The original documents are located in Box 65, folder "October 18, 1972 - Clark MacGregor - Turnout" of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Turnout

This memo will summarize our data and conclusions as they relate to turnout and our Get-Out-The-Vote efforts.

I am opposed to any type of mass broad-brush attempt to raise turnout nationally. I think our "Get-Out-The-Vote" efforts should be directed only at those who have been identified as Nixon supporters or as Republicans and at those selected areas where we will clearly benefit from a higher turnout. The priority precincts developed by Dan Evans should be used for this purpose.

Both our data and the recent Harris national poll indicate that our committed vote is at least and in some cases more intense and likely to vote as McGovern's. In the Harris poll 86% of the Nixon voters said they will definitely vote compared to 80% of the McGovern voters. Moreover the two groups who it appears will turn out at the lowest level are those we are doing our poorest with -- Blacks 70% and 18-24 year olds 74%.

A national Get-Out-The-Vote effort using the mass media or directed at all voters would probably have its greatest impact on those who we are doing poorly with.

I have seen no data to support the Sindlinger conclusion that a substantially larger portion of the McGovern voters will actually vote than of the Nixon voters.

Also it appears that the Nixon voters who are the softest in terms of their commitment are also those who are the marginal voters in terms of turnout.

There are two additional reasons for using only a selective "Get-Out-The-Vote" effort. One is that a large turnout will hurt most other Republicans who are on the ticket and our chances in close Senatorial and Congressional races. Disproportionate turnout is an important factor to Republican victories in many swing congressional and legislative districts. The second reason is less important but still a factor. It is that most of our and Republican party workers believe that a large turnout will hurt their local candidates.

In summary my recommendation is that our Get-Out-The-Vote effort should be entirely directed at voters who are identified Nixon supporters and at Republicans. Where we do not have canvass information we can identify areas where high turnout will help us and we can direct our efforts there. We should not use any type of mass appeal to raise turnout.

This recommendation does not, however, preclude the President from making a "Good Government" appeal on election eve for everyone to vote. Such an appeal will probably not affect turnout measurably, it will expose the President in a positive Presidential light, and it will show him as confident that if all the people do vote he will come out the winner.

