be handled some time early in the campaign before McGovern has a chance to get a hold of it. If the President can boost his rating on inflation near the January level, it should carry through the election. While I do not think tax reform is as urgent as inflation, it is an important issue and one on which we are especially vulnerable to McGovern. Tax reform seems to be related to the general issue of economic and social change and to the concentration of power issue on which McGovern appears to have an advantage.

Inflation and tax reform are problems the President should handle personally. They are important with virtually every significant group in the electorate and he should get the direct benefit of any action he takes. The key criteria of whatever action he takes should be that it be clearly seen as being in the interests of the individual worker and consumers and not for any special interest group.

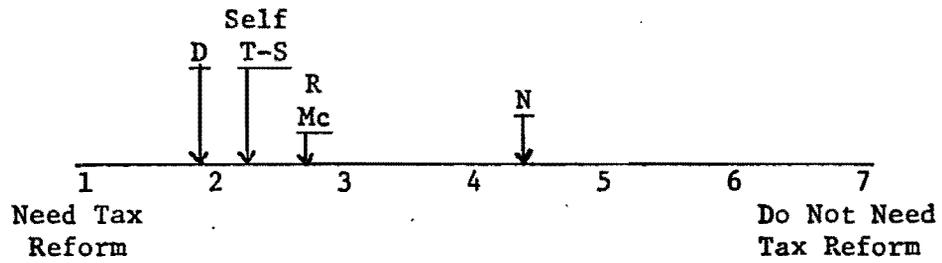
The surrogate program should then continue to communicate the President's action on inflation and taxes in those geographic areas of the country where they are particularly important and where the President receives low ratings on his ability to handle these issues.

I believe that the President would gain in overall strength if he were to take strong action against rising food prices, even though there might be some temporary decline in strength from the farm belt. However, there are simply many more food purchasers than farmers, particularly in the top priority states.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

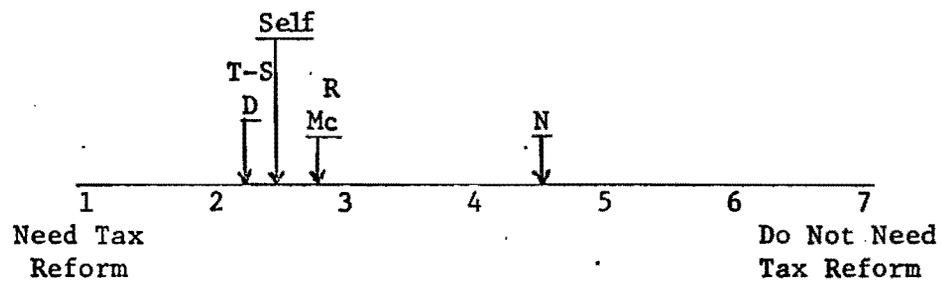
ATTACHMENT
(Tax Reform)

CALIFORNIA



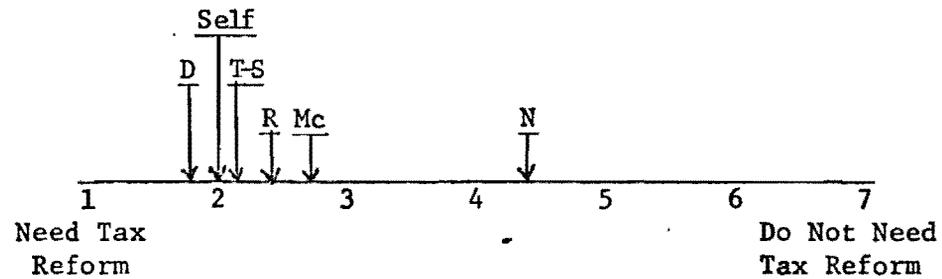
Self: 2.2	Total Rating Nixon: 4.4	Total Rating McGovern: 2.8
Rep: 2.8	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.5	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.6
T-S: 2.2	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.4	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.9
Dem: 1.9	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.9	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.8

NEW JERSEY



Self: 2.2	Total Rating Nixon: 4.5	Total Rating McGovern: 2.7
Rep: 2.7	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.0	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.5
T-S: 2.1	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.4	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.9
Dem: 2.1	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.8	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.6

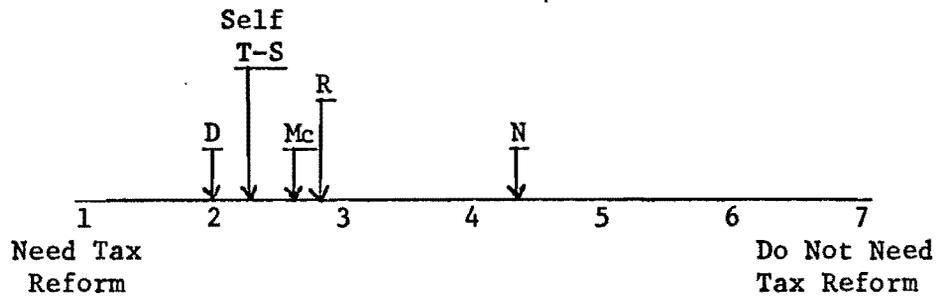
NEW YORK



Self: 2.0	Total Rating Nixon: 4.4	Total Rating McGovern: 2.7
Rep: 2.4	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.5	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.7
T-S: 2.1	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.2	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.6
Dem: 1.8	Dem. Rating Nixon: 5.0	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.6

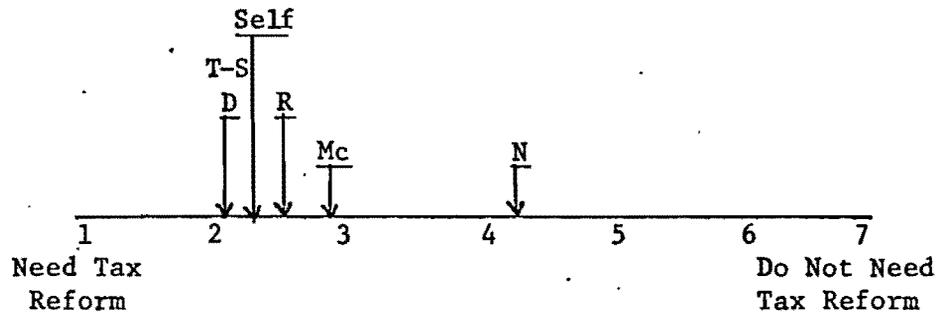
Attachment Cont'd.

OHIO



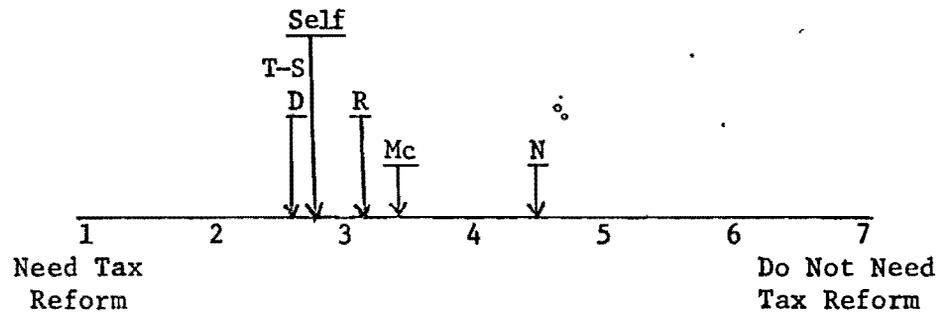
Self: 2.3	Total Rating Nixon: 4.3	Total Rating McGovern: 2.7
Rep: 2.8	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.7	Rep. Rating McGovern: 2.4
T-S: 2.3	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.2	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.7
Dem: 2.0	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.7	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.9

PENNSYLVANIA



Self: 2.2	Total Rating Nixon: 4.2	Total Rating McGovern: 2.9
Rep: 2.5	Rep. Rating Nixon: 3.6	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.1
T-S: 2.1	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.2	T-S Rating McGovern: 2.7
Dem: 2.1	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.5	Dem. Rating McGovern: 2.9

TEXAS



Self: 2.7	Total Rating Nixon: 4.4	Total Rating McGovern: 3.4
Rep: 3.1	Rep. Rating Nixon: 4.0	Rep. Rating McGovern: 3.2
T-S: 2.6	T-S Rating Nixon: 4.4	T-S Rating McGovern: 3.4
Dem: 2.6	Dem. Rating Nixon: 4.4	Dem. Rating McGovern: 3.3

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