

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	2	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McGovern's use of Amnesty and the Vietnam War in the campaign. 1 pg.
15	2	9/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dailey and Colson's views on certain campaign advertising issues. 1 pg.
15	2	9/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Teeter's collection of and reports on recent polling data. 2 pgs.
15	2	9/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Teeter to MacGregor RE: ORC telephone polling. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Teeter to MacGregor RE: polling data from Colorado and Rhode Island. 1 pg.
15	2	9/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dailey's purchase of key ad spots. 2 pgs.
15	2	9/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: a campaign spot on Russia. Handwritten notes on original added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
15	2	9/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: whether or not to initiate an ORC poll in response to data gathered during the Campaign Survey Wave III National Poll. Attached are sample poll questions. 6 pgs.
15	2	9/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: H. Ross Perot's role in the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	2	9/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: a campaign spot on Russia. 1 pg.
15	2	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information on Wave III of the Campaign Surveys. 1 pg.
15	2	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Bill Blair and the Kennedy Center. 2 pgs.
15	2	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: granting Teeter acces to a private ORC survey. 1 pg.
15	2	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: completion of Wave III of the Campaign Surveys. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	2	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Congressional campaigns in 1972. 2 pgs.
15	2	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking paper generated by Strachan for a political meeting on state advisers, VP advertising, and general attack strategies. 1 pg.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Congressional campaigns in 1972. Information on Congressional Republicans attached. 6 pgs.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the distribution of Wave III polling results to prominent White House staff members. 1 pg.
15	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: briefing White House staff members on the results of Wave II polling. Handwritten notes added on original by Haldeman. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: John Andrews and the Ohio Campaign Train. 1 pg.
15	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sheet of notes, possibly generated by Strachan, detailing the use of a Campaign Train for Andrews. 3 pgs.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: running a positive RN ad on television. 1 pg.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Connally's spot. 1 pg.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Tom Benham's electoral vote forecast. Copy of projected 1972 electoral vote attached. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
15	2	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tom Benham to unknown RE: the Opinion Research Corporation's electoral vote projection plan. 2 pgs.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: John Davies and Gallup surveys. 2 pgs.
15	2	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the opinions of various White House officials on Connally's television spot. 2 pgs.

September 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

The question of Amnesty is receiving substantial attention and promotion by the President's campaign. McGovern may address the nation on Amnesty and Vietnam.

In light of this, you may want to re-read Teeter's memorandum following Wave II, in which he argues that amnesty is an integral part of Vietnam and subject to similar age-group variations.

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Advertising

Peter Dailey confirmed the purchase of two 5-minute spots for the Russia commercial. After the NBC Monday Night Movie on September 25, probably from 10:55-11:00 p.m., and on CBS after the Thursday Night Movie, probably from 10:55-11:00 p.m., are set.

Dailey is quite upset at the Ken Clawson story in tonight's Star (attached) describing the DFN commercials which may be run. It is Dailey's view that Clawson partially destroyed the credibility of Connally and the DFN by disclosing White House knowledge and participation in the DFN ads. Dailey believes that if anyone must talk to the press about campaign advertising it should be him.

Colson suggested at this morning's 9:15 attack meeting that it might be a good idea to show the press a preview of the DFN commercials during a George Christian press conference. This would increase speculation and interest. It is Dailey's view that this is a mistake. He does not want to make advertising per se, an issue nor does he want to give McGovern time to think about a response to the commercials before they are aired.

Recommendation

That Peter Dailey be established as the sole spokesman on campaign advertising with control over public disclosure of the ads themselves.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

GS/jb

September 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Surveys -
Wave III

Bob Teeter delivered all the Wave III materials except the New Jersey and National results which ORC has not delivered because of interviewing and computer problems. New Jersey should arrive later today and the National by Saturday, September 23.

Teeter also delivered the memorandum attached at Tab A on the tracking, telephone polling. He recommends against doing panel work immediately but would be prepared to panel after nine days of tracking. The panel capability would be ORC. To begin the telephone tracking on September 25 as planned, he needs your decision today. MacGregor has agreed with Teeter's recommendation of no immediate panel work.

Teeter briefed Ehrlichman, Cole, Harper and Morey on the issue materials by state this morning. He will discuss the results with Ehrlichman's group on September 25 after he has analyzed the national issue results. Teeter will brief Colson today at 12:00 noon on the results. He will not discuss the trial heats, but Dick Howard has indicated Colson already has them. The rest of the briefings will occur next week subject to the non-disclosure of trial heat data.

Teeter submitted at Tab B the figures on Rhode Island from a Becker poll conducted September 15-17 showing the President ahead 52-23 and Chafee ahead 49-34. He will try to get West Virginia and Massachusetts data today.

The large binder accompanying this memorandum contains the complete data from each state in the format you approved following Wave I. The small binder is the suggested format for trips. It contains trial heat summary of all states; the entire National Survey summary (available September 23); and, for each state: the summary page; the President's approval by demographics; the trial heat demographics; the rating of the President's and McGovern's ability to handle the issues; and, the importance of issues. Also, the National Questionnaire, with the state questions circled and the trend question from Wave I and II asterisked are attached.

GS:car

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 20, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

TELEPHONE POLLING
ADVISORY COMMITTEE
A-2, 1-14-80
By Emerson

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *RmT*

SUBJECT:

Telephone Polling

Having now had a chance to look at the Wave III data I think we now have two options for our telephone polling which is scheduled to start next week. We will need to make a decision on which of these designs we want to use next week by Thursday, September 21 in order to begin on Monday.

They are:

1) To have ORC use the phone polling capability to do 4-6 statewide telephone polls using probability samples of 500-600. If we did this I would recommend we do New York, California, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Missouri in that order. It would take two days to do each of these meaning we would have data on New York next Wednesday and five states done in 8-9 days.

Once these were completed we could then do panels from Wave III in any states which we saw significant movement, panel the ORC phone polls, repeat the same cycle of states using probability samples, or do additional state polls either in our priority states or where we are interested in local races.

2) We could delay the start of our daily phone interviewing one week and do panels in 4-5 states. If we decide on this design, I recommend we do the panels in New York, California, Michigan, and either Pennsylvania or Illinois. These panels would be done by the same companies who did the Wave III polling in these states.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By BC NARS, Date 4-28-82

In either case the basic questionnaire will be short and designed to identify any changes in current voting intent or in the issue structure. It will, of course, be possible to add or delete questions on specific issues or events at any time. We will also have the ability to do quick national polls over 1-2 days to check any specific issues or developments in the campaign.

RECOMMENDATION:

That we proceed with option one and have ORC begin a series of state-wide telephone polls in the states listed above on Monday.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ . Comment: _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

We have just received data from two statewide polls done for Senate candidates in Colorado and Rhode Island.

Colorado
1506 Personal Interviews
September 6-11, 1972
D.M.I.

Nixon	58%
McGovern	21
Undecided	21

While he did not want to give us the exact figures Senator Allott's people have concluded he is safe based on this poll.

Rhode Island
500 Telephone Interviews
September 15-17, 1972
Becker Research

Nixon	52%	Chafee	49%
McGovern	23	Pell	34
Other	1	Undecided	17
Undecided	24		

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Advertising and
Budget Decisions

At today's Budget Meeting, Clark MacGregor directed Peter Dailey to do everything possible to purchase three 5-minute spots to run the Russia spot during the week of September 25 in light of the Gromyko visit. MacGregor told the group this decision was reached at yesterday's meeting with the President.

Dailey believes he can re-purchase at least one 5-minute prime time slot after the CBS movie on Thursday evening, September 28. However, Dailey is still not sure what changes need to be made in the Russia spot. You indicated you would talk to Dailey directly on changes in the spot. This should be done soon if MacGregor's direction is to be implemented. You may want to discuss this at the Political Meeting in Ehrlichman's office tomorrow.

Peter Dailey had cancelled the positive advertising time for the week of September 25 in light of the decision to run only DFN attack materials. (Purchased times for these DFN spots are not yet confirmed.) Dailey was unable to cancel two 5-minute spots on September 26 and September 28 during mid-day spaps. He plans to run the Older Americans 5-minute in these slots. The regular positive ad program will begin October 2, with the documentary ("Change Without Chaos - The Record") to be run the week of October 8. The Mexican American ads in California and Texas will begin on September 25, because Dailey feels the educational rather than re-enforcement process takes longer.

Other budget matters covered include:

1) The September 26 Dinners are 2,000 short of the goal of 7-8,000. California and New York are in at 2,000 and 1,500 respectively but other states are way below quota;

2) MacGregor said the polling allotted for the last 6 weeks of the campaign would be cut back substantially. The 84 in daily telephone tracking would be done beginning September 25, but panelling, special state surveys, and any thought about Wave IV should be dropped for budgetary reasons;

3) The Night for Nixon project to raise 5,000 was the subject of a heated exchange between Malek, who does not want to have his field operation 25% less effective, and Tom Evans, who says this would be a great test as well as raise some money. A compromise was reached whereby only those states which want to do Nights for Nixon will;

4) Stans bemoaned the changed circumstances in the campaign making the 40,000 goal more difficult, but MacGregor responded with a team spirit appeal. Stans says he will really know whether personnel and advertising must be cut further on September 30.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Campaign Russia
5 Minute Spot

You reviewed the Russia 5 Minute Spot last Thursday, September 14, when you saw the Connally 5 Minute Spots. In Peter Dailey's meeting with the President and you on Friday, September 15, the subject of the Russia 5 and 1 minute spots was raised but Dailey does not know what decision was reached. Dailey decided on his own to drop the basketball sequence in light of the Olympics.

The attached September 14 Action Memorandum indicates some specific changes. Also, the Tanya reference has been dropped from the Drug Speech. *What?*

What specifically should Dailey do to the Russia 5 and 1 minute spots?

I'll talk to him

September 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: ORC Campaign
Survey #1

The question is whether it would be useful to have ORC conduct a survey this weekend to assess any changes in the trial heat results and campaign issues.

The Campaign Survey Wave III National Poll was conducted September 5 to September 16. The state surveys for Wave III were conducted between September 5th and 7th to the 14th. Harris is in the field September 19 - 21. Colson is not sure when the results will be available, but past experience indicates he would get them as early as September 24. Gallup will be in the field September 23 and 24. John Davies told me the results would be available on September 28.

Colson received Sindlinger's most recent survey on September 19, which covered September 15 - 18. and showed both the President and McGovern moving up slightly (2%) with little change in the 39% separating them.

An ORC survey could be conducted this weekend with results Monday, September 25. Subjects that could be tested include reaction to the Democrats for Nixon, the Watergate, various McGovern positions as well as Trial Heats. A suggested questionnaire is attached. Tom Benham, who is anxious to poll, doubts that it will be very helpful. Any movement since the Wave III data has not been detected by

Sindlinger. Colson should have Harris data sufficiently ahead of the release date to position the campaign correctly and hopefully, I will have the Gallup data prior to release.

The net result is that I recommend against conducting an ORC survey this weekend.

_____ AGREE

_____ DISAGREE

_____ COMMENT

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?
3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
4. If the 1972 Presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Richard Nixon and George McGovern, which one would you vote for -- Nixon or McGovern?
If neither, don't know or undecided, ask question 5.
5. Would you say that you lean more towards Richard Nixon or more towards George McGovern?
6. Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President or is there a possibility that you will change your mind during the campaign?
7. 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?
8. What is your reaction to Senator McGovern's Presidential campaign so far - very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable or very unfavorable?

9. What do you like most about his campaign?
10. What do you like least about his campaign?
11. Have you seen or heard any commercials on television on behalf of George McGovern?
If yes on question 11 -
12. Was your overall impression of these commercials very favorable, fairly favorable, fairly unfavorable or very unfavorable?
13. In reporting news about George McGovern, do you think the nation's press has been biased in his favor, biased against him, or neutral?
14. In reporting news about President Nixon, do you think the nation's press has been biased in his favor, biased against him, or neutral?
15. Senator McGovern has made a series of charges against President Nixon and his Administration. I would like to mention some of these and ask whether you agree with the charges, disagree with the charges or haven't you heard anything about them?
 - a) Senator McGovern has charged that under President Nixon Southeast Asia has become a major source of heroin supply because the Administration would not crack down on the drug traffic through Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam.

b) Senator McGovern has charged that inside information from the Nixon Administration has enabled large scale company grain traders to profit from the sale of wheat to Russia.

c) Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon order a whitewash in the investigation of the Watergate bugging case by the Department of Justice.

d) Senator McGovern has charged that President Nixon's wage/price controls have had the overall effect of hurting the average worker and benefitting the profits of Big Business.

16. How much have you heard or read about John Connally - a great deal, a fair amount, very little or nothing at all? If a great deal, a fair amount or very little, ask 16a.

a) Is your general impression of John Connally favorable or unfavorable?

17. John Connally is heading up a group called Democrats for Nixon. How successful do you think this group will be in getting Democrats to vote for President Nixon - very successful, fairly successful, or not successful at all?

(OR)

16. There is a group called Democrats for Nixon that is headed up by John Connally, former Governor of Texas and Secretary of the Treasury. Have you heard or read anything about this group?

17. Some say this group attracts only a small number of wealthy Democrats, while others say it attracts a broad cross-section of all kinds of Democrats who are unhappy with the Democratic Presidential candidate. Which do you think - a small number of wealthy Democrats or a broad cross-section?

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

H. Ross Perot

He called you today to ask for a brief meeting with you tomorrow morning. I told him I would check.

Perot has still not contributed to the 1972 campaign to re-elect President Nixon, according to Tom Evans. Perot has called Evans, indicated he wanted to see him about contributing, but reviewed his laments at length:

1) Perot is "less than enchanted by the treatment he receives from the White House Staff, but he likes the President".

2) Perot wants a "signal directly from Haldeman" as to whether the Administration wants Perot to contribute in light of charges of favoritism, etc. He suggested to Evans a post-election contribution.

As you may recall from the extensive study done on Perot in January 1972, he has contributed nothing and received a great deal. Instead of telling Perot to "put up or shut up" (a view which Butterfield, Cole, Higby and I periodically favor), I should advise Perot that you will not see him but encourage him to meet with Tom Evans.

GS/jb

September 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Russia
5 Minute Spot

You reviewed the Russia 5 Minute Spot last Thursday, September 14, when you saw the Connally 5 Minute Spots. In Peter Dailey's meeting with the President and you on Friday, September 15, the subject of the Russia 5 and 1 minute spots was raised but Dailey does not know what decision was reached. Dailey decided on his own to drop the basketball sequence in light of the Olympics.

The attached September 14 ~~Revision~~ Memorandum indicates some specific changes. Also, the Tanya reference has been dropped from the Drug Speech.

What specifically should Dailey do to the Russia 5 and 1 minute spots?

GS: ~~ENHAKK~~car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Surveys - Wave III

You asked why the voting intensity ballots did not total 100%. Bob Teeter reports that the people who refused to fill out the ballot comprise the balance up to 100%. This group was separated from the "completely undecided" because the latter group is expected to vote but just will not give a preference. Those who refused to fill out the ballot are not expected to vote at all.

Tom Benham this morning indicated the final national survey trial heat results will not be available until tomorrow September 19. This is one day behind schedule. Benham attributes the delay to discovery of a fraudulent interviewer which caused re-interview problems and postal delay problems. Unweighted totals should be available late tonight and would be within 2 points of the final result.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Kennedy Center

There have been four developments since the JFK Center Executive Board meeting on September 11.

First, you asked for the "exact status of Bill Blair re car, salary, etc.". I called Roger Stevens, checked with Aaron Spaulding, and obtained this information:

- 1) He does not have a Kennedy Center car;
- 2) His salary ended on June 30th;
- 3) He is no longer an officer of the Kennedy Center or of Kennedy Center Productions; and
- 4) He has an office and a secretary at the Center, which according to Stevens is used only for fundraising purposes.

Stevens confronted Blair with the problem of connection with the Kennedy Center and claims he had an "explosion" with Blair saying if Mrs. Marriott can work from the Center and be a Treasurer of the Republican Party, why can't he, Blair, keep his office. Stevens advocates a compromise course of locking Blair's office until after the election when Blair is expected to return to law practice in Chicago.

Recommendation

That I push Stevens to get Blair completely out now, finally terminating all connection with the Center.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments. _____

Second, Bill Gifford indicated that OMB has made the tentative decision to seek \$2.4 million in a budget request in the pending supplemental appropriation bill for the Kennedy Center for FY 1973. The request would go this week. The money is required for the Park Service to assume control of the non-performing functions of the Center. Senator Percy and Harry McPherson indicated at the Executive Board meeting that the Park Service agreement would have to be reached before the money would be approved by Congress. However, the request should be submitted now so that Congress has the option.

Recommendation

That OMB be authorized to implement its tentative decision to seek \$2.4 million in the supplemental appropriation bill.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Third, the primary contractor McShane has sued the Kennedy Center and Roger Stevens personally. Ralph Becker is reviewing the materials and is seeking a meeting with Cap Weinberger. Gifford will delay the meeting until after November 7. Roger Stevens has asked Len Garment to review the materials and discuss the matter with Becker. Garment hopes to do this soon.

Fourth, Stevens worked with Abe Fortas on September 17 on the letter to Senator Jennings Randolph responding to the GAO Report. Percy and McPherson cleared the text on Friday, September 15. Stevens would appreciate any comments you might have. Bill Timmons has a copy of the letter and will submit comments.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Bob Teeter Access to
ORC Polls

After your meeting with Bob Teeter following the Campaign Surveys - Wave I, Bob Teeter was granted access to the ORC surveys that had been conducted privately for you. As I mentioned in my September 12 memorandum (attached) he learned from his Field Interviewers and Supervisors that ORC had probably conducted a survey which asked Watergate Incident questions. Teeter now seeks approval to compare the last ORC survey with his Wave III data.

_____ Approve Teeter access.

_____ Strachan deny survey conducted.

_____ Other.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *S*
SUBJECT: Campaign Surveys - Wave III

Bob Teeter called with a status report on the Campaign Surveys - Wave III. All interviewing has been completed. Collection, coding, and reporting is being done this week. Results from all states should be available on Saturday, September 16 or Sunday, September 17, 1972. There have been problems with the national survey being done by ORC. These results will probably not be available until Monday, September 18 or Tuesday, September 19, 1972.

Teeter told me that he had just received the Wave III Ohio "preliminary" results:

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Nixon</u>		<u>McGovern</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
MOR-Sep 6-9	64	<i>32</i>	32	4
MOR-Jun 13-27	56	<i>18</i>	38	6

He also received the DMI Los Angeles and Orange County poll:

<u>Polling Date</u>	<u>Nixon</u>		<u>McGovern</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
DMI-Aug 15-31	59	<i>31</i>	28	13
DMI-Jul 15-31	56	<i>26</i>	30	13

He learned from some of his Field Interviewers and Supervisors that someone had been polling on the Watergate Incident in the last two weeks. Teeter believes we did the polling through ORC. He did not press for information but would like to compare his Wave III data with any ORC trial heats and Watergate questions. The Watergate questions and results from Wave III will be delivered only to me, not MacGregor, Magruder, and Malek.

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Congressional Campaigns

This memorandum outlines several problems that have arisen while compiling data on Congressional races. You would probably have to discuss personally with MacGregor the recommended solution.

1. In Congressional campaigns since 1966, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee has attempted to formulate a list of key races through a process of checking with Congressional leaders like Ford and Wilson, reviewing outside data such as AmPac and BiPac (Business and Industry Political Action Committee), and analyzing reports received from various field sources. Their current number of target districts is 115. The process in the past has been very complex and resistant to changes during the campaign. The process has not been effective according to Timmons and Anderson.
2. In the 1701 strategy meeting last week, Clark MacGregor indicated a strong desire to rely heavily on the opinions of Ford, Wilson and the Congressional Campaign Committee because they badly want a Republican House.

Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson, who are assigned the task at 1701 of pulling together data on the House and Senate races, argue strongly that it doesn't make sense to rely entirely on these Hill sources. They propose instead an internal committee which would analyze all available sources, but would be independent and flexible and be in a position to make judgements on various races on the basis of what is best for the President. Attached at Tab A are several examples of how the polling data and field reports compiled by Anderson differ widely from information available to the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Teeter and Anderson recommend forming a small working committee at the White House to undertake the basic analysis of House races. They recommend that Bill Timmons be the senior member of this committee; others included would be Ehrlichman, Dent and Dick Cook. Timmons role would not be a visible one. This group would rely heavily on available polling data and on detailed field reports from 1701, then analyze the individual races and make recommendations on each race as to Presidential, White House and campaign involvement.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

DISCUSS

Attached at Tab B is a list of Congressional seats which, if won by the GOP, would result in a net gain. Anderson and Timmons concur with Dent's list of 10 incumbents that need defensive help.

TALKING PAPER FOR POLITICAL MEETING

RE: State Advisers; VP Advertising; General Attack

- 1) Senior Advisers Have the Senior Advisers for the Key States prepared the necessary reports?

- 2) VP Advertising What type of advertising, if any, should be used for the Vice President?

- 3) General Attack For the next seven weeks, should there be just one major issue per week that all surrogates are using or should the Colson 9:15 meeting continue to program day-to-day responses to what McGovern is saying?

GS

9/18/72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Congressional Campaigns

This memorandum outlines several problems that have arisen while compiling data on Congressional races. You would probably have to discuss personally with MacGregor the recommended solution.

In Congressional campaigns since 1966, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee has attempted to formulate a list of key races through a process of checking with Congressional leaders like Ford and Wilson, reviewing outside data such as AmPac and BiPac (Business and Industry Political Action Committee), and analyzing reports received from various field sources. Their current list of target districts is 115. The process in the past has been very complex and resistant to changes during the campaign. The process has not been effective.

In the 1701 strategy meeting last week, Clark MacGregor indicated a strong desire to rely heavily on the opinions of Ford, Wilson and the Congressional Campaign Committee because they badly want a Republican House. Last night Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson, who is assigned the task at 1701 of pulling together data on the House and Senate races, argued strongly that it didn't make sense to rely entirely on these Hill sources. They proposed instead an internal committee which would analyze all available sources, but would be independent and flexible and be in a position to make judgements on various races on the basis of what is best for the President. Attached at Tab A are several examples of how the polling data and field reports compiled by Anderson differ widely from information available to the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Teeter and Anderson recommend forming a small working committee at 1701 to undertake the basic analysis of House races. They recommend that Bill Timmons be the senior member of this committee and be the liaison at the White House. His role would not be a visible one. This group would rely heavily on available polling data and on detailed field reports from 1701, then analyze the individual races and make recommendations on each race as to Presidential, White House and campaign involvement.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Discuss

Attached at Tab B is a listing of Congressional seats which, if won by the GOP, would result in a net gain.

GS/jb

T
A
B
A

Race	GOP Candidate	Democrat Candidate	Polling Results	Field Survey	Congressional Campaign Committee
Calif. 11th	Chase	Ryan	-25	1 in 20	target
Calif. 34th	Ratterree	Hanna	-25	no chance	target
Conn. 1st	Rittenband	Cotter	-	little chance	target
Ind. 4th	Bloom	Roush	-28	poor	target
Kans. 2nd	McAtee	Roy	-35	poor	target
Mich. 18th	Huber (Anti-Nixon Rep.)	Montgomery	-15	poor	target
Wyom. AL	Kidd	Roncalio	-13	-	target

T
A
B
B

GOP HOUSE GAINS

<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Arizona	4	Conlin	Grossman	even
California	36	Ketchum	Lemucchi	good
California	38	Snider	Brown	even
California	42	Burgener	Lowe	even
Colorado	4	Johnson	Menson	even
Colorado	5	Armstrong	Johnson	good
Connecticut	5	Sarasin	Monagan	good
Florida	5	Runoff	Gunter	good
Florida	10	Bafalis	Runoff	good
Illinois	3	Hanrahan	Coman	good
Illinois	10	Young	Mikva	even
Illinois	11	Hoellen	Annunzio	even
Illinois	17	O'Brien	Houlihan	good
Indiana	11	Hudnutt	Jacobs	good
Kentucky	3	Kaelin	Mazzoli	even
Kentucky	6	Jackson	Breckinridge	good
Lousiana	3	Treen	Runoff	good
Maine	2	Cohen	Violette	even
Maryland	4	Holt	Fornos	even
Mississippi	2	Butler	Bowen	even
Mississippi	5	Lott	Stone	even
Missouri	6	Sloan	Litton	good
New Jersey	13	Maraziti	Meyner	even
New York	3	Roncallo	Bales	good
New York	26	Gilman	Dow	even
N. Carolina	4	Hawke	Andrews	even
Oklahoma	1	Runoff	Jones	good
S. Carolina	1	Limehouse	Davis	even
S. Dakota	2	Adnot	McKeever	good
Tennessee	6	Beard	Anderson	even
Texas	5	Steelman	Cabel	even

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Wave III Campaign Surveys -
Teeter Briefings for White
House Staff

The trial heat results from Wave III surveys of key states are expected from Bob Teeter on Saturday, September 16, late in the afternoon. The full tables with all issue information are also on schedule for Wednesday, September 20. Only the National Survey, done by ORC, has been delayed. The results should be available Monday, September 18, 1972.

After the Wave II data arrived you approved briefings for certain White House Staff members pursuant to the attached memorandum. Members of the Staff again are very anxious to receive some of the Wave III Campaign Survey results. Teeter could brief Buchanan, Dent, Ziegler, Colson, Moore, Ehrlichman, Cole, Harper, and Morey next week subject to the same conditions imposed on Waves I and II data -- i.e. general political and issue information but no specific trial heat data to any of the White House Staff.

Recommendation:

That Bob Teeter brief the same list of White House Staff on the Wave III Campaign Survey results, subject to the same conditions.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments _____

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Wave II Campaign Surveys -
Teeter Briefings for
White House Staff

As mentioned in my July 17 memorandum, members of the White House Staff are very anxious to receive some of the Wave II Campaign Survey results. The current situation is that MacGregor clears requests for access to polling information at 1701 and you must clear access for the White House Staff.

The same procedure used after Wave I could be used for White House Staff members now. That system is personal briefings by Bob Teeter emphasizing the areas the individual is interested in with no written material or specific figures released.

The following staff members could be briefed by Teeter this week:

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>
<i>G → PJA 7/25 7/26 9:30</i> Buchanan (McGovern image and issue position)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dent (Situation in South and individual candidates; i.e. Red Blount, position)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>G → Z 7/25 SP.</i> Ziegler (General issue information)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>G → Howard 7/24</i> Colson (General political and issue information)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>G → Moore 7/25 4:30</i> Moore (McGovern image)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>G → Cole 7/24</i> Ehrlichman/Cole/Harper (All issue information)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*But no specific data to
trial heat data to
run of these*

You have already approved a Chapin/Parker briefing on Key State/Issue information.

In addition, Malek called and asked me to check with you on having Teeter brief his Ten Political Coordinators. Although Malek only needs MacGregor's authority, he wanted to check with you.

Yes, Teeter should brief Malek's Group.

No, Teeter should not brief Malek's Group.

Other.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: John Andrews - Ohio
Campaign Train

You asked John Andrews for the reaction to a campaign train in Ohio. He said it would be "good, would attract a hell of a lot of attention, and would be old fashioned and nostalgic" in a positive way.

He suggested the same route and schedule used in 1968: arrive Cincinnati the night before (RON); depart Cincinnati 8 a.m.; stop Springfield; stop Columbus at 12 noon for State House Square 50-100,000 rally; stop in Marion; stop Lima; stop Desher ("Bring Us Together"); stop Toledo at 6:07 p.m.

The only question is whether AMTRAK can be persuaded to clear tracks for the train and arrange for the appropriate cars on such short notice. In 1952-68 the "B&O" Railroad was contacted in July. Peter Flanigan and Bud Krogh have not been contacted about AMTRAK.

Concerning your questions of Andrews about priority Presidential visits in Ohio, he says:

- 1) Cleveland - the most media and biggest population;
- 2) Cincinnati or Columbus - largest, friendliest crowd;
- 3) Youngstown or Akron/Canton - the polls show the President in an amazing situation among the blue collar workers in this area;
- 4) Toledo.

GS/jb

Andrews -

What our real in Ohio
might be to a train
camp

- like '68

"good" along several
lines. recognize
mobility of jets

- spend whole day in
Ohio - not too much

an in night before
in arena - 15-20,000

still pol rally
on City Hall of center

8 a train - use
rally date stop

Dayton - 10

~~to~~ Springfield

Columbus - 12

St Use Sq - 50-100,000

Marion

hima

Deshler - BUUS

Toledo

fly out 9-10

Treat
separately
use train or not

Cleveland
a separate
thing see
1 day away

8 a til
6-7 p m

To check:

① Amtrak has East-West
line
but no No/Su

↳ We authority to use passenger
lines / maybe speed restric

- "full of a lot of atten"
- "old fashioned;" nostalgic aura
- hard to get good cars in '68
now AMTRAK should
be able to make it look
good.
- nat'l rpt's will seem to
get on the train
white '68 - Chapter on
Train in cover story

Priority - where P should go.

① Cleveland - most
media + biggest pop.

avoid
Night Appan
& p in Cab only
1/2 bull.

- if 12n or 5p.
↑ favor

↑ Munten public
sq - Cleveland / Sheraton

② Cin or Columbus - largest +
most friendly crowd

③ Youngstown or Akron/Canton
UStands
Auptour
Rally
air and
rally
RN amazing sit in polls.
position among these blue collars

④ Toledo. UAW

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Peter Dailey's Positive Advertising

Although the Nixon State Chairmen and Republican State Chairmen saw the DFN ads this week, it has been suggested that they be shown the positive Nixon 5 minute and 60 second spots. Magruder has approved and MacGregor is expected to approve the request. Dailey feels he can easily turn-off the project with MacGregor, but seeks your comments.

_____ Yes, show Nixon spots.

_____ No, do not show spots.

_____ Other

GS:car

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Connally 5 Minute Spot

Peter Dailey called to confirm that the Connally 5 minute "set" spot, as you saw it last night, will be run next week, September 19 and 21. The changes you suggested could not be made.

Dailey talked with George Christian who said he was not particularly pleased with the spot but that it was what Connally wanted.

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Benham's Electoral
Vote Projections

Tom Benham sent the first of ORC's 1972 Electoral Vote Forecasts. This projection is based on the system described in Benham's August 10 memorandum. Basically, Benham relies on all available state, regional, and national polling data. Then, past voting behavior back to 1948 but excluding 1964 is considered. Certain states with historically similar backgrounds are compared. Indiana, Oregon, Colorado and Ohio are frequently paired by Benham.

The forecast will be very reliably redone when the Wave III data arrives.

Benham plans on doing this Electoral Vote Forecast weekly. It costs us nothing.

GS/jb

1972 ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST

MS
See on chart
 Sept. 12, 1972

ESTIMATED NIXON PERCENTAGE	ELECTORAL VOTE TOTALS	STATES	
66.1% and over	103	(9) Alabama (6) Arizona (17) Florida (12) Georgia (4) Idaho (10) Louisiana	(7) Mississippi (5) Nebraska (13) North Carolina (8) South Carolina (12) Virginia
61.1% to 66.0%	112	(6) Arkansas (7) Colorado (13) Indiana (8) Iowa (7) Kansas (4) Montana (4) New Hampshire (3) North Dakota	(8) Oklahoma (6) Oregon (10) Tennessee (26) Texas (4) Utah (3) Vermont (3) Wyoming
56.1% to 61.0%	220	(3) Alaska (45) California (8) Connecticut (3) Delaware (26) Illinois (9) Kentucky (4) Maine (10) Maryland (21) Michigan	(10) Minnesota (12) Missouri (3) Nevada (17) New Jersey (4) New Mexico (25) Ohio (9) Washington (11) Wisconsin
51.1% to 56.0%	74	(41) New York (27) Pennsylvania (6) West Virginia	
51% or less	29	(3) District of Columbia (4) Hawaii (14) Massachusetts	(4) Rhode Island (4) South Dakota
	538		

Opinion Research Corporation
 Princeton, New Jersey

Opinion Research Corporation

NORTH HARRISON STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540 telephone: 609/924-5900

CHICAGO • LONDON • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • WASHINGTON, D.C.

THOMAS W. BENHAM
President

August 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FROM: TOM BENHAM
SUBJECT: ELECTORAL VOTE PROJECTIONS
DURING THE 1972 CAMPAIGN

It is our plan, starting immediately after the Republican Convention, to put together a projection of the electoral vote count for the fifty states on about a weekly schedule, available data permitting.

There will be several main sources of inputs to help build the projection for each of the various states.

1. Various trial heat state polls as available to us from published and unpublished sources
2. Projections of the standing of individual states in instances where up-to-date trial heat data are not available

A judgment as to the degree of reliability of the projection for each state -- i.e., a "fairly safe" state versus a "close" state -- will be made on the basis of how close the race is and how stable relationships are.

The methodology for these projections fundamentally comes down to analysis of the historical statistical interrelationships of one state to another, of one state to a group of states, and of one state to a region of the country. In many instances these relationships are extremely stable. Thus, for example, if data are available on New York State, a prediction with a high degree of reliability can be made about the State of Connecticut.

THOMAS W. BENHAM
President

It is also our plan to cross check the data in a variety of ways. We will rely not only on various state trial heats but make predictions about states where no up-to-date material may be available on the basis of other statistical relationships.

We can make region-to-state evaluations based on regional data obtained from the Gallup Organization, as well as from ORC national studies that are presently planned. Possibly other organizations may have published regional data also. In addition to the region-to-state analysis, there are groups of states that historically have been extremely closely linked in their patterns. These latter groupings of states will be examined both within regions and, where statistically supported, across regions. These region-to-state and state-to-group projections will be given substantial weight when the state versus regional or state versus group results have maintained a consistent pattern in election after election. Where the relationships have been mixed or erratic, less weight will be given to such relationships.

This electoral vote projection system, while relying on individual state trial heats, will also provide a consistency check when the results from an individual state poll may seem out of pattern or questionable.

Obviously, it is imperative for the success of this system to have a steady flow of all state trial heat data that can be obtained from whatever source. However, to properly evaluate such trial heats we need to know the source, interviewing dates, how the poll was conducted (i.e., telephone or personal interviews), and the number of interviews.

In both 1960 and 1968 our estimates proved to be quite accurate. We have made refinements that should enable us to do even better this time.

TWB/jf

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys - Telephone
Conversation with John Davies
September 14

John Davies of the Gallup Organization returned my telephone calls pending since August 22, late last night. Since it may be our last contact with Gallup, I covered every subject I could think of. The entire transcript is attached. To summarize:

- 1) Davies claims no Gallup Survey has been conducted since August 24-27. He expressly squelched the rumor from the Leadership Meeting that the President has a 40 point lead which Gallup is checking;
- 2) The next Gallup survey will be conducted in the field September 23-24. Data should be available on September 28;
- 3) John Davies and George Gallup, Jr. have "been under the gun from people like Jack Anderson and a lot of others about pre-releasing data and the fact that the White House has a telephone line into the polls". The result is that the Gallup Organization will be very "gunshy" about releasing data at least until the election;
- 4) Davies claims Gallup has conducted no Presidential popularity questions since June 23-26;
- 5) Gallup will conduct trial heat polls "probably every week". Most of the releases will be "mainly ... scorekeeping from now on";

6) The releases for the next 2-3 weeks will be on various issues. Busing, defense, amnesty, abortion, Vietnam, tax reform, crime, women's liberation, etc., have all been asked in the context of "would this particular position make you more or less likely to vote for that candidate?" Davies says the first of these issue releases will be out Sunday, September 24, 1972. All the questions were done during the August 24-27 poll;

7) Davies was not apologetic about the 5 million McGovern workers release;

8) Concerning the Gallup release which showed 30% of the President's and McGovern's supporters "soft", Gallup asked, "Are you pretty certain now how you will vote or do you think you may change your mind between now and Election Day?" This corresponds with the ORC August 29-31 data (63-31-6). Davies claims Gallup no longer has the LBJ-Goldwater data. He will check Gallup's '60 and '68 data;

9) Davies would not give me the detailed demographics from the recent trial heats. Gallup will do separate releases of the demographic shifts similar to the youth release recently. He mentioned political affiliation and union as two that should be done. Davies claims the Catholic demographic data has been too volatile. Gallup had planned a story but scrapped it.

10) John Davies has moved into the government polling area of the Gallup Organization. I indicated my personal interest in government surveys and told him we should discuss his new pursuit of government business.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Connally 5-Minute Spot

Moore, Carruthers, Goode, Scali, and Chapin reviewed the two 5-minute Connally spots. Their comments on the first, 5-minute address from a set, are:

Chapin - excellent; a plus; the 5 President's theme is very powerful; it does what it was designed for - to hold the Democrats currently supporting us; it is "Connally", though not the usual press conference Connally; the setting is terrible; Connally should be standing in an office not sitting in "feminine", women's bedroom set.

Moore - don't like it at all; ad agency words; there is nothing personal and earthy; should be extemporaneous not reading.

Carruthers - too studied; he's squinting; looking above the lens; text is good but Connally is better in off-the-cuff, more spontaneous posture; use a press conference; he should be introduced.

Goode - not "John Connally"; a waste of time; forced inflection; terrible "feminine" set.

Scali - it is a powerful, persuasive statement; should be done in another setting; the formal address mode adds impact; he is presenting formally the case for Democrats to support the President; the sober, formal, serious sum-up speech is good; it should begin with the "I am a Democrat".

All thought the press conference 5-minute spot was out of date and so poorly cut as to be unusable.

Buchanan will review the spot in the next 1/2 hour.

Recommendation:

That you call Connally and suggest that the spot be edited to begin with "I am a Democrat" which would follow an announcer's introduction and eliminate much of the feminine set.

GS/jb