

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	18	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Harry Dent To: H.R. Haldeman RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 14 pgs.
14	18	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Possible Subject for 10am Political Meeting. 1 pg.
14	18	8/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Peter H. Dailey To: Jeb S. Magruder RE: Advertising Budget. 2 pgs.
14	18	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 1 pg.

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14	18	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Gallup Releases. 1 pg.
14	18	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Democrats for Nixon Advertisement. 1 pg.
14	18	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Peter Dailey Meeting Regarding Democrats for Nixon. 1 pg.
14	18	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Debates between spokesmen. 1 pg.
14	18	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Jeb S. Magruder To: Clark MacGregor RE: Request for Policy Decision on Possible Confrontations. 2 pgs.

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14	18	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: "Life" article on campaign. 1 pg.
14	18	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Republican Convention Poll Polling dates: Aug 29-31, 1972 Respondents: 974. 31 pgs.
14	18	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	From: Tom Benham RE: Comments on the August 29-31, 1972 Telephone Survey. 9 pgs.
14	18	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Republican Convention Poll Polling Dates: Aug 29-31, 1972 Respondents: 974. 2 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

HARRY DENT 

SUBJECT:

1972 U. S. Congressional
Races

The GOP Congressional election picture is brighter today than on July 10 when I submitted the last memorandum, primarily because the President is stronger. The Congressional Campaign Committee is privately predicting a minimum pickup of 20-25 seats, recognizing we could win more if the tide is strong enough. Jerry Ford is still working on the prospect of Southern Democrat switchovers after the election if we are close enough to the magic number of 218 seats required to organize the House. The present lineup is 178 GOP (plus Brad Morse vacancy) and 255 Democrats (plus Governor Edwards of Louisiana vacancy). In order to win 218 we must keep everything we have, including the Brad Morse vacancy, and pick up 39.

Attachment A contains a listing in state alphabetical order of the top 10 incumbent seats which need defending (most vulnerable on our side); our best 10 possible pickups; and then our second best 10 possible pickups.

Attachment B contains a listing of congressional seats targeted by the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, defensively and offensively. The ones underscored in red need priority attention to win.

TOP 10 THAT NEED DEFENDING

1. California 6	Mailliard
2. Colorado 1	McKevitt
3. Iowa 1	Schwengel
4. Iowa 4	Kyl
5. Indiana 10	Dennis
6. Michigan 2	Esch
7. Minnesota 6	Zwach
8. Tennessee 8	Kuykendall
9. Utah 2	Lloyd
10. Wisconsin 3	Thomson

TOP POSSIBLE PICKUPS (TOP 10)

1. California 36	Ketchum (new seat)
2. California 42 (safe)	Burgener (new seat)
3. Illinois 17	O'Brien (new seat)
4. Indiana 11	Hudnut (Jacobs)
5. Maine 2	Cohen (Dem. open)
6. New York 26	Gilman (Dow)
7. North Carolina 4	Hawke (Dem. open)
8. Pennsylvania 9	Shuster (Rep. open)
9. South Dakota 2	Abdnor (Dem. open)
10. Washington 4	Bledsoe (McCormac) primary 9/19

POSSIBLE PICKUPS (SECOND 10)

1. Illinois 3	Hanrahan (new seat)
2. Illinois 10	Young (Mikva)
3. Illinois 11	Hoellen (Annunzio)
4. Illinois 22	Lamkin (Shipley)
5. Indiana 4	Bloom (Roush)
6. Kentucky 6	Jackson (Dem. open)
7. Maryland 4	Holt (new seat)
8. Massachusetts 12	Weeks (Rep. open)
9. Mississippi 5	Lott (Dem. open)
10. New Jersey 12	Rinaldo (Rep. open)

CODE: ND - NEW DISTRICT
 RO - REPUBLICAN OPEN
 DO - DEMOCRAT OPEN
 PAIR - TWO INCUMBENTS
 * - INCUMBENT

AS OF 9-5-72

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	ALABAMA	2	* <u>Dickinson</u>	Reeves	
	ALASKA	AL	<u>Young</u>	* Begich	
ND	ARIZONA	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	CALIFORNIA	6	* <u>Mailliard</u>	Boas	
	CALIFORNIA	7	Hannaford	* Dellums	
ND	CALIFORNIA	11	Chase	Ryan	
	CALIFORNIA	18	* <u>Mathias</u>	Lavery	
RO	CALIFORNIA	20	<u>Moorhead</u>	Binkley	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CALIFORNIA	31	<u>Valentine</u>	* C. Wilson	
	CALIFORNIA	34	Ratterree	* Hanna	
	CALIFORNIA	35	Brown	* Anderson	
ND	CALIFORNIA	36	<u>Ketchum</u>	Lemucchi	
ND	CALIFORNIA	38	<u>Snider</u>	Brown	
RO	CALIFORNIA	39	<u>Hinshaw</u>	Black	
ND	CALIFORNIA	42	<u>Burgener</u>	Lowe	
	COLORADO	1	* <u>McKevitt</u>	Primary 9/12	
	COLORADO	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	* Aspinall	
ND	COLORADO	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CONNECTICUT	1	Rittenband	* Cotter	
	CONNECTICUT	2	* <u>Steele</u>	Hilsman	
	CONNECTICUT	5	<u>Sarasin</u>	* Monagan	
ND	FLORIDA	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	FLORIDA	8	Thompson	* Haley	
ND	FLORIDA	10	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
ND	FLORIDA	13	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
RO	GEORGIA	5	<u>Cook</u>	Young	
RO	IDAHO	1	<u>Syms</u>	Williams	
ND	ILLINOIS	3	<u>Hanrahan</u>	Coman	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	ILLINOIS	10	<u>Young</u>	* Mikva	
	ILLINOIS	11	<u>Hoellen</u>	* Annunzio	
ND	ILLINOIS	17	<u>O'Brien</u>	Houlihan	
RO	ILLINOIS	21	<u>Madigan</u>	Johnson	
	ILLINOIS	22	<u>Lamkin</u>	* Shipley	
	INDIANA	2	* <u>Landgrebe</u>	Fithian	
	INDIANA	3	Newman	* Brademas	
	INDIANA	4	<u>Bloom</u>	* Roush	
	INDIANA	8	* <u>Zion</u>	Deen	
	INDIANA	10	* <u>Dennis</u>	Sharp	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	INDIANA	11	<u>Hudnutt</u>	* Jacobs	
	IOWA	1	* <u>Schwengel</u>	Mezvinsky	
	IOWA	2	Ellsworth	* Culver	
PAIR	IOWA	4	* <u>Kyl</u>	* Smith	
	KANSAS	2	<u>McAtee</u>	* Roy	
	KANSAS	3	* <u>Winn</u>	Barsotti	
	KENTUCKY	3	<u>Kaelin</u>	* Mazzoli	
DO	KENTUCKY	6	<u>Jackson</u>	Breckinridge	
	LOUISIANA	3	<u>Treen</u>	Run-Off 9-30	
	MAINE	1	Porteous	* Kyros	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
DO	MAINE	2	<u>Cohen</u>	Violette	
	MARYLAND	1	* <u>Mills</u>	Hargreaves	
ND	MARYLAND	4	<u>Holt</u>	Fornos	
	MARYLAND	6	Mason	* Byron	
	MASSACHUSETTS	4	Primary 9/19	Drinan	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	5	Primary 9/19	Primary 9/19	
	MASSACHUSETTS	6	<u>Moseley</u>	* Harrington	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	12	<u>Weeks</u>	Studds	
	MICHIGAN	2	* <u>Esch</u>	Stempien	
	MICHIGAN	12	<u>Serotkin</u>	* O'Hara	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	MICHIGAN	18	* <u>Huber</u> <u>Broomfield</u>	Montgomery	
	MINNESOTA	6	* <u>Zwach</u>	Nolan	
	MINNESOTA	7	<u>Haaven</u>	* Bergland	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	2	<u>Butler</u>	Bowen	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	4	<u>Cochran</u>	Bodron	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	5	<u>Lott</u>	Stone	
DO	MISSOURI	6	<u>Sloan</u>	Litton	
RO	MISSOURI	7	<u>Taylor</u>	Thomas	
	MONTANA	1	* <u>Shoup</u>	Olsen	
	NEW JERSEY	3	<u>Dowd</u>	* Howard	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW JERSEY	6	* <u>Forsythe</u>	Brennan	
	NEW JERSEY	9	Schiaffo	* Helstoski	
RO	NEW JERSEY	12	<u>Rinaldo</u>	English	
ND	NEW JERSEY	13	<u>Maraziti</u>	Meyner	
	NEW MEXICO	2	<u>Presson</u>	Runnels	
	NEW YORK	1	Boyd	* Pike	
ND	NEW YORK	3	<u>Roncallo</u>	Bales	
	NEW YORK	6	<u>Gallagher</u>	* Wolff	
	NEW YORK	23	* <u>Peyser</u>	Ottinger	
	NEW YORK	24	<u>Vergari</u>	* Reid	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW YORK	26	<u>Gilman</u>	* Dow	
RO	NEW YORK	31	<u>Mitchell</u>	Castle	
	NEW YORK	32	<u>Koldin</u>	* Hanley	
RO	NEW YORK	33	<u>Walsh</u>	Kadys	
	NEW YORK	36	* <u>Smith</u>	McCarthy	
DO	NORTH CAROLINA	4	<u>Hawke</u>	Andrews	
RO	NORTH CAROLINA	9	<u>Martin</u>	Beatty	
RO	OHIO	4	<u>Guyer</u>	Nicholas	
	OHIO	8	* <u>Powell</u>	Ruppert	
RO	OHIO	16	<u>Regula</u>	Musser	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	OHIO	19	<u>Parr</u>	* Carney	
RO	OKLAHOMA	1	<u>Run-Off 9-19</u>	Jones	
DO	OKLAHOMA	2	Toliver	McSpadden	
	PENNSYLVANIA	5	* <u>Ware</u>	Franco	
RO	PENNSYLVANIA	9	Shuster	Collins	
	<i>Pa</i>	<i>20</i>	Hunt	* <i>Goydas</i>	
	PENNSYLVANIA	14	Catarinella	* Moorehead	
	SOUTH CAROLINA	1	<u>Limehouse</u>	* Davis	
	SOUTH DAKOTA	1	<u>Vickerman</u>	* Denholm	
DO	SOUTH DAKOTA	2	<u>Abdnor</u>	McKeever	
	TENNESSEE	3	* <u>Baker</u>	Sompayrac	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	TENNESSEE	6	<u>Beard</u>	* Anderson	
	TENNESSEE	8	* <u>Kuykendall</u>	Patterson	
	TEXAS	5	<u>Steelman</u>	* Cabell ?	
PAIR	TEXAS	13	* <u>Price</u>	* Purcell	
	UTAH	1	Primary 9/12	McKay	
	UTAH	2	* <u>Lloyd</u>	Primary 9/12	
	VIRGINIA	4	<u>Daniel</u>	Gibson	
RO	VIRGINIA	6	<u>Butler</u>	Anderson	
RO	VIRGINIA	8	<u>Parris</u>	Horan	
RO	WASHINGTON	1	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	Primary 9/19	
	WASHINGTON	4	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	* McCormack	

COMMENT

DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE

GOP CANDIDATE

DISTRICT

STATE

CODE

WISCONSIN	1	Primary 9/12	* Aspin	
WISCONSIN	3	* Thomson ██████████	Primary 9/12	
WISCONSIN	7	* O'Konski ██████████	* Obey	
WISCONSIN	8	Primary 9/12 ██████████	Primary 9/12	
WYOMING	AL	Kidd ██████████	* Roncalio	

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Possible Subject for
10 a.m. Political Meeting

You indicated today that you had several political subjects to cover at the 10 a.m. meeting in Ehrlichman's office. However, there is one problem that you may want to cover in the meeting or separately with MacGregor.

Stans told MacGregor and Magruder today at 3 p.m. that he would not release any money to the November Group until they accepted the 6.3 million budget instead of the 10 million requested. You expressed your views to MacGregor regarding the advertising budget in the attached memorandum.

This budget problem may be raised Friday afternoon when Peter Dailey is prepared to present to you the final "finished" campaign newspaper and TV ads. Although Dailey plans on discussing the revised advertising strategy in light of McGovern's, this budget matter may be raised by Dailey because the matter has not been resolved.

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

Clark
MacGregor

MEMORANDUM

August 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

SUBJECT: Advertising Budget

I think Pete is absolutely right - and that we are dealing a very dangerous situation if we don't respond

The recent decisions to cut the Committee Advertising budget should be reviewed now to provide for sound media planning and scheduling.

ll

For your review, we submit the following:

Considerations

1. \$14.2 million is allowable for media under the Federal Election Campaign Spending Act.
2. \$3 million has been deducted from the total for other uses, leaving a current budget of \$11.2 million.
3. We want to provide adequate reach and frequency, flexibility of message, a meaningful delivery of DFN messages (or anti-McGovern advertising), and an adequate contingency budget.
4. In 1968, the Nixon campaign spent \$22.5 million in broadcast alone, while the Democrats spent \$15.4 million. At present we have \$8.1 million allocated to broadcast, a reduction from 1968 of 268%. Thus, the allowable budget has been already reduced \$3 million and is well under 1968 expenditures.
5. The McGovern forces may well spend up to the \$14.2 million allowable if they can raise the funds.
6. We do not want to visably outspend McGovern. We do not want money to be a campaign issue.

7. Polling data must be a determinate of dollar planning. We must be prepared to spend all available funds to win the election and make adjustments downward later if polls indicate.

Right

8. Advertising is the only communications vehicle through which we can transmit our message as the Committee wants it communicated without having the press provide its own interpretations. Also, it is the best way to communicate McGovern's radical positions to the American electorate.

✓

9. Current Committee plans call for a substantially reduced budget. The most recent plan shows a budget allocation of \$6.2 million dollars.

Not appropriate

Conclusions

The \$6.2 million budget assumes an easy election and one not related to issues. We cannot operate on that assumption. *Absolutely.*

We should plan now on a close election. National and local polling data should be closely scrutinized and the plan adjusted downward later. *Right*

Recommendation

The budget for advertising should be restored to the \$11.2 million level. We can not afford to plan now on an easy win, then be put in a position of scrambling for dollars in the last weeks if the polling gap closes.

Agree

Art Bailey

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races

Dent has prepared a factual analysis of the Congressional races, indicating that the Republicans must hold all current incumbent seats and win 39 new seats to reach the 218 needed to organize the House. Ford's Southern Democrats switchover project will not become important unless the Republicans are close to 218. Dent's Tab A picks the top 30 requiring attention.

Timmons independently reviewed the September 5 Congressional Campaign Committee analysis. Timmons' picks are double underscored while Dent's are single underscored.

Malek's field organization can provide assessments of 50 important individual races by September 13. Malek's input would be conjecture before then.

MacGregor's views will be checked September 7.

Teeter talked with an AMPAC representative on September 5 regarding access to their polls. Teeter received a commitment to obtain the 25 completed polls on September 8.

This analysis of the Congressional races will be resubmitted when the additional information is acquired.

The only people involved in this project are Bill Timmons, Clark MacGregor, Fred Malek, Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson. Harry Flemming has done an independent analysis for Clark MacGregor but has not reviewed it with Mitchell or MacGregor.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Release

John Davies has not returned my telephone calls for 10 days. Several pending questions regarding demographics, Catholics, campaign release schedules, etc., remain unanswered.

Tom Benham, however, has increased his informal contacts with Gallup. In a discussion with Alec Gallup today, Benham learned that the Gallup Organization will release figures in the near future which will show the President's dramatic increase in support among young voters. The Gallup poll of August 26-27 which showed the President over McGovern 64-30-6 will be used. The 18-29 year olds support the President over McGovern 58-36-6. This is within one point of the ORC August 29-31 poll which showed 18-29 year olds at 57-36-7.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Democrats for Nixon
Advertisements

Peter Dailey and Phil Joanou are available to show you the final DFN advertisements before they meet with Connally at 3 p.m. All the materials (TV spots, newspaper boards, etc.) are in my office. You have seen most of the materials in "rough", non-DFN attributed form.

The DFN strategy memorandum prepared by Dailey and delivered to me this morning is attached.

Also available in my office are the re-done DFN mailings and brochures that Peter Dailey and Bob Marik prepared for Connally.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Peter Dailey Meeting
re Democrats for Nixon

Peter Dailey has the newspaper ads, TV spots, and general campaign advertising materials for the Democrats for Nixon. John Connally called and asked Dailey to present these materials to him tomorrow, September 6 at 1 p.m.

You mentioned after the first DFN newspaper ad in August that you wanted to see the DFN materials before Connally saw them.

Dailey could review the materials with you any time tomorrow. The review would take 45 minutes according to Dailey. The President has nothing scheduled tomorrow beside Dr. Riland at 6 p.m.

Recommendation

_____ Haldeman to see Dailey

_____ 11 a.m.

_____ 12 noon

_____ 1 p.m.

_____ No need for Haldeman to see Dailey

_____ Other

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Debates Between Spokesmen

Magruder is asking for your view on whether any Administration spokesman should debate any Democratic spokesmen. Magruder favors no debates by anyone during the campaign.

Magruder covered the subject with MacGregor this morning and used the attached memorandum as a talking paper. MacGregor favors a case by case determination of who should debate whom. MacGregor favors Richardson debating Humphrey, and wants to debate O'Brien himself.

Recommendation

That MacGregor's system of a case by case determination be followed.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

J. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDEN
SUBJECT: Request for Policy Decision on Possible Confrontations

Secretary Richardson has agreed to address an evening meeting of the Beverly Hills B'nai B'rith in Los Angeles on September 11. The expected attendance is 1,000 people.

We have been advised that the B'nai B'rith organization has invited Senator Humphrey to attend the same meeting. If the Senator cannot attend, they propose to invite an alternative "major Democrat".

This situation raises several important policy issues:

(1) Should surrogate speakers attend events where confrontations with major Democrats are likely?

Yes _____ No _____

(2) Should surrogates at anytime publicly discuss or debate with Democrats?

Yes _____ No _____

In light of these questions, should Secretary Richardson withdraw from the above mentioned event?

Yes _____ No _____

Page 2

In addition to the question of surrogate confrontations and debate, Van Shumway has been getting a number of requests for you to debate/discuss the campaign with various top level people on McGovern's staff, (e.g. Gary Hart, Frank Mankiewicz).

I do not think it would be a good idea to accept these invitations or in any way increase the visibility and stature of McGovern's staff through public debate. Currently we have a request from "Issues and Answers" and CBS morning news.

I suggest we turn down all debates between you and other top level members of our staff with anyone in the McGovern campaign -- including "Issues and Answers" and CBS morning news.

_____ APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Life Article on Campaign

Job Magruder called to say that the Dave Maxie article for Life magazine on the campaign will be published September 11, 1972. Maxie agreed to have Life do a story on the First Family, which appeared on August 21, 1972, in exchange for the story on the campaign.

Maxie interviewed "most of the senior 1701 staff, with some exceptions (i.e. Bob Tester)". Magruder expects the article to be "on balance a favorable article", primarily focusing on MacGregor. There should be some negative comment on security.

GS/jb

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Republican Convention Poll
Polling Dates: Aug 29-31, 1972
Respondents: 974

This package includes all the requested materials from the Republican Convention Poll:

- 1) Tab A is the receiving memorandum with the re-formatted trial heats page with Gallup, Harris and ORC in columns;
- 2) Tab B is the requested cross-breaks;
- 3) Tab C contains the cross-breaks of Nixon? McGovern voters against his issue positions, measured during the Democratic Convention Poll, July 19-20, 1972;
- 4) Tab D is Tom Benham's analysis of the poll.
- 5) Tab E is the detailed demographic tables.
- 6) Tab F is the trend of the "Handling of Vietnam" question back to March 1969 indicating that the current 59-33-8 is the highest since the two Gallup surveys after the November 3, 1969 Vietnam Speech when the President had 64-25-11 and 65-24-11 in November, 1969 and January, 1970.

You asked that the "leaner" question following the trial heat question be added to Wave III. The Wave III trial heats are conducted by secret ballot. The respondent is handed "Secret Ballot A" ("If you had to decide today, how would you vote in the following election situation?" - PRESIDENT: Republican - Richard Nixon or Democrat - George McGovern; and, VICE-PRESIDENT: Republican - Spiro T. Agnew or Democrat - Sargent Shriver.) on an IBM card at the time of the personal interview. The respondent is also given Special Ballot B which contains the following statements:

Will definitely vote for Nixon.

Will probably vote for Nixon, but still thinking about it.

Undecided but leaning toward Nixon.

Completely undecided at this time but will vote.

Undecided but leaning toward McGovern.

Will probably vote for McGovern, but still thinking about it.

Will definitely vote for McGovern.

Discussion with Teeter and Benham indicates that this sample ballot, scaling method is the best method in a personal interview to determine the views of the "undecided" and the amount of commitment (whether the respondents "mind has been definitely made up"). This sample ballot technique is what Gallup used in the Aug 26-27 poll when NO OPINION was down to 6 from 12. Benham talked with George Gallup, Jr. who said that the Gallup Organization would continue to use the secret ballot system similar to Teeter's Wave III ballot although he would not disclose the exact language. The net result is that Teeter's Wave III sample ballots will obtain the "leaner" and "definitely made up mind" information, which ORC obtains by telephone. To keep Wave III on schedule (field interviewing begins September 5, preliminary results September 18) I authorized Teeter to continue the sample ballot technique of Wave I, II and Gallup instead of changing to the telephone-oriented questions of ORC.

The Amnesty question on Wave III has been changed in the national and all state polls to correspond to your request that there be only four options: 1) Grant unconditional amnesty now; 2) Grant unconditional amnesty after the war is over and our prisoners of war have been returned; 3) Grant unconditional amnesty after the war is over, but require an appropriate penalty; and 4) Not grant amnesty at all. Excluded is option 5: Grant amnesty after the war is over but require two years of some type of government service.

GS:car

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION POLL
 Polling Dates: Aug 29-31, '72
 Respondents: 974

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>N.O.</u>	<u>Date Relsd.</u>
<u>1972</u>				
H-Dec 28- Jan 4	49	47	4	
T-Jan 3-20	54	35	11	
G-Jan 7- 9	49	39	12	1/20
O-Jan 26-27	<u>54</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>10</u>	
G-Feb 4- 7	53	36	11	2/17
H-Feb 8-15	55	44	1	2/28
O-Mar 3- 5	<u>59</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>13</u>	
G-Mar 3- 5	56	32	12	3/9
O-Mar 18-19	<u>54</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>11</u>	
G-Mar 24-27	53	37	10	4/13
O-Apr 27-29	<u>52</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>13</u>	
O-May 9-10	<u>57</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>10</u>	
H-May 9-10	52	46	2	
G-May 26-29	61	32	7	6/4
H-Jun 10-15	56	42	2	
G-Jun 16-19	60	32	8	6/25
T-Jun 16-26	58	30	12	
G-Jun 23-26	56	33	11	7/16
O-Jul 19-20	<u>58</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>11</u>	
H-Aug 2- 3	59	40	1	8/21
O-Aug 29-31	<u>63</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>10</u>	

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
<u>1971</u>			
O-Aug 21-22	<u>47</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>13</u>
G-Sep 3-16	42		
H-Sep	44	54	2
H-Oct 28- Nov 10	41	55	4
O-Nov 19-21	<u>50</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>1972</u>			
H-Dec 28- Jan 4	40	54	6
T-Jan 3-20	55	38	7
O-Jan 26-27	<u>54</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>8</u>
G-Feb 4- 6	51	39	10
H-Feb 8-15	41	56	3
O-Mar 3- 5	<u>53</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>11</u>
G-Apr 21-24	48	44	8
O-Apr 27-29	<u>47</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>9</u>
O-May 9-10	<u>52</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>10</u>
H-May 9-10	37	59	4
G-May 26-29	53	38	9
H-Jun 10-15	42	55	3
T-Jun 16-26	<u>58</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>7</u>
O-Jul 19-20	<u>55</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>10</u>
O-Aug 29-31	<u>59</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>8</u>

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
H-Feb 19-21, '71	37	48	15
O-Aug 21-22, '71	59	31	10
O-Sep 7- 8, '71	56	32	12
O-Oct 9-10, '71	57	35	8
O-Nov 19-21, '71	48	39	13
O-Jan 26-27, '72	46	45	9
O-Aug 29-31, '72	48	38	14

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

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

If undecided on question 4, ask question 5.

5. Would you say that you lean more towards Richard Nixon or more towards George McGovern?

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

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

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

7. Some observers have said that many normally Democratic voters are deserting George McGovern and will be voting for President Nixon. What is there about George McGovern that may be causing some Democrats to desert him?

Polling Date

O-Aug 29-31, '72 (Open Ended)
Attached

8. Have you seen, read or heard anything about the so-called "Watergate incident" in June when five men were arrested while trying to break in and bug the Democratic National Committee Headquarters at the Watergate Hotel?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	57	40	3

(Open Ended)

7. Some observers have said that many normally Democratic voters are deserting George McGovern and will be voting for President Nixon. What is there about George McGovern that may be causing some Democrats to desert him?

<u>RESPONSES</u>	<u>%</u>
Changes his mind too often	14
Stand on welfare	12
General comments about his stand on the War	12
General comments about radical thinking	11
Too liberal	7
Should not have deserted Eagleton	5
Makes rash promises	5
Economic policies	5
Splits the Party	4
Isn't capable	4
Stand on taxes	3
Lack of credibility	3
Specific comments about him being a Dove	2
Stand on amnesty	2
Socialistic	2
Lost Labor	2
General disagreement with his proposals	2
Too indecisive	2
Too many youths following him	2
Stand on abortion	2
Defense cutback notion	2
Generally does not like his foreign policy	1
Too idealistic	1
Unrealistic	1
Generally off base	1
Democrats won't desert him	5

If yes on question 8, ask questions 9-12; if no, ask question 13.

9. Who do you think put these men up to the break-in, bugging attempt at the Democratic National Committee Headquarters - President Nixon, President Nixon's campaign committee, the Republican Party, Cuban exiles, Others?

<u>Polling Date</u>	$\frac{57}{100}$	<u>P.N.</u>	<u>Camp. Comm.</u>	<u>Rep. Pty.</u>	<u>Cuban Exiles</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72		1	4	11	0	11	73

10. Do you think President Nixon's campaign committee was responsible for the break-in, bugging attempt at the Democratic National Committee Headquarters or not?

<u>Polling Date</u>	$\frac{57}{100}$	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72		17	48	35

11. Do you believe that this whole break-in, bugging attempt at the Democratic National Committee Headquarters is just more politics or is it really something serious?

<u>Polling Date</u>	$\frac{57}{100}$	<u>Just More Politics</u>	<u>Something Serious</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72		54	21	25

12. If it is proven that high-ranking Republicans were involved in the break-in, bugging attempt or mishandling of Republican campaign contributions, do you think this will make you less likely to vote for President Nixon or won't it have any effect on your vote?

<u>Polling Date</u>	$\frac{57}{100}$	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72		68	23	9

13. Have you heard or read anything about the trip to Hanoi by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	55	44	1

If yes on question 13, ask question 14 and 15; if no, ask question 16.

14. Do you approve or disapprove of his trip to Hanoi while hostilities are still underway with North Vietnam?

<u>Polling Date</u>	$\frac{55}{100}$	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72		36	48	16

15. Do you agree or disagree with the critical statements he has made about American bombing of North Vietnam?

<u>Polling Date</u>	$\frac{55}{100}$	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72		21	57	22

16. Sargent Shriver, the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, has claimed that President Nixon missed an opportunity in early 1969 to bring an end to the Vietnam War. From all that you have heard and read, do you agree or disagree with Shriver's statement?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	22	54	24

17. School teachers as well as most other public employees are not allowed to strike by law. Do you think this law should be changed to permit teachers to go out on strike or don't you?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>No Strike</u>	<u>Permit Strike</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	47	42	11

18. How much of the Republican National Convention did you watch on TV?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Over 2 hrs</u>	<u>1-2 hrs</u>	<u>Less than 1 hr</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>None</u>
O-Jul 19-20, '72	21	11	22	13	22	11
O-Aug 29-31, '72	17	4	17	13	27	22

19. Overall, were your impressions of the Republican Convention very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>VF</u>	<u>SF</u>	<u>SU</u>	<u>VU</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	23	34	10	10	23

20. In general, how do you rate your reaction to President Nixon's acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention - very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, didn't hear it, no opinion?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>VF</u>	<u>SF</u>	<u>SU</u>	<u>VU</u>	<u>Didn't Hear It</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jul 19-20, '72	9	18	9	7	57	
O-Aug 29-31, '72	24	22	5	4	38	7

21. Did the Republican National Convention make you more likely or less likely to vote for President Nixon?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jul 19-20, '72	28	38	34
O-Aug 29-31, '72	32	16	52

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

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Jul 19-20, '72	41	42	17
O-Aug 29-31, '72	41	34	25

23. Do you think Richard Nixon should campaign vigorously as the Republican Presidential candidate for 1972 or should he concentrate on his duties as President?

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Campaign Vigorously</u>	<u>Concentrate On Duties</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
O-Aug 29-31, '72	12	60	21	7

CROSSBREAK

Question 4 (Nixon, McGovern) and Question 5 (Leaners)

	(4) <u>Nixon</u> <u>Voters</u>	(5) <u>Lean</u> <u>Nixon</u>	(4) <u>McG</u> <u>Voters</u>	(5) <u>Lean</u> <u>McG</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
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6. Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President or is there a possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?

Made Up Mind	78	22	65	16	11
May Change Mind	22	75	31	74	44
No Opinion	*	3	4	10	45

(Read Down)

CROSSBREAK

Question 6 - Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President or is there a possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?

	<u>Definitely Made Mind Up</u>	<u>May Change Mind</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
Nixon Supporters (4 & 5)	74	26	*
McGovern Supporters (4 & 5)	57	38	5
Undecided (4 & 5)	11	44	5

(Read Across)

- 3/4 of President Nixon's supporters have definitely made up their minds to vote for him.
- Less than 60% of Senator McGovern's supporters have definitely made up their minds to vote for him.
- 11% are firmly undecided.

CROSSBREAK

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION POLL
Polling Dates: Aug 29-31 '72
Respondents: 974

Question 4 (Nixon, McGovern) and Question 5 (Leaners)

	(4) Nixon <u>Voters</u>	(5) Lean <u>Nixon</u>	(4) McG <u>Voters</u>	(5) Lean <u>McG</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
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21. Did the Republican National Convention make you more likely or less likely to vote for President Nixon?

More Likely to Vote	47	33	9	4	6
Less Likely to Vote	4	15	44	23	20
No Opinion	49	52	47	73	74

(Read Down)

47% of President Nixon's voters are more likely to vote for him because of the Republican National Convention.

CROSSBREAK

Question 17 - School teachers as well as most other public employees are not allowed to strike by law. Do you think this law should be changed to permit teachers to go out on strike or don't you?

	<u>Law Change</u> <u>Permit Strike</u>	<u>No Change</u> <u>No Strike</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
Nixon (4)	33	55	12
McGovern (4)	62	32	6
Undecided (4)	42	45	13

(Read Across)

CROSSBREAK

Question 4 (Nixon, McGovern) and Question 5 (Leaners)

	(4) <u>Nixon</u> <u>Voters</u>	(5) <u>Lean</u> <u>Nixon</u>	(4) <u>McG</u> <u>Voters</u>	(5) <u>Lean</u> <u>McG</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
12. If it is proven that high-ranking Republicans were involved in the break-in, bugging attempt or mishandling of Republican campaign contributions, do you think this will make you less likely to vote for President Nixon or won't it have any effect on your vote?					
Less Likely	15	37	33	46	29
No Effect	76	50	60	42	52
No Opinion	9	13	7	12	19

(Read Down)

- 3/4 of President Nixon's voters are unaffected by the break in, bugging attempt or mishandling of Republican campaign contributions.

DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS MADE
BY SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN

A. WE SHOULD WITHDRAW ALL OUR TROOPS FROM INDO CHINA
IMMEDIATELY AND THEN TAKE ON FAITH THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
WILL RELEASE OUR POWS

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	30	62	8
MEN	520	509	28	68	4
WOMEN	518	537	31	57	12
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	82	72	42	53	5
21-29 YEARS	255	205	40	52	8
30-49 YEARS	388	369	22	69	9
50 YEARS AND OVER	312	398	29	62	9
18-24 YEARS	203	167	42	53	5
8TH GRADE OR LESS	96	248	28	64	8
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	156	180	35	50	15
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	347	369	29	62	9
SOME COLLEGE	432	241	29	68	3
UNION FAMILIES	266	299	30	64	6
NONUNION FAMILIES	772	747	30	61	9
WHITE	922	910	26	67	7
NONWHITE	107	127	56	29	15
PROTESTANT	526	517	25	66	9
CATHOLIC	258	282	35	61	4
JEWISH	35	26	47	46	7
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	157	207	38	51	11
\$5,000 - \$15,000	554	559	28	66	6
OVER \$15,000	239	169	25	73	2
NOW REGISTERED	872	848	28	64	8
WILL REGISTER	112	127	41	53	6
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	984	975	30	62	8
WON'T REGISTER	54	70	23	61	16
REPUBLICAN	236	239	16	82	2
DEMOCRAT	385	412	41	50	9
INDEPENDENT	322	295	26	67	7
LEAN REPUBLICAN	136	123	13	81	6
LEAN DEMOCRAT	135	125	45	47	8
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	114	120	20	63	17
CONSERVATIVE	243	226	20	71	9
LIBERAL	235	216	49	45	6
IN BETWEEN	477	489	27	66	7
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	257	269	25	68	7
LEAN LIBERAL	148	144	38	60	2
OTHER INBETWEEN	155	191	20	63	17
NIXON VOTERS	426	422	18	76	6
HUMPHREY VOTERS	215	221	44	46	10
WALLACE VOTERS	57	67	9	79	12
NONVOTERS	277	268	36	54	10
EAST	244	255	29	65	6
MIDWEST	286	287	31	62	7
SOUTH	331	330	27	60	13
WEST	177	174	32	63	5

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0011

DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS MADE
BY SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN

A. WE SHOULD WITHDRAW ALL OUR TROOPS FROM INDO CHINA
IMMEDIATELY AND THEN TAKE ON FAITH THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
WILL RELEASE OUR POWS

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	30	62	8
APPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	620	606	19	74	7
DISAPPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	319	325	49	44	7
NO OPINION	99	114	30	48	22
APPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	577	571	16	79	5
DISAPPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	377	372	51	40	9
NO OPINION	84	102	27	48	25
NIXON SUPPORTERS	576	564	15	80	5
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	284	285	61	31	8
NEITHER	85	93	23	65	12
UNDECIDED	93	104	30	47	23
NIXON SUPPORTERS	454	438	14	81	5
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	266	260	62	29	9
WALLACE SUPPORTERS	196	219	25	66	9
NONE	33	31	27	66	7
UNDECIDED	89	97	23	56	21
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	14	81	5
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	60	33	7
UNDECIDED	155	175	27	52	21
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	33	61	6
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	30	67	3
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	34	60	6
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	24	65	11
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	30	55	15

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0011

...B. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD GIVE \$1,000 A YEAR TO EVERY MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD IN THE UNITED STATES AND PAY FOR THIS BY INCREASING TAXES FOR EVERYONE EARNING MORE THAN \$12,000 A YEAR

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	16	76	8
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MIDWEST	286	287	17	74	9
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OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0012

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	UNWTD	WTD			
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NO OPINION	99	114	13	72	15
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UNDECIDED	89	97	18	66	16
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	10	84	6
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	25	65	10
UNDECIDED	155	175	17	70	13
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	17	74	9
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	16	76	8
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	17	78	5
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	15	75	10
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	12	79	9

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0012.

...C. MARIJUANA SHOULD BE LEGALIZED AND CONTROLLED ALONG
THE SAME LINES AS ALCOHOL

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	25	70	5
MEN	520	509	27	67	6
WOMEN	518	537	22	73	5
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	82	72	42	55	3
21-29 YEARS	255	205	37	56	7
30-49 YEARS	330	369	19	77	4
50 YEARS AND OVER	312	398	20	73	7
18-24 YEARS	203	167	42	53	5
8TH GRADE OR LESS	96	248	16	79	5
HIGH SCHCOL INCOMPLETE	156	180	23	73	4
HIGH SCHCOL GRADUATE	347	369	22	73	5
SOME COLLEGE	432	241	40	53	7
UNION FAMILIES	266	299	21	74	5
NONUNION FAMILIES	772	747	26	68	6
WHITE	922	910	24	71	5
NONWHITE	107	127	33	61	6
PROTESTANT	526	517	20	75	5
CATHOLIC	258	282	24	70	6
JEWISH	35	26	62	31	7
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	157	207	24	72	4
\$5,000 - \$15,000	554	559	23	73	4
OVER \$15,000	239	169	34	56	8
NOW REGISTERED	872	848	24	71	5
WILL REGISTER	112	127	24	71	5
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	984	975	24	71	5
WON'T REGISTER	54	70	35	56	9
REPUBLICAN	236	239	17	78	5
DEMOCRAT	385	412	24	71	5
INDEPENDENT	322	295	30	62	8
LEAN REPUBLICAN	136	123	25	68	7
LEAN DEMOCRAT	135	125	37	56	7
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	114	120	26	68	6
CONSERVATIVE	243	226	17	79	4
LIBERAL	235	216	43	52	5
IN BETWEEN	477	489	24	71	5
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	257	269	20	77	3
LEAN LIBERAL	148	144	28	66	6
OTHER INBETWEEN	155	191	18	72	10
NIXON VOTERS	426	422	18	77	5
HUMPHREY VOTERS	215	221	28	66	6
WALLACE VOTERS	57	67	13	87	0
NONVOTERS	277	268	35	58	7
EAST	244	255	27	65	8
MIDWEST	286	287	25	71	4
SOUTH	331	330	21	73	6
WEST	177	174	28	68	4

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0013

...C. MARIJUANA SHOULD BE LEGALIZED AND CONTROLLED ALONG
THE SAME LINES AS ALCOHOL

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	25	70	5
APPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	620	606	21	73	6
DISAPPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	319	325	31	64	5
NO OPINION	99	114	27	65	8
APPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	577	571	21	74	5
DISAPPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	377	372	33	62	5
NO OPINION	84	102	16	76	8
NIXON SUPPORTERS	576	564	18	76	6
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	284	285	39	56	5
NEITHER	85	93	19	79	2
UNDECIDED	93	104	27	68	5
NIXON SUPPORTERS	454	438	20	74	6
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	266	260	39	55	6
WALLACE SUPPORTERS	196	219	17	79	4
NONE	33	31	24	67	9
UNDECIDED	89	97	24	73	3
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	20	74	6
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	37	58	5
UNDECIDED	155	175	19	77	4
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	29	65	6
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	23	72	5
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	25	70	5
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	22	72	6
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	27	70	3

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0013

...D. THERE SHOULD BE NO LEGAL RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. IT SHOULD BE A MATTER SOLELY BETWEEN THE WOMAN AND HER DOCTOR

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	60	33	7
MEN	520	509	63	28	9
WOMEN	518	537	57	38	5
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	82	72	65	30	5
21-29 YEARS	255	205	64	33	3
30-49 YEARS	388	369	57	36	7
50 YEARS AND OVER	312	398	60	30	10
18-24 YEARS	203	167	62	35	3
8TH GRADE OR LESS	96	248	57	36	7
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	156	180	54	38	8
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	347	369	59	34	7
SOME COLLEGE	432	241	68	26	6
UNION FAMILIES	266	299	64	28	8
NONUNION FAMILIES	772	747	58	35	7
WHITE	922	910	61	32	7
NONWHITE	107	127	55	38	7
PROTESTANT	526	517	60	31	9
CATHOLIC	258	282	56	40	4
JEWISH	35	26	95	5	0
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	157	207	54	40	6
\$5,000 - \$15,000	554	559	62	32	6
OVER \$15,000	239	169	71	22	7
NOW REGISTERED	872	848	60	33	7
WILL REGISTER	112	127	67	29	4
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	984	975	61	32	7
WON'T REGISTER	54	70	51	39	10
REPUBLICAN	236	239	61	32	7
DEMOCRAT	385	412	60	33	7
INDEPENDENT	322	295	60	33	7
LEAN REPUBLICAN	136	123	62	32	6
LEAN DEMOCRAT	135	125	64	31	5
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	114	120	54	35	11
CONSERVATIVE	243	226	52	41	7
LIBERAL	235	216	70	25	5
IN BETWEEN	477	489	63	31	6
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	257	269	63	29	8
LEAN LIBERAL	148	144	68	31	1
OTHER INBETWEEN	155	191	48	40	12
NIXON VOTERS	426	422	64	30	6
HUMPHREY VOTERS	215	221	62	30	8
WALLACE VOTERS	57	67	56	43	1
NONVOTERS	277	268	58	35	7
EAST	244	255	68	25	7
MIDWEST	286	287	58	33	9
SOUTH	331	330	55	39	6
WEST	177	174	62	33	5

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0014

...D. THERE SHOULD BE NO LEGAL RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. IT SHOULD BE A MATTER SOLELY BETWEEN THE WOMAN AND HER DOCTOR

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	60	33	7
APPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	620	606	62	31	7
DISAPPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	319	325	59	35	6
NO OPINION	99	114	53	39	8
APPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	577	571	62	31	7
DISAPPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	377	372	61	34	5
NO OPINION	84	102	46	42	12
NIXON SUPPORTERS	576	564	61	31	8
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	284	285	64	31	5
NEITHER	85	93	40	57	3
UNDECIDED	93	104	61	30	9
NIXON SUPPORTERS	454	438	63	29	8
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	266	260	65	30	5
WALLACE SUPPORTERS	196	219	55	39	6
NONE	33	31	32	60	8
UNDECIDED	89	97	57	33	10
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	62	30	8
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	64	31	5
UNDECIDED	155	175	46	47	7
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	56	38	6
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	49	27	4
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	66	28	6
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	60	31	9
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	48	43	9

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0014

...E. WE SHOULD GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY TO THOSE WHO LEFT THE COUNTRY OR WENT TO PRISON TO AVOID THE DRAFT

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	20	70	10
MEN	520	509	19	76	5
WOMEN	518	537	21	65	14
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	82	72	43	54	3
21-29 YEARS	255	205	31	62	7
30-49 YEARS	388	369	17	75	8
50 YEARS AND OVER	312	398	13	74	13
18-24 YEARS	203	167	37	58	5
8TH GRADE OR LESS	96	248	15	72	13
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	156	180	18	73	9
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	347	369	17	74	9
SOME COLLEGE	432	241	30	63	7
UNION FAMILIES	266	299	18	74	8
NONUNION FAMILIES	772	747	21	69	10
WHITE	922	910	18	74	8
NONWHITE	107	127	36	47	17
PROTESTANT	526	517	18	71	11
CATHOLIC	258	282	20	72	8
JEKISH	35	26	36	49	15
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	157	207	30	58	12
\$5,000 - \$15,000	554	559	15	77	8
OVER \$15,000	239	169	24	71	5
NOW REGISTERED	872	848	19	72	9
WILL REGISTER	112	127	25	62	13
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	984	975	20	71	9
WON'T REGISTER	54	70	25	63	12
REPUBLICAN	236	239	12	74	14
DEMOCRAT	385	412	22	70	8
INDEPENDENT	322	295	24	70	6
LEAN REPUBLICAN	136	123	13	81	6
LEAN DEMOCRAT	135	125	36	60	4
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	114	120	20	66	14
CONSERVATIVE	243	226	11	80	9
LIBERAL	235	216	36	57	7
IN BETWEEN	477	489	21	71	8
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	257	269	16	77	7
LEAN LIBERAL	148	144	25	66	9
OTHER INBETWEEN	155	191	14	69	17
NIXON VOTERS	426	422	10	80	10
HUMPHREY VOTERS	215	221	26	63	11
WALLACE VOTERS	57	67	12	88	0
NONVOTERS	277	268	32	59	9
FAST	244	255	22	69	9
MIDWEST	286	287	22	69	9
SOUTH	331	330	16	75	9
WEST	177	174	20	67	13

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0015

...E. WE SHOULD GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY TO THOSE WHO LEFT THE COUNTRY OR WENT TO PRISON TO AVOID THE DRAFT

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	20	70	10
APPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	620	606	14	77	9
DISAPPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	319	325	33	61	6
NO OPINION	99	114	18	63	19
APPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	577	571	12	79	9
DISAPPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	377	372	34	57	9
NO OPINION	84	102	14	70	16
NIXON SUPPORTERS	576	564	11	80	9
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	284	285	38	53	9
NEITHER	85	93	24	69	7
UNDECIDED	93	104	16	68	16
NIXON SUPPORTERS	454	438	11	80	9
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	266	260	40	50	10
WALLACE SUPPORTERS	196	219	16	78	6
NONE	33	31	33	49	18
UNDECIDED	89	97	14	71	15
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	11	80	9
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	39	53	8
UNDECIDED	155	175	17	69	14
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	26	66	8
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	22	72	6
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	20	70	10
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	15	74	11
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	23	67	10
OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION					
0015					

...F. WE SHOULD CUT OUR DEFENSE BUDGET BY \$32 BILLION EVEN
IF IT PUTS US BEHIND THE SOVIET UNION IN MILITARY STRENGTH

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	19	66	15
MEN	520	509	21	70	9
WOMEN	518	537	17	61	22
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	82	72	31	57	12
21-29 YEARS	255	205	27	62	11
30-49 YEARS	388	369	16	71	13
50 YEARS AND OVER	312	398	15	64	21
18-24 YEARS	203	167	28	61	11
8TH GRADE OR LESS	96	248	14	66	20
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	156	180	19	65	16
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	347	369	17	68	15
SOME COLLEGE	432	241	27	62	11
UNION FAMILIES	266	299	23	66	11
NONUNION FAMILIES	772	747	17	66	17
WHITE	922	910	18	67	15
NONWHITE	107	127	24	54	22
PROTESTANT	526	517	16	68	16
CATHOLIC	258	282	19	68	13
JEWISH	35	26	38	38	24
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	157	207	22	60	18
\$5,000 - \$15,000	554	559	19	69	12
OVER \$15,000	239	169	20	69	11
NOW REGISTERED	872	848	17	67	16
WILL REGISTER	112	127	27	64	9
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	984	975	18	67	15
WON'T REGISTER	54	70	23	51	26
REPUBLICAN	236	239	16	71	13
DEMOCRAT	385	412	19	66	15
INDEPENDENT	322	295	20	67	13
LEAN REPUBLICAN	136	123	16	72	12
LEAN DEMOCRAT	135	125	28	58	14
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	114	120	14	58	28
CONSERVATIVE	243	226	13	76	11
LIBERAL	235	216	30	54	16
IN BETWEEN	477	489	20	66	14
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	257	269	17	68	15
LEAN LIBERAL	148	144	21	67	12
OTHER INBETWEEN	155	191	13	63	24
NIXON VOTERS	426	422	15	70	15
HUMPHREY VOTERS	215	221	20	61	19
WALLACE VOTERS	57	67	11	80	9
NONVOTERS	277	268	24	60	16
EAST	244	255	20	67	13
MIDWEST	286	287	21	63	16
SOUTH	331	330	12	70	18
WEST	177	174	25	60	15

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0016

...F. WE SHOULD CUT OUR DEFENSE BUDGET BY \$32 BILLION EVEN IF IT PUTS US BEHIND THE SCVIET UNION IN MILITARY STRENGTH

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	19	66	15
APPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	620	606	13	74	13
DISAPPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	319	325	31	54	15
NO OPINION	99	114	15	57	28
APPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	577	571	14	74	12
DISAPPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	377	372	28	54	18
NO OPINION	84	102	7	64	29
NIXON SUPPORTERS	576	564	13	73	14
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	284	285	30	56	14
NEITHER	85	93	22	66	12
UNDECIDED	93	104	19	52	29
NIXON SUPPORTERS	454	438	13	72	15
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	266	260	33	52	15
WALLACE SUPPORTERS	196	219	14	75	11
NONE	33	31	29	50	21
UNDECIDED	89	97	15	56	29
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	14	73	13
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	29	58	13
UNDECIDED	155	175	16	56	28
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	21	67	12
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	15	71	14
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	19	67	14
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	16	67	17
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	24	54	22

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0016

...G. BUSSING SCHOOL CHILDREN IS ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE RACIAL
INTEGRATION

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	18	74	8
MEN	520	509	17	77	6
WOMEN	518	537	18	72	10
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	82	72	24	72	4
21-29 YEARS	255	205	20	71	9
30-49 YEARS	388	369	19	75	6
50 YEARS AND OVER	312	398	15	75	10
18-24 YEARS	203	167	25	68	7
8TH GRADE OR LESS	96	248	20	72	8
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	156	180	16	74	10
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	347	369	17	74	9
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NOW REGISTERED	872	848	18	75	7
WILL REGISTER	112	127	20	72	8
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	984	975	18	75	7
WON'T REGISTER	54	70	10	68	22
REPUBLICAN	236	239	11	82	7
DEMOCRAT	385	412	25	65	10
INDEPENDENT	322	295	15	79	6
LEAN REPUBLICAN	136	123	8	88	4
LEAN DEMOCRAT	135	125	23	73	4
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	114	120	9	78	13
CONSERVATIVE	243	226	13	82	5
LIBERAL	235	216	26	68	6
IN BETWEEN	477	489	18	75	7
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	257	269	15	80	5
LEAN LIBERAL	148	144	21	67	12
OTHER INBETWEEN	155	191	14	69	17
NIXON VOTERS	426	422	13	81	6
HUMPHREY VOTERS	215	221	26	64	10
KALLACE VOTERS	57	67	7	86	7
NONVOTERS	277	268	21	70	9
EAST	244	255	17	73	10
MIDWEST	286	287	17	72	11
SOUTH	331	330	20	75	5
WEST	177	174	15	78	7

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0017

...G. BUSSING SCHOOL CHILDREN IS ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE RACIAL
INTEGRATION

	PERCENTAGE BASE		AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	UNWTD	WTD			
TOTAL PUBLIC	1038	1045	18	74	8
APPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	620	606	13	80	7
DISAPPROVE NIXON HANDLING JOB	319	325	28	65	7
NO OPINION	99	114	14	72	14
APPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	577	571	14	80	6
DISAPPROVE NIXON ON VIETNAM	377	372	27	64	9
NO OPINION	84	102	5	77	18
NIXON SUPPORTERS	576	564	10	83	7
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	284	285	36	55	9
NEITHER	85	93	6	87	7
UNDECIDED	93	104	19	67	14
NIXON SUPPORTERS	454	438	12	81	7
MCGOVERN SUPPORTERS	266	260	36	54	10
WALLACE SUPPORTERS	196	219	10	84	6
NONE	33	31	11	80	9
UNDECIDED	89	97	12	72	16
NIXON/AGNEW SUPPORTERS	578	566	12	83	5
MCGOVERN/EAGLETON SUPPORTERS	305	304	33	58	9
UNDECIDED	155	175	10	74	16
WATCHED ALL OR MOST OF DNC	231	226	22	72	6
WATCHED MORE THAN 2 HRS/DAY	116	111	13	75	12
WATCHED 1-2 HRS/DAY	238	231	19	73	8
WATCHED LESS THAN 1 HR/DAY	344	366	16	76	8
DID NOT WATCH	109	112	15	73	12

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

0017

September 1, 1972

Some Comments on the August 29-31, 1972 Telephone Survey

From: Tom Benham

1. The Nixon-McGovern trial heat result confirms the Gallup data released on August 30. The Gallup people tell us that they also use a "leaner" question similar to ours. So opinion at this stage seems to be crystallizing with a sizeable lead for the President.
President Nixon's support is coming not only from Republicans (96%) but also from Democrats (41%) and Independents (68%). Also, 83% of Conservatives and 45% of Liberals support him. He also enjoys majorities from both Union families as well as non-Union families, Catholics as well as Protestants, and in every section of the country. Among new voters 18-24 years of age, 61% prefer Nixon or lean toward him in this survey and only 37% are for McGovern.
Almost two-thirds (63%) of the voters say they have their minds definitely made up and will not change it during the campaign. This figure is almost identical to the results in mid-August 1964 in connection with the Johnson-Goldwater race (61% had definitely made up their minds, 31% said they may change their minds and 8% said they had no opinion).
As might be expected, those who indicate their preference in the "leaner" category are much less firm than those who initially indicate a preference. While the figures are

not exactly comparable, the commitment to President Nixon seems even firmer at this stage than that which President Johnson enjoyed at a similar stage in 1964 (approximately 60% were definitely in favor of Johnson in mid-August 1964).

It would be unrealistic to expect this trial heat data finding to project itself exactly as is on Election Day. Chances are that the gap will narrow somewhat as it did in 1964 when Goldwater picked up slightly to lose by 61% to 39%. A reversal of the figures, however, is highly unrealistic. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the situations in 1964 and 1972 are exactly comparable. In 1964 the majority vote came heavily from a majority party with disenchanted voters from the minority. Today, the majority vote is made up of a coalition of voters heavily made up of the minority party but including many dissidents from the majority party and others who are unaffiliated. Inherently, such a coalition does not have the stability that is found in a bloc vote.

2. The strong trial heat preference for President Nixon is soundly based on improvements in his overall ratings on the three key indicators of performance in his job, performance in Vietnam, and dealing with economic conditions in the country. It may well be that the contrast between

the President and George McGovern is beginning to crystallize in the minds of the electorate.

While the survey did not focus particularly on Vietnam, it seems clear that the "blew it" charges by Sargent Shriver, the Ramsey Clark trip, and the Salinger foray to Paris, if anything, had a negative impact on the McGovern campaign. The survey question on Shriver shows that his charge lacked credibility. Even among Democrats only 36% agree with Shriver while 38% disagree and 26% had no opinion. And even among those who prefer McGovern only 46% agree with Shriver while 29% disagree and 25% expressed no opinion. Similarly among those who have heard of the Ramsey Clark trip, more disapprove than approve and many more disagree than agree with his critical statements about American bombing policies.

Another indication that McGovern may be suffering as his exposure to the total electorate builds is shown in response to our question 7 where we ask why Democrats may be deserting his cause. Among the principal reasons cited are that he changes his mind too often, his position on the War is improper, his welfare views are unacceptable, and in general his thinking tends to be too liberal or radical. Certainly McGovern's latest economic program as unveiled to the

New York Society of Security Analysts cannot but add fuel to the fire as far as reactions to his programs are concerned.

3. While a larger audience watched the Democratic Convention than watched the Republican Convention, reactions to the President's acceptance speech were considerably more favorable (46%) than reactions to McGovern's speech (27%). 57% to 20%, people also expressed themselves as favorably impressed by the Republican Convention overall, although we did not have a comparable test of the Democratic Convention. On a direct question about the effect of the Convention on likelihood of voting, President Nixon came through more favorably than McGovern. 32% to 16%, people expressed themselves as more likely to vote for the President rather than less likely while in the case of the Democratic National Convention 28% said they would be more likely to vote for McGovern while 38% said less likely.

Despite the lack of suspense and drama in the Republican National Convention, it apparently was a successful backdrop to present President Nixon, the accomplishments of his Administration and the contrast with the Democratic programs.

4. The public is fairly strongly of the mind that the President should concentrate on his duties as President rather than obviously hit the campaign trail. This view is held by

every sub-group in the population with very little variation. For example, 57% of Republicans, 63% of Democrats and 61% of Independent voters.

5. The Watergate incident has come to the attention of 57% of the public. While this is slightly higher than the percent who were aware of the Pentagon Papers and lower than those who knew about ITT, it can clearly be overestimated as a campaign factor. Awareness is at about the same level for Republicans (56%), Democrats (57%) and Independents (60%). Only a small minority believe that the Republican campaign committee was responsible (17% of those aware of the Watergate incident or 10% of the total electorate). Most say "no" or "don't know". A good clue as to how the public views this matter is shown in question 11 where over half (54%) regard it as "just more politics" while 21% say it is "really something serious".
6. On the specific question of strikes by school teachers, the public is split with the balance of the opinion against changing the law to permit teachers to strike. Among Nixon supporters the feeling is even stronger. 34% say change the law, 54% say don't change the law, and 12% express no opinion.

In other ORC surveys we have asked whether or not various types of public service employees should be permitted to

strike - firemen, policemen, school teachers and sanitation workers. In all cases, weight of opinion has been against permitting these types of people to strike. There has been some lessening of opposition, however, over the four years since 1968. In the case of school teachers, the ORC trend has been as follows:

	<u>Nov 1968</u>	<u>Aug 1969</u>	<u>Nov 1970</u>	<u>Dec 1971</u>
Should not be permitted to strike	62	53	54	55
Should be permitted to strike	29	41	39	37
No Opinion	9	6	7	8
	* * * * *			

Some Observations

It is important that the momentum of the Nixon campaign not be permitted to slacken, even though a highly favorable position has been achieved to date. A comeback by McGovern and the Democrats could severely lessen any chances for sweeping in Republican candidates in the Congress, Senate and State Houses throughout the country. The flagging McGovern

campaign is hardly likely to get worse. Apparently, they can only gain in the weeks ahead. Many undecided voters and dissident Democrats may drift back and the psychological danger for Republicans is to feel that the race is over and that they can relax. Republican enthusiasm at the local level could be enhanced by the new opportunity (for Republicans) to catch on to the President's coattails. Every effort should be made to express the President's interest in candidates at lower levels.

The President's tremendous prestige in the handling of foreign affairs is not equalled by ratings of his performance on the domestic front where there is a 15 point gap between approval overall as President and approval on handling of economic conditions. Fortunately, the confusion of McGovern's presentation of how he would deal with these economic conditions has not permitted him to take advantage of this weakness so far. A good theme for Republican campaigners in this connection is to keep hammering on how inflationary McGovern's campaign proposals really are.

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the situation in Vietnam?"

Results	Total Public			Date	Method	Firm
	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion			
	44	26	30	3/69	Pers.	AIPO
	44	24	32	4/69	"	"
	48	27	25	5/69	"	"
	52	24	24	6/69	"	"
	53	30	17	7/69	"	"
	54	28	18	8/69	"	"
	45	40	15	Mid9/69	"	"
	52	32	16	Late9/69	"	"
	58	32	10	10/69	"	"
	64	25	11	11/3 Vietnam Speech	11/69	"
	65	24	11		1/70	"
	53	32	15		2/70	"
	48	41	11		4/70	"
	51	39	10		2/4-7/71	"
	53	37	10		2/19-21/71	"
	48	44	8		4/21-24/72	"
	53	38	9		5/26-29/72	"

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the situation in Vietnam?"

Results	Total Public			Date	Method	Notes
	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion			
	44	26	30	3/69	Pers.	AIPD
	44	24	32	4/69	"	"
	48	27	25	5/69	"	"
	52	24	24	6/69	"	"
	53	30	17	7/69	"	"
	54	28	18	8/69	"	"
	45	40	15	Mid 9/69	"	"
	52	32	16	Late 9/69	"	"
	58	32	10	10/69	"	"
	64	25	11	11/3 Vietnam Speech	"	"
	65	24	11	1/70	"	"
	53	32	15	2/70	"	"
	48	41	11	4/70	"	"
	51	39	10	2/4-7/71	"	"
	53	37	10	2/10-21/71	"	"
	48	44	8	4/21-24/72	"	"
	53	38	9	5/26-29/72	"	"

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Republican Convention Poll
Polling Dates: Aug 29-31, 1972
Respondents: 974

This package includes all the requested materials from the Republican Convention Poll:

- 1) Tab A is the receiving memorandum with the re-formatted trial heats page with Gallup, Harris and ORC in columns;
- 2) Tab B is the requested cross-breaks;
- 3) Tab C contains the cross-breaks of Nixon? McGovern voters against his issue positions, measured during the Democratic Convention Poll, July 19-20, 1972;
- 4) Tab D is Tom Benham's analysis of the poll.
- 5) Tab E is the detailed demographic tables.
- 6) Tab F is the trend of the "Handling of Vietnam" question back to March 1969 indicating that the current 59-33-8 is the highest since the two Gallup surveys after the November 3, 1969 Vietnam Speech when the President had 64-25-11 and 65-24-11 in November, 1969 and January, 1970.

You asked that the "leaner" question following the trial heat question be added to Wave III. The Wave III trial heats are conducted by secret ballot. The respondent is handed "Secret Ballot A" ("If you had to decide today, how would you vote in the following election situation?" - PRESIDENT: Republican - Richard Nixon or Democrat - George McGovern; and, VICE-PRESIDENT: Republican - Spiro T. Agnew or Democrat - Sargent Shriver.) on an IBM card at the time of the personal interview. The respondent is also given Special Ballot B which contains the following statements:

Will definitely vote for Nixon.

Will probably vote for Nixon, but still thinking about it.

Undecided but leaning toward Nixon.

Completely undecided at this time but will vote.

Undecided but leaning toward McGovern.

Will probably vote for McGovern, but still thinking about it.

Will definitely vote for McGovern.

Discussion with Teeter and Benham indicates that this sample ballot, scaling method is the best method in a personal interview to determine the views of the "undecided" and the amount of commitment (whether the respondents "mind has been definitely made up"). This sample ballot technique is what Gallup used in the Aug 26-27 poll when NO OPINION was down to 6 from 12. Benham talked with George Gallup, Jr. who said that the Gallup Organization would continue to use the secret ballot system similar to Teeter's Wave III ballot although he would not disclose the exact language. The net result is that Teeter's Wave III sample ballots will obtain the "leaner" and "definitely made up mind" information, which ORC obtains by telephone. To keep Wave III on schedule (field interviewing begins September 5, preliminary results September 18) I authorized Teeter to continue the sample ballot technique of Wave I, II and Gallup instead of changing to the telephone-oriented questions of ORC.

The Amnesty question on Wave III has been changed in the national and all state polls to correspond to your request that there be only four options: 1) Grant unconditional amnesty now; 2) Grant unconditional amnesty after the war is over and our prisoners of war have been returned; 3) Grant unconditional amnesty after the war is over, but require an appropriate penalty; and 4) Not grant amnesty at all. Excluded is option 5: Grant amnesty after the war is over but require two years of some type of government service.

GS:car