

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>
43	3	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	From Strachan to Higby RE: Gallup presidential trial heat figures. 13 pgs.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Gallup poll presidential trial heats from 1948 to 1972. 1 pg.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	In-depth trial heats from years of presidential races between Truman's 1948 election and pre-election polling in 1969. 12 pgs.
43	3	8/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A Gallup Poll release titled "McGovern Viewed as 'Left of Center' by Increasing Number of Voters." Duplicate not scanned. 2 pgs.
43	3	8/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting polling figures on key election issues. 1 pg.
43	3	8/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing support for RN and McGovern. 2 pgs.
43	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key points from a discussion with John Davies. Handwritten note added by unknown. 2 pgs.
43	3	8/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting McGovern's relations with the Democratic Party on election issues. 1 pg.
43	3	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 4 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>
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Gallup polling results from the 1952 presidential election. 1 pg.
43	3	8/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "Democrats Have Succeeded in Closing Registration Gap on Republicans." 2 pgs.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes related to polling figures and release dates for the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections. 1 pg.
43	3	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Note from the Gallup organization RE: releases of new polling data. 1 pg.
43	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key points from a discussion with John Davies. Handwritten note added by unknown. 2 pgs.
43	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 7 pgs.
43	3	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A Gallup Poll release analyzing public opinion on the Vietnam War, the economy, and other campaign issues. 1 pg.
43	3	8/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting McGovern's polling numbers with relation to those of the Democratic Party. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release displaying poll results on unconditional amnesty for those who avoided the draft by leaving the country. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release presenting data on key voter groups supporting RN and McGovern. Duplicate not scanned. 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>
43	3	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information from a conversation with George Gallup, Jr. Handwritten note added by Haldeman. Duplicate attached. 2 pgs.
43	3	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release presenting statistics on voters' choice for RN's running mate. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and George Gallup, Jr. 4 pgs.
43	3	7/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting the possible negative impacts of a Democratic voter registration drive. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release comparing RN's lead over McGovern his lead over Humphrey in 1968. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	8/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the latest Gallup polling figures, particularly those which relate to inflation. 1 pg.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Gallup Poll Report No. 84 presenting comprehensive polling results before the Democratic National Convention. 36 pgs.
43	3	7/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting RN's popularity through polling. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and George Gallup, Jr. 4 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>
43	3	7/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A Gallup Poll release analyzing public perceptions of causes behind inflation. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and George Gallup, Jr. 4 pgs.
43	3	7/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting Democratic division over key election issues before that party's national convention. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing polling numbers of Democratic candidates. 1 pg.
43	3	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: in-depth results of recent Gallup polling. 3 pgs.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on trial heat numbers obtained from Davies. 1 pg.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Form letter from George Gallup, Jr. to periodical editors RE: the unveiling of the National Public Opinion Referendum and campaign polling. 2 pgs.
43	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	"The Public Opinion Referendum," an article run in "The Public Opinion Quarterly," volume 35, in the summer of 1971. Written by George Gallup, Jr. Only cover scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 6 pgs.
43	3	7/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "Nixon Maintains Wide Leads Over McGovern and Humphrey." Duplicate not scanned. 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>
43	3	7/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting voter opinions on gun laws. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	7/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information obtained during a conversation with Davies. 2 pgs.
43	3	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the results of a recent Gallup survey. 1 pg.
43	3	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 2 pgs.
43	3	6/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing RN's popularity among voters. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A Gallup Poll release comparing polling figures for McGovern and Humphrey. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	6/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 3 pgs.
43	3	6/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing Catholic voter trends in 1972. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	3	6/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 6 pgs.
43	3	6/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the Gallup survey to be released on June 11. Detailed trial heat figures attached. 3 pgs.
43	3	6/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release discussing the Republican attempt to label McGovern a radical. Duplicates not scanned. 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>
43	3	6/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release discussing McGovern's support among Independents, as well as Wallace's campaign position. 2 pgs.

IMM
PRECEDENCE

UNCLAS
CLASSIFICATION

FOR COMMCENTER USE ONLY

DAC _____

GPS _____

LDX 574

PAGES 12

TTY _____

CITE _____

DTG 292125Z

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

TO: LARRY HIGBY

INFO:

RELEASED BY: GA

TOR: 292151Z/15

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

72
29
11
0
01

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1948

DATE	Dewey	Truman	Wallace	Thurmond	Undecided
July 31	48	36	5		10
August 21	48	37	4	2	9
September 26	46	39	4	2	9
October 16	46	40	4	2	8
October 26	50	44	4	2	0
November 1	55.5	44.5		2	0
Oct. 31	49.5	44.5	4		

Actual Vote:

Republican	21,991,291	45.1%
Democrat	24,179,345	49.6%
Other	2,623,190	5.3%

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GALLUP TRIAL HEATS

May 30-June 4	<u>Eisenhower</u> 55	<u>Kefauver</u> 35	<u>Undecided</u> 10. (no % available on Stevenson in this one)
July 25-30	<u>Eisenhower</u> 45	<u>Stevenson</u> 43	<u>Undecided</u> 12
August 23-28	51	43	6
September 6-11	51	42	7
September 28- October 3	45	38	17

Actual Votes and Percentage:

Republican:	33,936,234	55.1%
Democrat:	27,314,992	44.4%
Other:	299,692	.5%

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1956

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Eisenhower</u>	<u>Stevenson</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July (pre convention) 27	61	37	2
September 8	52	41	7
October 9	52	40	8
October 26	55	45	
November 1	59.5	40.5	

•
Actual Vote:

Republican	21,991,291	35,590,472	57.4%
Democrat	24,179,345	26,022,752	43.0%
Other	2,623,190	413,684	.6%

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

	<u>1964</u>		
<u>DATE</u>	<u>LBJ</u>	<u>Goldwater</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July 10	76	20	4
August 23	65	29	6
September 16	65	29	6
September 27	68	32	
October 18	64	29	7
November 2	61	32	7

Actual Vote:

Republican	27,178,188	38.5%
Democrat	43,129,566	61.1%
Other	336,838	.4%

DATE	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	No Opinion
June 29-July 3	35	40	16	9
July 19-21	40	38	16	6
August (pre Convention)	45	29	18	8
September 3-7	43	31	19	7
September 20-22	43	28	21	8
September 27-30	44	29	20	7
October 3-12	43	31	20	6
October 17	44	36	15	5
October 31	42	40	14	4

Actual Vote:

Republican	31,785,480	43.97%
Democrat	31,274,166	42.77%
Amer. Ind.	9,906,473	13.59%
Other	244,756	.47%

SEPTEMBER 3-7	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	No Opinion
NATIONAL	43	31	19	7
SEX				
Male	43	27	24	6
Female	44	34	14	8
RACE				
White	46	27	20	7
Non-white				
EDUCATION				
College	56	26	10	8
High School	41	29	22	8
Grade School	36	39	18	7
OCCUPATION				
Professional & Bus.	53	24	16	7
White Collar	51	29	13	7
Farmers	45	15	29	11
Manual Worker	35	35	22	8
AGE				
21-29	43	33	18	6
30-49	42	31	19	8
50-	45	30	19	6
RELIGION				
Protestant	47	25	22	6
Catholic	37	41	12	10
POLITICS				
Republican	89	3	7	1
Democrats	10	63	17	10
Independents	39	20	33	8
REGION				
East	45	35	8	12
Midwest	50	29	16	5
South	29	26	39	6
West	51	33	10	6

INCOME

\$10,000 +	55	25	14	6
\$7,000+	47	29	18	6
\$5,000-6,999	45	29	18	8
\$3-4,999	34	33	21	12
Under \$3,000	36	39	20	5

COMMUNITY SIZE

1 million	46	35	9	10
500,000 +	44	36	11	9
50,000 - 499,999	43	37	13	7
2,500-49,999	44	27	24	5
Under 2,500	42	22	29	7

	Nixon	McGovern	No Opinion
July 30	56	37	7
July 14-17	56	37	7
June 16-19	53	37	10
May 26-29	53	34	11

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GALLUP TRIAL HEATS

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	NotSure
April 28-May 5 (last one) 1972	46	30	16	8
March 24-7 , 1972	46	36	14	4
February, 1972	43	42	10	5
January 7-10, 1972	43	42	12	3
November 19-22, 1971	44	41	10	5
October 8-11	43	35	13	9
August 20-23, 1971	42	36	11	11
May 7 -10	39	41	12	8
March 12-14	43	39	12	6
January, 9-10, 1971	44	44	9	3
December 5-6, 1970	44	43	9	4
June 19-22	43	36	13	8
January 30-Feb 2, 1970	47	35	13	5
September 12-15, 1969	49	34	11	6

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1972

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
July 14 - 17	46	33	18	4
June 16 - 19	45	32	18	5
May 26 - 29	43	30	19	8
April 28 - May 1	43	35	15	7
February	49	34	11	6
November 1971	49	33	12	6

Gallup Trial Heats

	Nixon	HHH	Wallace	Not Sure
June 16-19 (last one)	47	28	18	7
May 26-29	43	26	22	9
April 28-May 1	45	34	15	6
March 24-7	46	35	15	4
February	46	39	10	5
November 1971	47	37	12	4

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TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
April 15-16 (most recent)	46	36	12	6
February 1972	47	39	9	5
November 1971	44	41	10	5
August 1971	43	38	10	9
May 1971	42	41	10	7
March 1971	46	38	11	5
January 1971	47	38	9	6
December 1970	47	37	11	5
January 1970	49	35	11	5
September 1969	53	31	10	6
July 1969	52	36	9	3
April 1969	52	33	10	7

GALLUP POLL TRIAL HEATS

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
	Dewey Truman Wallace Thurmond	Eisenhower Stevenson	Eisenhower Stevenson	Nixon Kennedy	Goldwater Johnson	Nixon Humphrey Wallace	Nixon McGovern
JAN				53-47			
FEB							49-34-11-6
MAR				50-50			
APR				47-53			46-31-15-8 45-32-16-7
MAY				46-54 49-51			49-39-12 53-34-13
JUN		55-35-10 (Kefauver)		51-49		35-40-16-9	53-37-10
JUL	48-36-5- -10	45-43-12	61-37-2	48-52	20-76-4	40-38-16-6	56-37- 7
AUG	48-37-4-2- 9	51-43- 6		53-47 50-50	29-65-6	45-29-18-8	57-31-12 64-30- 6
SEP	46-39-4-2- 9	51-42- 7	52-41-7	49-51 51-49	29-65-6 32-68-0	43-31-19-7 43-28-21-8 44-29-20-7	
OCT	46-40-4-2- 8 50-44-4-2- 0 49-44-4-2- 0	45-38-17	52-40-8 55-45-0	48-52 50-50 47-53	29-64-7	43-31-20-6 44-36-15-5 42-40-14-4	
NOV			59.5-40.5	49-51	32-61-7		
DEC							
Actual	(Rep) 45.1%	55.1%	57.4%	49.9%	38.5%	43.4%	
Vote	(Dem) 49.6	44.4	42.0	50.1	61.1	42.7	
	(Other) 5.3	.5	.6		.4	.4	
						(AIP) 13.5	

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1948

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Dewey</u>	<u>Truman</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Thurmond</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July 31	48	36	5		10
August 21	48	37	4	2	9
September 26	46	39	4	2	9
October 16	46	40	4	2	8
October 26	50	44	4	2	0
November 1	55.5	44.5		2	0
Oct. 31	49.5	44.5	4		

Actual Vote:

Republican	21,991,291	45.1%
Democrat	24,179,345	49.6%
Other	2,623,190	5.3%

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GALLUP TRIAL HEATS

May 30-June 4	<u>Eisenhower</u> 55	<u>Kefauver</u> 35	<u>Undecided</u> 10. (no % available on Stevenson in this one)
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September 6-11	51	42	7
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Actual Votes and Percentage:

Republican:	33, 936, 234	55.1%
Democrat:	27, 314, 992	44.4%
Other:	299, 692	.5%

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1956

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Eisenhower</u>	<u>Stevenson</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July (pre convention)	61	37	2
September 8	52	41	7
October 9	52	40	8
October 26	55	45	
November 1	59.5	40.5	

Actual Vote:

Republican	21,991,291	35,590,472	57.4%
Democrat	24,179,345	26,022,752	43.0%
Other	2,623,190	413,684	.6%

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1964

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July 10	76	20	4
August 23	65	29	6
September 16	65	29	6
September 27	68	32	
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November 2	61	32	7

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September 27-30	44	29	20	7
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Manual Worker	35	35	22	8
AGE				
21-29	43	33	18	6
30-49	42	31	19	8
50-	45	30	19	6
RELIGION				
Protestant	47	25	22	6
Catholic	37	41	12	10
POLITICS				
Republican	89	3	7	1
Democrats	10	63	17	10
Independents	39	20	33	8
REGION				
East	45	35	8	12
Midwest	50	29	16	5
South	29	26	39	6
West	51	33	10	6

INCOME

\$10,000 +	55	25	14	6
\$7,000+	47	29	18	6
\$5,000-6,999	45	29	18	8
\$3-4,999	34	33	21	12
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	Nixon	McGovern	No Opinion
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July 14-17	56	37	7
June 16-19	53	37	10
May 26-29	53	34	11

GALLUP TRIAL HEATS

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	NotSure
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February, 1972	43	42	10	5
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August 20-23, 1971	42	36	11	11
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March 12-14	43	39	12	6
January, 9-10, 1971	44	44	9	3
December 5-6, 1970	44	43	9	4
June 19-22	43	36	13	8
January 30-Feb 2, 1970	47	35	13	5
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TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1972

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
July 14 - 17	46	33	18	4
June 16 - 19	45	32	18	5
May 26 - 29	43	30	19	8
April 28 - May 1	43	35	15	7
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Gallup Trial Heats

	Nixon	HHH	Wallace	Not Sure
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May 26-29	43	26	22	9
April 28-May 1	45	34	15	6
March 24-7	46	35	15	4
February	46	39	10	5
November 1971	47	37	12	4

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TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
April 15-16 (most recent)	46	36	12	6
February 1972	47	39	9	5
November 1971	44	41	10	5
August 1971	43	38	10	9
May 1971	42	41	10	7
March 1971	46	38	11	5
January 1971	47	38	9	6
December 1970	47	37	11	5
January 1970	49	35	11	5
September 1969	53	31	10	6
July 1969	52	36	9	3
April 1969	52	33	10	7

44% See Him as 'Very' or 'Fairly' Liberal

MCGOVERN VIEWED AS 'LEFT OF CENTER'

BY INCREASING NUMBER OF VOTERS

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N.J., Aug. 26 -- Sen. George McGovern is viewed as "left of center" in his political philosophy by an increasing number of voters, a factor which helps explain why McGovern thus far has been unable to close the gap on President Nixon in the presidential race. Nixon currently holds a commanding 57-31 per cent lead over McGovern.

In the latest nationwide survey, nearly half of all voters interviewed, 44 per cent, view McGovern as "very liberal" or "fairly liberal" in his political philosophy. The comparable figure for the April survey is 33 per cent.

The proportion who describe the Democratic nominee as "very liberal" has nearly doubled since April -- from 12 per cent to 22 per cent.

McGovern has thus moved still farther to the left of where the typical voter places himself. In the latest survey, 24 per cent of voters describe themselves as "very liberal" or "fairly liberal." Many more, 41 per cent, classify themselves as "very conservative" or "fairly conservative," while another 30 per cent select the term "middle of the road."

In contrast, Nixon is viewed as much closer in political philosophy to where the typical voter places himself. In addition, Nixon's image in this respect has changed very little since the April survey.

The detailed tables follow:

How Voters View

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Them- selves</u> %	<u>McGovern</u> %
As Conservative	52	41	11
Middle of Road	25	30	22
Liberal	11	24	44
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%

How Voters View Nixon-The Trend

	<u>April, '72</u> %	<u>Latest</u> %
As Conservative	51	52
Middle of Road	24	25
Liberal	15	11
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%

How Voters View McGovern-The Trend

	<u>April, '72</u> %	<u>Latest</u> %
As Conservative	18	11
Middle of Road	15	22
Liberal	33	44
No opinion	<u>34</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%

How Voters View Themselves-The Trend

	<u>April, '72</u> %	<u>Latest</u> %
As Conservative	37	41
Middle of Road	33	30
Liberal	26	24
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

Details
of Survey

A total of 1465 adults were interviewed in person in the survey, which was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period August 5-12. Survey respondents were asked the following question about the presidential candidates and about themselves:

How would you describe (yourself/name of candidate)--as very conservative, fairly conservative, middle-of-the-road, fairly liberal, or very liberal?

'72 Campaign Theme of Republicans

GOP Registers Major Gains Since '71 On Issues of 'Peace' and 'Prosperity'

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 17 — On the key issues of "peace" and "prosperity" — the Republican party's central campaign theme this year — the GOP has registered major gains with the nation's voters compared to one year ago.

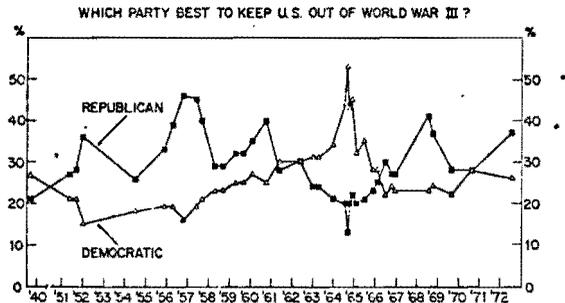
In the latest survey, voters by the ratio of 37 to 26 per cent say the Republican party is more likely than the Democratic party to keep the United States out of another world war. One fourth of those interviewed (25 per cent) see no difference between the two parties in this respect, while 12 per cent do not express an opinion.

One year ago — in August, 1971 — the two parties scored equally on the issue of peace, with 28 per cent naming each party. Another 32 per cent saw no difference in the ability of the two parties to maintain peace, while 12 per cent did not express an opinion.

GOP Closing Gap on 'Prosperity' Issue
The Republican party has made equally dramatic gains over last year in terms of the party perceived as better able to keep the country prosperous.

While the Democratic party currently holds a marginal 38 to 35 per cent lead over the GOP in this respect, one year ago the Democratic party led by the ratio of 2-to-1, 40 to 20 per cent.

The GOP's relatively weaker showing at that time on both the peace and



The Republican party has registered major gains as the party voters think is more likely to keep the U.S. out of a third world war. One year ago the two parties ran even on this issue. The Republicans had led in all previous measurements since 1966. The issue was dominated by the Democratic party between 1962 and 1966, but prior to that it was a Republican issue.



The Democratic party holds a marginal lead over the GOP as better able to keep the country prosperous. One year ago, the Democratic party held a 2-to-1 lead, the widest margin enjoyed by the Democrats in five and one-half years. The Democratic party has held the advantage on this question with few exceptions during the two decades that measurements have been taken.

prosperity issues was reflected in trial heats taken during the late spring and early summer. These test elections showed leading Democratic contenders doing as well or better than the President.

Good Political Barometer
"Peace" and "prosperity" have been "bread and butter" issues in most election campaigns. This is demonstrated by the fact that the party with the lead on both these issues at election time has seen its candidate elected.

Young Favor Democrats On Issue of 'Peace'
On the peace issue, the current weight of opinion in most groups is that the GOP would be more likely to keep the U.S. out of a third world war. With young persons under 30 years of age, however, opinion is 4-to-3 that the Democratic party could do a better job in this respect.

Fewer men than women think that the Republican party is better in terms of keeping peace. Opinion is about evenly divided among women, whereas it is 2-to-1 on the GOP side among men.

Businessmen Credit GOP On 'Prosperity' Issue
On the issue of prosperity, the sharp shift since 1971 is evidenced by the fact that, in last year's survey, the weight of opinion in all occupation groups was that the Democratic party was better able to keep the nation prosperous.

Now, however, the GOP has a lead among business and professional people. Opinion is about evenly split among persons in clerical work and sales, while the Democratic party wins handily on the prosperity issue among manual workers.

Similar Picture Found in Aug., '68
Today's findings compare closely with those recorded in August of the last presidential election year of 1968.

The GOP at that time had a 41 to 23 per cent lead on the "peace" issue and was tied with the Democratic party, 36 to 36 per cent, on the issue of prosperity.

An October measurement showed the Democrats had made gains on both issues. In regard to the issue of peace, the Republicans led 37 to 24 per cent, while the Democrats had gained a marginal 37 to 34 per cent lead over the GOP on prosperity.

The latest survey results are based on in-person interviews with persons 18 and older in more than 300 scientifically selected communities across the nation during the period August 4-7. This question was asked, as it has been periodically over the last two decades:

Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III — the Republican party or the Democratic party?

Here are the latest results, those recorded one year ago, and the findings in August, 1968:

Party More Likely to Keep Country Out of WW III?

	Rep. %	Dem. %	Diff. %	No Opin. %
LATEST ..	37	26	25	12
Aug., 1971 ..	28	28	32	12
Aug., 1968 ..	41	23	19	17

This question asked since 1952 was next put to respondents:
Looking ahead for the next few years, which political party — the Republican or the Democratic — do you think will do the better job of keeping the country prosperous?

Here are the latest results, those recorded a year ago, and the findings in August, 1968:

Party Best to Keep Country Prosperous?

	Rep. %	Dem. %	Diff. %	No Opin. %
LATEST ..	35	38	16	11
Aug., 1971 ..	23	46	21	10
Aug., 1968 ..	36	36	15	13

Coming Sunday!

Latest Trial Heat Results

- What has been the net effect of the Eagleton affair on the relative standings of Nixon and McGovern?
- What are the early effects of including Sargent Shriver on the ticket?

The Gallup Poll

Nixon, 57% - McGovern, 31%

McGovern Loses

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 19 — Richard Nixon holds a commanding 57 to 31 per cent lead over George McGovern in the latest Gallup survey, conducted beginning the weekend that Sargent Shriver was named by McGovern as his choice to replace Thomas Eagleton as the Democrats' vice presidential candidate.

A special *Newsweek* survey conducted by the Gallup Organization after Eagleton's disclosure concerning his medical history, but before his resignation, shows similar results, with Nixon leading 57 per cent to 32 per cent.

This represents a decline in McGovern's strength from a survey conducted immediately after the Democratic convention. At that time, Nixon held a 56 per cent to 37 per cent lead over his Democratic rival.

Notice to Newspapers:

As a bonus to subscribing newspapers, the results of a special Gallup conducted survey for "Newsweek" appear in this release — one day prior to publication in "Newsweek" magazine.

Charting the trend in voter preference during this critical period reveals two significant effects of the Eagleton incident:

1. The decline in McGovern's strength came after Eagleton's announcement but before his resignation.

2. The increase in Nixon's lead is a result of a decline in preference for McGovern without an equivalent increase in Nixon's strength.

The table below shows the trial heat results from the three surveys:

	Nixon %	Mc- Govern %	Other/ D.K. %
Before Eagleton			
Disclosures ..	56	37	7
After Eagleton			
Disclosure, but			
Before			
Resignation ...	57	32	11
After Eagleton			
Resignation, and			
Subsequent			
Selection of			
Shriver	57	31	12
Net change ...	+1	-6	+5

The table shows that the defecting McGovern supporters have not switched to Nixon but rather have moved into the "don't know" category. McGovern has registered a loss of six percentage points and the undecided vote has increased by five percentage points, while Nixon has recorded no gain over the three surveys. This basic pattern, which shows little or no movement in the Nixon standing, is evident among all major population groups.

The table below shows the trend in McGovern's vote for the three surveys among various groups in the population. McGovern suffered losses in virtually every population group during the Eagleton controversy — with the decline occurring after Eagleton's disclosure, but prior to his resignation.

The McGovern Vote

	Post Conv. %	News- Week %	Aug. 4-6 %
NATIONAL ...	37	32	31

Men
Women

Under 30
30-49 years
50 and older

College
High school
Grade school

Protestant
Catholic

East
Midwest
South
West

Prof. and Bu
Manual

Republicans
Democrats
Independent

In contrast to the trend in most key groups, McGovern's support among Catholics increased by 19 percentage points following the disclosure, but the gap has narrowed to 12 percentage points following the survey.

This pattern of losses in the Democratic vote among Catholics in discussions conducted after the mental health disclosure was a major factor in the selection of Sargent Shriver as McGovern's vice presidential pick.

round Against Nixon

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his decline among
 McGovern has gained
 Catholics in the after-
 on affair. Although
 Nixon among Catho-
 ge points immediately
 democratic convention,
 narrowed to 6 per-
 the most recent sur-

return to traditional
 g behavior among
 a reaction to the dis-
 g Eagleton's replace-
 disclosures about his
 that time, great em-
 l on the desirability
 cholic running mate,
 Kennedy, Edmund
 White, or Sargent

The most recent findings show Nixon leading McGovern in most major groups, including two that have traditionally voted Democratic in national elections — manual workers and Catholics — even though the President's lead among Catholics has declined over the past six weeks.

McGovern scores higher than Nixon in the most recent trial heat among blacks, and among persons under 30 years of age.

The table below shows the most recent trial heat results among key population groups.

Latest 'Trial Heat' Results

	Nixon %	Mc- Govern %	No Opin. %
NATIONAL ...	57	31	12
Men	57	30	13
Women	57	32	11
Under 30	41	48	11
30-49 years	61	28	11
50 and older	60	26	14
College	59	32	9
High school	58	29	13
Grade school	50	34	16
Protestant	63	23	14
Catholic	48	42	10
East	51	33	16
Midwest	56	33	11
South	59	29	12
West	66	28	6
Prof. and Bus. ...	64	28	8
Manual	49	35	16
Republicans	92	3	5
Democrats	33	55	12
Independents ...	58	25	17

White	62	26	12
Non-white	13	71	16
\$15,000 & over .	62	30	8
\$10,000-\$14,999 .	64	26	10
\$5,000-\$9,999 ..	52	30	18
Under \$5,000 ..	49	38	13

Comparison of the current trial heat figures with Gallup findings from the five previous presidential elections, shows that considering Nixon's commanding lead, nationwide, his support is relatively low among such traditionally Republican groups, as professional and business people, the college educated, and persons in upper income households. Conversely, McGovern's trial heat performance among the better educated, more affluent segments of the population is relatively high.

Nixon owes his wide lead in the trial heats, nationwide, to major defections among two traditionally Democratic strongholds — manual workers, and to a lesser extent, Catholics.

Details of Survey

The latest trial heat is based on in-person interviews with a total of 1039 registered voters out of a total sample of 1465 adults interviewed August 5-12 in more than 300 localities across the nation. This question was asked:

If the presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for — McGovern, the Democrat or Nixon, the Republican?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

GA *(F)*
Gallup

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *G*
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies today disclosed several interesting matters:

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

L-
Put
there

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

At This Early Stage of Campaign

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

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

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

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

Sensitive Barometer Of Voting Behavior

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

Contrast With '68

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

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

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

Vietnam, Inflation Now Top Problems

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

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

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

Twice as Many Named Vietnam in 1968

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Details Of Survey

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

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

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

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

Party Best Handle Top Problems?	July, 1972		July, 1968	
	%		%	
Democratic	53	48	53	48
Republican	47	52	47	52
No difference/No opinion	—	—	—	—
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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

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

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

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

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

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES -- August 9, 1972

D - Sorry we haven't been able to touch base.

G - No problems, that happens. First the good news. I sent off all your materials yesterday.

D - Oh, terrific.

G - It's quite a volume. There's a briefcase full of stuff plus some rolled things.

D - Oh, that's just magnificent.

G - So - but that's everything that was done during the primaries.

D - Fabulous.

G - And we'll of course be producing stuff for release around the time of the Convention for the general election and I'll send you a package of that for you.

D - Absolutely great.

G - But this is everything.

D - Very fine.

G - All right?

D - Well, I haven't got much to report to you because the survey is just now about to mature and I think we only have about 275 ballots in the office now.

G - Uh-Oh.

D - And we're up against a big problem because we certainly wanted to get something out for Sunday and it's going to mean that we're not. So we're going with the registration analysis for Sunday and we're going to have to hold the new data until probably next Thursday and Sunday.

G - I see.

D - Trial heat will probably be reported on Thursday.

G - OK.

D - I'll have information on that - well just to be safe, why don't you call me Friday.

G - OK.

D - And if not Friday, definitely I'll have it by mid-morning Monday.

G - OK.

D - I have to have it one way or the other.

G - OK.

D - Did you see the latest Harris ...

G - Yes, indeed.

D - It's quite interesting.

G - 23.

D - Quite interesting. I guess the Eagleton incident really put a stopper on McGovern for a moment.

G - well, I guess so. Very, very tough.

D - You know the trend in these things of course is for the underdog to start moving up a bit and it's hard for me to believe that McGovern's position could get any worse. It's probably at this stage of the game with the exception of Barry Goldwater it's probably the widest margin that any incumbent has held over a contender in Presidential history. At least in terms of polling history, anyway.

G - Yes. It's amazing.

D - There must be some sighs of relief down there anyway, right?

G - Yes - but people are getting nervous about complacency problems, you know.

D - That could be a big one.

G - Everybody is looking under the bushes to make sure everyone is working. The release on Sunday will have a registration analysis?

D - Yes, right. The voting preferences of those not registered.

G - That will be interesting, sort of like the youth one you did in July.

D - This will cover most groups.

G - I see.

D - What it shows in a nutshell is that for a registration drive to be successful obviously it must be selective. Here is where the Republicans can bolster their forces and where the Democrats can bolster theirs.

G - Sure. Which survey is that based on?

D - That's based on the last three - combined.

G - I see. Where does it say we should target our registration?

D - Gordon I'll tell you, I've been working on sort of a management problem here and I haven't had a chance to look at it. George, Jr. is handling that today.

G - Understand. OK. I've got sort of a procedural question that maybe you can help me on.

D - All right.

G - We're needless to say interested in Gallups trend back to January on 2-ways against just McGovern. All the released information of course, which we have and also of course from our Gallup Opinion Index. Now we wonder if the demographic information is available from those 2-way McGovern surveys even if it didn't appear in Gallup

Opinion Index.

D - I'm sure it's available. Yes, I can get that for you. Why don't I have one of our girls put that together and send it down to you today.

G - Gee, that's fantastic. We'd like of course the surveys I guess you have -- there are only about four -- that have McGovern on a 2-way with full demographics.

D - We'll have it.

G - Will you? From January through -- gee, that would great.

D - I'll have sent "Special Delivery" today.

G - I'd appreciate it very much.

D - OK, Gordon.

G - Keep in touch.

D - Take care, sir.

G - Thanks, John.

D - Bye, bye.

G - Bye.

1952 GALLUP POLLING RESULTS

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EISENHOWER</u>	<u>KEFAUVER</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
June 10	55	35	10
	* * *	** * *	

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EISENHOWER</u>	<u>STEVENSON</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
August 9	45	43	12
September 4	51	43	6
September 20	51	42	7
October 9	45	38	17
Election	55.4	44.6	

The Gallup Poll

Registration Among Blacks Up Sharply

Democrats Have S Registration Ga

By George Gallup

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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 12 — As the McGovern forces begin their major registration drive, Democrats can take encouragement from the fact that, for the first time since the mid-thirties when Gallup registration measurements were first undertaken, as high a percentage of Democrats as Republicans are registered to vote.

In the latest Gallup Poll registration audit, based on in-person interviews with 4,149 adults, 18 and older, during the months of June, July and August, 80 per cent of both Democrats and Republicans say they are registered to vote in the forthcoming presidential election.

A comparable study, conducted during the first three months of the current year, found Republicans leading in the registration battle, 80 per cent to 72 per cent. At approximately this time in the last presidential year, 1968, Republicans led Democrats 84 per cent to 76 per cent.

Significance For Democrats

The significance of the current figures for the Democrats lies in the fact that Republicans in the past have counted on higher registration among their ranks to help offset the GOP's minority status.

The task of Democratic strategists now will be to get as high a turnout

as possible among registered voters, since Democratic turnout in presidential elections has been traditionally lower than that of Republicans.

Drive Among Blacks Paying Dividends

An important factor in the success of the Democrats in their registration efforts since the beginning of the year is the sharp increase in registration among non-whites, particularly those living in the South. *For the first time in polling history, as high a proportion of non-whites as whites say they are registered.* While the national figure for all adults has increased only four points since the study earlier this year — from 71 per cent to 75 per cent — the figure for non-whites nationwide has increased 8 percentage points — from 66 per cent to 74 per cent. The most dramatic increase in registration is recorded among non-whites in the South.

Registration Also Up Among Young Adults

Registration has increased more sharply among young adults, under 30 years of age, than among adults 30 and older. This trend is also encouraging from McGovern's standpoint since the youth vote is considered to be the core vote by the McGovern forces and the major focus of their get-out-the-vote drive.

In the early 1972 survey data, a total of 47 per cent of young adults indicated they were registered to vote. In the latest survey, the percentage has risen to 54 per cent.

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The following table shows the registration levels in groups which normally vote Democratic, as well as those which tend to lean toward the GOP in presidential elections. The early 1972 results (based on three surveys, Jan.-March, combined) are compared with the latest results (based on three surveys, June-August, combined):

Per Cent Registered			
	Early 1972	Latest	Point
	%	%	Change
NATIONAL ..	71	75	+4
<i>Sex</i>			
Men	72	76	+4
Women	70	74	+4
<i>Educational Background</i>			
College	76	80	+4
High school	69	73	+4
Grade school ...	70	75	+5
<i>Age</i>			
18-29 years	47	54	+7
30-49 years	75	80	+5
50 and over	84	85	+1
<i>Political Affiliation</i>			
Republicans	80	80	-
Democrats	72	80	+8
Independents ..	63	66	+3
<i>Region</i>			
East	75	78	+3
Midwest	74	76	+2
South	66	72	+6
West	67	72	+5

<i>Religion</i>			
Protestants	70	75	+5
Catholics	73	77	+4
<i>Occupation</i>			
Prof. & Business	77	80	+3
Clerical & Sales	72	77	+5
Skilled workers .	66	68	+2
Unskilled			
workers	62	70	+8
<i>Race</i>			
Whites	71	75	+4
Non-whites	66	74	+8
Northern whites	73	76	+3
Southern whites	67	72	+5

This question was asked: *Is your name now recorded in the voter registration book in the election precinct or election district where you now live?*

For the early 1972 results, a total of 4,567 persons, 18 years of age and older, were interviewed during the period January-March. For the latest results, a total of 4,149 persons, 18 and older, were interviewed during the period June-August. Gallup registration data based on the survey question above, have been found in previous years to be much the same as Census Bureau figures based on survey data obtained in their Current Population Survey. For example, Gallup survey data on the per cent registered among those of voting age in November, 1968, was within one percentage point of the Census estimate based on their regular sample surveys.

(F)
Gallup

1952-

Interview Dates	Release Date	Joe	Steven	R.O.
May 30 - Jun 4	Jun 10	55	(35)	10
Aug 9 7/25-30	Aug 9	45	43	12
8/23-28	Sep 4	51	43	6
9/6-11	Sep 20	51	42	7
9/28-10/3	Oct 4	45	38	17

1956

		Joe	Steven
7/12-17	Aug 31	61	37/2
8/23-28	Sep 8	52	41 7
9/20-25	Oct 9	52	40 8
10/7-12	Oct 26	55	45 X
10/18-23	- Final	59.5	40.5

IMPORTANT NOTE TO EDITORS

The next Gallup Poll report will be sent you for release Sunday, August 13.

Results of new nationwide surveys are now being tabulated and reports to be sent you shortly will show the effect of the Eagleton crisis on the presidential race.

The new surveys will also provide the most complete information yet obtained on the issues affecting the decision of voters.

The Gallup Poll will maintain between now and the November elections its coverage of the issues, the candidates, and the vote by key population groups.

-- THE GALLUP POLL

8/8/72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies today disclosed several interesting matters:

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

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

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

G - Hi, John, how are you?

D - Long time no hear.

G - Yeah, how was your vacation?

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

G - I can imagine.

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

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

D - Oh boy.

G - What's up these days?

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

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

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

G - Gee, that's great.

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

G - Yes.

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

G - Sure.

D - But --

G - No, I understand.

D - I hate to see the doors closed.

G - No, I understand.

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

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

D - Right.

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

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

G - I will. OK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

G - Oh, I see.

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

G - Jesus, and will that be in Sunday?

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

G - Yeah.

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

G - Yeah.

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

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

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

G - Right.

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

G - Yeah.

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

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

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

D - Yes.

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

D - Oh, absolutely.

G - The income proposals and so forth.

D - Right.

G - Will you schedule those through September --

D - Probably through the middle of September, right.

G - That's great. OK.

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

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

D - Right.

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

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

G - Interesting. Will that point be mentioned?

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

- G - Yeah, yeah. OK, you're going to do monthly or bi-weekly trial heats between now and November.
- D - Probably bi-weekly.
- G - Bi-weekly and no more approval, right?
- D - Well, we may slip one in every once in a while, just to see what happens, to see how it's looking. I mean, we may do it just for our own benefit and we may not report it.
- G - Without releasing it. I understand.
- D - That helps us try to figure out either a decline or increase in a candidate's standing. For example, if Nixon should go down in the next month, let's say 5 points against McGovern, we'd like to know whether it was more a plus for McGovern or whether it's a minus for Nixon. Has the President done something that the people don't go along with or is McGovern just coming up in the eyes of the public? You can get that information too.
- G - Oh good. Because we keep this, you might imagine, trend information.
- D - Oh yeah. By all means.
- G - Did you ask any questions about the President's meeting with or Japanese trade relations or
- D - No, I don't believe so really.
- G - Oh, there's a lot of concern you know about how unhappy the Japanese were on the China trip.
- D - That's the kind of thing though that doesn't filter down really to the general public.

G - Really?

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

G - Are you going to start releasing labor demographics?

D - Yes, yes absolutely.

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

D - By all means.

G - Indicates some interesting ...

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

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

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Gallup

GALLUP POLL

NEW ORLEANS (AP)-A SURVEY SHOWS VOTERS BELIEVE THE VIETNAM WAR AND INFLATION STAND ABOUT EQUALLY AS THE TOP PROBLEMS FACING THE NATION, DR. GEORGE GALLUP TOLD STATE LEGISLATORS FROM THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

"NEXT MOST OFTEN NAMED ARE CRIME AND DRUG ABUSE," THE POLLSTER SAID HIS MARKET RESEARCH ORGANIZATION HAD DISCOVERED.

HE SPOKE TO THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE.

"TWICE AS MANY PEOPLE IN 1968 AS TODAY SAID THE NATION'S TOP PROBLEM IS THE WAR. CRIME WAS NUMBER TWO ON THE 1968 LIST AND INFLATION WAS PRETTY FAR DOWN THE LIST," HE SAID.

HE SAID IF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY HIS DATA SHOWS IT WOULD LIKELY BE A LANDSLIDE VICTORY FOR PRESIDENT NIXON "OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE SWEEPING EISENHOWER AND JOHNSON VICTORIES."

HE SAID HIS POLL SHOWED THAT AT PRESENT NIXON LEADS SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN, D-S.D. BY 19 PERCENTAGE POINTS.

GALLUP SAID, HOWEVER, "WHILE MCGOVERN CURRENTLY TRAILS NIXON BY A WIDE MARGIN--AS HUMPHREY DID IN 1968--HE CAN TAKE ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE FACT, AS 36 YEARS OF POLLING HISTORY HAVE SHOWN, THE WIDE LEAD OF A FRONT-RUNNER EARLY IN A CAMPAIGN TYPICALLY EVAPORATES."

SAYING HE WAS CAUGHT BETWEEN SURVEYS, GALLUP SAID HE HAD NO LATER INFORMATION ON THE IMPACT OF SEN. THOMAS EALGETON'S DEPARTURE AS THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE.

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At This Early Stage of Campaign

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

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972.
Field Enterprises, Inc.

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

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

Sensitive Barometer Of Voting Behavior

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

Contrast With '68

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

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

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

Vietnam, Inflation Now Top Problems

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

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

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

Twice as Many Named Vietnam in 1968

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Details Of Survey

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

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

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

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

	Party Best Handle Top Problems?	
	July, 1972	July, 1968
	%	%
Democratic	53	48
Republican	47	52
No difference/No opinion	—	—
	100%	100%

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

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

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

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

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

6 in 10 Oppose Unconditional Amnesty for Men Who Have Left U.S. to Escape Draft

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., August 3 — Although a majority of Americans (60 per cent) are opposed to unconditional amnesty for men who have left the country to avoid the draft, more than a third of all persons interviewed (35 per cent) think these men should be allowed to return without any penalty being imposed.

Among those interviewed who represent contemporaries of the men who have left the country — the 18 to 24 year olds — opinion is evenly divided on this highly sensitive issue. Among older groups however opinion is 2 to 1 in opposition to granting amnesty.

Amnesty could be a politically important issue in this presidential election year. The President, who has the power to grant amnesty by provision of the Constitution, is currently opposed to doing so. However, Sen. George McGovern, Democratic presidential nominee, takes a more liberal stance on the question.

Women display more leniency regarding amnesty than do men, although a majority think those who have left the country to avoid the draft should be given some form of penalty.

In fact, in all major population groups — with the exception of 18 to 24 year olds — majority opposition is found to granting amnesty without penalty.

While political affiliation is a factor in the way people vote on the issue — Democrats are slightly more in favor

of amnesty — the differences are not great. Seven in ten Republicans (71 per cent) and six in ten Democrats (59 per cent) take a hard line on draft evaders.

Easterners are the most liberal in their views, with only a slight majority (55 per cent) saying they oppose amnesty.

Views of WW II Veterans

Among those opposed to granting amnesty is a Black machine operator who served in World War II: "When you get the benefits of being a citizen of a country, you should have to serve it."

Another opposed is a 30-year old receptionist from Norwich, Conn.: "Something should be done to punish them. You can't just break the law and get away with it. When you run away from responsibility, you have to pay for it."

'Takes Courage To Leave Country'

In favor of granting amnesty is a young male office worker from California: "The war is unnecessary and unjust — people don't believe in the war — it takes courage to go against it and leave the country."

Also in favor is a factory worker, who remarked: "Those young men who have left the U.S. have suffered enough.

I know of one "dj" (disc jockey) who went to Canada and found that draft dodgers couldn't get jobs there and couldn't even find shelter. They have no families and no life at all — only fear."

'A Mockery of Those Who Fought'

The views held by many of those opposed to amnesty is typified by the comment of a 28-year old accountant from the west coast: "Letting them return without some penalty would be a mockery of those men who fought in Vietnam and either died or were maimed."

A 40-year old man who works in a motel restaurant is outspoken in his criticism of those who have left the country: "They're all mentally disabled. We're better off without them. They have been offered service in the reserves but they reject it as foolish. America — love it or leave it."

A 40-year old priest favors amnesty, offering the brief comment: "They're our children so we should let them come home."

Draft Resisters Can Be Jailed for 5 Years

It is estimated that there are between 70,000 and 100,000 U.S. draft dodgers and deserters, including those in exile in Canada. If convicted, draft resisters can go to jail for as long as five years and be fined up to \$10,000.

The national results and the findings by key population groups follow:

Amnesty would grant full restoration of civil rights, including the right to vote, for those who violated the federal law.

The Question And Results

To determine the public's attitudes about the amnesty issue, the Gallup Poll asked a representative cross-section of the voting age population: "Do you think young men who have left the United States to avoid the draft should or should not be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment?" A total of 1554 persons were personally interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected sampling locations across the nation during the period June 23-26.

	Grant Amnesty		No Opn.
	Should	Not	
NATIONAL	36	60	4
Men	31	66	3
Women	40	55	5
Under 30 yrs.	47	51	2
30-49 yrs.	32	65	3
50 & over	31	64	5
Republicans	26	73	3
Democrats	37	59	4
Independents	41	55	4
East	43	53	4
Midwest	34	63	3
South	35	64	3
West	34	63	3

Coming Sunday!

WHAT VOTERS SEE AS THE
NATION'S TOP PROBLEMS

— and —

WHICH PARTY THEY THINK CAN
BETTER HANDLE THESE
PROBLEMS

Has the GOP succeeded in
closing the "issue gap?"

McGovern Holds Slim Lead With Youths

Nixon Leads With Most Groups, But McGovern Strong With Blacks, Poor

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 29 — The latest Gallup post-convention trial heat shows President Nixon leading Democratic nominee, Sen. George McGovern, in most major population groups, including some that normally vote Democratic in presidential elections — for example, manual workers, labor union people and Catholics.

Senator McGovern, on the other hand, holds a wide lead over Nixon among non-whites, and persons in the lowest income group. While behind Nixon in the East, Midwest and South, McGovern runs the President a close race in the Far West.

McGovern also performs relatively well among the nation's young voters, i.e., those between 18 and 30, splitting their vote almost evenly with Nixon. Among voters over 30, on the other hand, Nixon holds almost a 2-to-1 lead.

As of the time of the survey, only two per cent of Republicans defect to McGovern, while as many as one in three Democrats defect to Nixon.

The following factors explain why the overall national vote leans heavily to Nixon:

(1) Nixon's solid hold on the Republican vote, including groups which traditionally favor the Republican party, such as the better educated, more affluent segments of the population.

(2) The President's 2-1 lead over McGovern with Independent voters — a key bloc which now accounts for roughly a third of the electorate and a vital factor in Republican strategy considering its "minority" party status.

(3) Democratic defections which the current trial heat reveals is 33 per cent.

The McGovern forces, however, can take solace from the fact that the wide lead of a front-runner early in the campaign typically erodes as the campaign wears on. This is, of course, what happened in the last presidential election in 1968, with many Democrats returning to the fold in the final days of the campaign.

The following table shows the national vote in the latest test run without Wallace:

Two-Way Race: Nixon vs. McGovern			
	Nixon %	McGovern %	Un- dec. %
NATIONAL	56	37	7
Men	60	34	6
Women	54	39	7
Whites	61	32	7
Non-whites	11	85	4
College background	61	35	4
High school	57	35	8
Grade school	51	42	7
Under 30 yrs.	47	49	4
30-49 yrs.	58	35	7
50 & over	60	32	8
\$15,000 & over	64	31	5
\$10,000-\$14,999	61	34	5

\$7,000-\$9,999	62	34	4
\$3,000-\$6,999	49	40	11
Under \$3,000	38	53	9
Prof. & business	61	35	4
Clerical & sales	58	37	5
Manual	53	39	8
Farmers	66	23	11
Labor union families	52	42	6
Non-labor	58	35	7
500,000 & over	52	42	6
50,000-499,999	60	35	5
2,500-49,999	59	34	7
Under 2,500	58	33	9
East	57	37	6
Midwest	60	35	5
South	59	36	5
West	46	41	13
Protestants	61	33	6
Catholics	56	37	7
Republicans	94	2	4
Democrats	33	61	6
Independents	60	30	10

Pre and Post Convention Comparison
The current trial heat shows very little overall change from the test conducted immediately before the Democratic convention, with several important exceptions. Nixon has gained among Catholics (from a four-point lead to a 15-point lead), among labor union members (from a four-point deficit to a 10-point lead), and among 18 to 29 year olds (from a 15-point deficit to a deficit of only two points).

McGovern has gained dramatically among non-whites (from a 35-point lead to a 74-point lead) and among the under \$3,000 income group (from a 11-point deficit to 15-point lead).

Differences Between McGovern And Humphrey Support in 1968

To identify McGovern's sources of strength as compared with Sen. Hubert Humphrey in the 1968 presidential campaign, another trial heat question was asked in the current survey which included Wallace's name as a possible third party candidate.

The findings reveal that although, nationwide, McGovern currently scores approximately as well as Humphrey did in a comparable point in 1968, basic differences are noted in the support for the two Democratic party candidates by groups.

The most significant difference occurs among persons under 30 years. Whereas Humphrey ran behind Nixon at this point in 1968, McGovern has reversed this situation, running slightly ahead of the President in the current trial heat. Of course, in 1968, 18-20 year olds were not a part of the electorate as they are today.

The South Dakota Senator also performs better in the current test election among the better educated, that is, persons with a college background, than Humphrey did in 1968.

On the deficit side, McGovern has less support with Democrats as a group — and with two important sub-groups that normally vote Democratic — Catholics and manual workers.

The following table shows the national vote of the latest trial heat with Wallace in the race:

	Three-Way Race: Nixon vs. McGovern vs. Wallace			
	Mc- Nixon	Wal- lace	Un- dec.	
	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	46	32	18	4
Men	46	28	23	3
Women	46	34	16	4
Whites	50	25	21	4
Non-whites	11	85	1	3
College background	54	34	10	2
High school	44	29	23	4
Grade school	40	33	22	5
Under 30 yrs.	36	47	15	2
30-49 yrs.	45	29	22	4
50 & over	51	26	19	4
\$15,000 & over	54	27	15	4
\$10,000-\$14,999	51	27	20	2
\$7,000-\$9,999	46	32	20	2
\$3,000-\$6,999	39	33	22	6
Under \$3,000	28	48	16	8
Prof. & business	50	32	16	2
Clerical & sales	48	31	17	4
Manual	41	33	22	4
Farmers	48	13	36	3

Labor union families	39	36	22	3
Non-labor	48	29	19	4
500,000 & over	42	40	14	4
50,000-499,999	47	29	21	3
2,500-49,999	50	28	19	3
Under 2,500	46	27	24	3
East	50	33	13	4
Midwest	53	32	12	3
South	37	25	37	1
West	40	35	17	8
Protestants	50	27	20	3
Catholics	44	31	20	5
Republicans	88	2	8	2
Democrats	23	50	23	4
Independents	43	29	23	5

Wallace Hurts McGovern More than Nixon

The three-way trial heat, i.e., with Wallace included, reveal the extent to which Gov. George Wallace's absence from the presidential race benefits Nixon.

When Wallace voters are asked to choose between Nixon and McGovern — assuming he were not to run — the Wallace vote goes about 2-to-1 to Nixon. This increases the President's margin — from 14 per cent to 19 per cent.

Furthermore, Nixon is the beneficiary of the Wallace vote in every major population group.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with George Gallup, Jr. today disclosed that:

1) On Thursday, July 27 Gallup's Release will show that the President's choice for Vice President corresponded with the rank and file Republican view. The polling dates were July 14-17. Agnew received "approximately 42%" of the Republicans' vote while Connally received 27%. (In May, Connally was at 10%, a "phenomenal rise" according to Gallup. Reagan receives 13% and the rest of the field is "far below that".);

2) This Sunday, July 29, Gallup "may" run a special report on the labor union vote. Several surveys will be consolidated. Mr. Gallup would not give me any preliminary conclusions;

3) John Davies, a much more responsive contact at Gallup, will return from vacation on August 1, so hopefully the information will be more easily obtainable;

4) George Gallup, Jr. did not talk with Don Rumsfeld last week to give him the trial heat figures early. Colson is complaining that you and the President were discussing the Gallup trial heat figures and that he had not been clued in, prior to the cruise on the Sequoia last Thursday, July 20.

*That's too
god damn bad -*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: E. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with George Gallup, Jr. today disclosed that:

- 1) On Thursday, July 27 Gallup's Release will show that the President's choice for Vice President corresponded with the rank and file Republican view. The polling dates were July 14-17. Agnew received "approximately 42%" of the Republicans' vote while Connally received 27%. (In May, Connally was at 10%, a "phenomenal rise" according to Gallup. Reagan receives 13% and the rest of the field is "far below that".);
- 2) This Sunday, July 29, Gallup "may" run a special report on the labor union vote. Several surveys will be consolidated. Mr. Gallup would not give me any preliminary conclusions;
- 3) John Davies, a much more responsive contact at Gallup, will return from vacation on August 1, so hopefully the information will be more easily obtainable;
- 4) George Gallup, Jr. did not talk with Don Runsfeld last week to give him the trial heat figures early. Colson is complaining that you and the President were discussing the Gallup trial heat figures and that he had not been clued in.

GS/jb

Nixon's Choice of Agnew Also Top Choice of Republican Voters

By George Gallup

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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 26 — President Nixon's choice of Vice-President Spiro Agnew as his running-mate on the 1972 ticket coincides with the views of the nation's Republican voters, as determined by a survey completed prior to the President's recent announcement.

Agnew, however, has far from universal support among the rank-and-file of the party. When Republican voters are asked to select their preference from a list of eight men, only about four in ten choose Agnew. Even on a two-way basis — when pitted against former Treasury Secretary John Connally — Agnew wins only a bare majority.

Runner-up in the latest preferences is Connally, with 27 per cent of the vote. Connally's political stock with GOP voters has grown dramatically during the last two or three months. The April survey found only eight per cent of Republicans preferring him. His showing in the latest survey is particularly impressive in view of the fact that he has held high public office as a Democrat.

California Governor Ronald Reagan is in third place in the current survey, with 13 per cent of the vote — down from his earlier showing in April, when he ran second with 20 per cent.

Support for New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller has also declined between surveys. Rockefeller is in fourth place in the latest survey, with six per cent of the vote. In April he won 14 per cent of the support of the Republican voters for the Vice Presidency.

Showdown Test

To see how the vote would divide between just Agnew and Connally, a "showdown" test was included in the latest survey. It shows Agnew again winning among Republicans, 54 per cent to 42 per cent for Connally, with four per cent undecided.

Connally, however, emerges ahead of Agnew among voters who classify themselves as Independents, a group important to the GOP in view of its minority status in American politics. He is the choice of 52 per cent of Independents to 40 per cent for Agnew and eight per cent undecided.

This question was asked:

Which of the persons on this list would you like to see as the Republican candidate for Vice President in 1972?

Following are the results of the latest (mid-July) survey, compared with those recorded in mid-April:

Choices of Republicans		
	Latest	April
	%	%
Spiro Agnew	42	43
John Connally	27	8
Ronald Reagan	13	20
Nelson Rockefeller	6	14
Others on list	8	12
Undecided	4	3
	100%	100%

This question was also asked:

Suppose the choice were between Agnew and Connally — which man would you prefer?

Choices of GOP Voters	
Agnew	54%
Connally	42
Undecided	4
	100%

Choices of Independents	
Connally	52%
Agnew	40
Undecided	8
	100%

Survey results reported today are based on in-person interviews with 1532 adults, 18 and older, in a survey conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period July 14-17.

Top Choice of GOP Voters for Number Two Spot



SPIRO T. AGNEW

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH GEORGE GALLUP, JR. - July 24, 1972

S - Mr. Gallup?

G - Yes?

S - Gordon Strachan. How are you?

G - Fine. Sorry I missed your call last week. I took a long weekend.

S - I understand. Did you get a chance to talk with Don Rumsfeld?

G - I haven't, no.

S - Oh ...

G - I didn't know he called me, I'm embarrassed to say.

S - I'm not sure that he had. I mentioned it quickly and I wasn't sure whether he had called you or not.

G - I guess not. I'm sure I'd know about it.

S - OK. Anything of interest coming up?

G - Not -- to be quite frank -- no, not at the moment. Now we have a story on the selection of the Vice Presidential candidate - Vice President Agnew - and it's a little late on it, but we thought it might be still of some interest. The President's choice is the public's choice, at least the rank and file.

S - I see.

G - It's all very interesting, too, after the fact that Connally had been moving up in popularity tremendously fast. But it's all academic.

S - Do you figure to run the story?

G - I think we will. I think it's still interesting to know how - it's still very pertinent now still - to find out how much support there was for Vice President Agnew.

S - When is the survey going to run, do you know?

G - Yah, this Thursday.

S - May I have a quick recap of the results? Do you have a moment to do that?

G - Yes indeed. Just a sec.

S - Thank you.

G - I have the figures, but I don't have the finals.

S - I understand.

G - But this shows that Vice President Agnew gets 42% of the support of Republicans - it will probably be around that figure but we have to check again. Connally comes in at 27% or so, so he moved up very fast since April and the rest of the vote is divided among the other five on the list, so it doesn't ...

S - That's 27% of the Republicans?

G - Republicans, right.

S - I see. Any body else up there?

G - Not really that high. Reagan get 13%. And the rest - it's virtually nothing for the rest.

S - OK. When do you think you'll go into the field again?

G - Well, we have - this is the most recent survey coming in now and we have one going out in about, I think it's two weeks. I don't have the schedule in front of me, but I think it's about two weeks.

S - OK.

G - We hope to do a full analysis of the labor union vote based on several sets so that we can build up a sample base big enough to look at it by various groups.

S - I see and you'll use that most recent poll, the one with Agnew and Connally on it?

G - No, not in that same particular survey. We'll take the latest figures and look at them and combine them with all the earlier ones. Just several of them.

S - Now this Agnew-Connally. Is that when you were in the field in July, 14-17?

G - That's right.

S - 14 to 17. And those are the trial heats that were run on Sunday, I guess. OK. Anything else we might be interested in?

G - Ummm. Not at the moment really. Our planning hasn't really gone beyond the two that I just mentioned.

S - OK. That labor one will be what Sunday?

G - Probably Sunday. But again, this is tentative because we don't know what it's going to show. It really is very tentative.

S - OK.

G - We're still analyzing it, and haven't gone very far with it yet.

S - OK. Why I sure appreciate this information.

G - You're welcome indeed.

S - So I guess John Davies will be back on Wednesday?

G - I think Wednesday. That's right.

S - I'll check with him and see how we're coming on that labor one because we're very interested in that.

G - Good, good.

S - In light of the developments of late.

G - Yes.

S - Well thank you very much.

G - Yes, indeed.

S - Well, thank you very much and good talking with you, sir.

G - Nice to talk to you.

S - Right, bye.

G - Bye.

Nixon as Popular as McGovern With Unregistered Group

Democrats' Registration Drive for 'New Voters' Could Prove Counterproductive

By George Gallup

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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 22 — The Democratic party's current drive to register the "new voters" — 18 to 24 years old — may prove counterproductive. The latest Gallup Poll findings show that this effort may, in fact, benefit President Richard Nixon as much as the Democratic party's standard-bearer, Senator George McGovern, by registering as many potential Nixon adherents as McGovern supporters.

The Democrats have been working overtime to register 18 to 24-year olds for two reasons: First, this population group contains the largest percentage of eligible voters who are still unregistered. Half of the 18 to 24-year olds are currently unregistered, as compared to only three in ten in other important population groups.

Secondly, Democratic strategists feel that the great majority of the currently unregistered young will translate directly into votes for McGovern on the assumption that he has across-the-board support among this group.

To determine the possible effect the Democrats' registration drive would have on the presidential race, the registration figures were analyzed by presidential preferences, as determined by trial heats. This brings to light several key findings:

1. Among the 50 per cent of young adults who are already registered, Mc-

Govern holds a wide lead over Nixon, with 57 per cent saying they would vote for McGovern today as opposed to 41 per cent who would vote for Nixon.

However, in the target group — the non-registered — the vote is about evenly split, with 46 per cent for Nixon and 45 per cent for McGovern. This is shown below:

	Nixon %	Mc- Govern %	Un- dec. %
TOTAL	43	50	7
Registered	41	57	2
Non-registered	46	43	11

2. That registered new voters prefer McGovern can be explained largely by the fact that the registered group contains twice as many college persons as the non-registered group. As shown in the table below, those with some college training are almost twice as likely to vote in the trial heats for McGovern as for Nixon. Those with no college background, on the other hand, prefer Nixon to McGovern by a slight margin.

	Nixon %	Mc- Govern %	Un- dec. %
Total: 18-24 Years			
College	35	61	4
Non-college	48	44	8

3. The importance of educational attainment on the new voter registration figures is further pointed up by examining the trial heat results for the non-registered by those who have

attended college and those who have not.

Although the unregistered prefer Nixon to McGovern marginally, the college-educated among this group vote for McGovern by a four to three ratio.

These figures would suggest that the Democratic party's strategy for registering new voters should be directed to the college campuses.

Analysis of the entire group of voters under 30 — and by the 25 to 29 year old age group — reveals essentially the same findings as shown for those 18 to 24, with minor variations.

Current Registration Results by Groups

The tables below show the percentage registered by key groups among a) all eligible voters under 30, b) new voters 18 to 24-year olds and c) persons in the 25 to 29-year old group.

The findings reveal that women are as likely to be registered as men, and that blacks, whose registration typically has been relatively low, are as likely to be registered as whites.

Under 30 Years Per Cent Registered	
TOTAL	54%

College	67
Non-college	47

Men	54
Women	54

South	51
Non-south	55
Whites	54
Non-whites	57
Republicans	58
Democrats	60
Independents	49

New Voters: 18-24 Years Per Cent Registered	
TOTAL	50%

College	66
Non-college	41

Men	51
Women	48

South	46
Non-south	51

Whites	49
Non-whites	*

Republicans	57
Democrats	57
Independents	42

* Not enough cases to provide reliable data.

25-29 Years Per Cent Registered	
TOTAL	61%

College	69
---------	----

Non-college	46
Men	59
Women	62
South	57
Non-south	63
Whites	61
Non-whites	*
Republicans	59
Democrats	64
Independents	60

* Not enough cases to provide reliable data.

Today's analysis is based on in-person interviews with 1553 respondents 18 to 29-years old, out of a total sample of 6154 persons, 18 and older. Interviewing was conducted between late April and late June. The question asked:

Is your name now recorded in the registration book of the precinct or election district where you now live?

The Gallup Poll

For Release: Friday, July 21, 1972

Nixon Holds Wide Lead -- With or Without Wallace

McGovern Starts Campaign Trailing Nixon by Same Margin as HHH in '68

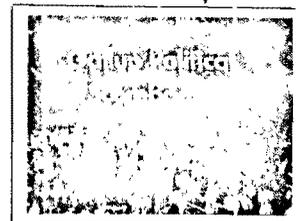
By George Gallup

Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc

PRINCETON, N. J., July 20 — Sen. George McGovern, 1972 Democratic nominee, starts his presidential campaign trailing President Nixon by about the same margin that Sen. Hubert Humphrey trailed Nixon following the Democratic convention in 1968.

In a survey conducted immediately following the Miami convention, Senator McGovern is found to trail President Richard Nixon by 14 percentage points, 42 to 46 per cent, with 18 per cent going to Gov. George Wallace, a possible third party candidate.

By way of comparison, a three-way trial heat taken following the Democratic convention in 1968 showed Humphrey trailing Nixon by 12 percentage points, 31 to 43 per cent, with Wallace winning 19 per cent of the vote at that time.



Impact of Wallace

Since many political observers do not expect Wallace to run again this year, the latest trial heats also matched only Nixon and McGovern.

This two-way test shows Nixon widening his lead with Wallace not in the race — from 14 points to 19 points, with Wallace supporters choosing Nixon over McGovern by about a 2-to-1 ratio.

Senator McGovern has registered no immediate gains over his pre-convention standing. Similarly, Senator Humphrey in 1968 did not get a significant boost from the 1968 convention and improved his vote only marginally, as determined by Gallup Poll trial heats at the time.

Gap Can Close Dramatically

While McGovern currently trails Nixon by a wide margin — as Humphrey did in 1968 — he can take encouragement from the fact that, as 36 years of polling history have shown, the wide lead of a front-runner early in a campaign typically evaporates.

The race in 1968 is, of course, a perfect example. Humphrey started slowly following the convention that year, but gained momentum in October and

almost succeeded in overtaking Nixon by the time of the election.

The 1948 presidential contest is another example. GOP candidate Thomas E. Dewey had a clear-cut lead over President Harry Truman at the start of the campaign in 1948. But the election was of course won by Truman who captured 49.9 per cent of the popular vote to 45.3 per cent for Dewey, with the balance going to Henry Wallace and J. Strom Thurmond.

'Return-to-the Fold' Factor Seen Operating

Careful analysis of the trends in national elections since 1936 shows that what might be termed a "return-to-the-fold" factor operates in most elections. This refers to the tendency of Democrats or Republicans to cross party lines in their preferences early in a campaign — or to temporarily join the ranks of the undecided — and then return to the party fold in the final weeks of the campaign.

Issues Also Can Bring Sharp Change

Events can also abruptly change the fortunes of candidates in a presidential election campaign.

One of the most dramatic instances of the impact of events came in the

1956 election. Throughout two months of intense campaigning by both Eisenhower and Stevenson, there was virtually no change in the electorate's division of sentiment.

Then in the closing days of the campaign, the Hungarian revolution and the Suez crisis caused a sharp upswing in the vote for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket. An estimated three to four million votes swung to the GOP ticket in the last 10 days of the campaign.

Following is a comparison of the latest results with those recorded in a survey taken in late June, prior to the Democratic convention:

Three-Way Race: Nixon vs. McGovern vs. Wallace

	Nixon %	McGovern %	Wallace %	Un-dec. %
Post-convention ..	46	32	18	4
Pre-convention ..	45	32	18	5

Two-Way Race: Nixon vs. McGovern

	Nixon %	McGovern %	Un-dec. %
Post-convention ..	56	37	7
Pre-convention ..	53	37	10

Details of Survey

The latest trial heats are based on in-person interviews with a total of 1149 registered voters out of a total sample of more than 1500 adults interviewed July 14-17 in more than 300 localities across the nation. These questions were asked:

Suppose the presidential election were being held TODAY. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and George McGovern were the Democratic candidate, and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?
— and —

Suppose Wallace is not in the race, which candidate would you prefer — Nixon or George McGovern?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

The most recent Gallup Opinion Index is attached. Davies, at Gallup, thought you might be interested in the comparison of the Democrats platform and the rank and file views. You have seen some of the Gallup referendum material on page 6 - 9 which shows only Democratic views.

The selection of the Vice President candidate should be made by the voters (63%) instead of the current process (31%) according to a pre-Eagleton poll (Apr 28 - May 1) reported on page 10.

Gallup asked "In your opinion, which is most responsible for inflation - government, business or labor?" On page 11 the demographics are reported which show that 39% blame the Government, 20% blame Business, and 29% blame Labor, while 14% had no opinion on the polling dates Apr 21 - 24, 1972. Bob Teeter's Wave II asked a similar question - "Do you think business, labor unions, the President, Congress or the consumer is most responsible for rising prices and inflation?" The results were:

	<u>Bus</u>	<u>Uns</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>Cong</u>	<u>Consum</u>
T - Jun 16-26 (National)	26	37	8	9	17

The Nixon-McGovern demographic material on page 4 will be included in the Gallup materials mentioned in (3) above.

The usual Demographic Comparison of the President's popularity is included.



Pre-Convention Issue



McGovern



Humphrey



Wallace

- ★ The Public's 'Image' of the Candidates
- ★ Which Candidate Runs Best Against Nixon?
- ★ Analysis of McGovern's Sharp Rise in Popularity
- ★ The Public's Choice in a 'Showdown' Between McGovern, HHH

NEXT MONTH: "The Mood of the Nation" — Results of a Gallup Poll Public Opinion Referendum

June, 1972

Report No. 84

GALLUP POLL ACCURACY RECORD

1936 to 1970

– Winning Candidate, Party and Percentage of Vote –

<u>Year</u>		<u>Final Gallup Survey</u>		<u>Election Result</u>	<u>Error on Winning Candidate, Party</u>
1970	Dem. Party	53.0%	Dem. Party	54.3%	1.3%
1968	Nixon	43.0	Nixon	43.5	0.5
1966	Dem. Party	52.5	Dem. Party	51.5	1.0
1964	Johnson	64.0	Johnson	61.3	2.7
1962	Dem. Party	55.5	Dem. Party	52.7	2.8
1960	Kennedy	51.0	Kennedy	50.1	0.9
1958	Dem. Party	57.0	Dem. Party	56.5	0.5
1956	Eisenhower	59.5	Eisenhower	57.8	1.7
1954	Dem. Party	51.5	Dem. Party	52.7	1.2
1952	Eisenhower	51.0	Eisenhower	55.4	4.4
1950	Dem. Party	51.0	Dem. Party	50.3	0.7
1948	Dewey	49.5	Truman	49.9	5.4
1946	Rep. Party	58.0	Rep. Party	54.3	3.7
1944	Roosevelt	51.5	Roosevelt	53.3	1.8
1942	Dem. Party	52.0	Dem. Party	48.0	4.0
1940	Roosevelt	52.0	Roosevelt	55.0	3.0
1938	Dem. Party	54.0	Dem. Party	50.8	3.2
1936	Roosevelt	55.7	Roosevelt	62.5	6.8

Average Deviation for 18
National Elections 2.5 percentage points

Average Deviation for 11
National Elections
Since 1948 1.6 percentage points

Average Deviation for 7
National Elections
1936 through 1948 4.0 percentage points

GALLUP OPINION INDEX

June, 1972

Report No. 84

The Gallup Opinion Index
53 Bank Street
Princeton, New Jersey
609-924-9600

GALLUP POLL ACCURACY RECORD

1936 to 1970

— *Winning Candidate, Party and Percentage of Vote* —

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1954	Dem. Party	51.5	Dem. Party	52.7	1.2
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1948	Dewey	49.5	Truman	49.9	5.4
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1944	Roosevelt	51.5	Roosevelt	53.3	1.8
1942	Dem. Party	52.0	Dem. Party	48.0	4.0
1940	Roosevelt	52.0	Roosevelt	55.0	3.0
1938	Dem. Party	54.0	Dem. Party	50.8	3.2
1936	Roosevelt	55.7	Roosevelt	62.5	6.8

Average Deviation for 18
National Elections 2.5 percentage points

Average Deviation for 11
National Elections
Since 1948 1.6 percentage points

Average Deviation for 7
National Elections
1936 through 1948 4.0 percentage points

NOTE TO READER

The Sample: The sampling procedure of the Gallup Poll is designed to produce samples which are representative of the U.S. civilian adult population. National survey results are based on interviews with a minimum of 1,500 adults.

Sampling Tolerances: In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population had been interviewed. Samples of 1,500 have a tolerance within 3 to 4 percentage points 95 per cent of the time.

Certain population groups are not reported separately for many surveys because the number of persons in the sample is not enough to provide sufficiently accurate results. An "x" has been used in the Gallup Opinion Index to designate such groups. Also, it is important to note that the figures for Negroes and 18-20 year olds are subject to wide sampling fluctuation because of their small sample bases.

Survey Dates: The dates used in this report are the dates when the results were published in Gallup Poll client newspapers. Interviewing field dates are generally 2 or 3 weeks prior to publication dates. For some topics – those where the factor of time is unimportant – interviewing dates are often more than 2 or 3 weeks prior to publication.

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— Following Moscow Summit —
*Nixon's Popularity With Voters
At Highest Point in Two Years*

A nationwide survey conducted at the close of President Nixon's historic summit meetings with Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezhnev shows Nixon's popularity at its highest point in nearly two years.

A solid majority of 61 per cent of U.S. citizens say they approve of the way Nixon is handling his duties as Chief Executive. The previous measurement, taken in late March, showed 53 per cent expressing approval.

By way of contrast, the President's visit to China gave him only a modest — and short-lived — boost in popularity. A popularity check taken before the President's trip to China showed 53 per cent expressing approval. Following his trip, his approval rating increased slightly to 56 per cent in a subsequent survey.

The last time the President's popularity rating was as high as it is today was in July, 1970, when 61 per cent also expressed approval of the President's performance in office. That rating reflected favorable reaction to moves by the Nixon Administration to scale down the war and withdraw troops, as well as to efforts to deal with the problem of inflation.

The President's popularity boost following the summit meetings in Moscow is reminiscent of his sharp gains in popularity following the famous "kitchen debate" in the summer of 1959. Nixon, then Vice President, engaged in a sharp running debate with Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev on the opposing systems of capitalism and communism.

The "kitchen debate" did much to establish Nixon as a top candidate for the GOP presidential nomination in 1960. In a survey taken before Vice President Nixon's 1959 trip to Russia, Sen. John Kennedy led Nixon by a 61-39 per cent margin in a Gallup trial heat. A comparable survey taken after the confrontation with Khrushchev showed the race to be extremely close, 52 per cent for Kennedy and 48 per cent for Nixon.

As a result of the "kitchen debate," Nixon also further consolidated his lead as the top choice of the nation's Republican voters for their party's presidential nomination. In fact, in a survey taken after the debate with Khrushchev, his support from GOP voters reached the highest point since immediately following the 1956 presidential election.

Following are the details of this survey and the trend:

Nixon Popularity Index

— Per Cent Who Approve —

Current	61%
Average in current year	55%
Average since taking office	57%
High since taking office (recorded: Nov. '69) ...	68%
Low since taking office (recorded: June '71) ...	48%

Other Presidents

— Per Cent Who Approve —

<i>President Johnson:</i>		
High	Low	Average
80%	35%	54%
* * * * *		
<i>President Kennedy:</i>		
High	Low	Average
83%	57%	70%
* * * * *		
<i>President Eisenhower:</i>		
High	Low	Average
79%	49%	66%
* * * * *		
<i>President Truman:</i>		
High	Low	Average
87%	23%	46%

Question: *Do you approve or disapprove of the way (name of incumbent) is handling his job as President?*

NIXON'S POPULARITY

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?"

	MAY 26-29, 1972				NIXON'S POPULARITY SINCE START OF TERM		
	Approve %	Disapprove %	No Opinion %		Approve %	Disapprove %	No Opinion %
NATIONAL	61	32	7				
SEX							
Male	63	29	8	LATEST	61	32	7
Female	61	31	8	March 24-27	53	37	10
RACE				March 3-5	56	32	12
White	65	28	7	Feb. 4-7	53	36	11
Non-white	37	51	12	Jan. 7-10	49	39	12
EDUCATION				Dec. 10-13, 1971	49	37	14
College	67	29	4	Oct. 29 - Nov. 1	49	37	14
High School	62	30	8	Oct. 8-11	54	35	11
Grade School	56	32	12	Aug. 27-30	49	38	13
OCCUPATION				Aug. 20-23	51	37	12
Prof. & Bus.	69	27	4	June 25-28	48	39	13
White Collar	64	29	7	June 4-7	48	37	15
Farmers	77	19	4	May 14-16	50	35	15
Manual	57	34	9	April 23-25	50	38	12
AGE				April 3-5	49	38	13
18 - 20 years	60	32	8	March 12-14	50	37	13
21 - 29 years	60	33	7	Feb. 19-21	51	36	13
30 - 49 years	64	29	7	Jan. 9-10	56	33	11
50 & over	61	29	10	Dec. 5-7, 1970	52	34	14
RELIGION				Nov. 14-16	57	30	13
Protestant	66	27	7	Oct. 9-13	58	27	15
Catholic	61	30	9	Aug. 28-Sept. 1	56	30	14
Jewish	X	X	X	July 31-Aug. 2	55	32	13
POLITICS				July 10-12	61	28	11
Republican	89	8	3	June 19-21	55	31	14
Democrat	46	42	12	May 22-25	59	29	12
Independent	63	31	6	May 1-4	57	31	12
REGION				April 17-19	56	31	13
East	62	28	10	March 20-22	53	30	17
Midwest	57	34	9	Feb. 28-March 2	56	27	17
South	68	25	7	Jan. 30-Feb. 2	66	23	11
West	59	35	6	Jan. 16-19	63	23	14
INCOME				Jan. 2-5	61	22	17
\$15,000 & over	66	28	6	Dec. 12-15, 1969	59	23	18
\$10,000 - \$14,999	65	29	6	Nov. 14-17	68	19	13
\$7,000 - \$9,999	60	34	6	Oct. 17-20	56	29	15
\$5,000 - \$6,999	63	26	11	Oct. 3-9	57	24	19
\$3,000 - \$4,999	58	31	11	Sept. 19-22	58	23	19
Under \$3,000	52	35	13	Sept. 12-15	60	24	16
COMMUNITY SIZE				Aug. 15-18	62	20	18
1,000,000 & over	54	37	9	July 26-28	65	17	18
500,000 - 999,999	60	28	12	July 11-14	58	22	20
50,000 - 499,999	63	32	5	June 20-23	63	16	21
2,500 - 49,999	66	25	9	May 23-26	65	12	23
Under 2,500, Rural	64	29	7	May 16-20	65	12	23
				May 2-5	64	14	22
				April 11-14	61	11	28
				March 28-31	63	10	27
				March 14-17	65	9	26
				Feb. 21-24	61	6	33
				Jan. 23-29	59	5	36

NIXON'S HANDLING OF VIETNAM

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

	MAY 26-29, 1972			APRIL 21-24, 1972		
	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	53	38	9	48	44	8
SEX						
Male	57	34	9			
Female	50	42	8			
RACE						
White	56	36	8			
Non-white	29	58	13			
EDUCATION						
College	57	37	6			
High School	53	38	9			
Grade School	50	39	11			
OCCUPATION						
Prof. & Bus.	57	35	8			
White Collar	53	40	7			
Farmers	63	27	10			
Manual	51	41	8			
AGE						
18 - 20 years	42	53	5			
21 - 29 years	48	44	8			
30 - 49 years	58	33	9			
50 & over	55	37	8			
RELIGION						
Protestant	56	35	9			
Catholic	55	37	8			
Jewish	X	X	X			
POLITICS						
Republican	81	15	4			
Democrat	42	49	9			
Independent	51	41	8			
REGION						
East	53	39	8			
Midwest	50	41	9			
South	57	33	10			
West	53	40	7			
INCOME						
\$15,000 & over	58	36	6			
\$10,000 - \$14,999	60	33	7			
\$7,000 - \$9,999	52	38	10			
\$5,000 - \$6,999	57	34	9			
\$3,000 - \$4,999	38	52	10			
Under \$3,000	45	44	11			
COMMUNITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	49	45	6			
500,000 - 999,999	53	36	11			
50,000 - 499,999	53	38	9			
2,500 - 49,999	53	38	9			
Under 2,500, Rural	57	35	8			

NIXON-MCGOVERN-WALLACE 'TEST ELECTION'

Question: "If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and George McGovern were the Democratic candidate and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?"

- Based on Registered Voters -

	MAY 26-29, 1972				APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972			
	Nixon	McGovern	Wallace	Undecided	Nixon	McGovern	Wallace	Undecided
NATIONAL	43	30	19	8	43	35	15	7
SEX								
Male	40	30	24	6				
Female	45	30	16	9				
RACE								
White	44	27	23	6				
Non-white	25	52	10	13				
EDUCATION								
College	50	34	12	4				
High School	42	23	22	8				
Grade School	34	27	29	10				
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	52	31	13	4				
White Collar	43	30	19	8				
Farmers	40	12	47	1				
Manual	34	32	26	8				
AGE								
18 - 20 years	44	39	16	1				
21 - 29 years	36	44	15	5				
30 - 49 years	44	24	23	9				
50 & over	43	27	23	7				
RELIGION								
Protestant	46	23	24	7				
Catholic	38	36	20	6				
Jewish	X	X	X	X				
POLITICS								
Republican	76	7	12	5				
Democrat	24	44	23	9				
Independent	41	26	27	6				
REGION								
East	45	34	15	6				
Midwest	42	29	19	10				
South	36	22	36	6				
West	46	32	15	7				
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	49	30	15	6				
\$10,000 - \$14,999	45	26	24	5				
\$7,000 - \$9,999	35	35	22	8				
\$5,000 - \$6,999	45	25	21	9				
\$3,000 - \$4,999	34	32	26	8				
Under \$3,000	36	31	22	11				
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	40	38	15	7				
500,000 - 999,999	46	29	16	9				
50,000 - 499,999	42	36	16	6				
2,500 - 49,999	42	26	25	7				
Under 2,500, Rural	42	20	30	8				

NIXON—MCGOVERN 'TEST ELECTION'

Question: "Suppose Wallace is not in the race, which candidate would you prefer — Nixon or McGovern?"

— Based on Registered Voters. —

	MAY 26-29, 1972			APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972		
	Nixon %	McGovern %	Undecided %	Nixon %	McGovern %	Undecided %
NATIONAL	53	34	11	49	39	12
SEX						
Male	52	35	10			
Female	53	33	14			
RACE						
White	56	31	13			
Non-white	29	56	15			
EDUCATION						
College	57	36	7			
High School	54	32	14			
Grade School	45	36	9			
OCCUPATION						
Prof. & Bus.	59	33	8			
White Collar	54	32	14			
Farmers	71	27	2			
Manual	45	38	17			
AGE						
18 - 20 years	58	39	3			
21 - 29 years	41	48	10			
30 - 49 years	56	30	14			
50 & over	53	31	16			
RELIGION						
Protestant	60	28	12			
Catholic	46	41	13			
Jewish	X	X	X			
POLITICS						
Republican	85	7	8			
Democrat	34	52	14			
Independent	42	44	14			
REGION						
East	53	37	10			
Midwest	50	34	16			
South	56	30	14			
West	54	33	13			
INCOME						
\$15,000 & over	58	33	9			
\$10,000 - \$14,999	56	30	14			
\$7,000 - \$9,999	44	39	17			
\$5,000 - \$6,999	56	30	14			
\$3,000 - \$4,999	50	38	12			
Under \$3,000	47	38	15			
COMMUNITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	47	41	12			
500,000 - 999,999	52	35	13			
50,000 - 499,999	50	38	12			
2,500 - 49,999	56	29	15			
Under 2,500, Rural	59	27	14			

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE 'TEST ELECTION'

Question: "If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and Hubert Humphrey were the Democratic candidate and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?"

— Based on Registered Voters —

	MAY 26-29, 1972				APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972			
	Nixon %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Undecided %	Nixon %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Undecided %
NATIONAL	43	26	22	9	45	34	15	6
SEX								
Male	41	24	28	7				
Female	45	28	16	11				
RACE								
White	46	21	23	10				
Non-white	16	66	8	10				
EDUCATION								
College	56	22	15	7				
High School	41	25	23	11				
Grade School	31	32	26	11				
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	56	22	13	9				
White Collar	46	23	20	11				
Farmers	39	19	39	3				
Manual	33	31	26	10				
AGE								
18 - 20 years	46	26	16	12				
21 - 29 years	44	28	19	9				
30 - 49 years	43	25	23	9				
50 & over	42	26	22	10				
RELIGION								
Protestant	46	21	24	9				
Catholic	40	33	19	8				
Jewish	X	X	X	X				
POLITICS								
Republican	82	3	10	5				
Democrat	20	46	24	10				
Independent	44	15	29	12				
REGION								
East	45	30	16	9				
Midwest	44	27	20	9				
South	37	22	32	9				
West	47	23	18	12				
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	53	22	17	8				
\$10,000 - \$14,999	46	25	23	6				
\$7,000 - \$9,999	39	24	25	12				
\$5,000 - \$6,999	41	23	22	14				
\$3,000 - \$4,999	30	37	26	7				
Under \$3,000	37	31	17	15				
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	40	33	16	11				
500,000 - 999,999	46	35	13	6				
50,000 - 499,999	44	28	17	11				
2,500 - 49,999	45	21	25	9				
Under 2,500, Rural	41	19	30	10				

NIXON-HUMPHREY 'TEST ELECTION'

Question: "Suppose Wallace is not in the race, which candidate would you prefer - Nixon or Humphrey?"

- Based on Registered Voters -

	MAY 26-29, 1972			APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972		
	Nixon %	Humphrey %	Undecided %	Nixon %	Humphrey %	Undecided %
NATIONAL	52	32	16	50	38	12
SEX						
Male	52	31	17			
Female	52	33	15			
RACE						
White	56	27	17			
Non-white	18	70	12			
EDUCATION						
College	63	26	11			
High School	53	31	16			
Grade School	38	41	21			
OCCUPATION						
Prof. & Bus.	63	24	13			
White Collar	55	28	17			
Farmers	68	27	5			
Manual	42	38	20			
AGE						
18 - 20 years	57	29	14			
21 - 29 years	54	22	24			
30 - 49 years	53	33	14			
50 & over	50	31	19			
RELIGION						
Protestant	57	28	15			
Catholic	47	37	16			
Jewish	X	X	X			
POLITICS						
Republican	89	4	7			
Democrat	29	55	16			
Independent	57	20	23			
REGION						
East	52	35	13			
Midwest	49	31	20			
South	55	31	14			
West	53	28	19			
INCOME						
\$15,000 & over	62	26	12			
\$10,000 - \$14,999	55	31	14			
\$7,000 - \$9,999	46	31	23			
\$5,000 - \$6,999	49	32	19			
\$3,000 - \$4,999	46	41	13			
Under \$3,000	44	36	20			
COMMUNITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	47	37	16			
500,000 - 999,999	50	39	11			
50,000 - 499,999	49	32	19			
2,500 - 49,999	59	24	17			
Under 2,500, Rural	55	29	16			

McGovern's Rise in Popularity Comparable to Willkie's Performance

In the period of just two months, McGovern has achieved a rise in popularity comparable to the remarkable performance of Republican Wendell Willkie in 1940, who came from nowhere that year to vie with Thomas Dewey as the top choice of Republican voters for the nomination on the eve of the convention.

An analysis of the trend in McGovern's support reveals the following:

1. *The party faithful.* In early spring McGovern had the support of only five per cent of Democrats nationwide, as determined by a national survey in which Democrats were asked to give their top choice from a list of leading presidential possibilities. In the latest national survey, conducted in late May, prior to the California primary, he is in a virtual three-way tie with his leading rivals. He wins the vote of 25 per cent of Democrats to 26 per cent for Humphrey and 26 per cent for Wallace.

The previous survey showed Humphrey with a wide lead, winning the vote of 35 per cent of Democrats nationwide, to 20 per cent for McGovern and 18 per cent for Wallace.

2. *Independent voters.* McGovern has consistently been stronger among voters who classify themselves as Independents than among Democrats. Even during the early period of the primaries, McGovern ran virtually even with Humphrey among this group. Following the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries, however, McGovern recorded a surge of popularity with Independents — from 18 per cent to 26 per cent.

This sharp upturn for McGovern among Independents occurred roughly one month after a similar jump among Democrats — from 5 per cent to 17 per cent following the Wisconsin primary.

3. *Better-educated, higher-income voters.* McGovern holds an advantage over Humphrey and Wallace in that, among both Democrats and Independents, he appeals far more to college-educated and higher income persons. These groups vote in greater proportions in the primaries and work harder to get supporters to the polls. Among Democrats and Independents with a college background, for example, McGovern is preferred over Humphrey by a 3-to-1 margin.

When the choices of Democrats and Independents in the latest survey are combined, McGovern emerges ahead of Humphrey for the first time. He leads Humphrey by the margin of seven percentage points, 26 per cent to 19 per cent.

Wallace, however, is ahead of both men, winning the support of 31 per cent of Democrats and Independents combined.

The following tables show the trend in support for Humphrey, McGovern and Wallace among Independents and Democrats. Both survey dates and primary dates are given.

*CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS
FOR 1972 NOMINATION
(from a list)*

<i>Survey Date:</i>	<u><i>HHH</i></u>	<u><i>McGovern</i></u>	<u><i>Wallace</i></u>
	%	%	%
May 26-29	26	25	26
— Ore. Primary: May 23 —			
— Md. Primary: May 16 —			
April 28 - May 1	35	20	18
— Mass., Pa. Primaries: April 25 —			
April 21-24	30	17	19
— Wis. Primary: April 4 —			
March 24-27	31	5	17
— Ill. Primary: March 21 —			
— Fla. Primary: March 14 —			
— N. H. Primary: March 7 —			
March 3-6	31	6	15

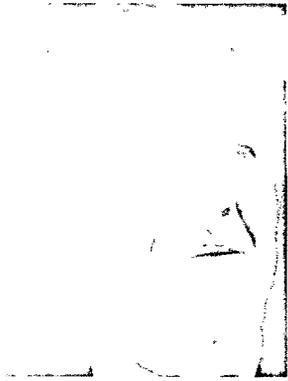
CHOICE OF INDEPENDENTS
FOR 1972 NOMINATION
(from a list)

<i>Survey Date:</i>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
	%	%	%
May 26-29	11	25	36
– Ore. Primary: May 23 –			
– Md. Primary: May 16 –			
April 28 - May 1	18	26	22
– Mass., Pa. Primaries: April 25 –			
April 21-24	18	18	26
– Wis. Primary: April 4 –			
March 24-27	16	15	21
– Ill. Primary: March 21 –			
– Fla. Primary: March 14 –			
– N. H. Primary: March 7 –			
March 3-6	11	11	23

MCGOVERN - HUMPHREY 'SHOWDOWN'

Question: "Suppose the choice for President in the Democratic convention this year narrows down to George McGovern and Hubert Humphrey. Which ONE would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?"

	MAY 26-29, 1972			APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972		
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Undecided %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Undecided %
NATIONAL	46	41	13	43	42	15
SEX						
Male	46	39	15			
Female	46	42	12			
RACE						
White	47	39	14			
Non-white	31	59	10			
EDUCATION						
College	55	35	10			
High School	45	41	14			
Grade School	35	47	18			
OCCUPATION						
Prof. & Bus.	54	37	9			
White Collar	41	44	15			
Farmers	55	33	12			
Manual	44	40	16			
AGE						
18 - 20 years	56	38	6			
21 - 29 years	60	28	12			
30 - 49 years	43	44	13			
50 & over	38	46	16			
RELIGION						
Protestant	44	42	14			
Catholic	46	42	12			
Jewish	X	X	X			
POLITICS						
Republican	47	39	14			
Democrat	43	49	8			
Independent	51	32	17			
REGION						
East	43	44	13			
Midwest	51	39	10			
South	40	43	17			
West	50	35	15			
INCOME						
\$15,000 & over	55	37	8			
\$10,000 - \$14,999	46	39	15			
\$7,000 - \$9,999	53	36	11			
\$5,000 - \$6,999	42	41	17			
\$3,000 - \$4,999	38	49	13			
Under \$3,000	31	46	23			
COMMUNITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	52	37	11			
500,000 - 999,999	37	47	16			
50,000 - 499,999	48	43	9			
2,500 - 49,999	39	42	19			
Under 2,500, Rural	47	38	15			



SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN

Public's Image

"MODERN"

"INNOVATIVE"

"MODERATE"

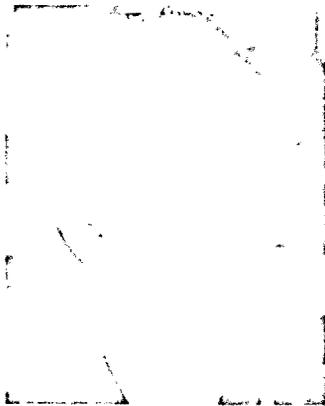
SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY

Public's Image

"TOO MUCH OF A POLITICIAN"

"UNINTERESTING"

"OLD FASHIONED"



GOV. GEORGE WALLACE

Public's Image

"PRESENTS IDEAS CLEARLY"

"TAKES EXTREME POSITIONS. . ."

"NON-INTELLECTUAL"

— Special 'Image' Study —

*McGovern Seen as 'Modern,' 'Innovative;'
HHH Considered 'Too Much a Politician'*

The American public views Sen. George McGovern as less of a politician, more modern in style and offering more innovative solutions to national problems than either of his chief Democratic rivals, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama.

At the same time, the public perceives McGovern as no more extreme in his political positions than Humphrey and far less so than Wallace. This finding is of particular interest inasmuch as some political observers have characterized McGovern as the "Goldwater of the Democratic party."

Support for a candidate depends on a number of factors including his personality, character and "style."

In view of the importance of these factors, it is instructive to examine the image currently projected by each of the three leading Democratic contenders.

A scientifically selected sample of the electorate was asked to select, from a list of nine pairs of statements, the statement in each pair that comes closest to their own feelings about Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama.

Humphrey is considered "too much of a politician" by a slightly larger percentage than select this statement for Wallace and a considerably larger percentage than use the statement to describe McGovern.

Similarly, more persons choose the following phrases to describe Humphrey than either McGovern or Wallace: "He changes what he says to fit his audience"; "It is hard to know where he stands on issues."

Also, more voters think Humphrey projects an uninteresting or dull image than does either McGovern or Wallace.

Wallace is the most likely to be regarded as frank and unequivocal in making his political positions known. Larger percentages of the public associate the following statements with Wallace than with McGovern: "You know where he stands on issues," and "he says what he believes no matter to whom he is speaking." Humphrey scores least well on these statements.

In contrast to either of his Democratic rivals, however, Wallace is considered by larger percentages of voters to be non-intellectual and as taking extreme positions on issues.

Humphrey, having been involved as a key figure in Democratic party activity for a quarter century, represents an "old face" on the American political scene. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that he is perceived as somewhat less than modern in his approach or innovative in his solutions to national problems.

Political observers generally place Humphrey near the center of the political spectrum within the Democratic party — between Wallace on the right and McGovern on the left. In seeking to appeal to both the liberal and conservative wings of his party, Humphrey has taken a moderate or middle position on key issues which may be perceived by some as equivocating or "fence-sitting."

Following are the details of the survey:

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Q: "We are trying to find out how people think of the various candidates. As I name a candidate, would you read off from *each* pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feelings about that candidate."

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	"Colorful, interesting personality"				"Dull, uninteresting, colorless"			
	McGovern	Humphrey	Wallace	Muskie	McGovern	Humphrey	Wallace	Muskie
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
SEX	30	26	33	25	17	24	13	24
Male	26	27	35	25	20	23	12	26
Female	34	25	32	26	14	25	14	22
RACE								
White	30	26	35	26	18	26	12	25
Non-white	30	27	13	22	12	11	26	14
EDUCATION								
College	33	27	43	22	18	29	10	32
High School	30	25	30	28	17	25	15	22
Trade School	27	26	29	22	17	14	9	20
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	29	26	41	25	21	30	8	27
White Collar	28	26	39	22	19	27	10	28
Farmers	40	20	17	22	5	23	19	11
Manual	31	27	29	29	16	24	16	23
AGE								
18-20 years	36	23	30	30	13	33	26	21
21-29 years	34	22	34	32	19	28	17	22
30-49 years	29	27	39	22	19	26	11	29
50 & over	27	27	29	24	15	17	10	22
RELIGION								
Protestant	31	27	33	26	18	24	13	24
Catholic	29	23	31	26	15	23	14	23
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICAL								
Republican	28	23	37	22	17	24	9	26
Democrat	30	28	26	27	14	17	14	20
Independent	31	24	39	25	21	35	14	29
REGION								
West	29	26	33	23	16	23	16	28
Midwest	34	31	33	27	14	18	13	23
South	28	22	32	27	19	27	12	19
West	26	23	35	24	21	25	10	26
INCOME								
\$5,000 & over	34	29	46	21	18	27	11	35
\$10,000 - \$14,999	29	26	37	29	21	32	12	26
\$15,000 - \$19,999	30	25	31	27	15	26	14	22
\$20,000 - \$24,999	30	25	29	27	11	17	14	15
\$25,000 - \$29,999	27	23	24	26	15	16	13	16
Under \$3,000	32	25	19	19	17	17	17	21
POPULATION DENSITY								
Over 100,000 & over	30	27	36	20	15	23	13	33
100,000 - 99,999	29	22	31	23	14	27	11	25
50,000 - 49,999	27	30	32	22	21	22	13	27
25,000 - 49,999	38	28	40	33	14	26	12	23
Under 2,500, Rural	28	22	29	28	18	24	15	16

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feelings about that candidate."

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	"Has modern innovative solutions to national problems"				"Has old-fashioned, behind-the-times, solutions to national problems"			
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %
NATIONAL	34	24	16	27	9	18	25	13
SEX								
Male	32	24	16	26	11	19	27	15
Female	36	24	16	29	7	16	23	11
RACE								
White	35	24	18	27	9	19	24	14
Non-white	28	26	4	27	7	9	35	7
EDUCATION								
College	40	24	15	27	6	22	32	15
High School	31	23	17	28	11	18	22	12
Grade School	34	27	16	25	7	11	24	13
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	35	20	17	28	19	23	23	13
White Collar	36	26	17	28	6	16	26	12
Farmers	36	20	11	23	11	8	11	3
Manual	26	27	19	28	9	17	26	16
AGE								
18 - 20 years	40	28	19	36	10	19	33	14
21 - 29 years	37	26	16	32	11	20	30	21
30 - 49 years	33	24	17	26	10	20	24	13
50 & over	32	22	15	23	7	14	21	13
RELIGION								
Protestant	34	24	18	30	10	16	23	12
Catholic	32	23	15	24	8	19	24	14
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	33	20	15	28	11	19	21	10
Democrat	33	30	14	27	6	12	26	12
Independent	36	19	20	26	11	24	27	18
REGION								
East	37	21	15	27	6	19	26	12
Midwest	37	25	19	29	8	17	23	14
South	27	26	18	26	11	15	21	15
West	33	25	13	26	21	20	33	12
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	37	24	16	27	8	21	28	17
\$10,000 - \$14,999	37	23	18	30	10	23	23	15
\$7,000 - \$9,999	34	27	17	31	10	17	26	10
\$5,000 - \$6,999	34	23	17	21	7	11	21	14
\$3,000 - \$4,999	29	19	16	20	7	16	25	12
Under \$3,000	34	30	9	30	9	12	27	11
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	37	21	13	23	9	22	31	18
500,000 - 999,999	32	21	18	29	3	18	22	9
50,000 - 499,999	34	28	15	25	8	15	28	15
2,500 - 49,999	39	28	21	35	10	17	25	17
Under 2,500, Rural	30	21	16	26	12	16	20	9

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"Intellectual"				"Non-intellectual"			
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %
NATIONAL	42	35	21	36	5	9	20	8
SEX								
Male	42	36	22	36	7	10	20	9
Female	43	35	21	37	4	7	20	7
RACE								
White	44	36	22	37	5	9	20	9
Non-white	31	35	15	32	7	6	22	6
EDUCATION								
College	51	34	17	40	4	13	29	10
High School	41	37	22	37	5	8	17	7
Grade School	33	33	24	29	8	5	16	9
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	45	32	17	39	5	12	26	10
White Collar	42	42	23	35	6	6	18	6
Farmers	36	29	27	21	—	12	2	7
Manual	44	39	24	38	6	8	19	8
AGE								
18 - 20 years	45	44	23	40	11	13	25	8
21 - 29 years	45	37	23	43	4	11	22	6
30 - 49 years	44	36	20	36	6	9	22	11
50 & over	38	32	20	31	6	7	16	7
RELIGION								
Protestant	41	36	22	36	7	9	19	10
Catholic	41	35	21	37	3	7	17	7
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	36	32	21	33	8	9	20	8
Democrat	42	35	20	35	5	7	18	8
Independent	48	38	23	40	5	11	23	9
REGION								
East	44	34	18	36	5	8	23	8
Midwest	42	42	22	39	4	6	20	8
South	42	30	27	33	6	12	15	9
West	40	36	17	34	10	9	25	9
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	47	35	21	38	4	10	26	10
\$10,000 - \$14,999	48	38	22	40	7	11	22	12
\$7,000 - \$9,999	44	39	27	39	4	11	15	7
\$5,000 - \$6,999	38	33	19	32	4	6	14	3
\$3,000 - \$4,999	33	31	21	28	6	7	16	6
Under \$3,000	31	30	15	30	10	4	23	11
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	44	41	14	40	4	6	29	9
500,000 - 999,999	37	26	19	32	5	11	22	8
50,000 - 499,999	45	37	18	34	5	7	22	9
2,500 - 49,999	43	36	30	40	10	11	15	10
Under 2,500, Rural	40	35	24	34	5	9	15	7

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"Presents his ideas clearly"				"Presents his ideas in vague or confused manner"			
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %
NATIONAL	35	25	32	27	15	21	14	24
SEX								
Male	34	23	32	26	17	23	14	24
Female	37	28	32	28	13	19	15	23
RACE								
White	35	24	33	27	15	22	14	25
Non-white	36	39	22	24	14	13	20	18
EDUCATION								
College	39	21	33	24	18	28	15	28
High School	35	24	32	28	14	20	14	24
Grade School	32	33	30	27	15	14	16	19
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	32	22	32	26	20	25	13	23
White Collar	33	25	36	19	12	20	16	28
Farmers	49	21	19	20	7	20	16	22
Manual	37	26	33	29	15	22	16	25
AGE								
18 - 20 years	40	27	37	30	14	30	15	31
21 - 29 years	40	26	33	31	12	24	17	22
30 - 49 years	31	21	34	27	20	23	13	24
50 & over	35	29	28	24	13	15	14	23
RELIGION								
Protestant	35	27	33	26	17	20	14	24
Catholic	33	21	30	28	13	23	15	23
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	34	17	31	25	13	23	13	24
Democrat	35	31	29	26	14	16	15	24
Independent	38	24	38	29	17	26	14	25
REGION								
East	37	22	30	29	11	22	16	22
Midwest	40	31	32	30	14	18	12	24
South	30	23	35	22	19	23	13	26
West	33	24	29	27	19	20	17	26
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	34	21	35	25	21	27	14	30
\$10,000 - \$14,999	38	21	38	30	14	27	14	28
\$7,000 - \$9,999	39	32	32	26	13	18	18	22
\$5,000 - \$6,999	31	25	25	28	14	18	11	18
\$3,000 - \$4,999	37	27	29	24	8	16	14	20
Under \$3,000	32	36	27	28	15	10	16	18
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	37	29	27	27	12	21	21	27
500,000 - 999,999	33	18	32	27	12	24	12	22
50,000 - 499,999	34	28	30	25	15	17	15	23
2,500 - 49,999	43	23	36	27	15	28	15	30
Under 2,500, Rural	32	25	33	28	19	19	10	21

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"You know where he stands on issues"				"Hard to know where he stands on issues"			
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %
NATIONAL	30	25	39	22	20	25	15	30
SEX								
Male	30	23	41	21	22	29	15	32
Female	30	26	37	22	18	22	15	28
RACE								
White	30	24	40	22	20	27	15	31
Non-white	27	33	35	20	18	10	14	19
EDUCATION								
College	38	22	43	22	15	36	15	40
High School	28	24	40	22	21	23	14	26
Grade School	21	29	31	20	25	17	18	26
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	32	21	46	23	19	31	14	32
White Collar	31	25	42	17	18	25	13	34
Farmers	34	18	16	17	6	20	21	25
Manual	30	25	40	22	23	25	14	29
AGE								
18 - 20 years	33	25	38	24	15	30	11	26
21 - 29 years	36	23	44	23	17	30	15	33
30 - 49 years	30	25	40	23	23	28	14	31
50 & over	25	26	36	20	20	19	16	28
RELIGION								
Protestant	28	26	41	21	22	26	15	30
Catholic	30	23	34	24	19	22	15	27
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	29	21	38	21	21	27	16	30
Democrat	31	30	36	22	19	19	15	26
Independent	29	20	45	22	20	33	14	36
REGION								
East	33	27	40	27	17	21	16	23
Midwest	30	23	39	20	19	27	16	34
South	26	23	39	19	24	29	15	30
West	29	27	38	16	21	23	13	33
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	29	20	46	21	20	33	12	33
\$10,000 - \$14,999	36	26	42	23	19	30	13	34
\$7,000 - \$9,999	31	28	41	21	18	25	18	31
\$5,000 - \$6,999	24	24	35	22	21	24	14	25
\$3,000 - \$4,999	27	22	31	22	18	17	16	24
Under \$3,000	27	32	30	24	22	15	19	26
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	32	28	40	25	15	22	17	27
500,000 - 999,999	33	16	37	20	12	30	12	25
50,000 - 499,999	32	28	40	21	20	22	14	32
2,500 - 49,999	28	25	40	20	26	29	18	36
Under 2,500, Rural	26	24	38	23	24	26	15	29

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"Puts country's interest ahead of politics"				"Too much of a politician"			
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %
NATIONAL	28	22	20	23	21	35	26	24
SEX								
Male	28	21	24	23	24	38	23	26
Female	28	23	17	24	19	32	30	23
RACE								
White	28	21	22	23	22	37	26	25
Non-white	26	34	7	25	12	18	30	18
EDUCATION								
College	34	13	17	25	20	50	29	27
High School	27	24	19	22	22	32	28	24
Grade School	20	30	28	27	21	24	20	21
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	28	14	17	25	20	49	31	23
White Collar	33	20	20	18	20	37	24	25
Farmers	29	13	17	15	17	50	19	25
Manual	30	25	23	24	22	31	25	27
AGE								
18 - 20 years	43	17	20	26	18	38	29	29
21 - 29 years	29	17	19	24	21	41	27	26
30 - 49 years	29	24	22	23	22	36	27	25
50 & over	22	25	20	22	22	30	25	22
RELIGION								
Protestant	24	23	21	22	24	36	25	26
Catholic	32	21	19	28	18	34	27	21
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	23	17	19	21	23	41	26	22
Democrat	31	30	19	28	17	26	26	20
Independent	28	16	23	20	25	45	27	32
REGION								
East	32	20	14	26	15	34	30	22
Midwest	32	26	20	25	20	32	28	23
South	19	21	29	21	25	38	19	27
West	27	21	17	19	28	37	31	26
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	29	16	21	23	24	48	28	29
\$10,000 - \$14,999	31	19	23	22	23	41	28	29
\$7,000 - \$9,999	31	23	19	25	17	31	31	19
\$5,000 - \$6,999	27	20	17	22	22	31	22	23
\$3,000 - \$4,999	20	31	20	24	15	24	22	20
Under \$3,000	24	34	19	27	23	23	25	14
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	32	22	13	22	19	34	33	25
500,000 - 999,999	26	24	18	26	21	36	29	23
50,000 - 499,999	31	29	22	21	18	30	21	24
2,500 - 49,999	31	20	24	31	23	39	28	26
Under 2,500, Rural	22	17	23	21	25	37	24	24

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"Extremist, takes extreme positions"				"A moderate, takes moderate positions"			
	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %	McGovern %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Muskie %
NATIONAL	13	11	46	10	32	31	9	35
SEX								
Male	15	13	44	11	32	30	9	33
Female	11	8	48	9	31	32	8	36
RACE								
White	13	11	47	10	32	31	9	35
Non-white	9	11	40	10	28	26	5	31
EDUCATION								
College	15	10	58	9	35	37	6	42
High School	11	11	45	11	34	29	9	33
• Grade School	15	11	36	10	22	27	10	31
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	12	10	59	10	31	33	6	38
White Collar	14	8	46	7	38	36	10	35
Farmers	12	9	29	7	21	22	9	32
Manual	10	13	44	11	36	31	10	36
AGE								
18 - 20 years	12	14	42	14	42	34	12	34
21 - 29 years	9	14	46	8	36	33	9	42
30 - 49 years	14	9	50	11	33	34	8	34
50 & over	15	10	44	10	26	26	8	31
RELIGION								
Protestant	15	12	43	11	32	29	10	34
Catholic	11	9	48	9	30	33	7	35
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	18	13	48	10	28	26	7	32
Democrat	11	8	44	10	31	32	9	33
Independent	12	14	48	10	35	32	10	39
REGION								
East	13	10	52	9	30	31	7	36
Midwest	11	10	48	8	36	35	7	38
South	14	13	33	15	30	28	14	27
West	16	10	56	10	31	29	6	37
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	16	11	57	9	32	34	9	38
\$10,000 - \$14,999	13	13	53	11	41	35	8	41
\$7,000 - \$9,999	16	11	43	11	30	31	8	35
\$5,000 - \$6,999	8	7	37	9	31	27	11	32
\$3,000 - \$4,999	10	9	34	10	21	24	10	23
Under \$3,000	12	9	42	10	28	30	5	31
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	10	10	52	7	35	35	6	44
500,000 - 999,999	19	8	48	11	26	32	9	31
50,000 - 499,999	9	11	47	8	33	26	8	35
2,500 - 49,999	15	13	46	16	36	40	11	35
Under 2,500, Rural	14	10	41	11	29	27	9	30

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "... would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"Says what he believes no matter whom he is talking to"				"Changes what he says to fit the audience he is talking to"			
	McGovern	Humphrey	Wallace	Muskie	McGovern	Humphrey	Wallace	Muskie
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	27	23	48	26	20	29	15	26
SEX								
Male	27	19	51	24	21	33	13	28
Female	27	26	44	28	18	26	17	24
RACE								
White	27	23	49	26	21	31	14	26
Non-white	28	28	37	25	8	17	20	21
EDUCATION								
College	29	16	49	24	22	40	15	33
High School	25	23	49	25	18	28	15	25
Grade School	30	31	42	30	20	21	13	18
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	27	17	49	24	22	37	13	28
White Collar	26	21	47	22	17	34	17	31
Farmers	24	20	36	24	13	29	12	25
Manual	29	26	53	28	19	27	14	25
AGE								
18 - 20 years	32	21	47	23	16	41	12	26
21 - 29 years	28	19	50	28	19	31	17	29
30 - 49 years	27	23	52	24	23	31	15	28
50 & over	25	26	43	28	18	24	14	22
RELIGION								
Protestant	26	24	50	26	22	29	15	27
Catholic	26	20	46	27	18	31	14	24
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	26	21	47	26	21	31	16	25
Democrat	27	26	46	26	17	24	15	24
Independent	28	20	50	24	23	37	13	29
REGION								
East	29	22	43	25	16	30	14	22
Midwest	29	27	49	31	20	30	14	23
South	24	19	51	22	22	31	17	29
West	25	24	46	25	23	27	14	30
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	24	19	50	26	27	40	15	28
\$10,000 - \$14,999	27	19	56	25	22	34	14	33
\$7,000 - \$9,999	31	24	51	28	16	27	14	21
\$5,000 - \$6,999	30	24	45	25	18	23	11	20
\$3,000 - \$4,999	30	34	36	24	8	19	18	21
Under \$3,000	23	24	36	30	22	23	21	21
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	30	21	45	25	14	30	15	24
500,000 - 999,999	26	15	45	28	16	37	13	23
50,000 - 499,999	28	25	45	26	19	27	17	26
2,500 - 49,999	38	27	55	27	20	32	16	31
Under 2,500, Rural	19	25	48	25	26	26	13	24

IMAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Question: "...would you read off from each pair of statements the one that comes closest to your own feeling about that candidate."

APRIL 28 - MAY 1, 1972

	"Old-fashioned in style"				"Modern in style"			
	McGovern	Humphrey	Wallace	Muskie	McGovern	Humphrey	Wallace	Muskie
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	12	29	28	20	32	16	14	24
SEX								
Male	13	30	29	23	32	16	15	22
Female	12	28	27	16	32	16	14	27
RACE								
White	12	30	28	20	33	16	15	25
Non-white	12	16	30	17	28	19	6	21
EDUCATION								
College	9	34	34	24	39	16	12	23
High School	13	29	16	18	31	15	15	26
Grade School	14	20	27	18	27	20	16	23
OCCUPATION								
Prof. & Bus.	10	35	30	21	37	13	13	23
White Collar	17	24	31	22	31	20	14	25
Farmers	4	13	19	15	30	16	18	15
Manual	14	30	28	19	31	17	15	28
AGE								
18 - 20 years	11	33	34	21	37	17	14	29
21 - 29 years	13	31	33	18	32	15	15	30
30 - 49 years	13	30	28	20	36	16	14	24
50 & over	12	26	24	20	28	16	14	20
RELIGION								
Protestant	12	28	30	20	33	16	13	24
Catholic	12	28	25	19	31	15	16	27
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
POLITICS								
Republican	12	29	26	21	29	14	13	20
Democrat	12	24	25	17	31	17	13	27
Independent	13	36	34	23	36	15	17	25
REGION								
East	12	33	28	22	30	13	13	21
Midwest	11	26	27	20	35	19	15	26
South	13	5	27	19	30	17	14	22
West	14	32	32	15	33	12	14	29
INCOME								
\$15,000 & over	10	35	31	24	39	15	14	21
\$10,000 - \$14,999	14	32	28	19	36	20	16	29
\$7,000 - \$6,999	12	29	29	20	33	16	16	28
\$5,000 - \$6,999	13	24	22	14	27	13	14	21
\$3,000 - \$4,999	11	19	23	19	24	17	13	21
Under \$3,000	10	27	36	19	29	13	10	24
COMMUNITY SIZE								
1,000,000 & over	14	34	31	21	33	15	15	22
500,000 - 999,999	10	31	25	18	31	15	13	21
50,000 - 499,999	13	27	31	23	30	16	14	23
2,500 - 49,999	14	31	26	21	39	20	21	22
Under 2,500, Rural	11	25	26	16	31	15	10	25

FIREARM REGISTRATION

Question: "Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?"

	MAY 26-29, 1972		
	Favor %	Oppose %	No Opinion %
NATIONAL	71	25	4
SEX			
Male	65	31	4
Female	77	18	5
RACE			
White	71	25	4
Non-white	72	21	7
EDUCATION			
College	74	23	3
High School	71	25	4
Grade School	67	27	6
OCCUPATION			
Prof. & Bus.	75	22	3
White Collar	71	23	6
Farmers	56	32	12
Manual	70	26	4
AGE			
18 - 20 years	69	26	5
21 - 29 years	74	23	3
30 - 49 years	68	28	4
50 & over	73	22	5
RELIGION			
Protestant	67	28	5
Catholic	78	19	3
Jewish	X	X	X
POLITICS			
Republican	73	22	5
Democrat	72	24	4
Independent	70	27	3
REGION			
East	77	19	4
Midwest	72	25	3
South	68	27	5
West	64	30	6
COMMUNITY SIZE			
1,000,000 & over	83	14	3
500,000 - 999,999	75	20	5
50,000 - 499,999	73	25	2
2,500 - 49,999	67	26	7
Under 2,500, Rural	63	32	5
GUN OWNERSHIP			
Gun Owner	61	34	5
Non-Gun Owner	80	16	4

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Interviewing Dates: May 26-29, 1972

NATIONAL	1540
SEX	
Male	758
Female	782
RACE	
White	1379
Non-white	161
EDUCATION	
College	420
High School	859
Grade School	253
OCCUPATION	
Prof. & Bus.	373
White Collar	180
Farmers	62
Manual	596
AGE	
18 - 20 years	76
21 - 29 years	312
30 - 49 years	528
50 & over	604
RELIGION	
Protestant	915
Catholic	450
Jewish	43
POLITICS	
Republican	367
Democrat	661
Independent	489
REGION	
East	420
Midwest	436
South	430
West	254
INCOME	
\$15,000 & over	298
\$10,000 - \$14,999	410
\$7,000 - \$9,999	245
\$5,000 - \$6,999	207
\$3,000 - \$4,999	189
Under \$3,000	156
COMMUNITY SIZE	
1,000,000 & over	296
500,000 - 999,999	198
50,000 - 499,999	376
2,500 - 49,999	237
Under 2,500, Rural	433

DESIGN OF THE SAMPLE

The design of the sample is that of a replicated probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas.

After stratifying the nation geographically and by size of community in order to insure conformity of the sample with the latest available estimates by the Census Bureau of the distribution of the adult population, about 320 different sampling locations or areas were selected on a strictly random basis. The interviewers had no choice whatsoever concerning the part of the city or county in which they conducted their interviews.

Approximately 5 interviews were conducted in each such randomly selected sampling point. Interviewers were given maps of the area to which they were assigned, with a starting point indicated, and required to follow a specified direction. At each occupied dwelling unit, interviewers were instructed to select respondents by following a prescribed systematic method and by a male-female assignment. This procedure was followed until the assigned number of interviews was completed.

Since this sampling procedure is designed to produce a sample which approximates the adult civilian population (21 and older) living in private households in the U.S. (that is, excluding those in prisons and hospitals, hotels, religious and educational institutions, and on military reservations), the survey results can be applied to this population for the purpose of projecting percentages into number of people. The manner in which the sample is drawn also produces a sample which approximates the population of private households in the United States. Therefore, survey results can also be projected in terms of number of households when appropriate.

SAMPLING TOLERANCES

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of such sampling errors depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The computed allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period could be expected to vary, 95 per cent of the time, assuming the same sampling procedure, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

Table A shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage.

The table would be used in the following manner: Let us say a reported percentage is 33 for a group which includes 1500 respondents. Then we go to row "percentages near 30" in the table and go across to the column headed "1500." The number at this point is 3, which means that the 33 per cent obtained in the sample is subject to a sampling error of plus or minus 3 points. Another way of saying it is that very probably (95 chances out of 100) the average of repeated samplings would be somewhere between 30 and 36, with the most likely figure the 33 obtained.

In comparing survey results in two samples, such as men and women, the question arises as to how large must a difference between them be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In tables B and C, the number of points which must be allowed for, in such comparisons, is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for percentages near 20 or 80; the other for percentages near 50. For percentages in between, the error to be allowed for is between that shown in the two tables.

Here is an example of how the tables would be used: Let us say that 50 per cent of men respond a certain way and 40 per cent of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10-point difference reflects a real difference between men and women on the question? The sample contains approximately 750 men and 750 women.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and since the two samples are about 750 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "750" which is also in the row designated "750." We find the number 6 here. This means that the allowance for

Continued on next page

ould be 6 points, and that in concluding that percentage among men is somewhere between 4 points higher than the percentage among women should be wrong only about 5 per cent of the time. In other words, we can conclude with confidence that a difference exists in the population observed and that it amounts to at least 4

percentage points.

If, in another case, men's responses amount to 22 per cent, say, and women's 24 per cent, we consult Table B because these percentages are near 20. We look in the column headed "750" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the 2-point difference is inconclusive.

TABLE A

	Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage						
	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level) *						
	Sample						
	1500	1000	750	600	400	200	100
Percentages near 10	2	2	3	3	4	5	7
Percentages near 20	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Percentages near 30	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Percentages near 40	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Percentages near 50	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Percentages near 60	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Percentages near 70	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Percentages near 80	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Percentages near 90	2	2	3	3	4	5	7

* The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

TABLE B

Size of the Sample	Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of the Difference			
	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level) *			
	Percentages near 20 or percentages near 80			
	750	600	400	200
750	5			
600	5	6		
400	6	6	7	
200	8	8	8	10

TABLE C

Size of the Sample	Percentages near 50			
	750	600	400	200
750	6			
600	7	7		
400	7	8	8	
200	10	10	10	12

* The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

VOTE BY GROUPS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
(1952 - 1968)

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		Wal- lace
	Dem.	Rep.	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
TOTAL	44.6	55.4	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	43.0	43.4	13.6
Sex	47	53	45	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16
Men	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12
Women	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15
Race	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15
White	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3
Age	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	37	54	9
High School	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15
College School	52	48	50	50	55	45	66	34	52	33	15
Prof. & Bus.	36	64	32	68	42	58	54	46	34	56	10
White Collar	40	60	37	63	48	52	57	43	41	47	12
Blue Collar	55	45	50	50	60	40	71	29	50	35	15
Prof. & Bus.	33	67	46	54	48	52	53	47	29	51	20
Under 30	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15
30-49 years	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15
50 years & older	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12
Protestant	37	63	37	63	38	62	55	45	35	49	16
Catholic	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8
Republicans	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5
Democrats	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14
Independents	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25
West	45	55	40	60	53	47	68	32	50	43	7
Midwest	42	58	41	59	48	52	61	39	44	47	9
South	51	49	49	51	51	49	52	48	31	36	33
West	42	58	43	57	49	51	60	40	44	49	7

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By Harold Mendelsohn and Irving Crespi

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THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, INC.

Chandler Publishing Company

Scranton, Penna. 18515

56% Approve of His Performance

Nixon's Popularity Dips Slightly But Remains Near 41-Month Average

By George Gallup
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 15 — President Nixon's current popularity rating of 56 per cent approval points up the tough job the Democrats face in trying to capture the White House this fall.

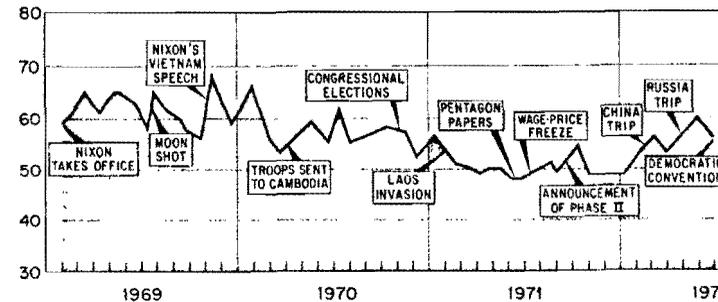
While the President's rating is down slightly from the previous measurement of 60 per cent, recorded in mid-June, it is only a point under his overall average of 57 per cent approval, recorded for the 41 months since he has been in office.

President Nixon's average popularity rating for the first half of 1972, based on seven successive surveys, is 55 per cent — actually five points higher than his average popularity rating for the first half of last year.

But Rating Lower Than LBJ's in '61

While President Nixon's popularity remains at a relatively high level at this point prior to the major party conventions, his approval score falls well below President Lyndon Johnson's score of 74 per cent at a comparable point in the presidential election year of 1964 and President Dwight Eisenhower's score at a comparable point in 1956. Both President Johnson and President Eisenhower won landslide victories in November.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S POPULARITY
% Approval



President Nixon took office with 59 per cent of Americans expressing approval and 36 per cent withholding judgment. The President's highest point in popularity, 68 per cent approval, was recorded following his speech on his Vietnamization program in November, 1969. His low point to date, 48 per cent, was recorded in June of last year, reflecting the public's concern over the economy and the Vietnam war. His latest rating of 56 per cent approval was recorded in late June, prior to the Democratic Convention.

Has Sustained Support With Democratic Groups

President Nixon has registered popularity gains over the last year with all groups, including those which traditionally vote Democratic, such as Jews, Catholics, manual workers and Blacks.

For example, survey data show that approximately 8 in 10 Jews voted against Nixon in the 1968 presidential election. Furthermore, surveys taken in the Spring of 1971 showed only one Jew in four expressing approval of his performance in office. However, more

recent surveys have shown almost four in ten doing so.

The following table compares President Nixon's popularity among Jews and Catholics during the last three months with his ratings during the same months last year. Surveys have been combined to increase the size of the samples of these groups.

	Per Cent Approving:		
	1971	1972	Change
Jews	25	37	+12
Catholics	46	57	+11
Protestants	53	62	+9

Rating Introduced During FDR's Time

The presidential popularity rating was introduced by the Gallup Poll in 1938 during FDR's second administration. Since that time the poll has used the rating on a regular basis to measure the impact of issues and events on the popularity of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

The presidential popularity measurement has proved to be a sensitive barometer in reflecting the attitudes of the electorate toward the president as a political personality and toward his performance in office.

Following is the question asked:

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

Here is the trend since the beginning of the year:

	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Jan. 7-9	49	39	12
Feb. 4-7	53	36	11
Trip to China			
March 3-5	56	32	12
March 24-27	53	37	10
Trip to Russia			
May 26-29	61	32	7
June 16-19	60	32	8
June 23-26	56	33	11

The latest results are based on in-person interviews with 1538 adults, 18 and older. Interviews were conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period June 23-26.

Nixon Popularity Index

— Per Cent Who Approve —

Current	56%
Average in current year	55%
Average since taking office	57%
High since taking office (recorded: Nov. '60)	68%
Low since taking office (recorded: June '71)	48%

Other Presidents

— Per Cent Who Approve —

President	High	Low	Average
President Johnson:	80%	55%	54%
President Kennedy:	83%	57%	70%
President Eisenhower:	79%	49%	66%
President Truman:	87%	23%	46%

Question: *Do you approve or disapprove of the way (name of incumbent) is handling his job as President?*

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH GEORGE GALLUP, JR. -- July 11, 1972

G - Yes?

S - This is Gordon Strachan, sir.

G - Yes, how are you sir?

S - Just fine. I talk with John Davies from time to time and he mentioned that in his absence I might call you about some questions we have.

G - Fine.

S - Have you got a moment?

G - Yes sir.

S - I'm curious if you're going to run Presidential popularity -- if you've taken a poll on that recently?

G - We have and we're going to publish it right away actually for Sunday.

S - Can you tell me the results?

G - Yes, it's down slightly but only marginally from the previous one. The previous one was 60% approval.

S - So it's what?

G - It's still high. It's at about 56.

S - 56. Disapproval probably 37?

G - 33.

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G - No opinion 11.

S - 11. What will the headline be? Any idea?

G - I have no idea. We've just been looking at the figures and we're going to analyze it by groups.

S - I see.

G - Particularly Jews.

S - Oh, that will be interesting.

G - Right.

S - What were the polling dates?

G - This particular one, let's see, June 23 through 26

S - June 23 through 26. Excellent. And that will be released Sunday.

G - That will be released Sunday, right.

S - Good. Did you also conduct trial heats at that time?

G - Trial heats? No, we did not. We didn't have any trial heats.

S - OK. We read with some considerable interest your first referendum release that came out for release today.

G - Oh yes, right.

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G - We'll be releasing, we'll have a release just before the GOP convention giving the view of the Republicans on the same issues.

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G - Pardon me? No, there are about six issues.

S - On all six.

G - That's right.

S - Do you have that tabulated now?

G - We don't actually. We quite frankly still have some ballots in particular areas to be collected.

S - OK. Anything else of interest?

G - Nothing at the moment, no. No, nothing at this particular moment.

S - All right. No big issues or polls on Vietnam or anything coming up, huh?

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S - So there will be no popularity between now and the election?

G - Right, right. It causes confusion. The trend gets completely thrown off.

S - Yes, I see. But you will be conducting trial heats regularly.

G - Indeed we will, right. And we'll have one of those coming up right after the Democratic Convention.

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S - Oh. Maybe the 20th or 22nd, somewhere in there.

G - Let's see. The 20th, the 22nd.

S - The 20th is Thursday, maybe that Sunday?

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S - OK. So I should call you then on Monday?

G - That will be swell.

S - Thank you very much, Mr. Gallup.

G - OK.

S - Good to talk with you.

G - Nice to talk with you.

S - Bye.

G - Bye, bye.

GOP Voters Blame Labor First

Government Blamed More Often Than Business, Labor for Inflation

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 12 — For many months, inflation has been one of the top two domestic concerns of the American people. When asked which is responsible for inflation, most people blame government rather than labor or business.

Four in ten say government is most to blame, while three in ten say labor and two in ten point the finger of blame at business.

However, one's views on where the blame lies depend in considerable measure on such factors as political affiliation, occupation, educational attainment, and income.

Nearly half of Democrats (48 per cent) say government is most responsible for inflation, a far larger percentage than name business (20 per cent) or labor (18 per cent). Republicans on the other hand lean heavily to the view that labor is chiefly to blame for inflation.

Among the college-educated, professional and business people, and those persons in the upper income brackets, the weight of opinion is that labor is most to blame. In addition, larger proportions in these groups place the blame on government than on business.

In contrast, those with only a grade school education, manual workers and lower income people are prone to place the blame for inflation upon government.

Half of persons in labor union families (51 per cent) say government is most responsible for inflation, while 24 per cent name business and 18 per cent blame labor.

One of those who is critical of government is a 33-year old office worker from Connecticut who commented: "The government hasn't been able to find any effective long-term guidelines that are workable. Thus they are neglecting a major responsibility to the American people."

A 44-year old housewife puts the blame on labor: "The demands of labor on industry are on the whole unrealistic. When labor union members get more money, prices have to be increased or products can't be manufactured. It's a vicious cycle."

Business is the chief culprit, according to a New Jersey homeowner: "Business wants too large a profit. Besides, some companies aren't managed efficiently and there is a tremendous amount of waste."

The results reported today are based on in-person interviews with a total of

1556 adults, 18 and older. The survey was conducted April 21-24 and covered more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation. This question was asked:

In your opinion, which is most responsible for inflation — government, business or labor?

Here are the national findings and those by key population groups:

	Business		Labor		Gov't.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	39	20	29	14		
College background	29	24	44	8		
High school	43	20	27	12		
Grade school	39	17	19	26		
Men	37	22	34	11		
Women	41	19	25	17		
Under 30 yrs.	37	29	27	8		
30-49 yrs.	41	18	31	13		
50 & over	39	16	29	20		

Republicans	27	17	43	15
Democrats	48	20	18	16
Independents	39	23	33	10

Income:				
\$15,000 & over	31	18	42	13
\$10,000-\$14,999	41	20	32	11
\$7,000-\$9,999	43	22	29	8
\$5,000-\$6,999	44	25	20	13
\$3,000-\$4,999	38	20	24	19
Under \$3,000	38	15	18	33

Prof. & Business	34	20	42	9
Clerical & Sales	42	17	31	11
Manual labor	45	23	21	13
Farmers	27	13	44	15

Labor union families				
Labor union families	51	24	18	11
Non-union families				
Non-union families	35	19	33	15

Note: Total for each group adds to more than 100 per cent since some persons gave a multiple response.

Coming Sunday!

Is Nixon Gaining Appeal With the Traditionally Democratic Jewish Population?



President Richard Nixon

In a special report for Sunday on President Nixon's popularity, the President's appeal with American Jews will be analyzed.

GOP political strategists consider this traditionally Democratic voting group as a new target group for the GOP in the forthcoming presidential campaign.

Nixon's standing with other Democratic groups — such as blacks and Catholics — will also be analyzed.

Sunday's report will also include the full trend of Nixon's popularity since taking office, as well as a look at the reasons behind his current popularity rating.

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REFERENDUM IN FOUR 'INDICATOR' COUNTIES
 DEMOCRATIC VOTERS SHARPLY DIVIDED ON KEY ISSUES TO BE DEBATED AT CONVENTION

By George Gallup
 Copyright, 1972,
 Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 10 — In the debate over the platform in the Democratic convention in Miami this week, the views of the typical Democratic voter on the key issues of the day will be of prime importance.

To obtain the vote of Democrats on major campaign issues, the Gallup Poll utilized a new survey approach called the *National Public Opinion Referendum*. In this experiment, which simulates a national referendum, the Gallup Poll selected one indicator county in each of the four major regions of the nation. These counties were selected because each has a record of accurately reflecting the sentiment of its area in the presidential elections of 1968, 1964, 1960 and 1956. Together, the vote of these counties reflects the vote of the nation for the last four presidential elections.

Within each indicator county, a secret ballot was delivered to every household in selected election districts. These districts were chosen so that in combination they reflect the vote of the county in recent presidential elections.

The four counties selected for the referendum were New London County, Connecticut (including Norwich); Hillsboro County, Illinois; Shelby County, Tennessee (including Memphis); and San Luis Obispo County, California. Balloting was carried out June 29-30.

More than 55 per cent of the ballots distributed were returned — higher participation, for example, than in the last national congressional elections in 1970, and only six percentage points under the turnout for the 1968 presidential election.

Year-End Deadline for Troop Withdrawal Favored

The referendum shows a large majority of Democrats voting in favor of the U.S. withdrawing all troops from Vietnam by the end of the current year. Solid majorities in each of the four indicator counties support a year-end deadline for withdrawal.

Gallup Poll . . . Public Opinion Referendum . . . Your Secret Ballot

THE EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY is being conducted by The Gallup Poll. Results of this referendum will be of great help to the platform writers at both the Democratic and Republican parties. The results will be published in your local newspaper and in 100 other newspapers across the nation on the eve of the Democratic convention which opens July 14.

Proposition 1 ALIENS	THE U. S. SHOULD WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS FROM VIETNAM BY THE END OF THIS YEAR.	◇ <input type="checkbox"/>
	THE U. S. SHOULD NOT WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS FROM VIETNAM BY THE END OF THIS YEAR.	◇ <input type="checkbox"/>
Proposition 2 BUSING	I FAVOR BUSING SCHOOL CHILDREN TO ACHIEVE A BETTER RACIAL BALANCE IN THE SCHOOLS.	◇ <input type="checkbox"/>
	I OPPOSE BUSING SCHOOL CHILDREN TO ACHIEVE A BETTER RACIAL BALANCE IN THE SCHOOLS.	◇ <input type="checkbox"/>
Proposition 3 DEFENSE SPENDING	I THINK THE NATIONAL BUDGET FOR MILITARY AND DEFENSE SPENDING SHOULD BE (INCREASED).	◇ <input type="checkbox"/>
	I THINK THE NATIONAL BUDGET FOR MILITARY AND DEFENSE SPENDING SHOULD BE (DECREASED).	◇ <input type="checkbox"/>

The "National Public Opinion Referendum" is a new technique for gauging public opinion which is designed to complement regular public opinion surveys. Based on a refinement of the "barometer" areas approach, it more closely resembles the election process itself and is therefore more easily understood by the typical citizen. Moreover, this approach can reveal more dramatically the relationship between the way people live and the way they vote.

Four counties were selected for the current referendum: New London County, Connecticut; Shelby County, Tennessee; Montgomery County, Illinois; and San Luis Obispo County, California.

These counties were selected because each has a record of accurately reflecting the sentiment of its area in the presidential elections of 1968, 1964, 1960 and 1956. Together, the vote of these counties reflects the vote of the nation of the last four presidential elections.

The busing of school children to achieve racial balance is opposed by majorities in each county. The combined results show 73 per cent opposed compared to 27 per cent in favor.

On other issues included in the referendum, a much closer division of opinion is recorded. For example, on the issue of decreasing the military and defense budget, Democrats are evenly divided, with a close vote being recorded in each of the four counties.

Closely Divided on Legalizing Abortion

Democratic opinion is also fairly evenly divided on the issue of the legalization of abortion, although support is found to be somewhat greater in San Luis Obispo County than in the other counties.

Hold Strong Views On Amnesty Issue

Democratic voters in each of the four indicator counties leave little doubt on

where they stand regarding the issue of amnesty. Overwhelming majorities think young men who have left the United States to avoid the draft should not be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment.

On the issue of wage-price controls, almost three in every four Democratic voters in the referendum vote in favor of making them more strict. The closest division of opinion is found in Shelby County (Memphis), the indicator county in the South.

Here is the vote for the four indicator counties combined:

Views of Democrats (Four Counties Combined)

1. Withdraw from Vietnam by end of 1972?	Should 70%
	Should not 30

2. Bus children to achieve better racial balance?	Should 27%
	Should not 73
3. Decrease the national budget for defense?	Should 50%
	Should not 50
4. Legalize abortion?	Favor 53%
	Oppose 47
5. Draft dodgers be allowed to return without punishment?	Should 31%
	Should not 69
6. Make wage-price controls stricter?	Should 73%
	Should not 27

Issues included in the referendum were also carried in a regular nationwide Gallup survey. Both the national and regional results of the survey closely matched those obtained with the referendum method.

Some of the Key Proposals of Democratic Platform Committee

- Support of busing as one "tool" for desegregating schools.
- An October 1 deadline for withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.
- Amnesty for draft evaders.
- A cut in military spending and in U.S. bases and forces overseas — but maintenance of enough armed strength to deter aggression.
- An end to the military draft.
- Increases in Social Security benefits and taxes.
- A Government guarantee of a job for everybody.
- Repeal of "unfair" tax preferences for corporations and individuals.
- Increased federal spending on education to reduce local property taxes.
- A ban on sale of hand guns.
- Replacing present welfare system with an "income security program" to insure every family an income "substantially more than the poverty level."

For Release Upon Receipt

Voters Want Say In Selection of Veep

PRINCETON, N. J., July 10 — A substantial majority of U.S. citizens (63 per cent) think they should be able to indicate their preference for vice-presidential candidates in the primaries. The current practice is for the presidential candidate to select his own running-mate.

Majorities of both Democrats and Republicans interviewed hold this opinion, as well as majorities in each of the four regions of the nation.

Following is the question asked in a survey conducted in late April:

The practice has grown up for presidential candidates to have the most say in the selection of the man who runs for Vice President with him. Do you think this practice should be continued, or should rank-and-file voters be able to indicate their preference in the primaries?

Here are the national results, based on in-person interviews with 1,542 persons interviewed in more than 400 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period April 28-May 1:

Continue present practice	31%
Voters make selection	63
No opinion	6

On Eve of Miami Convention

McGovern Maintains Slight Lead Over Democratic Field in Latest Balloting



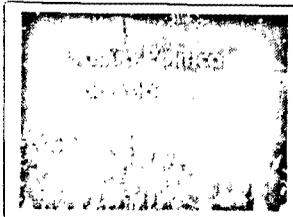
But No Democratic Hopeful Approaches Majority Support from Rank-and-File



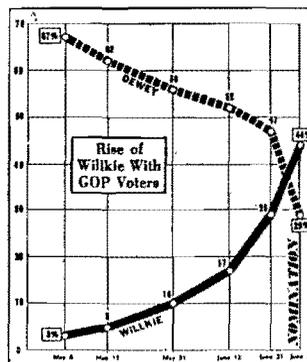
By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 9 — On the eve of the Democratic convention in Miami, Sen. George McGovern maintains a slight lead over the field of Democratic hopefuls, but at the same time wins only a third of the support of his party's rank-and-file.

In what amounts to a nationwide primary, a sample of the nation's Democrats were asked to choose from a list of 10 leading presidential candidates the one they think should be their party's nominee.



McGovern comes out on top, with 30 per cent of the vote. Just behind him in the national balloting is Sen. Hubert Humphrey with 27 per cent of the support of Democrats and Gov. George Wallace with 25 per cent.



McGovern's dramatic rise in popularity since March is reminiscent of Willkie's remarkable performance in the Spring and early summer of 1940. Willkie's vote among Republicans that year shot up to 44 percentage points on the eve of the GOP convention.

The latest standings were recorded in a survey conducted in late June and closely parallel those recorded in the previous survey in mid-June.

The following table shows the latest standings:

Democratic Standings (Choices of Democrats, Nationwide)	
	Latest %
McGovern	30
Humphrey	27
Wallace	25
Muskie	6
Jackson	3
Chisholm	3
Mills	1
McCarthy	2
Sanford	*
Yorty	*
Undecided	3
	100%

McGovern, 1972:
Willkie, 1940:

McGovern's dramatic rise in popularity since March is reminiscent of the Willkie boom in the spring and early summer of 1940, prior to the GOP convention that year.

McGovern won only 5 per cent of the vote of Democrats for the nomination in March. In successive surveys,

McGovern's support increased from 5 per cent to 30 per cent in a survey completed in late June.

Willkie's trend line was even more dramatic. In March of 1940, only one per cent of Republicans favored him for the nomination. By late June and early July his percentage had climbed to 44 per cent.

The following tables show the comparison:

McGovern — 1972:

March 24-27	5%
April 21-24	17
April 28-May 1	20
May 26-29	25
June 16-19	29
June 23-26	30

Willkie — 1940:

March 24	1%
April 12-15	3
May 6-9	5
May 20-21	10
May 26 - June 4	17
June 14-17	29
June 28-July 1	44

Results of the latest survey are based on personal interviews with 630 persons who classify themselves as Democrats out of a total sample of 1592 adults, 18

and older. Interviewing was conducted June 23-26 in more than 300 scientifically selected localities in the nation.

COMING TUESDAY!

National Public Opinion Reported on

How Do Views of Rank-and-File Democrats Compare with Their Party's Platform?

In a unique experiment called the *National Public Opinion Referendum*, Democrats in "indicator" counties in each of the four major geographical regions of the nation were given the opportunity to vote in a secret ballot on key issues facing the nation.

The composite results from balloting in these four counties will show how the views of Democrats compare with the platform which will emerge from this week's convention.

On the eve of the GOP convention in August the views of grassroots Republicans will be compared with the GOP platform.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(F)
Gallup

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies at Gallup disclosed that the President leads all Democratic contenders in the most recent trial heats:

	<u>RN</u>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>Wall</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
G-Jun 16-19	47	28	18	7
	<u>RN</u>	<u>McG</u>	<u>Wall</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
	44	33	19	4
	<u>RN</u>	<u>MUSK</u>	<u>Wall</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
	50	26	18	6
	<u>RN</u>	<u>EMK</u>	<u>Wall</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
	47	35	13	5

Davies claimed that these were not final figures but were very close, "within a point or two". He would not give me two-way results, but did say these figures would probably be released Sunday, July 2, 1972.

Also of considerable interest is the Gallup National Referendum. Gallup will try to interview voters in four "barometer" counties - New London County, Connecticut; Shelby County, Tennessee; Montgomery County, Illinois; and San Luis Obispo County, California. These counties accurately reflected the sentiment of the country in 1968, '64, '60, and '56. The interviewing will be done between June 28 and July 2. The first series of results will be published July 9. John Davies will not be available before then but I will try to get the results from George Gallup, Jr. The questions on the referendum will be:

Proposition #1: "The U.S. should withdraw all troops from Vietnam by the end of this year."

"The U.S. should not withdraw all troops from Vietnam by the end of this year."

Proposition #2: "I favor busing school children to achieve a better racial balance in the schools."

"I oppose busing school children to achieve a better racial balance in the schools."

Proposition #3: "I think the national budget for military and defense spending should be decreased."

"I think the national budget for military and defense spending should not be decreased."

Proposition #4: "I favor the legalization of abortion."

"I oppose the legalization of abortion."

Proposition #5: "Young men who have left the U.S. to avoid the draft should be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment."

"Young men who have left the U.S. to avoid the draft should not be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment."

Proposition #6: "Wage/price controls should be made more strict than they are at present."

"Wage/price controls should not be made more strict than they are at present."

Proposition #7: "I favor a plan which would guarantee every family a minimum income of at least \$2,400 a year."

"I oppose a plan which would guarantee every family a minimum income of at least \$2,400 a year."

Proposition #8: "I think the police and other law enforcement agencies in the U.S. should be tougher than they are now in dealing with crime and lawlessness."

"I think the police and other law enforcement agencies in the U.S. should not be tougher than they are now in dealing with crime and lawlessness."

Proposition #9: "Which one of the following persons would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate?"
(Full selection)

Proposition #10: "Which one of the following persons would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate?"

Hubert Humphrey
George McGovern

Proposition #11: Trial heats among Nixon, McGovern and Wallace.

Trial heats between Nixon and McGovern.

Proposition #12: Trial heats among Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace.

Trial heats between Nixon and Humphrey.

Unfortunately, there will be no follow-up questions. I suggested questions asking about the consequences of U.S. troop withdrawal or defense cuts, but Gallup will only use the questions as given above.

Davies - til heats:

close - n HH W A.O.
47 28 18
- no two way

~~9-12~~ n McG W. A.O.
44 33 19

9-16-19 n Mus W. A.O.
50 26 18

not get 2 way

n Ken W.
47 35 13

Release possib SUN.

Memphis - Nat'l Referendum
mass survey

Wed 6/28 - Jy 2

Reported on Jy 9

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION
THE GALLUP POLL

DR. GEORGE GALLUP
CHAIRMAN
GEORGE GALLUP, JR.
PRESIDENT
JOHN O. DAVIES
EDITOR

53 BANK STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Dear Editor:

Using a new technique for gauging public opinion, the Gallup Poll plans to conduct, during the period just before the beginning of the Democratic convention on July 10:

I. *NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION REFERENDUM ON ISSUES*

We believe that a referendum on issues of this campaign should be of great help to the platform writers of both parties. The views of voters on these issues should provide the answer as to how much change the American public desires at this point in history -- and the extent to which voters are tending to a liberal or conservative point of view.

As determined by recent national surveys, following are some of the "gut" voter issues to be covered in this referendum:

1. Troop withdrawal from Vietnam
2. Defense spending
3. Abortion laws
4. Busing
5. Amnesty
6. Wage-Price controls
7. A minimum income

II. *NATIONAL PRIMARY ON CANDIDATES*

As determined by a recent nationwide Gallup survey, a majority of local Democratic party leaders (as well as a majority of the public as a whole) believe that a single nationwide primary would be an improvement over the present primary system.

Using the new technique mentioned previously, we can accomplish this same goal. At the same time that we conduct the referendum on issues, we shall carry the full list of Democratic candidates, with "run-off" tests among the top contenders.

We plan to report the results of the *NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION REFERENDUM ON ISSUES* and the *NATIONAL PRIMARY ON CANDIDATES* in successive reports starting Sunday, July 9.

About the National Public
Opinion Referendum

The National Public Opinion Referendum is a new technique for gauging public opinion which is designed to complement regular public opinion surveys. Based on a refinement of the "barometer" areas approach, it more closely resembles the election process itself and is therefore more easily understood by the typical citizen. Moreover, this approach can reveal more dramatically the relationship between the way people live and the way they vote.

Four counties have been selected for the upcoming referendum: New London County, Connecticut; Shelby County, Tennessee; Montgomery County, Illinois; and San Luis Obispo County, California.

These counties were selected because each has a record of accurately reflecting the sentiment of its area in the presidential elections of 1968, 1964, 1960 and 1956. Together, the vote of these counties reflect the vote of the nation for the last four presidential elections.

The first experiment with the National Public Opinion Referendum was carried out just before the congressional elections of 1970. Both from a research and from an editorial viewpoint, it proved a great success (see enclosed reprint from the Public Opinion Quarterly for research details).

Sincerely yours,

George Gallup, Jr.

THE PUBLIC OPINION REFERENDUM

BY GEORGE GALLUP, JR.

Reprint from THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY
Volume 35, Summer 1971
© 1971 by Columbia University Press

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - June 26, 1972

G - Hello, John, how are you?

D - Morning, sir.

G - You mentioned that I might call you today for the results of the trial heats from the polls which were released last Sunday.

D - Yeah, let me get them here. Will be with you in a second.

G - Oh sure, no hurry at all.

D - Whoever this is, is running pretty far behind. That's all I can tell you at this point. He is Mr. Humphrey. It looks like it's - let me do a little addition here, let's see, 45,46,47 -- It looks like it's going to be about 47 Nixon, 28 Humphrey, and 18 Wallace.

G - Wallace 18 and the balance No Opinion, huh?

D - That's pretty close, it's not exactly what it'll be, but it's within a point or so.

G - OK. Is there a two-way there?

D - No. Not that we have at this point.

G - OK.

D - OK. This is McGovern. He is - Nixon is 44, McGovern 33, Wallace 19, the rest undecided. I'll do Mr. Muskie. Oh, that was rather startling. 50% for Mr. Nixon, 26% Muskie, 18% Wallace.

G - Is there a two-way on either McGovern or Muskie?

D - Not yet. We don't have those yet.

G - OK.

D - Here's Kennedy. 47%, 35%, and the very interesting thing here is 13% Wallace.

G - Lower than the others.

D - Yes.

G - Very interesting. What were the polling dates on that? Was that June ...

D - That was June 9-12.

G - 9-12. And these people ...

D - Wait, oh, oh, oh, I'm sorry. June 16-19.

G - 16-19. Any idea when you're going to release those yet?

D - Possibly, for Sunday.

G - I see. What else is of interest?

D - Not too much. Not too much. I'm sort of clearing off my desk.

G - Yeah, today's your last day, isn't it?

D - ... sort of a national referendum taking four or five barometer counties across the nation and doing an extensive, mass survey of ballots on issues. Very interesting method.

G - I saw the letter today from George Gallup, Jr., talking about the National Referendum and then enclosing the one from 1970. I have some interesting questions about it. Where you list the gut voter issues there? Troop withdrawal from Vietnam, I would assume there would be just a standard trend question.

D - No, not really. These questions are all phrased rather differently.

G - Oh, really?

D - They are phrased as you would in a referendum. You know, let's say we were to have a National Referendum on the Vietnam issue, it goes something like this. Hang on Gordon, I'll be right with you.

G - Sure.

D - And the people have the opportunity to check one square. They have the ballot, they are given a ballot and it's left with them and it's picked up the next day.

G - I see.

D - And we get everyone in a given election district. And in each of the four areas that have been selected, they are the same that were selected two years ago, we cover anywhere from 4 to 8 election districts that in themselves and together are indicators of that particular county and also that particular region of the country and have been for the last four elections. The first proposition is "The U.S. should withdraw all troops from Vietnam by the end of this year"

G - I see.

D - And then there's a negative - "the U.S. should not ..."

G - I see.

D - And then the second one is busing, "I favor busing school children to achieve a better racial balance in the schools", "I oppose ..."

G - I see.

D - Defense spending is #3. Do you want to hear the rest of these?

G - Yes, very much.

D - "I think the national budget for military and defense spending should be decreased", "I think it should not ..." You know it goes right on, the same wording, it's just that should not is put in there.

G - I see.

D - Proposition #4. "I favor (or oppose) the legalization of abortion"; #5: "Young men who have left the U.S. to avoid the draft should be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment, should not be allowed to return without some form of punishment"; Proposition #6: "Wage/price controls should be made more strict than they are at present," so on; Propostion #7: "I favor a plan which would guarantee every family a minimum income of at least \$2,400 a year, I oppose a plan ..."; Proposition #8: " I think the police and other law enforcement agencies in the U.S. should be tougher than they are now in dealing with crime and lawlessness, should not be tougher"; then we have, we go on to some choices where we have the Democratic candidates related to our trend questions, and then we narrow the situation down in choice 10 to Humphrey and McGovern.

G - Now, I don't understand. What's the choice there that the person's given?

D - Choice 9. "Which one of the following persons would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate ...

G - I see , I see.

D - Then we list all of them.

G - I see.

D - Now in choice 10 we narrow it down to Humphrey and McGovern.

Choice 11 is a trial heat between Nixon, McGovern and Wallace.

Then narrowing it down to just Nixon and McGovern ...

G - I see.

D - And choice 12 is the Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace trial heats with it then narrowed down to Nixon and Humphrey.

G - Right.

D - And that's about it.

G - When are you going into the field with these, do you know?

D - Wednesday night. That's why we're going. ... going to Norwich, Conn., we're sending another one of our girls to San Luis Obispo, Calif.

G - That's a good place.

D - Not bad.

G - Know it well. So you'll be in from the 28th until when, does it take a lot longer, or , , ,

D - Until about July 2nd.

G - Until July 2nd, so over that weekend basically?

D - And it will be reported on the 9th of July.

G - Would it be possible for me to call, I guess you'll be out, George Gallup, Jr.?

D - Sure.

G - Would you mention to him that we'd be very interested in that.

D - Absolutely.

G - Oh, that's great.

D - There shouldn't be any problems.

G - Are you going to have any sort of follow up questions like the consequences of withdrawal from Vietnam or the consequences of defense spending cuts and so forth?

D - No, you really couldn't do that on something like this, it would be very difficult.

G - I see. All right, it sounds like a very interesting project.

D - Well, we'll see what happens. It worked real well in 1970 with when they did it with National Education Television, but they're not hooked in with us this year and we're just doing it for our papers.

G - Well, that's great.

D - See how it works.

G - Sounds great.

D - Ok, Gordon.

G - Anything else of interest?

D - Nope, can't think of ^a thing.

G - All right. Sure appreciate your help on this. We're always interested in the knowledge.

D - I'll be talking with you the last week in July.

G - Never hesitate to call.

D - OK.

G - Thanks a lot.

D - Righto.

G - Bye.

With or Without Wallace in Picture

Nixon Maintains Wide Leads Over McGovern and Humphrey

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 1 — With the Democratic convention fast approaching, Democrats must face the fact that none of their leading presidential candidates at this point demonstrates vote-getting appeal to match that of President Nixon.

The President's leading challengers, Senator George McGovern and Senator Hubert Humphrey, have registered no measurable gain in support since late May, as determined by a comparison of the latest (mid-June) trial heats with those conducted three weeks earlier.



Of the two Democrats, McGovern continues to make the better showing. He trails the President by 16 points in the latest test. With Gov. George Wallace included in the test as a possible third party candidate, Nixon's lead is shaved only slightly, to 13 points.

A Nixon-Humphrey contest shows the latter trailing by 22 points. With Wallace in the test, Nixon's margin is 19 points.

New Ball Game After Convention?

While Nixon currently holds leads which would translate into a landslide victory if the presidential election were being held at this time, Gallup Poll trial heat history has shown that the selection of a party's nominee traditionally reduces the pre-convention lead of the rival party's candidate.

For example, Nixon held only a two-point lead over Humphrey in a survey conducted just prior to the GOP convention in 1968, but right after the convention he led by 16 points. Then came the Democratic convention and Nixon's margin over Humphrey was somewhat reduced.

The most dramatic example of the impact of a convention was recorded in 1964 when President Lynden Johnson led Sen. Barry Goldwater by 56 percentage points in a survey taken before the GOP convention. In a survey taken shortly after this convention, Johnson still led Goldwater by a wide margin, but it was decreased to 36 points.

McGovern Overpowers Nixon Among Young

McGovern's great popularity with young voters is underscored by the latest trial heats which show him leading Nixon with voters under 30

by a margin of 54 to 39 per cent. With Wallace in, McGovern's lead remains about the same.

But evidence that young voters frequently vote for the man rather than the party is seen in the fact that in a Nixon-Humphrey trial heat, many McGovern supporters under 30 defect to Nixon. In fact, they vote for Nixon over Humphrey, by a 49 to 39 per cent margin. With Wallace in, the vote is 40 per cent for Nixon and 35 per cent for Humphrey.

McGovern Matches HHH In Union Support

Of additional interest is the fact that McGovern, who has not won the official support from union leaders, scores just as well as Humphrey among rank-and-file union members in the latest test elections.

The following tables show the national vote in the latest test runs, with and without Wallace:

	Mc- Nixon %	Wal- Govern %	Un- luc %	Un- dec. %
2-way race	53	37	—	10
3-way race	45	32	18	5

	Nixon %	HHH %	Wal- luc %	Un- dec. %
2-way race	55	33	—	12
3-way race	47	28	18	7

The latest trial heats are based on in-person interviews with a total of 1159 registered voters out of a total sample of 1516 adults interviewed June 16-19 in more than 300 localities across the nation. These questions were asked:

Suppose the presidential election were being held TODAY. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and (name of Democrat) were the Democratic candidate, and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?

— and —

Suppose Wallace is not in the race, which candidate would you prefer — Nixon or (name of Democrat)?

Non-Candidate Kennedy As Strong as McGovern

Despite his repeated disavowals of any interest in seeking the nomination this year, Sen. Edward Kennedy demonstrates fully as much vote-getting strength as does McGovern.

The latest trial heats show Nixon leading Kennedy by 15 points, 53 per cent to 38 per cent, with nine per cent undecided. When Wallace is added to the test, Nixon's margin over Kennedy is 11 points.

Majority of Gun Owners As Well As Non-Gun Owners Favor Tougher Laws

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 30 — As has been the case for more than three decades, a majority of U.S. citizens — both gun owners and non-gun owners — say they would favor a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun.

In the latest survey, conducted in late May, 71 in 10 (71 per cent) say they would favor such legislation, while 25 per cent express opposition and four per cent have no opinion.

Approval of gun registration is expressed by majorities in all population groups including owners of the three basic types of guns — pistols, shotguns and rifles.

Registration is favored at a time when the Senate Judiciary Committee has voted to ban the manufacture and sale of most snub-nosed handguns. The Democratic platform committee has also inserted a plank in the platform calling for tougher gun controls.

A majority of the people in this country have favored stricter gun laws for over three decades, as reported periodically by the Gallup Poll.

Proponents of gun laws point out that since the beginning of the 20th century, 750,000 Americans have been killed by privately owned handguns — a third again as many as have been killed in all our wars.

Approval of requiring a police permit before purchasing a gun is found to be highest among college educated people, people living in the largest cities, and among women. Gun registration has bi-partisan appeal with almost identical percentages of Republicans and Democratic in favor.

The largest percentage opposed to requiring a police permit for purchasing a gun is found among persons living in the South and West and in the smallest communities. However, even in these areas large majorities favor registration.

Following is the question asked and the figures for key population groups.

Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?

	Favor Police Permit To Buy Gun?		
	Favor %	Oppose %	No Opin. %
NATIONAL	71	25	4
Men	65	31	4
Women	77	18	5

College	74	23	3
High school	71	25	4
Grade school	67	27	6
East	77	19	4
Midwest	72	25	3
South	68	27	5
West	64	30	6
1 million & over	83	14	3
500,000-1,000,000	75	20	5
50,000-500,000	73	25	2
2,500-50,000	66	27	7
Under 2,500	63	32	5
Republicans	73	22	5
Democrats	72	23	5
Independents	70	27	3

Views of Gun Owners On Police Permit

	Favor		No Opin. %
	%	Oppose %	
All gunowners	61	34	5
Pistol owners	62	35	3
Shotgun owners	57	38	5
Rifle owners	59	38	3
Non-gunowners	80	16	4

Gun Ownership Greatest in South
About a fourth of all American

households have either a shotgun or a rifle. About one home in six has a pistol.

Gun ownership is highest in the South where a majority (55 per cent) of residents say there is some kind of gun in their homes. Ownership of guns is also high in the Midwest.

A direct correlation is found between gun ownership and size of community, with guns least likely to be owned in the largest cities.

Following is the question asked to determine gun ownership.

Do you happen to have in your home any guns or revolvers? (If yes) Is it a pistol, shotgun or a rifle?

The table below shows the percentage of households having any gun, and the basic types of guns owned.

	Gun Ownership In U.S.			
	Have Gun %	Pis. %	Shotgun %	Rifle %
NATIONAL	43	16	27	26

East	20	10	16	34
Midwest	49	16	32	29
South	55	20	35	27
West	38	16	20	20
Community Size				
1 million & over	20	11	9	12
500,000-1,000,000	30	13	15	19
50,000-500,000	40	14	22	21
2,500-50,000	45	19	30	29
Under 2,500	66	20	44	40
College	36	15	21	24
High school	44	10	20	27
Grade school	50	14	28	25
Whites	45	16	28	28
Blacks	33	11	15	17

The survey results reported today are based on interviews with 1,540 adults, 18 and older, interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period May 26 through 29.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies developed these interesting points:

1) The next Presidential popularity figures will be available June 25th based on field interviewing June 16-18;

2) The Gallup Survey for Friday, June 16, will show that "the public does regard George McGovern as rather liberal, but he's not a radical among the public in the same sense as the columnists have painted his image". The Republican Party has not been successful in pinning the radical label on McGovern. Davies says that "in a sense they (the Republican organization) are hitting a nerve there (painting McGovern radical) and it is a successful campaign ploy, but at the same time, McGovern isn't seen by the public to be radical";

3) The Gallup Survey for release Sunday, June 18 will show that the Republican share of the Catholic vote today is higher than it has been since 1956. Davies says that, "and a lot of that can be directly pinpointed to the President's strong positions on aid to private education and also abortion";

4) In asking Davies for more detailed information on Wallace's vote as reflected in the June 9 release (McGovern's Dramatic Gains Due to Independents), he mentioned that Wallace's strengths were among Independents in the South, the South generally, and among the younger non-college segment of the population. Davies said the sample was too small to permit more detailed cross-breaks;

5) Finally, Davies confirmed again that Gallup would not conduct their annual Kennedy-Chappaquiddick poll in spite of the recent Quayle poll in Harper's, and "independent" letters to the New York Times, Apple and Wicker. Davies said that the Wall Street Journal survey on Kennedy was the only Kennedy/Chappaquiddick poll that would be done unless Kennedy became the Democratic nominee.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies this morning confirmed that the President's Popularity remained high. The results will be released this Sunday, June 25, 1972:

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
G-Jun 16-19	60	32	8

The headline will be "The President's Popularity Remains High," according to John Davies.

Trial Heats were also conducted on Jun 16-19 but said the results "would not be available until next Tuesday or Wednesday," Jun 27 or 28.

GS/jb

(F)

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - June 22, 1972

D - Hello.

G - Hi John, how are you?

D - Hi Gordon, how are you?

G - Any luck on those final results on Presidential popularity?

D - Yes - 60, 32, 8.

G - 60, 32, 8. And will that be released this Sunday?

D - Yes.

G - Oh excellent.

D - You should be getting it in the mail any moment.

G - OK. What's the lead going to be?

D - Just that it stayed up.

G - President's popularity remains high?

D - Right.

G - All right. Were trial heats conducted on that poll?

D - Yes, but they're not available at this point and probably won't be until Monday or early Tuesday.

G - OK. Anything else of interest?

D - No, I can't think of anything Gordon. Has the rain stopped yet?

G - Yes indeed. Finally. Little foggy here.

D - Sun out?

G - Well, no. But the rain has stopped.

D - We're getting it now.

G - Yes. Are you going to be in the office on Monday or not?

D - Yes.

G - Well OK. Well I'll check then on the trial ...

D - that will be my last day in the office until the 26th of July.

G - Oh boy. Have a good time.

D - Thank you.

G - Thank you very much, John.

D - Bye.

G - Right, bye.

60% Approve of Job Performance

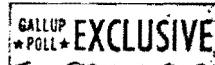
Nixon's Popularity Remains At 2-Year High in Latest Test

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 24 — President Richard Nixon continues to show a level of popularity following his summit meeting in Russia, with 60 per cent of Americans in the latest nationwide survey expressing approval of his performance in office.

This is virtually the same percentage who said they approved in a survey conducted in late May, at the end of Nixon's summit talks with Soviet Party Leader Brezhnev. The figure then was 61 per cent and represented Nixon's highest test rating in nearly two years.

The President's current relatively high popularity rating is reflected in his wide leads over his top Democratic challengers, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, as determined by trial heat races (reported June 22), in which Gov. George Wallace has been included as a possible third party candidate.



Nixon leads McGovern by 15 points in these test elections, and Humphrey by 17 points.

Factors Behind Sustained Score

The latest approval rating suggests that the President has been able to sustain the prestige he won by going to Moscow.

In addition, the proportion of Americans expressing approval of the President's handling of the Vietnam situation has increased somewhat (in a late May survey) over the figure recorded immediately after the stepped-up bombing of North Vietnam in mid-April.

In the recent survey, 53 per cent of all persons interviewed expressed approval of Nixon's handling of the war, while 38 per cent disapproved and 9 per cent were undecided.

In the previous (late April) survey, opinion was somewhat more closely divided, with 48 per cent approving and 44 per cent disapproving and 8 per cent undecided.

These earlier findings paralleled attitudes on the specific issue of the intensified bombing of North Vietnam, favored at the time by 47 per cent, but opposed by 44 per cent.

7 in 10 McGovern Voters Disapprove

While President Nixon wins approval from a small majority of Americans for his handling of the Vietnam situation, he meets with sharp opposition among supporters of Senator McGovern.

Seven in ten of those who choose McGovern in the latest test race against Nixon and Wallace say they disapprove of the way Nixon is handling the situation in Vietnam.

In sharp contrast, 8 in 10 persons who vote for Nixon say they approve of the President's handling of the war, while Wallace supporters lean roughly 5-to-4 to the approval side.

Position Abroad Seen 'Weakened'

These findings on Vietnam are seen against a background of widespread pessimism regarding our image abroad. A large majority of persons reached in an earlier survey (68 per cent) said our participation in the war has weakened America's position throughout the world, while only 12 per cent said it has strengthened our position. Another 20 per cent were undecided.

QUESTIONS IN SURVEY

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

Here is the trend since the beginning of the year:

	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Jan. 7-9 . . .	49	39	12
Feb. 4-7 . . .	53	36	11
<i>Trip to China</i>			
March 3-5 . . .	56	32	12
March 24-27 . . .	53	37	10
<i>Trip to Russia</i>			
May 26-29 . . .	61	32	7
June 16-19 . . .	60	32	8

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

Here is the trend since the beginning of the year:

	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Feb. 4-6 . . .	51	39	10

Stepped-up bombing, mid-April

April 21-24 . . .	48	44	8
May 26-29 . . .	53	38	9

Do you think our participation in the war in Southeast Asia has strengthened America's position throughout the world, or do you think it has weakened our position?

The results, based on a Feb. 4-6 survey:

Weakened	68%
Strengthened	12
No opinion	20

The latest Nixon popularity results are based on a nearly complete sample from a total of more than 1500 in-person interviews. Interviews were conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period June 16-19.

Makes Sharp Gains With Southern Democrats

McGovern Overtakes HHHH In Latest 'Showdown' Test

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 21 — Sen. George McGovern has overtaken Sen. Hubert Humphrey as the choice of Democratic voters for the nomination, as determined by a showdown test between the two challengers, conducted last weekend.

McGovern has registered steady gains over his rival in three surveys conducted since late April. He is currently the choice of 46 per cent of Democrats for the nomination, compared to 43 per cent for Humphrey, with 11 per cent undecided.

The previous measurement, taken three weeks earlier (May 26-29), showed McGovern trailing Humphrey by six percentage points. Humphrey was picked by 49 per cent of Democrats at that time, compared to 43 per cent for McGovern, with 8 per cent undecided.

In a still earlier survey (April 28-May 1), Humphrey's margin over McGovern was a comfortable 18 points, 54 to 36 percent, with 10 per cent undecided.

McGovern's Gains Due To HHHH Losses in South

McGovern's improved standing nationwide is due largely to Humphrey's ebbing fortunes in the South.

Three weeks ago, Humphrey led McGovern among Southern Democrats by a 15-point margin. His lead now is only four points, 43 per cent to McGovern's 39 per cent.

Little change has occurred in the relative standings of the two candidates over this period of time among Democrats living *outside* the South. The latest results show McGovern with 48 per cent of the vote of Northern Democrats to 43 per cent for Humphrey.

To determine the comparative appeal of the two Democrats, the Gallup Poll limited the sizable field of Democratic hopefuls to just two men, with this question:

Suppose the choice for President in the Democratic convention this year narrows down to Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern. Which ONE would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?

The following table shows the trend over the last three surveys:

	McG.	HHHH	Undec.
	%	%	%
LATEST ...	46	43	11
(June 16-19)			
May 26-29 ...	43	49	8
April 28-May 1 ...	36	54	10

Gains Reflected In Another Test

McGovern's gains are reflected in another measurement used in the three surveys taken since late April, in which Democratic voters are asked to select their nomination choice from a list of ten possibilities.

McGovern is currently chosen by 29 per cent of Democrats, compared to 27 per cent for Humphrey and 22 per cent for Wallace. The remaining 22 per cent divide their vote between the other seven candidates on the list or are undecided.

In the previous measurement, taken in late May, a virtual three-way tie was found. McGovern won 25 per cent, to 26 per cent for Humphrey and 26 per cent for Wallace.

No Unanimity Of Opinion

While McGovern currently holds a marginal lead over the rest of the field, it is clear that, with the vote split roughly equally between three men, there is no unanimity among Democratic voters as to who should be their party's nominee.

The following table shows the latest results of this test, and the trend:

	McG.	HHH	Wallace
	%	%	%
June 16-19 ...	29	27	22
May 26-29 ...	25	26	26
April 28-May 1 ...	20	35	18

When Sen. Edward Kennedy's name is added to the list, the race for the nomination becomes a close four-way battle, with McGovern receiving 23 per cent, Kennedy 22 per cent, Wallace 21 per cent and Humphrey 19 per cent.

The findings reported today are based on personal interviews with 622 persons who classify themselves as Democrats out of a total sample of 1,572 adults, 18 and older. Interviewing was conducted June 16-19 in more than 400 scientifically selected localities in the nation.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - JUNE 21, 1972

D - Hello.

G - Hi John, how are you?

D - Good morning, Gordon.

G - Well we noted with considerable interest the poll that came out this morning showing McGovern ahead. Very interesting.

D - Let's see, that's the one now ...

G - That's for release I believe on the 22nd.

D - Oh right, right.

G - Do you have those - I noticed it was from the poll over the weekend. Do you have those popularity figures?

D - No, those were figures called in from the field. They were tabulated from the field and we have 79 ballots in the shop now.

G - I see.

D - But I can tell you that based on the telephone calling that the popularity figure will be holding up just about the way it was the last time.

G - Still up at 61?

D - Just about. It will be 59, 60, 61 or 62. Something like that.

G - Oh excellent, excellent. Any preliminary figures on trial heats?

D - No, no. We can't do that because there was a registered voter problem and so on.

G - I see, I see.

D - You don't rely on any people to do your tabulating for you.

G - I can imagine.

D - What did you do, bring all this rain up here for us?

G - Oh God, it's been here for a week. We're so sick of it we can hardly see.

D - I mean it's keeping me from the golf course and I'm pretty upset about that.

G - It's making my suits look like ... very bad.

D - I won't be down tomorrow as it turns out.

G - Oh what a shame.

D - We had a slight problem here so - we'll get together some other time.

G - OK. Do you know when the popularity is going to be released?

D - Well, we're going to be - let's see - finishing up tabulations - hopefully, Monday and Tuesday of next week.

G - I see.

D - I would expect that, unless we get some breakthrough on this telephone tabulation that we had, it probably won't be until the following Sunday. However,

G - That would be the ...

D - the 2nd of July.

G - July 2nd.

D - Right. However, if that telephone tab works out all right, it may just be for this Sunday, going out today, but if you call me later on this afternoon I can let you know.

G - I'll be glad to.

D - Also, from the 27th til about the 27th of July I won't be in the office, so you might try George Gallup, Jr.

G - OK. Have you mentioned to him that we talk frequently?

D - Oh yes. Absolutely.

G - OK. Good.

D - Now he's going to be somewhat more reluctant to give you the figures than I am. But you know. I wouldn't call him too often.

G - No, I won't.

D - OK.

G - All right.

D - Let's see. I can't think of anything else. No, I guess that's about it. That about covers it.

G - All right. I'll check back with you later this afternoon.

D - Around 2 o'clock would be perfect.

G - OK. Great.

D - OK Gordon.

G - Thanks an awful lot. Bye.

Changing the Pattern of 3 Decades

Traditionally Democratic Catholic Vote Swinging Into Nixon Column

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 17 — President Nixon has registered a sharp 11-point gain among U.S. Catholic voters since the 1968 election, as determined by a recent survey in which Nixon was rematched against Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Gov. George Wallace.

In this latest trial heat, Nixon holds a substantial lead among Catholics, winning the support of 44 per cent of those who indicate a choice, compared to 33 per cent for Humphrey and 21 per cent for Wallace.

In the 1968 presidential election, Nixon won the vote of only 33 per cent of Catholics to 59 per cent for Humphrey and 8 per cent for Wallace.

1972 — The Year of The 'Catholic Strategy?'

Aware of Nixon's growing appeal with Catholics and the importance of this bloc of voters who account for roughly one-fourth of the electorate, GOP strategists are beginning to label 1972 as the year of the "Catholic strategy."

Indicative of Nixon's success in winning Catholics to his cause is the fact that Catholics have given the Democratic ticket the larger share of their vote during the last three decades, even during the Eisenhower sweeps in 1952 and 1956.

Does Less Well Against McGovern

While Nixon holds a comfortable 9-point lead over Humphrey among Catholics at the present time, his margin over McGovern is considerably less — three percentage points.

However, Nixon has registered sharp gains over both Democratic contenders in recent weeks among the nation's Catholic voters. As recently as April, Nixon trailed Humphrey by 7 points among Catholics and McGovern by 11 points.

Wallace Not A Factor

Nixon's sharp gains among Catholics against both Democratic challengers in recent weeks cannot be attributed to a drain-off in support for Humphrey and McGovern due to the dramatic rise in support for Wallace since the May 15 attempt on his life. When Wallace's vote in the latest trial heats is distributed to the major party candidates, Nixon's lead among Catholics remains intact.

The latest trial heats (Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace and Nixon-McGovern-Wallace) are based on in-person interviews with 1180 registered voters out of a total sample of 1540 adults interviewed May 26-29 in more than 300

localities across the nation. These questions were asked:

Suppose the presidential election were being held TODAY. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and George McGovern (Hubert Humphrey) were the Democratic candidate, and George Wallace ran again as a third party candidate, which would you like to see win?

— and —

Suppose Wallace is not in the race, which candidate would you prefer — Nixon or McGovern (Nixon or Humphrey)?

The following table shows the percentage of Catholics voting for the Republican candidate in presidential elections between 1952 and 1968, compared with the latest trial heat results:

Per Cent of Catholics Voting for Republican Candidate	%
1952 election (Eisenhower - Stevenson)	44
1956 election (Eisenhower - Stevenson)	49
1960 election (Kennedy - Nixon)	22

1964 election (Johnston - Goldwater) 24

1968 election (Nixon - Humphrey - Wallace) 33

LATEST TRIAL HEAT (Nixon - Humphrey - Wallace) 44

'Why' Behind Nixon's Gains

Catholics tend to be slightly more liberal than the electorate as a whole, both in terms of their political affiliation and their political philosophy. However, the differences are not great and have been growing less pronounced in recent years.

In the latest survey, 49 per cent of Catholics classify themselves as Democrats compared to 42 per cent for the electorate as a whole.

Also in the latest survey, 29 per cent of Catholics describe themselves as "fairly liberal" or "very liberal" compared to 26 per cent among all voters.

Like Nixon's Stand on Issues

Despite the fact that Catholics tend to be slightly more Democratic and liberal than the electorate as a whole, they hold closely comparable views on

such key issues as drugs, street crime, busing, and welfare abuse — issues on which President Nixon has taken a strong stand.

In addition, President Nixon has made a strong commitment to aid financially troubled parochial schools — an issue on which Catholics can be expected to have strong feelings.

A recent Gallup survey shows 8 in 10 Catholics (77 per cent) of the belief that federal aid for education should not only go to public schools but should also go to help parochial and non-public schools.

Nixon has also spoken out against the legalization of abortion, which a solid majority of Catholics (6 in 10) were found to oppose in the latest Gallup survey on the issue.

Give Nixon High Approval Rate

Catholics give Nixon about the same vote of approval for his performance in office as do all voters. In the latest survey, 61 per cent of Catholics say they approve of the way Nixon is handling his job as President, compared to 62 per cent for the population as a whole.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES -- JUNE 13, 1972

D - Gordon, how are you?

G - Pretty good.

D - We've been having a little problem touching base here.

G - Oh yeah, back and forth. That happens.

D - I'm in and out of this place.

G - I wanted to thank you for letting us know about those releases last weekend. They came as a very pleasant surprise to us.

D - Well, I wouldn't think it would be that much of a surprise.

G - Well, it's always a surprise to do that well. On a sort of a further question on that, were popularity questions also taken on that, Presidential popularity?

D - No, sir.

G - Nothing, huh? On either of those polls that were released, either the May 26th or the

D - Right. The most recent popularity figure of course was the 61%.

G - 61%. Nothing since then?

D - There'll be a popularity figure, we just sent a questionnaire out as a matter of fact this morning that will be maturing, let's see, on June 16, 17, 18. It will mature sometime about the 23rd.

G - I see.

D - If you're desperately interested in the figures, be sure you contact me before the 26th, because the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th and the 1st of July I'll probably be in Memphis and Los Angeles ...

G - So you're out from the 26th to the 30th, huh? OK.

What are we releasing this week of interest?

D - We are releasing, let me check into those, we didn't send one out yesterday. It's going out later today. I'll have to check. I'll be right with you.

G - OK.

D - In strictly public relations form, the story for Friday will answer the question: "Has the Republican Party been successful in pinning the Radical label on McGovern?" The answer is yes and no. I don't have all the data in front of me so I can't give you a specific reading on it, but yes the public does regard George McGovern as rather liberal, but he's not as radical as the columnists have, I mean, he's not known as radical among the public in the same sense as the columnists have painted his image.

G - I see. But the title is not "Has the Republican Party been successful, is it?"

D - You know, the Republican organization obviously in the last 2 or 3 months in the newsletters so on and so forth has tried to paint George McGovern as a wild-eyed radical. In a sense they are hitting a nerve there and it is a successful campaign ploy, but at the same time, McGovern isn't seen by the public to be as radical ...

G - I see, I see.

D - And the story for Sunday, I think, will be very interesting to the President, particularly, because it shows that the Republican share of the Catholic vote today is higher than it has been since 1956.

G - That is interesting.

D - And a lot of that can be directly pinpointed to the President's strong positions on aid to public, aid to private education and also abortion.

G - Any regional breaks on that, I mean, is that abortion issue

D - Yes.

G - I see.

D - But I don't have anything yet. I probably won't until midday tomorrow.

G - OK. We'd be very interested in that because as you know Catholics are of considerable interest to us.

D - Absolutely.

G - One last question, if you've got another moment, John. On the release for Friday, last Friday, June 9, it says, "McGovern's dramatic gains due to Independents?"

D - Right.

G - In that last column, it says, "Wallace leads among Independent voters"

D - That's correct.

G - And our question is, do you have some crossbreaks on where those Independents are, are they in the South, or are they ?

D - They are primarily in the South, yes, but also among the younger segment of the, the younger non-college segment of the population.

G - I see. Any further geographic break on those Independents that are for Wallace?

D - Not at this point, no, no. The sample is rather small to permit that kind of an analysis, but we can say that it is primarily in the South and also among the Independents, particularly the young Independents. Those of course non-college educated and mostly the young people.

G - That is interesting for support level. One final question, we have noticed that in Harpers ran a story on Chappaquidick recently based on a Quail poll. Did you see that?

D - No, I didn't.

G - Yes, the most recent issue of Harpers has a whole series of questions on the Chappaquidick incident done by a pollster named Quail. I don't know how good he is.

D - He's terrible.

G - Is he?

D - Just between us, he's awful.

G - Well, whatever. It shows a sort of an interesting change. They use something called a Trust Index, and slightly different questions than the usual.

D - How do spell that Gordon? Truss?

G - No joke intended, huh?

D - OK.

- G - Anyway, I thought you might be interested in that.
- D - Great, I sure would be and I presume you saw copies of the Wall Street Journal survey on Kennedy.
- G - Yes, I did.
- D - That was also done by our organization.
- G - Right, I know that.
- D - How does that compare with what Quail found?
- G - Oh well, Quail asked some different questions that indicate that Kennedy's trust is up some. That sort of screwy questioning, I don't know if that's your criticism of him as a pollster, but ..
- D - No, just the way
- G - He asked some really crazy questions, like "44% agree that in my opinion EMK behaved immorally before his car went off the bridge", "He has redeemed himself enough", while, you know, he goes on and on. "70% were sure he didn't tell the whole truth about what happened"
- D - The one thing I don't think anyone has touched on and maybe they did, maybe in the article, but many people now say that you know that he has redeemed himself and that he didn't give the whole story, well nobody has gone farther and asked "Well, does that make any difference to you?"
- G - Yes, right.
- D - Now that's the important thing, the fact that they didn't think he told the whole truth. I'm inclined to believe that the public

D - is a very forgiving people ...

G - I think so too. If you guys do run down on that, we'd be fascinated of course.

D - I don't think we will. Of course if Kennedy should by some chance get the nomination, then there'll be a lot of that ..

G - Sure.

D - There really is no license for it at this point. There is no sense in kicking a dead horse.

G - No, No, ' OK. Well, I'll call you tomorrow afternoon if you have some more breaks.

D - Very excellent. And I said, I'll probably be in Washington on the 22nd ...

G - Look forward to seeing you.

D - I just may have those data at that particular point in time.

G - Good.

D - Maybe I'll stop by for a minute. I won't be able to stay long, though.

G - Understand.

D - OK, sir.

G - Good, John.

D - Righto, bye, bye.

(F)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies this morning disclosed that the Gallup release for Sunday, June 11 will contain trial heats with these results:

	<u>RN</u>	<u>McG</u>	<u>Wal</u>	<u>Und.</u>
G - May 26-29	43	30	19	8
G - Apr 28- May 1	43	35	15	7

	<u>RN</u>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>Wal</u>	<u>Und.</u>
G - May 26-29	43	26	22	9
G - Apr 28- May 1	45	34	15	6

The trend page on trial heats from your poll book is attached.

In addition, Sunday's Gallup release will refute the assertion in the June 8 New York Times editorial: "At best the party must face the possibility that Governor Wallace, the other prime beneficiary of the politics of disaffection in this strange primary campaign, will seek to rally his followers behind a third-party bid. Whether such a bid would, on balance, take more electoral votes away from the Democratic nominee or from President Nixon is an open question. But whatever chances a Democrat

might have to triumph in the face of a Wallace defection would plummet to near-zero if a convention gang-up on McGovern sparked a fourth-party challenge led by the army of young activists so prominent in his dramatic spurt to the top." The Gallup release will say: "Many political observers are of the opinion that Wallace will not run as a third party candidate this year. It is important to see where his vote would go in the event that he does not enter the race. The national findings show Nixon benefitting over each of his two leading rivals if Wallace is not in the picture. Nixon would gain 10 points with Wallace out while McGovern would pick up only 4."

Other interesting comments by John Davies include: "The Wallace vote obviously is considerably stronger in the South, and therefore what help Nixon will get in the South will be greater than any help that the Democratic candidate could possibly get outside the South. We find that the Wallace vote goes about 2 to 1 to Nixon in the South, and it goes to the Democratic candidate by about 3 to 2 outside the South. Which would indicate that since the Wallace vote is up in the neighborhood of 30% in the South and only about 7-10% outside the South, and that, on balance, the President stands to benefit the greatest."

I will meet with John Davies when he is in Washington again on June 22, 1972.

6/8/72

TRIAL HEATS
1972

Poll Dates	MUSKIE	KENNEDY	HHH	McGOV	WALLACE
H - Jan.	45-48-7 42-42-11-5		46-37-12-5		
T - Jan. 3-20	52-42-6 46-37-11-6	51-40-9 46-37-10-7	54-40-6 48-35-12-5		
G - Jan. 7-10	43-42-12-3		47-37		
O - Jan. 26-27	52-36-12 46-32-13-9	52-41-7 45-37-12-6	58-33-9 50-30-12-8		
G - Feb. 4-7	43-42-10-5	47-39-9-5	46-39-10-5	49-34-11-6	
H - Feb. 8-14	47-45-8 44-40-11-5		51-41-8 47-36-12-5		
H - Feb. 28- Mar. 7	50-37-13 47-35-12-6		53-37-10 48-35-12-5	59-32-9 53-28-13-6	
O - Mar. 18-19	52-37-11 44-30-17-9	49-43-8 41-38-15-6	55-37-8 44-32-17-7		66-24-10
G - Mar. 24-27	46-36-14-4		46-35-15-4		69-23-8
H - Apr. 1-7	44-33-15-8	45-35-14-6	50-42-8 42-36-16-6	54-34-12 47-29-16-8	
G - Apr. 15-16		46-36-12-6		46-31-15-8	
G - Apr. 21-24			44-31-16-9	45-32-16-7	
G - Apr. 28- May 1			50-38-12 45-34-15-6	49-39-12 43-35-15-7	
H - May 9-10			50-42-8 41-37-16-6	48-41-11 40-35-17-8	
G - May 26-29			43-26-22-9	43-30-19-8	

GOP Succeeding in Pinning 'Radical' Label on McGovern?

By George Gallup

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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 16 — Well aware that elections are won in the vital center of the political spectrum, GOP strategists are seeking to pin the label of "radical" on Sen. George McGovern.

A special nationwide survey reveals that McGovern is viewed as somewhat more to the left of where the average voter places himself than is Sen. Hubert Humphrey, one of McGovern's chief rivals for the Democratic nomination.

About one voter in five (18 per cent) of those who express an opinion label McGovern as "very liberal," compared to 11 per cent of those with views who use this category to describe Humphrey's political ideology.

Of significance, however, is the fact that, at the time of the survey, as many as a third of all voters interviewed (34 per cent) had not yet made up their minds where to place McGovern on the liberal-conservative scale. This proportion is more than double the percentage of voters who had not made up their minds on how to classify Humphrey.

Target Group For McGovern

Obviously the large bloc of voters who have not crystallized their thinking as to McGovern's political philosophy are a target group for the South Dakota Senator in the period leading up to the convention (and later, if he wins the nomination) — that is, if he seeks to win more votes from the political center of the electorate.

The survey findings reported today show Sen. Henry Jackson — of the six candidates tested — to be the candidate whose perceived ideological profile comes closest to that of the nation's voters. However, it is important to bear in mind that two out of three voters are unable to classify Jackson.

Humphrey is positioned slightly to the left of where the average voter positions himself, followed by Muskie who is still farther to the left, and then McGovern.

President Nixon's profile is appreciably more conservative than the average for all voters, a fact that could assume significance during the election campaign.

Three in Ten Says Wallace Is 'Liberal'

Gov. George Wallace is viewed as considerably to the right of where the average voter places himself. However,

evidence that Wallace has a "populist" image in some quarters is seen in the surprising finding that three voters in ten with views describe the Alabama Governor as either "fairly liberal" or "very liberal."

Details Of Survey

A total of 1556 adults were interviewed in person in the survey, which was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period April 21-24.

Survey respondents were asked the following question about themselves and six leading presidential candidates:

How would you describe (yourself/name of candidate) — as very conservative, fairly conservative, middle-of-the-road, fairly liberal, or very liberal?

Following are the results, percentaged on those expressing an opinion:

	Liberal - Conservative Scale (Percentaged excluding those undecided)				
	Very Fair Cons.	Fair Cons.	Mid-Road	Fair Lib.	Very Liberal Lib.
	%	%	%	%	%
McGovern	7	20	23	32	18
Humphrey	7	19	40	23	11
Muskie	5	23	31	31	10
Jackson	11	29	34	17	9
YOURSELF	15	24	34	19	8
Wallace	34	19	16	12	19
Nixon	21	35	27	11	6

Following are the percentages of those who are undecided:

All voters	4%
McGovern	34
Humphrey	14
Muskie	25
Jackson	65
Wallace	23
Nixon	10

It is important to note that the views of Democrats regarding the political philosophy of the candidates tested closely parallel the views of all persons reached in the survey.

Little Change in Voters' Position

The political philosophy of the electorate appears to have changed very little over the last 12 months, with the percentages in each survey leaning to the conservative side. The following table (with the undecided vote included) shows the comparison:

	How Voters Describe Themselves:	
	Spring, 1971	Spring, 1972
Very conservative	11	14
Fairly conservative	28	23
Middle-of-road	29	33
Fairly liberal	19	18
Very liberal	7	8
No opinion	6	4
	100%	100%

Coming Sunday!

1972 — Year of the GOP's 'Catholic Strategy?'

HAVE CATHOLICS MOVED INTO THE GOP COLUMN?

In 1968 GOP strategists talked about the party's "Southern strategy." They are now calling 1972 the year of the "Catholic strategy."

Have Catholics responded to Nixon's statements on aid to parochial schools and abortions?

A majority of Catholics in every presidential election of the last two decades — including Eisenhower's sweeps in 1952 and 1956 — have voted the Democratic ticket.

What has been the shift among Catholics — and Protestants — since the 1968 election, as determined by recent Gallup Poll trial heats?

The Gallup Poll

Now Leads Among Democrats, Independents Combined

McGovern's Dramatic Gain Wallace Seen Winning

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., June 8 — In the period of just two months, McGovern has achieved a rise in popularity comparable to the remarkable performance of Republican Wendell Willkie in 1940, who came from nowhere that year to vie with Thomas Dewey as the top choice of Republican voters for the nomination on the eve of the convention.

An analysis of the trend in McGovern's support reveals the following:

1. *The party faithful.* In early spring McGovern had the support of only five per cent of Democrats nationwide, as determined by a national survey in which Democrats were asked to give their top choice from a list of leading presidential possibilities. In the latest national survey, conducted in late May, prior to the California primary, he is in a virtual three-way tie with his leading rivals. He wins the vote of 25 per cent of Democrats to 26 per cent for Humphrey and 26 per cent for Wallace.

The previous survey showed Humphrey with a wide lead, winning the vote of 35 per cent of Democrats nationwide, to 20 per cent for McGovern and 18 per cent for Wallace.

2. *Independent voters.* McGovern has consistently been stronger among voters who classify themselves as In-

dependents than among Democrats. Even during the early period of the primaries, McGovern ran virtually even with Humphrey among this group. Following the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries, however, McGovern recorded a surge of popularity with Independents — from 18 per cent to 26 per cent.

This sharp upturn for McGovern among Independents occurred roughly one month after a similar jump among Democrats — from 5 per cent to 17 per cent following the Wisconsin primary.

3. *Better-educated, higher-income voters.* McGovern holds an advantage over Humphrey and Wallace in that, among both Democrats and Independent, he appeals far more to college-educated and higher income persons. These groups vote in greater proportions in the primaries and work harder to get supporters to the polls. Among Democrats and Independents with a college background, for example, McGovern is preferred over Humphrey by a 3-to-1 margin.

McGovern Leads HHH By Seven Points

When the choices of Democrats and Independents in the latest survey are combined, McGovern emerges ahead of Humphrey for the first time. He leads Humphrey by the margin of seven percentage points, 26 per cent to 19 per cent.

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Democrats and 489 of a total sample of d older, were inter- in the latest survey ed May 26 to May was asked:

f people who have as possible presi- for the Democratic Which ONE would nominated as the date for President

bles show the trend mphrey, McGovern g Independents and survey dates and pri-

Democrats Nomination (a list)

McGovern Wallace % % 25 26

ry: May 23 — ry: May 16 —

20 18 primaries: April 25 —

17 19 ry: April 4 —

March 24-27 . 31 5 17
— Ill. Primary: March 21 —
— Fla. Primary: March 14 —
— N. H. Primary: March 7 —

March 3-6 . . 31 6 15

Choices of Independents For 1972 Nomination (from a list)

Survey Dates:

	HHH	McGovern	Wallace
	%	%	%
May 26-29 . .	11	25	36
— Oregon Primary: May 23 —			

April 28-
May 1 18 26 22
— Mass., Pa. Primaries: April 25 —

April 21-24 . . 18 18 26
— Wis. Primary: April 4 —

March 24-27 . 16 15 21
— Ill. Primary: March 21 —
— Fla. Primary: March 14 —
— N. H. Primary: March 7 —

March 3-6 . . . 11 11 23

Trial Heats Show McGovern's Strength with Independents

McGovern's greater appeal than Humphrey with Independents is seen not only in his support among this group for the nomination, but in test races against President Nixon and Governor Wallace.

A survey completed in early May is consistent with earlier findings which show McGovern much stronger than Humphrey with Independents in these trial heats. The early May survey showed McGovern winning the support of 31 per cent of Independent voters, when matched against Nixon and Wallace, compared to 18 per cent for Humphrey.

Wallace Leads Among Independent Voters

Surveys taken before and after the May 15 attempt on the life of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama strongly suggest the presence of a "sympathy vote." Ahead of Humphrey but behind McGovern with Independents in early May, Wallace spurted to a clear lead over both of his leading rivals among this group of voters in the latest, pre-California survey. He is the choice of 37 per cent of Independents in this survey, to 25 per cent for McGovern and 19 per cent for Humphrey.

Wallace has also registered gains among Democrats during this same period of time, going from 18 per cent in early May to 26 per cent in the latest survey, and is now in a virtual tie with Humphrey and McGovern.

A national survey now underway will determine what changes have occurred in the nationwide candidate standings since the California primary.