

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
 Contested Materials Collection  
 Folder List

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42	9	12/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris survey. 5pgs.
42	9	12/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	12/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	12/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	11/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Harris Survey.4pgs.
42	9	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris public opinion analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	10/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.
42	9	10/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Public Opinion analysis. With a complete copy 10pgs.
42	9	10/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. With a complete copy. 8pgs.
42	9	10/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.

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42	9	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Harris Survey. 1pg.
42	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Harris Survey with data. 10pgs.
42	9	10/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	10/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.
42	9	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Harris Survey. 7pgs.
42	9		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	8/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.

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42	9	8/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	9	8/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.
42	9	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Charles Colson. RE: Harris Data. 6pgs.
42	9	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 7pgs.
42	9	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.
42	9	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.
42	9	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.

By Louis Harris

Evidence from the latest Harris Survey casts serious doubt on a popular theory that President Nixon won reelection by a massive margin because (1) he was able to reassure white working families that he would end school busing to achieve racial balance, (2) convince businessmen and white collar workers of his intention to cut government spending and not raise taxes, and (3) persuade white union members and Southerners that he would not rock the boat by pressing for major gains for blacks and other minorities.

The roots of this common assessment is that the 1972 president election was a classic confrontation of a law-and-order, "anti-permissiveness," middle-of-the-road, stand-pat Richard Nixon, on the one hand, against an extreme, left-wing, "radical" new politics George McGovern, on the other.

If this were indeed the basis on which 75 million Americans cast their ballots last November 7th, then a ringing mandate should have been registered for a wholesale cut-back in such causes as racial equality, help for the poor, and anti-pollution, as well as deep cuts in federal spending.

Yet a survey of public attitudes in depth shows that no such public expectations now exist, nor is there evidence that they ever did exist.

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Mr. Nixon might have made noises during the campaign as a fiscal conservative, pledged himself to heavy cuts in federal spending and to no tax increase in the next four years. Yet, by 47-40 percent, the public does not think he will actually be able to "keep federal spending in line," and, by a much bigger 64-23 percent, people do not think he will actually be able "to avoid increasing federal taxes."

On the question of racial minorities and the poor, public expectations are completely opposite from that which the stand-pat interpretation of Mr. Nixon's election victory would have predicted. On school busing for racial purposes, by a narrow 42-40 percent, the public doubts Mr. Nixon can achieve his stated goal of preventing it from happening. By the same token, by a clear 52-32 percent, a majority does think he will "help minorities achieve equality," and an even higher majority of 58-32 percent believe that he "will expand help for the poor."

Far and away the most decisive expectation of Mr. Nixon on the domestic front in his second term is the 63-26 percent who feel that he will "make real progress in controlling air and water pollution," a matter notable in 1972 because it received a wide mandate almost without exception in state bond issues for cleaning up the environment. An even larger 83 percent said during the campaign that they would favor making air and water pollution one of the "two or three top priorities for the federal government in the next four years." Ironically, neither President Nixon nor Sen. McGovern focused on pollution as a major issue in the campaign.

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Nor is the evidence buttressing this finding limited to Harris Survey polling results. The election returns themselves contain the same dramatic evidence. In 15 states last November 7th, Republican candidates for the U.S. Senate could be classified as being more conservative on nearly all issues than the President himself. In these states, Mr. Nixon received 68 percent of the vote, while GOP candidates for the U.S. Senate won no more than 52 percent of the vote. Republican conservatives ran 16 points behind the President.

By contrast, in 6 states, the Republicans nominated candidates who by no stretch of the imagination could be classified other than moderates or liberals. Most significantly of all, each of the six had pro-civil rights records (Percy, Ill; Smith, Me.; Brooke, Mass.; Case, N Hatfield, Ore.; Chaffee, R.I.). In these six states, Mr. Nixon's combined vote came to 57 percent, but the aggregate vote for the U.S. Senate was 61 percent Republican. In other words, Republican moderates and liberals ran 4 points ahead of Mr. Nixon, while GOP conservatives ran 16 points behind him. This massive 20 point difference between how conservatives and liberals within the Republican party fared certainly ought to be taken as handwriting on the wall politically.

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Thus, the post-election evidence is simply not there that Mr. Nixon's mandate mirrors a deep and abiding desire on the part of voters to rally to the roster of so-called Middle America "social issues," centering on crime, permissiveness, and resistance to change. Significantly, the voters themselves, by a 47-38 percent margin, reject the image of the President as one who stood essentially for the status quo in his approach to government. And Mr. Nixon, himself, in a post-election statement has said he did not view his re-election as "simply an approval of things as they are" nor "an endorsement of the status quo," but rather he considered the election returns a demonstration of a nationwide desire for "change that works."

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Note to Editors: We are enclosing the following work sheet for the Harris Public Opinion Analysis of Dec. 14, 1972 which may be of interest to you.

NIXON VS. MORE CONSERVATIVE G.O.P. CANDIDATES FOR U.S. SENATE  
(Vote in 000's)

	Pres.		U.S. Senate	
	Nixon	McGovern	Rep.	Dem.
15 States				
Ala. (Blount-Sparkman)	692 (76)	216 (23)	337 (33)	660 (64)
Colo. (Allott-Haskell)	569 (63)	319 (36)	440 (49)	449 (50)
Dela. (Boggs-Biden)	140 (60)	92 (39)	113 (49)	116 (50)
Ga. (Thompson-Nunn)	779 (75)	261 (25)	481 (46)	571 (54)
Iowa (Miller-Clark)	702 (58)	493 (41)	524 (44)	649 (55)
Kans. (Pearson-Tetzlaff)	606 (68)	265 (30)	601 (72)	195 (23)
Ky. (Nunn-Huddleston)	671 (64)	369 (35)	491 (48)	526 (51)
Mont. (Hibbard-Metcalf)	178 (58)	116 (38)	146 (50)	148 (50)
Nebr. (Curtis-Carpenter)	383 (71)	162 (29)	283 (53)	256 (47)
N.H. (Powell-McIntyre)	212 (65)	115 (34)	139 (43)	183 (57)
N.C. (Helms-Galifianakis)	1,052 (70)	437 (29)	793 (54)	672 (46)
Okla. (Bartlett-Edmondson)	746 (74)	243 (24)	506 (51)	471 (48)
S.C. (Thurmond-Zeigler)	464 (71)	187 (28)	418 (64)	239 (36)
Texas (Tower-Sanders)	2,078 (67)	1,055 (33)	1,670 (54)	1,389 (45)
Wyoming (Hansen-Vinich)	100 (70)	44 (30)	101 (71)	41 (29)
	<u>9,372 (68)</u>	<u>4,374 (32)</u>	<u>7,043 (52)</u>	<u>6,565 (48)</u>

G.O.P. Senate Conservatives: 16 points behind Nixon

NIXON VS. MORE MODERATE OR LIBERAL G.O.P. CANDIDATES FOR U.S. SENATE  
(Vote in 000's)

	Pres.		U.S. Senate	
	Nixon	McGovern	Rep.	Dem.
6 States				
Ill. (Percy-Pucinski)	2,748 (60)	1,864 (40)	2,826 (63)	1,679 (37)
Me. (Smith-Hathaway)	251 (61)	161 (39)	196 (47)	223 (53)
Mass. (Brooke-Dronney)	1,104 (45)	1,324 (55)	1,496 (65)	820 (35)
N.J. (Case-Krebs)	1,766 (63)	1,055 (37)	1,643 (63)	935 (36)
Ore. (Hatfield-Morse)	483 (53)	391 (42)	491 (54)	424 (46)
R.I. (Chaffee-Pell)	209 (54)	185 (46)	180 (46)	212 (54)
	<u>6,561 (57)</u>	<u>4,980 (43)</u>	<u>6,832 (61)</u>	<u>4,293 (39)</u>

G.O.P. Mod. or liberals: 4 points ahead of Nixon

G.O.P. Conservatives ran relative to Nixon 20 points poorer than moderates liberals.

By Louis Harris

Sizable majorities of the American people expect that a second Nixon Administration will yield real progress in relations with Russia and China abroad while making gains in controlling air and water pollution here at home.

At the same time, the public is doubtful that Mr. Nixon will be able to keep his campaign pledges of cutting federal spending and avoid raising taxes. People are similarly skeptical that the President will succeed in controlling inflation and in reducing unemployment, or that he will be able to prevent school busing to achieve racial balance.

On two key Nixon objectives, the public is divided: by a narrow 43-41 percent, a small plurality feels the President "will be able to unify the country"; but by 47-37 percent, a plurality also doubts that he will be "able to establish a generation of peace."

On November 21st and 22nd, a nationwide cross section of 1,504 households was asked:

"In his second term in the White House, do you think President Nixon will (READ ITEMS ON LIST) or don't you think he will do that?"

(more)

PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS FROM SECOND NIXON ADMINISTRATION

	<u>Will</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Will</u> <u>Not</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> <u>%</u>
Expand trade with Russia and China far beyond what it has ever been before	82	9	9
Come to further major agreements with the Russians on arms control limitations	76	13	11
Make real progress in controlling air and water pollution	63	26	11
Expand help for the poor	58	32	10
Help minorities achieve equality	52	32	16
Get along well with the Democratic controlled Congress	45	41	14
Put in major tax reforms	43	37	20
Unify the country	43	41	16
Prevent school busing for racial balance	40	42	18
Keep federal spending in line	40	47	13
Reduce unemployment	39	48	13
Establish a generation of peace	37	47	16
Control inflation	36	51	13
Avoid increasing federal taxes	23	64	13

Taken as a whole, it is apparent that the public has more confidence that progress can be made in foreign than domestic policy by a second Nixon Administration. This, of course, reflects and reinforces a major finding of Harris Surveys during the recent election, where the sizable Nixon margin of victory could be traced dominantly to the impression he had made in his journeys to Peking and Moscow.

However, there are some surprising areas of optimism on the domestic front. Although he has had a vigorous agency dealing with environmental pollution, nonetheless in the latter stages of the campaign Mr. Nixon vetoed a massive water pollution control bill, which was then promptly passed over his veto by both houses of Congress. Subsequently, he has refused to allocate all of the funds appropriated on Capitol Hill. Nevertheless, by 63-26 percent, the public expects to see real progress on air and water pollution in the next four years.

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Perhaps the most interesting finding is on the racial issue. Here, a majority of 52-32 percent feels that Mr. Nixon in his second term will "help minorities achieve equality," and, by 42-40 percent, the public doubts he can "prevent school busing for racial balance." Ironically, it is the South which leads the rest of the country in these twin expectations regarding racial developments, with a 57-23 percent majority in that region expecting help from Washington for minorities and a 47-34 percent plurality doubtful that school busing will be checked.

These results ought to put to rest the rather popular and specious notion that Richard Nixon won re-election because he was able to convince voters he would put an end to federal efforts in behalf of desegregation.

It is now obvious he won the South heavily in spite of serious white misgivings about future gains for blacks under Mr. Nixon. The results among blacks are equally interesting. For they feel, by 56-27 percent, that the President will "not be able to prevent busing" and by 45-38 percent, that he "will not help minorities achieve equality." In a sense, Mr. Nixon starts out with the worst of both worlds on the racial issue.

In the economic area, the doubts about what the President can do to ease the twin problems of inflation and unemployment reflect the continuing worries the American people have that the worst of our economic troubles have not been solved by the price and wage control program. To the contrary, these negative expectations should be taken as a sign that any early attempts to ease the controls system will likely be met by sizable public hostility.

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By narrow margins, the public does expect Mr. Nixon to get along well with the Democratic Congress and put through major tax reforms. In many ways, these results provide a real clue to the public's assessment of what it expects from the second Nixon term: rather than believing the President will embark on a series of programs designed to reinforce public fears about crime, protesters, drugs, and nonconformity most people think he will seek out common ground with a more liberal Democratic Congress.

That is why people suspect Mr. Nixon again will surprise the prevailing wisdom among Washington pundits and analysts and may opt for racial progress, helping the poor, reforming the tax system, and pushing air and water pollution control measures at home. Abroad, they think he will extend the landmarks achieved in his first Administration.

The first test of whether the public's expectations are correct will be when the President begins to unfold his plans in his Inaugural and State of the Union addresses in January.

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By Louis Harris

The heart of the proposed Vietnam peace agreement, calling for a "cease-fire under which each side controls those parts of Vietnam they now occupy," meets with 55-29 percent approval from the American people. However, by 50-33 percent, the public disapproves "allowing a certain number of North Vietnamese troops to remain in South Vietnam in those areas controlled by the Communists."

Sizable majorities of the people give unqualified approval of the terms which have been outlined, with the only sticking point surrounding the continuance of Communist rule in those parts of South Vietnam now under Communist control. However, by 47-38 percent, a plurality is willing to go along with the provision that Communist-held areas should remain that way "until there are national elections."

Here is public reaction to the main provisions of the agreement to end the war which have been reported:

--- By 91-5 percent, people approve "the exchange of all prisoners of war when all U.S. troops are withdrawn within 60 days."

--- By 80-7 percent, a big majority approve "the holding of national elections in all of South Vietnam within three months."

--- By 80-8 percent, a similar majority favor "international supervision of the cease-fire and elections in South Vietnam."

(MORE)

--- By 80-11 percent, a majority support the provision of "an end of U.S. bombing and mining of North Vietnam and withdrawal of all remaining U.S. troops and advisors within 60 days of the final agreement.

--- By 70-12 percent, the public also approves setting up "a National Council of Reconciliation in South Vietnam which has on it equal representation of the Thieu government, the Communists, and neutralist elements to work out arrangements for an election."

During the course of Dr. Henry Kissinger's renewed negotiations with North Vietnam in Paris on November 21st and 22nd, a cross section of 1,504 households across the country was asked a question identical to the asked on the eve of the election on November 5th:

"The United States and North Vietnam have agreed on a way to end the Vietnam war. From what you have read or heard of that agreement, do you feel that the peace terms agreed to are right and honorable for the U.S. to accept, or do you feel we are compromising too much to get peace?"

VIETNAM TERMS RIGHT AND HONORABLE?

	Late Nov.	Early Nov.
Right and honorable	48	41
Compromising too much	26	30
Not sure	26	29

All in all, by nearly a 2-to-1 margin, those Americans with firmed-up opinions support the reported, agreed-to peace terms. Obviously the most popular parts of the proposed pact are the exchange of the prisoners-of-war, the guarantee of early elections under international supervision, an end of U.S. bombing and mining of North Vietnam, and withdrawal of all American troops and advisors within 60 days of the agreement.

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The National Council of Reconciliation, a coalition in nature but mediator in function, has not caused widespread opposition, although consistently American public opinion had opposed a coalition government as a solution to the war. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for the 70 per cent support for the coalition National Council of Reconciliation is that it specifically is not to be given governing functions in the interim period before elections are held.

In many ways, the acid test for the agreement centers on the provision that the Communists should continue to rule those parts of Vietnam they now control. The cross section was asked:

"Do you tend to approve or disapprove of a continuation of rule by the Communists in those areas they control until there are national elections?"

COMMUNIST RULE OF AREAS THEY CONTROL UNTIL ELECTIONS

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>By Region</u>			
East	53	33	14
Midwest	50	38	12
South	35	44	21
West	51	37	12
<u>By Age</u>			
18-29	49	39	12
30-49	54	33	13
50 and over	39	43	18
<u>By Education</u>			
8th grade or less	36	39	25
High school	44	41	15
College	58	33	9
<u>By Occupation</u>			
Professional	61	28	11
Executive, manager	49	37	14
White collar	52	33	15
Skilled labor	42	46	12
Unskilled labor	41	40	19

(MORE)

HARRIS SURVEY, December 4th, 1972

This division is a classic one, with the younger, better educated, professional and white collar groups, centered on the East and West coasts finally carrying the issue by a 47-38 percent margin. Perhaps ironically, in the end, those groups which were most marked by opposition to the war finally have given approval to the terms being negotiated by President Nixon's representatives.

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By Louis Harris

A solid majority of 65 percent of the American people reject the suggestion that the reported terms of the peace agreement in Vietnam are a victory for either the Communists or the United States, but feel rather that they are a "fair compromise" way to settle the war. This does not mean, however, that most Americans do not see real problems stemming from the ending of the war.

Despite the fact that heavy majorities of the public support the specific provisions of the proposed agreement, a substantial 72 percent feel the Communists are likely to "violate the agreement" in a major or minor way, and an even 50 percent also feel that the Saigon government will also likely violate the pact.

When asked who will probably control South Vietnam five years from now, 33 percent of the public felt the Communists would take over, an equal 33 percent hold the view that a coalition government with the Communists in it will be in control, while only 9 percent believe the present government will run the country, and no more than 7 percent see a neutralist group in power in Vietnam.

Thus, it can be said that most Americans do not foresee an easy nor entirely peaceful road ahead for the people of South Vietnam. Basically, the people of this country view the Vietnam conflict as a violent and unhappy episode with no victor. The final terms of settlement are thought to be essentially honorable, but no better than a "fair compromise."

(MORE)

When asked for their views about the controversial bombing of North Vietnam ordered by President Nixon earlier this year, a majority of 58-25 percent registered their conviction that the bombings have "helped both sides to finally arrive at a peace agreement." In other words, the public is convinced that the violent and prolonged conflict was brought to a halt through American force, with no real guarantees that further outbreaks of fighting will not occur in the future or that South Vietnam will be kept out of Communist control.

Nonetheless, a substantial majority of Americans favor the terms of the agreement as outlined in October, partly because they will signal the end of direct U.S. involvement in the war, partly because our prisoners-of-war will be returned, and partly because in assuring the South Vietnamese of elections they will at least have a fair voice in determining their own future.

On November 21st and 22nd, a cross section of 1,504 people 18 years of age and over were asked face to face in their own homes:

"All in all, do you feel the reported terms of the agreement between the U.S. and North Vietnam are a victory for North Vietnam, for the U.S., or are a fair compromise?"

#### TERMS OF AGREEMENT

	Total Public
Victory for North Vietnam	13
Victory for U.S.	5
A fair compromise	65
Not sure	17

A substantial majority thought both sides gave some to achieve the final settlement. But almost as large a majority also holds the view that the bombings of North Vietnam helped bring about the final agreement. They were asked:

"Do you feel the bombing of North Vietnam by the U.S. helped or hindered both sides finally arriving at a peace settlement?"

ROLE OF BOMBINGS IN ENDING WAR

	<u>Total Public</u> %
Helped arrive at agreement	58
Hindered agreement	25
Not sure	17

As for the settlement itself, the public foresees troubles in keeping both sides from violating the agreement. People were asked:

"Do you think the Communists will abide by the Vietnam peace agreement or do you think they will violate it in a major way or in a minor way?" and "Do you think the Saigon government will abide by the Vietnam peace agreement or do you think they will violate it in a major way or in a minor way?"

ABIDE BY OR VIOLATE AGREEMENT?

	<u>Communists</u> %	<u>Saigon</u> %
Will abide by terms	13	30
Will violate in minor way	33	14
Will violate in major way	39	36
Not sure	15	20

Although the public thinks the Communists are more apt to violate the agreement than the Saigon government, substantial numbers feel both will not live up to the terms.

Nor are most Americans sanguine about an ultimate government in Vietnam which will be free from either Communist domination or at least participation. The cross section was asked:

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"Five years from now, if you had to guess, who do you think will be in control of South Vietnam: the Communists, the present Thieu government, a neutralist government, or some form of coalition government with the Communists in it?"

WHO WILL CONTROL SOUTH VIETNAM FIVE YEARS FROM NOW?

	Total Public
Communists	33
Coalition with communists	33
Present Thieu government	9
Neutralists	7
Not sure	18

Of course, this is merely the guess of most Americans today as the war finally is ending for this country. Despite these worries, it is significant that 65 percent still feel the reported terms of settlement represent a "fair compromise."

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, November 30th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

One abiding condition that remains unsolved as 1972 draws to a close is the fact that over four in ten Americans, 41 percent, still feel largely alienated toward the system under which they live. While down from a record 48 percent who felt disenchanting in early September, current levels of alienation are still a full 10 points above the levels of 1966.

Here are key signs that the mood of alienation is still running deeply in the country:

--- A substantial 64 percent of the public still agrees with the statement that "tax laws are written to help the rich and not the average man." This most widely held complaint declined from a high of 74 percent last May.

--- The old shibboleth that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" finds 61 percent in agreement, although the number tapered off some 7 points from a high of 68 percent in May.

--- Despite all the courting of voters that went on during the recent political campaign, 46 percent of the people still feel that "what I think doesn't really count much," down from 53 percent who felt the same way in May, but still coming to nearly one in every two Americans.

--- Over one in three, 36 percent, feel that "people with power are out to take advantage of me," down from a high of 43 percent in early September.

(MORE)

--- The number who say they feel "left out of things around me" comes to 18 percent, down a full 7 points from the 25 percent who felt the same way last May, but still double the 9 percent who expressed similar feelings back in 1966.

--- The sharpest decline was registered among those who feel "people running the country don't care what happens to people like me." This sentiment reached an all-time high of 50 percent last May, but by early November had fallen off 11 points to 39 percent. So at least some of the protestations of candidates that they really care about the voters had some impact.

--- One of the significant aspects of the 1972 election is that Harris Survey estimates show that voter turnout among the alienated segment of the electorate was some 12 percentage points lower than those who felt more adjusted to the system. An estimated 61 percent of the non-alienated voted, compared with no more than 49 percent of the alienated. Certainly one of the motivators keeping people away from the polls was a sense that no matter which candidate won, the sources of their alienation would not be relieved.

President Nixon carried the alienated who did vote by a narrow 51-49 percent margin against Sen. McGovern. McGovern had based much of his early strategy on attracting people who were disenchanting. His failure to come across as a champion of those who felt most keenly that the system was passing them by figured largely in the final outcome.

Periodically, the Harris Survey has asked this series of questions, the latest among 3,236 households earlier this month:

(MORE)

"Do you often tend to feel (READ LIST) or not?"

SENSE OF ALIENATION

	1972			1966
	Nov. %	Sept. %	May %	%
Tax laws written to help rich not average man	64	67	74	X
Rich get richer, poor get poorer	61	66	68	48
What I think doesn't count much	46	50	53	39
People running country don't care what happens to people like me	39	45	50	28
People with power out to take advantage of me	36	43	38	X
Feel left out of things around me	18	24	25	9

X-Not asked in 1966

When alienation is analyzed by key groups in the population, these types of people tend to feel most alienated:

--- Young people under 30, a majority of whom feel that control of society is firmly in the hands of their elders, share a sense of not having their views taken very seriously.

--- People with incomes under \$5,000 a year, a majority of whom are over 55 years of age, share the sentiments of youth that the powers that be largely ignore what they think. But, in addition, tend to feel that the economic system discriminates against them. A substantial 29 percent feel "left out of things around me" and 54 percent report feeling "lonely and depressed."

---- Blacks, 69 percent of whom now feel alienated, are more disenchanting than any other group in the population. A majority of 55 percent of the blacks feel that "people with power are out to take advantage of me" and an even higher 62 percent say "people running the country don't care what happens to people like me."

(MORE)

--- Union members, who feel particularly aggrieved over taxes and their economic lot, registered a 46 percent alienation level. Paralleling this feeling are those of Irish descent, 72 percent of whom feel "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" and 73 percent of whom feel "tax laws are written for the rich and not for the average man." In the industrial areas of the North, Richard Nixon was able to win the votes of these two groups, despite their high sense of alienation. Both had responded to the appeals to the disenchanted from George Wallace earlier in the year.

The element of alienation remains a major ingredient in American life in the 1970's, and it would be a mistake to assume it will simply disappear now that the 1972 elections are behind us.

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HARRIS SURVEY  
September 22, 1972

	<u>8/2 - 8/3</u>		<u>8/28 - 9/1</u>			<u>9/19 - 9/21</u>		
	N	McG	N	McG	NS	N	McG	NS
Nationwide	57	34	63	29	8	59	31	10
East	58	33	60	34	6	56	34	10
Midwest	53	36	64	29	7	53	34	13
South	65	27	70	19	11	70	22	8
West	55	39	58	34	8	59	32	9
Deep South	68	26	68	20	12	71	19	10
Border States	62	29	69	22	9	66	26	8
Cities	50	42	53	39	8	43	44	13
Suburbs	57	33	68	25	7	64	26	10
Towns	62	31	67	24	9	66	26	8
Rural	62	28	68	24	8	68	22	10
18-24 year olds			47	47	6	44	50	6
25-49 year olds			59	34	7	50	41	9
18-29 year olds	53	43	52	42	6	47	45	8
30-49 year olds	58	34	68	25	7	63	29	8
50+	59	28	65	26	9	61	25	14
8th Grade	52	36	56	36	8	52	34	14
High School	58	31	66	26	8	60	29	11
College	58	37	63	31	6	59	33	8
Union	49	40	56	34	10	55	34	11
Men	58	33	63	29	8	58	32	10
Women	56	35	63	29	8	59	30	11
White	62	29	67	25	8	64	26	10
Black	16	77	22	67	11	13	75	12
Under \$5,000	52	39	56	36	8	53	37	10
\$5,000-\$9,900	55	35	58	32	10	54	33	13
\$10,000-\$14,900	58	31	70	23	7	64	27	9
\$15,000+	65	30	71	24	5	66	27	7
Republicans	87	10	93	5	2	89	7	4
Democrats	38	53	43	47	10	41	48	11
Independents	60	25	68	22	10	66	26	12
White Catholics	55	33	62	27	11	58	31	11
WASP	68	24	74	20	6	71	20	9
Jewish	46	44	49	43	8	37	39	24
Irish			59	31	10	54	33	13
Italian			65	25	10	52	31	17

N -- Nixon  
McG -- McGovern  
NS -- Not Sure

NIXON-MCGOVERN TRIAL HEAT

- 1. NIXON
- 2. LEAN NIXON
- 3. MCGOVERN
- 4. LEAN MCGOVERN
- 5. UNDECIDED

PERCENTAGE  
BASE

UNWTD

WTD

8/29-31  
9/29-10/1  
11/1-15

8/29-31  
9/29-10/1  
11/1-15

3.

4.

5.

	UNWTD	WTD	UNWTD	WTD	8/29-31	9/29-10/1	11/1-15	3.	4.	5.					
TOTAL PUBLIC	974	980	1065	1049	59	50	4	7	23	26	5	3	9	14	100
MEN	484	469	504	521	59	57	6	4	24	24	4	2	7	13	100
WOMEN	490	511	561	528	59	44	3	10	21	27	5	3	12	16	100
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	52	45	85	80	59	46	7	9	32	33	1	3	1	9	100
21-29 YEARS	218	209	195	193	54	49	3	8	32	34	4	2	7	7	100
30-49 YEARS	402	375	382	370	54	54	4	9	23	17	3	3	10	17	100
50 YEARS AND OVER	293	346	388	401	59	49	5	5	17	28	7	7	12	15	100
16-24 YEARS	154	121	165	147	56	45	5	9	33	34	4	2	2	10	100
8TH GRADE OR LESS	91	114	246	227	45	45	6	8	22	27	7	1	20	19	100
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	120	116	185	188	57	42	3	9	27	31	5	6	8	12	100
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	338	346	379	393	65	52	3	7	21	22	4	3	7	16	100
SOME COLLEGE	415	393	244	229	64	59	4	5	23	27	3	2	6	7	100
UNION FAMILIES	269	269	315	322	52	47	7	8	22	28	6	4	13	13	100
NONUNION FAMILIES	705	711	750	727	62	52	3	6	23	25	4	2	8	15	100
WHITE	841	849	936	905	64	55	4	7	18	22	5	3	9	13	100
NONWHITE	126	118	125	130	18	19	6	6	56	53	5	1	15	21	100
PROTESTANT	579	562	643	601	65	56	5	8	17	19	5	3	8	14	100
CATHOLIC	219	239	251	267	55	45	5	2	23	36	3	3	14	11	100
JEWISH	31	38	30	30	37	33	0	2	52	44	2	0	9	21	100
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	130	143	208	193	48	33	3	11	31	40	10	3	8	13	100
\$5,000 - \$15,000	510	482	555	529	60	55	5	6	21	22	4	2	10	15	100
OVER \$15,000	236	254	181	206	67	67	4	6	20	23	4	4	5	6	100
NOT REGISTERED	844	842	892	874	60	52	4	7	23	26	4	2	9	13	100
WILL REGISTER	89		115		56		7		29		5		3		100
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	933		1007		59		4		24		9		8		100
WON'T REGISTER	41		59		49		4		9		9		29		100
NOT REGISTERED		135		172		41		8		25		4		22	100
REPUBLICAN	243	225	247	250	93	86	3	4	1	5			2	4	100
DEMOCRAT	359	344	394	407	34	28	7	7	39	44	1	1	11	17	100
INDEPENDENT	287	308	320	298	65	53	3	10	18	23	9	4	10	12	100
LEAN REPUBLICAN	134	169	177	143	92	78	3	7	3	7	0	0	2	6	100
LEAN DEMOCRAT	97	103	109	99	25	29	2	7	53	50	9	4	11	10	100
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	110	85	93	113	49	42	4	12	12	12	1	2	34	32	100
CONSERVATIVE	216	228	237	211	77	69	6	10	9	14	2	1	6	6	100
LIBERAL	176	181	162	157	40	25	5	3	38	58	6	4	11	10	100
IN BETWEEN	476	468	515	534	59	51	4	7	23	22	6	3	8	17	100
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	220	235	262	246	66	60	4	4	17	17	4	4	9	12	100
LEAN LIBERAL	142	159	171	151	49	43	2	4	32	34	10	3	7	12	100
OTHER IN BETWEEN	226	171	232	284	52	46	4	7	27	19	3	3	14	25	100
NIXON VOTERS	425	389	408	431	85	73	4	7	5	10	2	2	4	8	100
MURPHY VOTERS	233	210	219	235	31	21	2	7	43	53	9	4	12	16	100
WALLACE VOTERS	61	60	76	65	58	54	5	5	21	15	5	0	9	26	100
NONVOTERS	208	250	291	260	49	44	3	8	32	29	5	4	11	15	100
EAST	254	246	271	258	55	52	3	2	28	35	5	1	9	10	100
MIDWEST	266	283	298	294	58	46	5	2	23	26	4	4	10	16	100
SOUTH	300	307	320	337	65	57	2	10	21	18	3	1	9	14	100
WEST	160	138	176	170	53	43	8	8	20	27	8	6	11	16	100

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION  
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	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Number</u>
Total - 100%	62 (+10)	32 (0)	6 (-10)	1011
<u>Age</u>				
18-24 years	52 (+10)	44 (-6)	4 (-4)	158
25-34 years	64 (+18)	33 (-7)	3 (-11)	198
35-44 years	58 (-1)	36 (+10)	6 (-9)	178
45-54 years	66 (+21)	27 (-1)	7 (-20)	150
55-64 years	61 (+4)	29 (-3)	10 (-1)	144
65 years +	68 (+5)	25 (+8)	6 (-14)	183
<u>Education</u>				
Less than high school	56 (+8)	38 (+9)	7 (-16)	285
High school graduate	67 (+11)	26 (-5)	7 (-6)	359
College	66 (+14)	32 (-5)	3 (-8)	364
<u>Religion</u>				
Catholic	63 (+15)	31 (-3)	6 (-12)	272
Protestant	66 (+9)	29 (+1)	5 (-10)	608
Jewish	32 (+7)	56 (+10)	15 (-14)	31
Other	49 (+13)	44 (-7)	7 (-6)	82
<u>Race</u>				
White	67 (+11)	26 (-2)	7 (-9)	870
Black	25 (+1)	74 (+9)	2 (-9)	106
Spanish American	50 (+42)	42 (-16)	8 (-26)	16
<u>Union</u>				
Yes	56 (+13)	39 (-1)	5 (-12)	321
No	66 (+8)	29 (+2)	6 (-9)	660
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$5,000	58 (+15)	35 (+3)	8 (-17)	180
\$5,000-9,999	59 (+13)	35 (-4)	6 (-9)	327
\$10,000-14,999	65 (+12)	29 (-2)	6 (-10)	223
\$15,000 +	72 (+12)	25 (-5)	4 (-6)	202
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	61 (+5)	33 (+5)	6 (-10)	501
Female	64 (+17)	31 (-5)	6 (-11)	510
<u>Geographic (Political)</u>				
East	61 (+10)	30 (-6)	9 (-4)	250
Midwest	58 (+11)	38 (+2)	4 (-13)	282
South	67 (+9)	27 (+3)	7 (-11)	331
West	60 (+14)	35 (-2)	4 (-13)	148
<u>Special Ballot</u>				
Definitely Nixon	99	1	0	424
Probably Nixon	99	0	1	122
Undecided/Lean to				
Nixon	90	2	8	61
Completely Undecided	38	23	40	55
Undecided/Lean to				
McGovern	1	94	5	57
Probably McGovern	4	93	3	79
Definitely McGovern	4	96	0	175

QUESTION 4 & 5 69072  
 NIXON-MCGGOVERN TRIAL HEAT

AUGUST 29-31, 1972 974 INTERVIEWS  
 SEPT 29 - OCT 1, 1972 980 INTERVIEWS

	PERCENTAGE BASE		TOTAL NIXON		TOTAL MCGGOVERN		UNDECIDED
	UNHTD	HTD					
TOTAL PUBLIC	974	10651	63	57	28	29	9
MEN	484	5042	65	61	28	26	7
WOMEN	490	5609	62	54	26	30	12
16-20 YEARS OF AGE	52	847	66	55	33	36	1
21-29 YEARS	218	1952	57	57	36	36	7
30-49 YEARS	402	3815	64	63	26	20	10
50 YEARS AND OVER	293	3883	64	54	24	31	12
16-24 YEARS	154	1649	61	54	37	36	2
8TH GRADE OR LESS	91	2457	51	53	29	28	20
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	120	1846	60	51	32	37	8
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	338	3707	68	59	25	25	7
SOME COLLEGE	415	2444	68	64	26	29	6
UNION FAMILIES	269	3147	59	55	28	32	13
NONUNION FAMILIES	705	7504	65	58	27	27	8
WHITE	841	9362	68	62	23	25	9
NONWHITE	126	1248	24	25	61	54	15
PROTESTANT	579	6429	70	64	22	22	8
CATHOLIC	219	2506	60	50	26	37	14
JEWISH	31	297	37	35	54	44	9
UNDER \$5,000 INCOME	130	2084	51	44	41	43	8
\$5,000 - \$15,000	510	5551	65	61	25	24	10
OVER \$15,000	236	1814	71	67	24	27	5
NOW REGISTERED	844	8920	64	59		28	9
WILL REGISTER	89	1146	63				3
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	933	10066	63		29		8
WON'T REGISTER	41	585	53		10		29
NOT REGISTERED				49			
REPUBLICAN	225	2468	96	90	2	6	2
DEMOCRAT	344	3937	41	35	48	48	11
INDEPENDENT	308	3198	68	63	22	25	10
LEAN REPUBLICAN	169	1774	95	85	3	9	2
LEAN DEMOCRAT	103	1088	27	36	62	54	11
OTHER INDEPENDENTS	85	930	53	54	13	14	34
CONSERVATIVE	228	2372	83	79	11	15	6
LIBERAL	181	1622	45	28	44	62	11
IN BETWEEN	468	5148	63	58	29	25	8
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	235	2624	70	67	21	21	9
LEAN LIBERAL	159	1712	51	51	42	37	7
OTHER IN BETWEEN	171	2321	56	53	30	22	14
NIXON VOTERS	339	4081	89	60	7	12	4
MURPHY VOTERS	210	2187	36	27	52	57	12
WALLACE VOTERS	60	759	65	59	26	15	9
NONVOTERS	250	2911	52	52	37	33	11
EAST	246	2712	58	54	33	36	9
MIDWEST	283	2982	63	54	27	30	10
SOUTH	307	3201	67	67	24	19	9
WEST	138	1756	61	51	28	33	11

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, November 9th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The outcome of the 1972 elections may signal some realignments in basic Republican and Democratic party strength in the country, but in a hypothetical trial heat for the presidency in 1976, conducted shortly before last Tuesday's voting, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts ran 51-43 percent ahead of Vice President Spiro Agnew.

Mr. Agnew has been widely mentioned as one of the more prominent contenders for the Republican nomination four years from now. Edward Kennedy's extensive campaigning not only for George McGovern but for local candidates in many parts of the country has not diminished his prospects for the Democratic nomination in 1976.

In mid-October, the Harris Survey asked a nationwide cross section of 1,633 likely voters:

"Suppose for President in 1976 it were between Spiro Agnew for the Republicans and Senator Edward Kennedy for the Democrats. If you had to choose, would you vote for Agnew the Republican, or Kennedy the Democrat?"

AGNEW VS. KENNEDY IN 1976

	Total Voters
Agnew	43
Kennedy	51
Not sure	6

(MORE)

Here are some of the results among key voting segments of the electorate as they viewed such a contest for the White House four years hence:

--- Kennedy ran well ahead of Agnew in three out of four sections of the country. In the East, he was in front by 50-42 percent, in the Midwest by 53-40 percent, and in the West by 58-36 percent. Only in the South did Agnew finish in the lead, by 53-43 percent. In the Deep South, the Agnew margin was an even larger 59-39 percent. But in the pivotal eight largest industrial states of the North, Kennedy held a 53-40 percent lead.

--- The division of the vote in the Agnew-Kennedy contest showed sharp and dramatic differences by age groups. Kennedy swept the vote of young people under 30 by 66-30 percent, and ran ahead among the 30-49 age bracket by 52-42 percent. However, Agnew finished in the lead among voters 50 years of age and over by 51-41 percent.

--- When the electorate was divided according to education, Kennedy ran ahead among all groups, no matter what their education level: by 59-34 percent among those who never went beyond the eighth grade, by a narrow 47-46 percent among those with a high school education, and by a more sizable 51-43 percent among the college-educated.

--- Kennedy won the male vote by a close 48-46 percent, but was ahead by a handy 54-40 percent among women.

--- Agnew was ahead among whites by 49-45 percent, but Kennedy more than made up this deficit by an overwhelming 90-4 percent lead among blacks.

(MORE)

--- The vote along economic lines showed Kennedy winning those with incomes under \$5,000 per year by a wide 58-35 percent and the \$5,000-\$9,999 a year segment by 54-41 percent. However, Agnew edged out the Massachusetts Senator by a close 47-45 percent among the \$10,000-\$14,999 group and by 43-46 percent among those with incomes of \$15,000 and over.

--- Union members voted for Kennedy over Agnew by a decisive 57-37 percent.

--- Republicans went overwhelmingly for Agnew by a 76-19 percent margin, but Democrats preferred Kennedy by an almost as large 73-22 percent. The pivotal independent vote went to Kennedy by 47-42 percent.

--- Catholic voters, who were so vigorously sought out in the 1972 election, were carried by Kennedy by 50-41 percent. However, white Protestants went for Agnew by 56-38 percent. Jewish voters, on the other hand, gave Kennedy a 75-18 percent majority.

--- Kennedy held a normal margin for Democrats in the big cities, 54-37 percent, while making a strong run in the suburbs, finishing ahead there by 50-45 percent. The vote in the small towns and the rural areas went to Agnew by narrow margins.

(MORE)

Obviously, this test run for 1976 was purely hypothetical and the expression of public opinion was taking place over four years before that election for president would actually be held. When the survey was taken, Spiro Agnew was running for Vice President, not President, while Edward Kennedy was not running for any office at all. The indications are, however, that Presidential politics in the United States will follow its own path irrespective of the verdict this November. And the outcome will again be heavily influenced by the makeup between the individuals chosen to carry the mantle by their respective political parties.

# # #

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## HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Sunday A.M., October 22, 1972 -- Not Before

By Louis Harris

President Nixon holds a nationwide 25-point lead over Sen. McGovern, 59-34 percent, in the latest Harris Survey, conducted in-person among 1,633 likely voters between October 17th and 19th.

This latest Nixon margin is somewhat less than the 27-point spread in early October and considerably below the 34-point lead the President held in early September.

Despite consistent marginal McGovern gains over the past six weeks, however, the Nixon lead is one of the widest ever recorded at this stage of a Presidential contest.

Here is the trend of results to periodic Harris Surveys which presented this basic question in person to cross sections of likely voters:

"Suppose the election for President were being held right now and you had to choose between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats, whom would you be for?"

## NIXON-McGOVERN TRIAL HEAT TREND

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>McGovern</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
Oct. 16-19	59	34	7
Oct. 3-5	60	33	7
Sept. 19-21	59	31	10
Early Sept.	63	29	8
Aug.	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
June	54	38	8
May	48	41	11

The shifts from early to mid-October in voter preference by key groups has been marginal. Among the key findings in this latest survey are these by now consistent trends:

( MORE )

-- President Nixon continues to hold a relatively narrow 52-44 percent lead among voters under 30. The contest is closest among new voters 18-24 years of age, where the Nixon lead is only 50-47 percent. Nonetheless, the McGovern camp had counted heavily on carrying the vote of young people.

-- In the eight largest northern states (New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and California), Richard Nixon now runs ahead by 56-37 percent, a little better than the 54-38 percent edge he held early in October. These latest results point to a narrowing of the difference in voting patterns between the big industrial states and the rest of the country. McGovern has registered some gains in the South, where he trails by 67-26 percent, and in the West, where he is behind by 52-41 percent.

-- For the fourth Harris Survey in a row, McGovern has picked up support among Democratic party voters. But the change has been slow and gradual rather than a massive return of Democrats to their own party:

TREND AMONG DEMOCRATS

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sure</u>
			<u>%</u>
Mid-Oct.	37	54	9
Early Oct.	40	53	7
Mid-Sept.	41	48	11
Early Sept.	43	47	10
Aug.	38	53	9
July	36	53	11
June	36	55	9
May	29	59	12

Sen. McGovern has almost returned to where he was among Democrats in June and July, but still has not come close to regaining the position he held in May, when he was running only 7 points behind Mr. Nixon among all voters nationwide.

(more)

The major problem faced by McGovern is his inability to inspire personal confidence among the voters. Here is the trend in his standing on "inspiring confidence as a President should":

## CONFIDENCE IN McGOVERN

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Not</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sure</u>
			<u>%</u>
Mid-Oct.	34	59	7
Early Oct.	31	58	11
Mid-Sept.	28	55	17
Early Sept.	29	58	13
Aug.	37	47	16
July	35	44	21
June	39	38	23
May	36	33	31

McGovern has recently been scoring some in his attacks on Mr. Nixon over the purported profits made in the wheat deal with Russia, the Watergate bugging disclosures, and the claimed ties of the Nixon Administration with big business.

A substantial 61 percent agree with the statement that the Senator is "right to point out the ties between big business contributors to the Republican party and favors received from the Nixon Administration." An even higher 64 percent agree the Senator is "right to expose profiteering in the wheat deal with Russia." And 55 percent say McGovern is "right to emphasize involvement of Nixon aides in the attempt to bug Democratic headquarters." These issues have helped the Democratic nominee, but only marginally up to this point in time.

The heart of McGovern's problem can be found in the 61-28 percent majority who agree with the statement that "Senator McGovern seemed to be a different type of political leader, but lately he seems to have become just another politician promising each group voters what it wants". The course of the McGovern campaign has generated skepticism rather than confidence about his ability to fill the office for which he is running, with 61 percent of the voters now expressing doubts about the Senator's judgment.

# # # #

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, October 26th, 1972

Not Befor

By Louis Harris

Even though for most of this election year President Nixon has held a wide and even at times unprecedented lead over Sen. George McGovern, as the campaign enters its final days there are some untidy dimensions to the 1972 balloting that readers ought to be concerned about when assessing the results of public opinion surveys.

1. In an election in which one candidate has held a rather wide lead, the polls will tend to overpredict the margin for the front-runner. In 1964, both the Harris and Gallup Polls were three points too high for Lyndon Johnson against Barry Goldwater. Part of the reason for this overstatement of the big winner's margin lies in the fact that the underdog supporters feel their votes are vitally needed, while the leader's backers believe he will win whether or not they actually vote.

2. At last count, by 46-41 percent, a plurality of the voting public felt that President Nixon "did not deserve to win by a landslide." Buttressing this sentiment is the further finding that when measured by itself, confidence in Richard Nixon personally has never been as great as the leads he has held in the Presidential pairings.

In response to the question of rating the "confidence he inspires in the White House," Mr. Nixon has been on the positive side of the ledger far less often than he has received negative ratings from the public:

(MORE)

"How would you rate President Nixon on inspiring confidence personally in the White House --- excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?"

TREND ON NIXON INSPIRING CONFIDENCE

	<u>Posi-</u> <u>tive</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Nega-</u> <u>tive</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> <u>%</u>
Oct., '72	48	45	7
Sept.	50	39	11
Aug.	45	43	12
June	42	48	10
May	36	50	14
April	32	52	16
March	35	51	14
July, '71	29	56	15

Coming off his low point of July, 1971, Mr. Nixon has made a remarkable recovery in moving to his latest confidence rating of 48-45 percent positive. But the fact remains that it is only by a relatively small margin that the voting public feels positively about President Nixon in the White House.

At the same time, the same 1,565 voters in early October were also asked this question:

"If he were President, who do you think would better inspire confidence personally in the White House --- Richard Nixon or George McGovern?"

WHO INSPIRES CONFIDENCE?

	<u>Nix-</u> <u>on</u> <u>%</u>	<u>McGov-</u> <u>ern</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> <u>%</u>
<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>By Age</u>			
18-29	45	37	18
30-49	61	22	17
50 and over	60	24	16
<u>Union Members</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>By Region</u>			
East	50	29	21
Midwest	58	26	16
South	68	18	14
West	50	32	18
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(MORE)

The gap between the slim three-point margin by which voters give Mr. Nixon positive marks on "inspiring confidence" and the 30-point edge between himself and Senator McGovern on a head-to-head measure of confidence must be traced to the lack of voter trust in the Democratic nominee. Even groups such as union members, young people, and voters in the big industrial states of the North --- all of whom tend to agree more with McGovern on the issues --- express more confidence in Richard Nixon by a clear margin. By a substantial 58-31 percent, a majority of voters agree with the claim that "Sen. McGovern does not inspire confidence as a President should."

Yet the reader of polls should ask himself the key question: will voters go into the booths voting for or against Richard Nixon on the key confidence dimension or will they be making a comparison between Mr. Nixon and Sen. McGovern?

3. Much has been made in this election of the fact that with the 18-year-olds voting in this election for the first time, and with young people presumably turned on by the McGovern campaign, there could be some surprises in the turnout at the polls on November 7th.

Yet the Harris Survey has results which cast some doubt about just how much the young will come out to vote in this election. According to Harris Surveys completed just before registration closed out in the country, the under-30 vote reports it is registered at a rate some 20 points lower than persons over 30. Again, when asked if they felt "certain to vote in the election, the under-30 group ran a full 10 points below the over-30 vote. In fact, the electorate as a whole reported that it "felt certain to vote" by 10 points less than at a comparable time in 1968.

(MORE)

These findings reveal two facts of life about the election:

first, that young people have a much greater burden placed on them in that all between 18 and 24 years of age have to take the initiative to register and traditionally new voters register and vote in lesser numbers than old voters; and second, that young people in this election actually are less involved than other segments of the electorate.

4. Throughout the campaign, the electorate has expressed an increasing desire to vote Democratic for Congress, raising the question of just how much of the vote in the end will be a straight party vote, and, will close to one voter in five split his ticket when he gets inside the voting booth?

5. At last count, the undecided vote still remained at seven percent. A majority of these undecideds, 51 percent, said they felt alienated toward the establishment in the country and by better than 4-to-1 they were Democrats. On the other hand, by better than 2-to-1, this same undecided vote is worried about Senator McGovern not "inspiring enough confidence." Up to early October, the undecided vote appeared to be splitting about even between the two major party candidates. If it all went to McGovern, however, it could considerably close the gap.

6. The polls tend to reflect the vote division between two major candidates at a single point in time. However, there are at least two other candidates, Rep. John Schmitz of the American Independent and Dr. Benjamin Spock of the People's Party, who could draw off some votes. At early October, Schmitz was winning no more than two percent and Spock only one percent of the vote. But, if disenchantment with the two major parties grows as the race goes to the wire, the third and fourth parties could gain ground.

(MORE)

7. Added to all of these tough and enigmatic dimensions is the

fact that any well-run, in-person public opinion survey can be off in terms

of a margin of error by four points either way in 95 cases out of 100.

This 4-point margin of error must be kept in mind when assessing the

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220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, October 26th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Even though for most of this election year President Nixon has held a wide and even at times unprecedented lead over Sen. George McGovern, as the campaign enters its final days there are some untidy dimensions to the 1972 balloting that readers ought to be concerned about when assessing the results of public opinion surveys.

1. In an election in which one candidate has held a rather wide lead, the polls will tend to overpredict the margin for the front-runner. In 1964, both the Harris and Gallup Polls were three points too high for Lyndon Johnson against Barry Goldwater. Part of the reason for this overstatement of the big winner's margin lies in the fact that the underdog supporters feel their votes are vitally needed, while the leader's backers believe he will win whether or not they actually vote.

2. At last count, by 46-41 percent, a plurality of the voting public felt that President Nixon "did not deserve to win by a landslide." Buttressing this sentiment is the further finding that when measured by itself, confidence in Richard Nixon personally has never been as great as the leads he has held in the Presidential pairings.

In response to the question of rating the "confidence he inspires in the White House," Mr. Nixon has been on the positive side of the ledger far less often than he has received negative ratings from the public:

(MORE)

"How would you rate President Nixon on inspiring confidence personally in the White House --- excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?"

TREND ON NIXON INSPIRING CONFIDENCE

	Posi- tive	Nega- tive	Not Sure
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Oct., '72	48	45	7
Sept.	50	39	11
Aug.	45	43	12
June	42	48	10
May	36	50	14
April	32	52	16
March	35	51	14
July, '71	29	56	15

Coming off his low point of July, 1971, Mr. Nixon has made a remarkable recovery in moving to his latest confidence rating of 48-45 percent positive. But the fact remains that it is only by a relatively small margin that the voting public feels positively about President Nixon in the White House.

At the same time, the same 1,565 voters in early October were also asked this question:

"If he were President, who do you think would better inspire confidence personally in the White House --- Richard Nixon or George McGovern?"

WHO INSPIRES CONFIDENCE?

	Nix- on	McGov- ern	Not Sure
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
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220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, October 16th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although President Nixon has been running well ahead of Sen. McGovern, Democrats across the country lead Republicans in voter preferences for Congress. Nationwide, Democratic congressional candidates were ahead by 9 points in early October, 48-39 percent.

This is identical to the 49-40 percent edge the Democrats enjoyed at this time four years ago when they retained control of the Congress, although losing the popular vote for President by a slim margin. Moreover, ticket-splitting is much more in evidence in 1972 than it was in 1968.

Here is the trend of voter preference in the Congressional races, as measured in this question asked of 1,585 likely voters across the nation between October 3rd and 5th:

"If the election were being held today and you had to decide right now, in this Congressional District, would you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congress?"

PREFERENCE FOR CONGRESS

	Dem.	Rep.	Not Sure
Early Oct. '72	48	39	13
Mid.-Sept.	45	38	17
Early Sept.	46	41	13
Oct. '68	49	40	11

(MORE)

Over the past three Harris Surveys, the Democratic lead in the races for Congress has risen from 5 to 7 to 9 points, despite the fact that the head of the Democratic ticket, Sen. McGovern, continued to trail well behind President Nixon. As of early October, there was a split vote of fully 36 percent among voters who intended to vote one party for President and the other for Congress. The tug of traditional party loyalty and the mechanics of actual ticket-splitting on Election Day, however, will undoubtedly have a stabilizing effect on such potential margins.

A number of dramatic ticket-splitting areas emerge when the intended vote for President and for Congress are compared:

--- In the South, President Nixon in early October held a 70-25 percent lead, but the Democrats also held a 54-33 percent edge in the contests for Congress. If the 45-percentage-point Nixon lead is added to the 21-point Democratic edge for Congress, the split in the South comes to 66 percent.

--- Union members were inclined 54-38 percent for the President over Sen. McGovern, but indicated an even more decisive 56-31 percent intention to cast their congressional votes for Democrats. Thus, the spread among union members between the presidential and House lines on the ballot could come to 41 percent of their vote.

(MORE)

AFL-CIO President George Meany has laid down a policy of neutrality in the race for the White House, but is spending substantial sums of money and effort to elect a Democratic Congress. If by his failure to endorse McGovern, the Meany move can be taken to indicate an attempt to help Richard Nixon, then by the present inclination of union members, the Meany strategy appears to be working --- at least up to now.

--- Another key switching group in the electorate could well be voters in the \$10,000-\$15,000 income bracket. They expressed an intention of going for Mr. Nixon by 65-30 percent, but also to vote Democratic by a 47-39 percent margin. All in all, this would be a spread of 43 points in the split vote among upper-middle-income families if Sen. McGovern fails to close the gap in the final weeks of the campaign.

--- The heart of the intended ticket-splitting can be found among traditional Democrats, who in the early October Harris Survey were going for Sen. McGovern by no more than 53-40 percent, well off their usual party mark. However, in the contests for Congress, Democratic party voters stated their intention of coming back to the Democratic line to the tune of 79-12 percent. That would represent a theoretical difference of 54 percent in the Democratic column on Election Day between the margin for George McGovern and that for local candidates for the House of Representatives.

--- An indication of how long or short Mr. Nixon's coattails might be in this election is provided by the fact that by no better than 59-28 percent does the early October crop of Nixon voters also intend to vote Republican for Congress. These results would indicate that as many as 4-in-10 Nixon voters might stray from the Republican to Democratic line when they get in the voting booths on November 7th.

One of the favorite themes of President Nixon this year has been to talk of a "new majority" which his election would signify. Yet this analysis of the vote-switching indicated by the voters themselves would dictate quite a different conclusion.

Rather, these results are indicative of the low levels of enthusiasm felt by voters this year for either presidential candidate. Since the election campaign began, the number of voters who view themselves as Republicans has remained remarkably constant --- 27 percent --- as, indeed, has the number who view themselves as Democrats --- 52 percent. The presidential race in 1972 has not greatly disturbed these basic alignments as far as Congress is concerned.

The notion of having a President of one party and a Congress of another is not without appeal, either, in a year such as 1972, when faith in politics and politicians is at one of its lowest ebbs in modern times. In light of this disenchantment, it is little wonder that at last count, by 57-36 percent, a majority of voters agreed with the statement that it was "a good idea to have a President of one party and a Congress of another to check up on each other."

If President Nixon's lead does not shrink appreciably in the final weeks of the campaign, this acceptance of Republican control of the executive branch and Democratic control of the legislative branch will be put to the acid test. To accomplish such an end would require the most massive ticket-splitting in the entire history of American elections. But that is what most voters have been saying they intend to do three weeks from tomorrow.

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HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Tuesday AM, October 10th, 1972 -- NOT BEFORE

by Louis Harris

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted among 1,585 likely voters between October 3rd-5th, President Richard Nixon holds a 60-33 percent lead over his Democratic opponent, Senator George McGovern. This current 27-point Nixon lead is down one point from the 28-point margin the President held in the last Harris Survey of Sept. 19-21st.

The only shift of any consequence to take place among key segments of the electorate can be observed among black voters, who now indicate by 82-12 percent that they intend to vote for McGovern. In early September, the vote division among blacks was 67-22 percent for the Democratic nominee. Mr. Nixon's widest lead is in the South, where he is ahead by 70-25 percent, and the election is closest in the 8 largest states of the North, where he runs ahead by 54-38 percent, a 16-point margin.

One key element to watch in the four weeks remaining in this campaign is the extent to which a kind of "underdog reaction" can set in for McGovern. In this latest survey, by 46-41 percent, voters agreed with the proposition that, "President Nixon does not deserve to win by a landslide."

Offsetting this possible underdog effect is the matter of personal trust in the respective two candidates. On this dimension President Nixon leads Senator McGovern by 60-29 percent, a 31-point margin for the Republican incumbent. In addition, when only that 82 percent of the likely voters who said they are "certain to vote" on November 7th are <sup>7</sup> looked at separately, the Nixon lead rises to 63-32 percent, also a 31-point edge.

The cross-section was asked these questions in this latest Harris Survey:

( More ]

"Suppose the election for President were being held right now and you had to choose between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats, who would you be for?" . . . and . . . "(IF 'NOT SURE') If you had to say, would you lean toward Nix the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?"

WITHOUT LEANERS

	<u>Total Likely Voters</u> %
Nixon	56
McGovern	29
Not sure	15

LEANER ANALYSIS

	<u>Total "Not Sure"</u> %
Nixon	4
McGovern	4
Not sure	7

When the committed and leaners are added together, the actual Nixon lead becomes 60-33 percent. Here is the trend of repeated Nixon-McGovern trial heat pairings:

TREND OF NIXON-McGOVERN PAIRINGS

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>McGovern</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
Early Oct.	60	33	7
Mid-Sept.	59	31	10
Early Sept.	63	29	8
Aug.	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
March	59	32	9

( More )

In terms of his spread in a two-way contest, Mr. Nixon's current 27-point lead is precisely the same as it was back in March, when Senator McGovern was far less well known and then seemed to be far from a certainty to be the ultimate Democratic nominee. This finding is significant, for it indicates that in all the political give and take that has ensued since then, McGovern has not gained ground at all. Indeed, as the South Dakota Senator has become a more familiar figure, he has created as many doubts as he has won adherents.

Significant in this survey, as well, is the fact that those who are uncommitted on the surface, but on the "leaner" question make a preference, the division is even for both candidates. This is the third survey in a row where the uncommitted vote appears to be splitting down the middle for each major party candidate. The possible draw-off of third and fourth party candidates also is not reflected in these results.

As the word spreads that Richard Nixon holds a commanding lead in this election, the likely voters are beginning to express more doubt that he "deserves to win by a landslide". In early September and again in this latest survey, voters were asked:

"Do you feel that President Nixon deserves or not to win re-election by a landslide vote?"

DOES NIXON DESERVE TO WIN BY A LANDSLIDE?

	<u>Oct.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Deserves to win by landslide	41	46
Does not deserve	46	40
Not sure	13	14

Fully 29 percent of the current Nixon voters feel that the President's current landslide proportion lead is excessive. Undoubtedly, this segment of the electorate is one that must be watched closely in these next four weeks.

( More )

However, one of the offsetting elements to prospective gains by Senator McGovern in his decidedly underdog stance is his failure to generate more personal confidence among voters. Repeatedly, likely voters have been asked:

"If it came down to a matter of personal trust, who would you trust more to be the President in the White House -- Richard Nixon or George McGovern?"

PERSONAL TRUST

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%
Early Oct.	60	29	11
Early Sept.	66	24	10
August	60	27	13
July	56	31	13

Although the huge 42-point gap between the two men of a month ago on the confidence dimension has now dropped to 31 points, the telling finding is that on a straight personal trust basis, Richard Nixon outdistances George McGovern more than he does in the actual vote. It is now evident that McGovern's task in the last four weeks is to either build up confidence in himself among voters or to cut into the reservoir of trust in his opponent, or both. Whether or not this can be done unquestionably will determine both the size of future Nixon leads and, indeed, the ultimate outcome on November 7th.

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HARRIS SURVEY  
September 22, 1972

	<u>8/2 - 8/3</u>		<u>8/23 - 9/1</u>			<u>9/19 - 9/21</u>		
	N	McG	N	McG	NS	N	McG	NS
Nationwide	57	34	63	29	8	59	31	10
East	58	33	60	34	6	56	34	10
Midwest	53	36	64	29	7	53	34	13
South	65	27	70	19	11	70	22	8
West	55	39	58	34	8	59	32	9
Deep South	68	26	68	20	12	71	19	10
Border States	62	29	69	22	9	66	26	8
Cities	50	42	53	39	8	43	44	13
Suburbs	57	33	68	25	7	64	26	10
Towns	62	31	67	24	9	66	26	8
Rural	62	28	68	24	8	68	22	10
18-24 year olds			47	47	6	44	50	6
25-49 year olds,			59	34	7	50	41	9
18-29 year olds	53	43	52	42	6	47	45	8
30-49 year olds	58	34	68	25	7	63	29	8
50+	59	28	65	26	9	61	25	14
8th Grade	52	36	56	36	8	52	34	14
High School	58	31	66	26	8	60	29	11
College	58	37	63	31	6	59	33	8
Union	49	40	56	34	10	55	34	11
Men	58	33	63	29	8	58	32	10
Women	56	35	63	29	8	59	30	11
White	62	29	67	25	8	64	26	10
Black	16	77	22	67	11	13	75	12
Under \$5,000	52	39	56	36	8	53	37	10
\$5,000-\$9,900	55	35	58	32	10	54	33	13
\$10,000-\$14,900	58	31	70	23	7	64	27	9
\$15,000+	65	30	71	24	5	66	27	7
Republicans	87	10	93	5	2	89	7	4
Democrats	38	53	43	47	10	41	48	11
Independents	60	25	68	22	10	66	26	12
White Catholics	55	33	62	27	11	58	31	11
WASP	68	24	74	20	6	71	20	9
Jewish	46	44	49	43	8	37	39	24
Irish			59	31	10	54	33	13
Italian			65	25	10	52	31	17

N -- Nixon  
McG -- McGovern  
NS -- Not Sure

HARRIS SURVEYS

1972 TRIAL HEATS:

Nixon-McGovern  
Nixon-McGovern-Wallace  
Nixon-Humphrey  
Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace  
Nixon-Muskie  
Nixon-Muskie-Wallace  
Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace

..... Page 1

NIXON-MCGOVERN DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

May 9-10, 1972  
June 10-15, 1972  
July 1-6, 1972  
August 2-3, 1972

..... Page 2

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

December 1971

..... Page 3

NIXON-HUMPHREY-DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

May 9-10, 1972

..... Page 3

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

September 23-October 1, 1971  
November, 1971  
January 1972

..... Page 4

NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

September 24-October 1, 1971  
June 10-15, 1972 (3 way and 2 way)

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1968 DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES

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1968 and 1964 TRIAL HEATS

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1964 --- Johnson DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

Late July  
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Late August  
Mid September

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1964 Clanton de Folis

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HARRIS TRIAL HEATS:

1972

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
August 1971	48	37	11	4
Sept. 24-Oct 1	45	38	11	6
December 20	45	37	11	7

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Sept 23-Oct 1, 1971	47	35	11	7
November 1971	43	39	11	7
January 1972	42	42	11	5
February	44	40	11	5
March	47	35	12	6
April	44	33	15	8

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Sept 23-Oct 1, 1971	50	40	10
November 1971	48	43	9
January 1972	45	48	7
February	47	45	8

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
September 1971	45	36	12	7
November	45	36	12	7
January 1972	46	37	12	5
February	47	36	12	5
March	48	35	12	5
April	42	36	16	6
May	41	37	16	6

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
February 1972	51	41	8
March	53	37	10
April	50	42	8
May	50	42	8

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
August 1971	48	33	13	6
November 1971	49	31	12	8
March 1972	53	28	13	6
April 1972	47	29	16	8
May	40	35	17	8

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
March 1972	59	32	9
April	54	34	12
May	48	41	11
June	54	38	8
July	55	33	10
August	57	34	9
September	63	29	8

HARRIS SURVEY

	Nixon			McCormack			Not Sure				
	May 9-10, 1972	(1385 likely voters)		June 10-15, 1972	(1401 likely voters)		July 1-6, 1972	(1901 likely voters)		August 2-9, 1972	(1630 likely voters)
Nationwide	48	41	11	54	38	6	55	35	10	57	34
East	42	47	11	51	42	7	53	37	10	58	33
Midwest	46	43	11	54	39	7	54	36	10	53	36
South	59	50	11	61	27	12	62	27	11	65	27
West	47	44	9	49	45	6	45	45	10	55	39
Deep South	57	34	9	-	-	-	62	27	11	68	26
Border States	62	24	14	-	-	-	60	23	17	62	29
Office	38	49	13	44	49	7	45	45	10	50	42
Suburbs	48	41	11	58	38	9	57	33	10	57	33
Towns	53	36	11	61	32	7	65	26	9	62	31
Rural	57	35	7	59	33	8	57	31	12	62	28
18-29	46	48	6	41	55	4	46	46	8	58	43
30-49	47	44	9	58	34	8	56	34	10	59	34
50+	51	34	15	59	30	11	59	29	12	52	36
6th grade	46	37	17	51	37	12	49	34	17	58	31
High school	47	41	12	56	35	9	54	35	11	58	37
College	50	43	7	53	42	5	58	36	6	58	33
Men	49	41	10	53	39	8	57	33	10	56	35
Women	47	42	11	54	38	8	52	37	11	56	35
Black	21	62	17	27	74	4	24	64	12	16	77
White	51	39	10	57	35	8	59	31	10	62	29
Under \$5,000	48	39	13	40	51	9	44	40	16	52	39
\$5,000-9,999	51	39	10	57	37	6	54	37	9	55	35
\$10,000-14,999	51	39	10	54	38	8	60	32	9	60	32
\$15,000+	49	43	8	64	29	7	65	29	8	65	30
Union Members	35	55	12	46	44	10	50	39	11	49	40
Republican	82	14	4	86	11	3	87	10	3	87	10
Democrat	29	59	12	36	55	9	36	53	11	60	25
Independent	43	42	15	54	37	9	54	34	12	55	33
Catholic	44	46	10	54	40	6	54	36	10	68	24
Protestant	58	33	9	66	25	9	66	25	9	68	24
Jewish	39	51	10	22	68	10	31	58	11	46	44

HARRIS DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY 1972

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Nationwide	45	36	12	7
Under 30	39	40	13	8
30-49	45	37	12	6
50 +	51	32	10	7
Big Cities	37	46	10	7
Suburbs	51	34	10	5
Towns	51	31	12	6
Rural	47	29	15	9
Union Members	41	42	12	5

(Released January 6, 1972)  
 Poll taken late 1971)

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Nationwide	50	42	8
Independents	55	34	11
18-29 year olds	51	44	5
\$15 M & Over	53	40	7
Blacks	9	87	4
8th Grade	43	48	9
Democrats	28	63	9

(Poll taken May 9-10,  
 1972)

HARRIS SURVEYS

Sept 24-Oct 1, 1971

Nixon Kennedy Wallace Not Sure

June 10-15, 1972

Nixon Kennedy Wallace Not Sure

June 10-15, 1972

Nixon Kennedy Not Sure

	Nixon	Kennedy	Wallace	Not Sure
White	45	38	11	6
Black	3	93	1	3
Union Members	33	46	12	9
Non-Union	39	54	10	7
High School	41	40	13	6
College	58	30	5	7
Income < \$10,000	35	43	14	8
\$10,000-14,999	37	42	13	8
\$15,000-19,999	50	37	10	3
\$20,000+	63	26	7	4

	Nixon	Kennedy	Wallace	Not Sure
White	43	37	16	4
Black	9	86	3	2
Union Members	32	45	19	4
Non-Union	33	53	11	3
High School	39	40	19	2
College	53	36	8	3
Income < \$10,000	X	X	X	X
\$10,000-14,999	X	X	X	X
\$15,000-19,999	X	X	X	X
\$20,000+	X	X	X	X

	Nixon	Kennedy	Not Sure
White	53	41	6
Black	11	87	2
Union Members	43	51	6
Non-Union	40	57	3
High School	51	46	3
College	58	38	4
Income < \$10,000	X	X	X
\$10,000-14,999	X	X	X
\$15,000-19,999	X	X	X
\$20,000+	X	X	X

HARRIS DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY 1972

September 23-October 1, 1971

November, 1971

January, 1972

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Nationwide	47	35	11	7	43	39	11	7	42	42	11	5
18-20	{38	{38	{14	{10	38	38	13	11	27	53	13	7
21-29					33	47	13	7	30	54	12	4
30-49	46	40	10	4	42	40	12	6	43	42	11	4
50-	49	32	11	8	50	34	10	6	49	35	11	5
Under \$5,000	41	36	13	10	39	36	15	10	42	43	11	4
\$5,000-9,999	41	36	13	10	40	40	13	7	39	44	12	5
\$10,000-14,999	50	39	8	3	45	40	10	5	47	40	10	3
\$15,000	57	34	6	3	53	37	6	4	45	42	7	6

July 25-29, 1968

October 8-10, 1968

	July 25-29, 1968				October 8-10, 1968			
	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Not Sure	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Not Sure
Nation-wide	36	41	16	7	40	35	18	7
East					40	38	12	10
Midwest					43	35	16	6
South					30	29	35	6
West					47	37	10	6
8th Grade or Less					26	44	19	11
High School					37	36	20	7
College	46	37	10	7	53	29	14	4
Under 35	33	42	20	5	41	35	20	4
35-49					42	34	18	6
50 +					37	37	16	10
Cities	29	54	9	8	33	46	14	7
Suburbs	39	39	15	7	43	35	13	9
Towns					45	28	21	6
Rural					37	31	26	6
Republican	71	13	12	4				
Democrat	14	65	14	7				
Independent	37	26	27	10				
Union	22	48	22	8				
Negro	6	80	2	12				

HARRIS TRIAL HEATS:

1964

	<u>Johnson</u>	<u>Goldwater</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Early July (Pre GOP Conv)	72	22	6
Late July	61	31	8
Early August	59	32	9
Late August	59	32	9
Mid-September	60	32	8
Early October	58	34	8
Mid-October	60	34	6
End October	62	33	5

Actual Votes:

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

	<u>Johnson</u>	<u>Goldwater</u>
--	----------------	------------------

(With undecided vote counted in)

Early July	74	26
Late July	64	36
Early August	62	38
Late August	62	38
Mid September	63	37
Early October	61	39
Late October	64	36

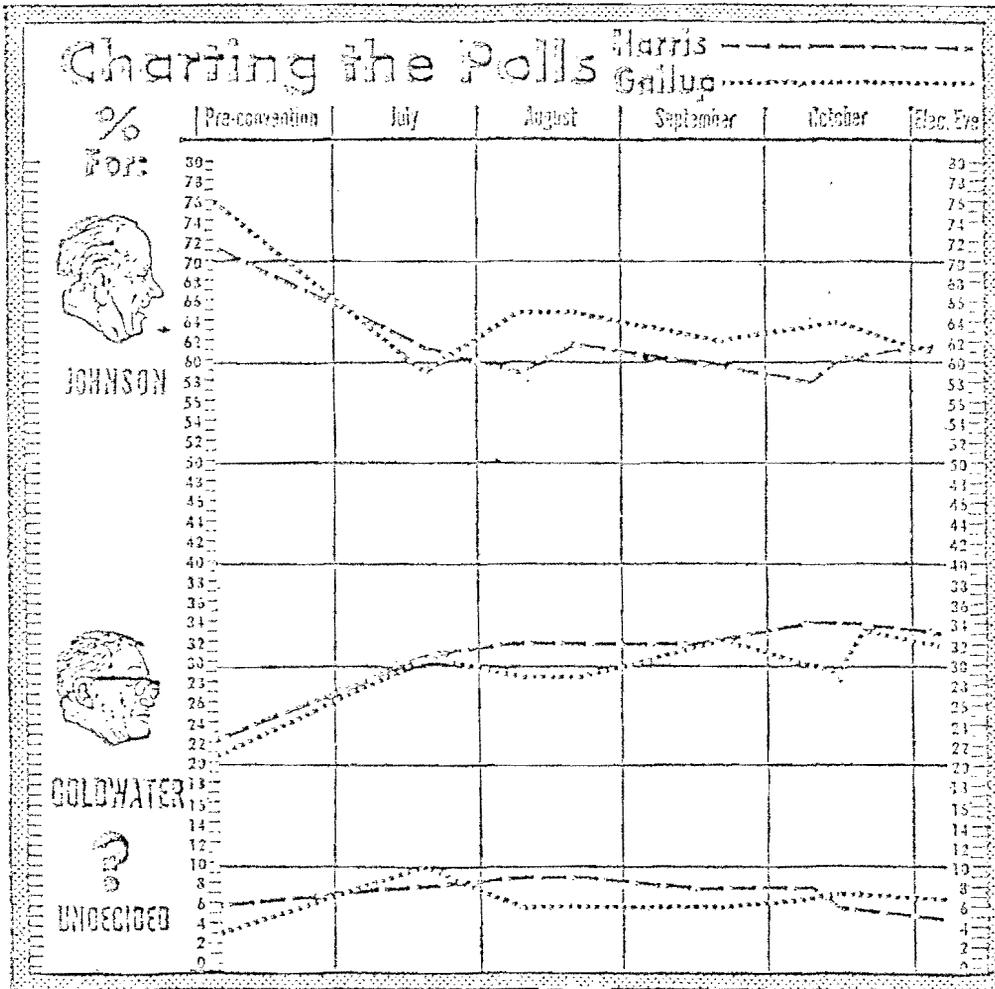
1968

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
June 10-17	36	43	13	8
July 8-14	35	37	17	11
July 25-29	36	41	16	7
August 24	40	34	17	9
September 11-13	39	31	21	9
October 8-10	40	35	18	7
October 27-8	40	37	16	7
November 1-2	42	40	12	6

Actual Votes:

Republican	31,785,480	43.4%
Democrat	31,274,166	42.7%
Amer. Indop	9,906,473	13.5%
Other	244,756	.4%

%in parentheses is % of voting population)	Late July	Early August	Late August	Mid September
Nation-wide	64	62	62	63
East (32%)	74	65	64	67
Midwest (33%)	64	63	62	64
South (18%)	45	50	54	50
West (17%)	69	68	65	67
Cities (31%)	72	72	70	--
Suburbs (23%)	64	63	60	--
Towns (21%)	72	72	68	--
Rural (25%)	54	46	50	--
White (92%)	61	59	61	--
Negro (8%)	92	84	88	--
Republican (33%)	39	33	32	36
Democrat (53%)	79	78	81	80
Independent (14%)	67	67	66	65
Conservatives (36%)	46	50	46	50
Middle of Road (44%)	69	61	66	65
Liberals (20%)	79	78	78	78
Protestant (70%)	59	57	60	60
Catholic (24%)	72	72	67	69
Jewish (6%)	67	72	76	78
Men (49%)	64	62	62	60
21-34 (15%)	74	72	66	63
35-49 (16%)	61	59	62	62
50+ (18%)	57	55	59	57
Women (51%)	64	62	62	66
21-34 (14%)	66	64	61	67
35-49 (17%)	62	60	62	67
50+ (20%)	63	61	62	63



The Washington Post

When the two polls adjust their final undecided figures, which were completed

over the weekend, and add them, both will read: Johnson, 64 pct.; Goldwater, 32 pct.

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, October 2nd, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The heart of Sen. George McGovern's bid for the White House in the next five weeks rests on the proposition of whether he can turn around the 55-28 percent majority view that "he doesn't inspire confidence as a President should."

There are some signs that the Democratic nominee's almost four-month long slide in the polls may have ended. (He gained six points in the Harris Survey reported last week.) But to come close to winning on November 7th McGovern clearly must find a way to build the faith of voters in him personally.

Here are some of the key dimensions pointing up McGovern's problems drawn from a Harris Survey taken among 1,668 likely voters between Sept. 19th-21st:

--- By 59-22 percent, a sizable majority of the voters agree with the charge against the South Dakota Senator that "he seems to be making too many mistakes that raise doubts about his judgment." This did not shift much during his first three weeks of campaigning in September, since voters agreed with the same statement by 60-24 percent at the beginning of the month.

--- A cloud still hangs over Sen. McGovern as a result of the Eagleton affair. When asked to comment on the statement that "he handled the dropping of Senator Eagleton as his vice presidential running mate with good judgment and good taste," voters express disagreement by 48-32 percent.

--- Buttressing this reaction is the 52-30 percent who agree the Senator McGovern "seems indecisive and unable to make up his mind."

--- As Sen. McGovern has mounted stronger attacks on President Nixon, reaction of voters to the Senator personally has grown more unfavorable. On the key dimension of having a "sincere, appealing personality," back in May when he was making his dramatic rise to capture the Democratic nomination, voters reacted positively to the McGovern personality, 46-26 percent. This slipped to 42-34 percent positive after the debates with Sen. Humphrey in the California primary, then held at a narrow 43-39 percent positive after the Eagleton episode. But by early September, as McGovern attacks on his GOP opponents mounted, reaction to the Senator reversed to 48-37 percent negative. In late September, this negative set still held at 46-36.

--- As a consequence of these feelings about McGovern's being "mistake-prone," "lacking in good judgment," and not appealing as a "sincere personality," a majority of the voters, 51-32 percent, agree with the statement that "he just leaves me flat and seems incapable of inspiring the best in America."

The net impact of this failure of Senator McGovern to engender a sense of personal confidence has been the single most important reason for his running so far behind President Nixon in the early polls. To measure the full degree of doubts voters have expressed about the Senator, the Harris Survey has periodically asked:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator McGovern does not inspire confidence as a President should?"

(more)

## TREND ON CONFIDENCE IN McGOVERN

	<u>Not Inspire Confidence</u>	<u>Does Inspire</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Mid-Sept.	55	28	17
Early Sept.	58	29	13
Aug.	47	37	16
July	44	35	21
June	39	38	23
May	33	36	31

Precisely the same question has been asked about Richard Nixon since August of 1971. Here is the trend on the same question:

## TREND ON CONFIDENCE IN NIXON

	<u>Not Inspire Confidence</u>	<u>Does Inspire</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Sept., '72	33	59	8
July	40	53	7
April	49	40	11
Feb.	49	40	11
Aug., '71	50	40	10

There is little doubt that the disparity between President Nixon and Sen. McGovern on this key dimension of confidence was an important input into the 28-point lead enjoyed by Nixon in mid-September in preferential tests.

The next five weeks will see both sides, in personal appearances in the media, trying to build the credibility of their man and to denude the reservoir of trust of the opposition candidate.

(more)

Despite the problems Mr. Nixon has had in the past in his ability to arouse personal confidence and those Sen. McGovern has had in the more recent past, both men are viewed as having a rather high sense of personal integrity: Sen. McGovern by a 44-27 percent margin and President Nixon by 76-13 percent.

The central issue of confidence is not likely to be resolved either on the matter of integrity or personal charisma. Neither man in 1972 viewed by voters as a magnetic personality. Rather, the focus will come down hard on voter confidence in each's ability to lead the country. And, on this score, Senator McGovern has much ground to make up in the remaining weeks.

(Editor's Note: This is the first of two Harris Surveys reporting in depth on public reaction to Sen. McGovern as of mid-September.)

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220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Tuesday AM, October 3rd, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although 65 percent of the voters give Sen. McGovern credit for having "the courage to say what he thinks, even if it is unpopular" by 55-27 percent a majority also think "he wants to change things too much" and, by 54-26 percent, that "he has too extreme liberal views."

Thus, in addition to having a problem in inspiring confidence in his ability to lead the country as President, as reported yesterday Sen. McGovern also has run into some sharp voter disagreement with positions he has taken on key issues in the campaign.

On the issue side, however, the Democratic standard-bearer has some promising ground to plow:

--- By 53-15 percent, voters give their endorsement to McGovern efforts to "expose the profits that were made by dealers in the grain deal recently made by the Nixon Administration with the Russians." Significantly, an even higher 56 percent of midwestern voters, located in or near the wheat belt, agree with McGovern criticisms on the wheat deal.

--- By 54-20 percent, they also are sympathetic with McGovern position against "the close ties between big business contributors to the Republicans and the favors given them by the Nixon Administration.

(more)

--- By 51-23 percent, they feel McGovern "is right to emphasize the involvement of Nixon aides in the attempt to put listening devices in his and Democratic headquarters."

Thus, on the wheat deal, GOP ties with big business, and the Watergate affair, the Senator from South Dakota appears to have some effective campaign material which might win him some votes in the heavy going of the next five weeks.

By the same token, there is another whole roster of issues on which McGovern is in some real trouble:

--- By 54-21 percent, voters agree with the criticism that "he was wrong to say that after 90 days in the White House he would abolish all wage and price controls." Though he has tempered some of his statements on controls to state that he would favor a system of guidelines, the impression prevails that McGovern favors a slackening of controls at a time when voters want tougher enforcement of wage and price controls.

--- By 56-20 percent, voters feel that Sen. McGovern's "program for redistributing the wealth is too radical." Again, the Democratic standard-bearer in August modified many of his more extreme ideas of June. But the stamp on McGovern in this campaign is that somehow he is beyond the limits of tolerance on income redistribution.

--- McGovern does better on the score of being known as a "fighter for tax reform and help for the working man," a statement agreed to by a 43-33 percent margin. However, he is losing ground as the campaign progresses on this appeal, for it was running 49-27 percent in his favor on the tax reform issue in early August.

(more)

--- Much of the initial McGovern appeal on the Vietnam issue has now been dissipated, as the following table shows. Periodically, the Harris Survey has asked this question, most recently among 1,000 likely voters between Sept. 19-21:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator McGovern deserves a lot of credit for being against the Vietnam war before others were?"

McGOVERN CREDIT FOR BEING AGAINST THE WAR

	<u>Deserves Credit</u> %	<u>Not Deserve</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
Mid-Sept.	39	41	20
Early Sept.	42	41	17
Aug.	51	34	15
July	50	31	19
June	50	29	21
May	54	21	25
March	41	19	40

Sen. McGovern's support for "being right" in opposing the war has obviously eroded, mainly as the result of some of the statements he has made on Vietnam. One of these, for example, on which he has run into heavy criticism was his promise that "if elected President he would go to Hanoi and beg for the release of U.S. prisoners of war," negatively received by a 48-33 percent margin.

As a result of many of these stands, Sen. McGovern has now inherited the mantle of "having too extreme liberal views," an estimate held by a 54-26 percent count. The latest reading on this dimension is a bit down from the 57-25 percent majority who believed it in early September, but is still sharply up from the 31 percent who gave the charge credence in May.

(none)

The net impact of these position troubles for Sen. McGovern is that much of the thrust has gone out of his initially powerful appeal as a candidate for change in this election. For example, in early June by a narrow 38-34 percent margin, a plurality of voters felt "he stood for the right kind of change." But now, by 44-33 percent, voters have turned around and deny his change is the "right kind." To the contrary by 55-27 percent, a majority think McGovern wants to "change things too much," down some from the 59-23 percent division who felt this way in early September, but still a dramatic turnaround from the 38-36 percent plurality who denied the claim back in May.

Sen. McGovern has some fertile ground perhaps in the wheat deal, Watergate bugging affair, and the alleged ties of the Nixon Administration to big business, but he is in some real trouble on the two pivotal issues of Vietnam and the economy. The latter two, up to now, have been close to the gut issues of the campaign.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, October 2nd, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The heart of Sen. George McGovern's bid for the White House in the next five weeks rests on the proposition of whether he can turn around the 55-28 percent majority view that "he doesn't inspire confidence as a President should."

There are some signs that the Democratic nominee's almost four-month long slide in the polls may have ended. (He gained six points in the Harris Survey reported last week.) But to come close to winning on November 7th McGovern clearly must find a way to build the faith of voters in him personally.

Here are some of the key dimensions pointing up McGovern's problems drawn from a Harris Survey taken among 1,668 likely voters between Sept. 19th-21st:

--- By 59-22 percent, a sizable majority of the voters agree with the charge against the South Dakota Senator that "he seems to be making too many mistakes that raise doubts about his judgment." This did not shift much during his first three weeks of campaigning in September, since voters agreed with the same statement by 60-24 percent at the beginning of the month.

--- A cloud still hangs over Sen. McGovern as a result of the Eagleton affair. When asked to comment on the statement that "he handled the dropping of Senator Eagleton as his vice presidential running mate with good judgment and good taste," voters express disagreement by 48-32 percent.

--- Buttressing this reaction is the 52-30 percent who agree the Senator McGovern "seems indecisive and unable to make up his mind."

--- As Sen. McGovern has mounted stronger attacks on President Nixon, reaction of voters to the Senator personally has grown more unfavorable. On the key dimension of having a "sincere, appealing personality," back in May when he was making his dramatic rise to capture the Democratic nomination, voters reacted positively to the McGovern personality, 46-26 percent. This slipped to 42-34 percent positive after the debates with Sen. Humphrey in the California primary, then held at a narrow 43-39 percent positive after the Eagleton episode. But by early September, as McGovern attacks on his GOP opponents mounted, reaction to the Senator reversed to 48-37 percent negative. In late September, this negative set still held at 46-35.

--- As a consequence of these feelings about McGovern's being "mistake-prone," "lacking in good judgment," and not appealing as a "sincere personality," a majority of the voters, 51-32 percent, agree with the statement that "he just leaves me flat and seems incapable of inspiring the best in America."

The net impact of this failure of Senator McGovern to engender a sense of personal confidence has been the single most important reason for his running so far behind President Nixon in the early polls. To measure the full degree of doubts voters have expressed about the Senator, the Harris Survey has periodically asked:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator McGovern does not inspire confidence as a President should?"

(more)

## TREND ON CONFIDENCE IN McGOVERN

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	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Mid-Sept.	55	28	17
Early Sept.	58	29	13
Aug.	47	37	16
July	44	35	21
June	39	38	23
May	33	36	31

Precisely the same question has been asked about Richard Nixon since August of 1971. Here is the trend on the same question:

## TREND ON CONFIDENCE IN NIXON

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	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Sept., '72	33	59	8
July	40	53	7
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There is little doubt that the disparity between President Nixon and Sen. McGovern on this key dimension of confidence was an important input into the 28-point lead enjoyed by Nixon in mid-September in preferential tests.

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(more)

Despite the problems Mr. Nixon has had in the past in his ability to arouse personal confidence and those Sen. McGovern has had in the more recent past, both men are viewed as having a rather high sense of personal integrity: Sen. McGovern by a 44-27 percent margin and President Nixon by 76-13 percent.

The central issue of confidence is not likely to be resolved either on the matter of integrity or personal charisma. Neither man in 1972 is viewed by voters as a magnetic personality. Rather, the focus will come down hard on voter confidence in each's ability to lead the country. And, on this score, Senator McGovern has much ground to make up in the remaining weeks.

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HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Tuesday AM, October 3rd, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although 66 percent of the voters give Sen. McGovern credit for having "the courage to say what he thinks, even if it is unpopular" by 55-27 percent a majority also think "he wants to change things too much" and, by 54-26 percent, that "he has too extreme liberal views."

Thus, in addition to having a problem in inspiring confidence in his ability to lead the country as President, as reported yesterday Sen. McGovern also has run into some sharp voter disagreement with positions he has taken on key issues in the campaign.

On the issue side, however, the Democratic standard-bearer has some promising ground to plow:

--- By 53-15 percent, voters give their endorsement to McGovern efforts to "expose the profits that were made by dealers in the grain deal recently made by the Nixon Administration with the Russians." Significantly, an even higher 56 percent of midwestern voters, located in or near the wheat belt, agree with McGovern criticisms on the wheat deal.

--- By 54-20 percent, they also are sympathetic with McGovern position against "the close ties between big business contributors to the Republicans and the favors given them by the Nixon Administration.

(more)

--- By 51-23 percent, they feel McGovern "is right to emphasize the involvement of Nixon aides in the attempt to put listening devices in his and Democratic headquarters."

Thus, on the wheat deal, GOP ties with big business, and the Watergate affair, the Senator from South Dakota appears to have some effective campaign material which might win him some votes in the heavy going of the next five weeks.

By the same token, there is another whole roster of issues on which McGovern is in some real trouble:

--- By 54-21 percent, voters agree with the criticism that "he was wrong to say that after 90 days in the White House he would abolish all wage and price controls." Though he has tempered some of his statements on controls to state that he would favor a system of guided controls, the impression prevails that McGovern favors a slackening of controls at a time when voters want tougher enforcement of wage and price controls.

--- By 56-20 percent, voters feel that Sen. McGovern's "program for redistributing the wealth is too radical." Again, the Democratic standard-bearer in August modified many of his more extreme ideas of June. But the stamp on McGovern in this campaign is that somehow he is beyond the limits of tolerance on income redistribution.

--- McGovern does better on the score of being known as a "fighter for tax reform and help for the working man," a statement agreed to by a 43-33 percent margin. However, he is losing ground as the campaign progresses on this appeal, for it was running 49-27 percent in his favor on the tax reform issue in early August.

(more)

--- Much of the initial McGovern appeal on the Vietnam issue has now been dissipated, as the following table shows. Periodically, the Harris Survey has asked this question, most recently among 1,668 likely voters between Sept. 19-21:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator McGovern deserves a lot of credit for being against the Vietnam war before others were?"

McGOVERN CREDIT FOR BEING AGAINST THE WAR

	<u>Deserves Credit</u> %	<u>Not Deserve</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
Mid-Sept.	39	41	20
Early Sept.	42	41	17
Aug.	51	34	15
July	50	31	19
June	50	29	21
May	54	21	25
March	41	19	40

Sen. McGovern's support for "being right" in opposing the war has obviously eroded, mainly as the result of some of the statements he has made on Vietnam. One of these, for example, on which he has run into heavy criticism was his promise that "if elected President he would go to Hanoi and beg for the release of U.S. prisoners of war," negatively received by a 48-33 percent margin.

As a result of many of these stands, Sen. McGovern has now inherited the mantle of "having too extreme liberal views," an estimate held by a 54-26 percent count. The latest reading on this dimension is a bit down from the 57-25 percent majority who believed it in early September, but is still sharply up from the 31 percent who gave the charge credence in May.

(more)

The net impact of these position troubles for Sen. McGovern is that much of the thrust has gone out of his initially powerful appeal as a candidate for change in this election. For example, in early June by a narrow 38-34 percent margin, a plurality of voters felt "he stood for the right kind of change." But now, by 44-33 percent, voters have turned around and deny his change is the "right kind." To the contrary by 55-27 percent, a majority think McGovern wants to "change things too much," down some from the 59-28 percent division who felt this way in early September, but still a dramatic turnaround from the 38-36 percent plurality who denied the claim back in May.

Sen. McGovern has some fertile ground perhaps in the wheat deal, Watergate bugging affair, and the alleged ties of the Nixon Administration to big business. but he is in some real trouble on the two pivotal issues of Vietnam and the economy. The latter two, up to now, have been close to the gut issues of the campaign.

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To: Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Inc.  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Immediate Release

by Louis Harris

For the first time since May, Richard Nixon's lead over George McGovern has narrowed rather than widened in the latest Harris Survey conducted between September 19-21. However, the Nixon margin is still a substantial 28 points, 59-31 percent, compared with the 34-point edge he held in early September.

Here is the trend in the Nixon-McGovern race in response to this basic question asked periodically, this time among 1,668 likely voters:

"This November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, whom would you be for?"

NIXON-McGOVERN TREND

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Mid-Sept.	59	31	10
Early Sept.	63	29	8
Aug.	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
June	54	38	8
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
Mar.	59	32	9

The most significant shift in the vote between early and mid-September can be found among young voters under 30 years of age. Mr. Nixon is now ahead of Sen. McGovern by only 47-45 percent among the young, compared with a 52-42 percent advantage three weeks ago.

At the same time, President Nixon still holds a substantial lead among union members, 55-34 percent, and among Catholic voters, 58-31 percent. Both groups have been traditional centers of Democratic party support in past presidential elections. Even the Jewish vote, which traditionally has gone 5-1 Democratic, has averaged out over the past four surveys to no better than 46-41 percent for McGovern.

McGovern's basic handicap in this election continues to be among that 52 percent of the voters who consider themselves Democrats. Here is the trend among Democratic voters since May:

## TREND AMONG DEMOCRATIC VOTERS

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>McGovern</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
Mid-Sept.	41	48	11
Early Sept.	43	47	10
Aug.	38	53	9
July	36	53	11
June	36	55	9
May	29	59	12

Although the McGovern lead among Democrats went from a low of four points earlier in September to seven points in this latest Harris Survey, he is far off the mark of what a Democratic candidate must receive from his own party base in order to make the election close. In 1968, for example, when a relatively high 14 percent of all Democrats defected to the third-party candidacy of George Wallace, and an additional 16 percent went for Richard Nixon, Democratic nominee Hubert Humphrey nonetheless was able to win 70 percent of his own party members. At the moment, McGovern is running 22 points off the percentage of Democrats won by Humphrey four years ago.

Reaction to this latest Harris Survey could go in two opposite directions:

(1) that the six-point decline in the Nixon lead is a signal that McGovern has now turned the corner and the election will proceed to become much closer, or (2) that with a 28-point bulge in his favor, Richard Nixon has an insurmountable lead. Neither interpretation is warranted from these results.

In all probability, if the election were held last Friday, the day after the polling ended, the Harris Survey division of 59-31 percent could well be overstating the Nixon margin for these reasons:

-- The undecided vote is running higher than usual at this stage of a presidential election, a sign of much flux and even instability among the voters.

-- When the 10 percent of the likely voters who are undecided are analyzed, they are 4-1 Democratic in their party affiliation. They also tend to be less critical of McGovern and more hostile to the President than the voters as a whole. If McGovern were to capture 80 percent of this undecided vote, the outcome then would be 61-39 percent -- a lead six points lower than the one Mr. Nixon now enjoys. Such a result would roughly approximate the size of Lyndon Johnson's win over Barry Goldwater in 1964.

-- The electorate has indicated a desire to vote Democratic for Congress in 1972. This underlying anchor point of inclinations to vote Democratic in other elections being held this year not only could make Richard Nixon's coattails quite short this November, but could actually cost him some votes in the presidential race.

-- President Nixon has recently gained in personal popularity and confidence among voters during the same period that Sen. McGovern has slipped in public confidence. Nonetheless, Mr. Nixon's own confidence rating is no better than 51-39 percent positive, a 12-point margin, in contrast to his overall 28-point lead. If, in the remaining weeks of the election voters focus primarily on Richard Nixon personally rather than George McGovern, as has been the case for some time now, it is possible for the Nixon current margin to shrink.

-- Finally, the reverse of a bandwagon effect, an underdog effect, could take place in reaction to the polls. The Harris Survey has encountered the phenomenon in past elections of an early front runner's lead slipping sharply at the end because voters feel it is not right for him to win by such a large margin. This could have an impact this time if some voters who might actually prefer the President to McGovern, nonetheless end up voting for the Senator simply because they do not feel that Mr. Nixon deserves to win in a landslide.

Despite all of these influences which might narrow the Nixon lead, the fact remains that he is still 59-31 percent ahead with Election Day six weeks away. That is a massive margin measured by any standards.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, September 18th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although President Nixon has been leading Sen. McGovern by a substantial margin in the Harris Survey, Democrats are ahead in nationwide races for Congress, 46-41 percent. At the comparable stage of the 1968 campaign, Democratic candidates for Congress held a 49-40 percent lead. Except for the Midwest, where the GOP holds a 5-point lead, Democrats running for House seats in other parts of the country average out 9 to 13 points ahead of their Republican opponents.

While both the contests for the White House and for control of Congress can change considerably in the seven remaining weeks of the campaign, voters at this moment are expressing intentions to split their tickets this fall more than at any time in our political history. The total spread between party votes for President and party votes for Congress now runs a full 39 percentage points nationwide and even higher among specific blocs of voters.

( more )

Between August 30th and September 1st, a cross section of 1,640 likely voters was asked:

"If the election were being held today and you had to decide right now, in this Congressional District, would you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congress?"

## VOTE FOR CONGRESS

	Congress:		Pres		Spread
	Dem	Rep	Nix.	McC.	
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>39</u>
<u>By Region</u>					
East	49	36	60	34	39
Midwest	43	48	64	29	30
South	47	38	70	19	60
West	50	39	58	34	35
<u>By Age</u>					
18-29	53	32	52	42	31
30-49	45	41	68	25	47
50 and over	45	46	65	26	38
<u>By Party</u>					
Republican	10	80	93	5	18
Democratic	74	17	43	47	53
Independent	33	47	68	22	32
<u>By Religion</u>					
WASP	37	51	74	20	40
Catholic	49	35	62	27	49
Jewish	72	24	47	44	51
<u>By Union Members</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>48</u>
<u>By Income</u>					
Under \$5,000	48	38	56	36	30
\$5,000-9,999	52	36	58	32	42
\$10,000-14,999	42	45	70	23	44
\$15,000 and over	43	45	71	24	45
<u>By Education</u>					
Under 8th grade	53	38	56	36	35
High school	45	41	66	26	44
College	46	41	63	31	37

A number of key implications emerge from these results:

--- It is highly unlikely that such a wide disparity will finally take place in the actual balloting on November 7th, for it is much easier for people to indicate a desire to split their tickets in a public opinion survey than to do it in fact in the voting booth. This might normally be viewed as an advantage for the Republicans, since the Presidential line will be at the head of the ballot in each state.

--- However, some of the groups who express the most sizable desire to split their tickets are from the most articulate segments of the electorate: voters under 30, the college-educated, those with incomes of \$15,000 and over, and Jewish voters. These groups might very well take the time and trouble to split tickets on Election Day.

--- Union members and those who are Catholic are among the most prolific intended ticket-splitters. Their early defections in this election from the Democratic line for President have been taken by some political analysts to indicate that a major realignment of parties is about to take place in this country. It is entirely possible, on the other hand, that the Democratic ties they show on the Congressional line might well temper their potential defections to the Republicans at the head of the ticket.

--- The Democratic showing in the East and the West is roughly similar to the vote the Democrats cast in the off-year elections of 1970 for Congress, when they retained control of the House and Senate. However, the Republican vote in the South is well above previous years' showings and could presage gains there for the GOP. In the Midwest, the Republicans generally do better than in other regions for Congress, but they still might score some gains there.

--- These results indicate that, at least early in the campaign, President Nixon's coattails can be helpful to other Republicans running this fall, but might not be sufficient to change the longstanding Democratic rule in the House of Representatives. In fact, if Mr. Nixon, were to press his luck and go all out to ask for a Republican Congress to be elected with him, the Democratic undertow that is evident might cost him votes rather than win votes for Republican candidates running with him.

--- These results point up the fact that the electorate in 1972 is in a highly volatile state of mind, as indeed it has been all year long. When as many as one in four voters is prepared to switch his vote between the Presidential and Congressional lines on the same ballot, it means that selectivity rather than down-the-line uniformity is likely to be the rule in this year's election.

--- Intended ticket-splitting is lowest among Republicans and independents. The present inclination of independents to vote a straight GOP ticket in this election could cast some previously relatively safe Democratic seats into the doubtful column.

From these initial results, it is evident that pro-Democratic tugs are still strong on enrolled Democrats, at least as far as the Congressional elections are concerned. And, if voter attention becomes focused on the Congressional balloting, it could have a significant impact on President Nixon's early lead in head-to-head pairings against Senator McGovern.

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For Release: Thursday AM, Sept. 14th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

President Nixon has widened his lead over Senator George McGovern to a margin of 34 points, winning the latest Harris Survey trial heat by 63-29 percent. Last month, Mr. Nixon held a 57-34 percent edge, a 23 point spread. Thus, the Nixon margin has risen 9 full points in the past month.

At the same time, when asked if they thought President Nixon "deserved to win reelection by a landslide", a plurality of voters agreed by only 40-46 percent.

As the formal campaign got underway the President had registered his major gains in the Midwest and South, in smaller towns, among women, Democrats, union members and Catholics. Significantly, the Nixon total among Democrats has now risen to 43 percent, up from 29 percent in May, and the GOP nominee trails McGovern among Democrats by only 47-43 percent, a four point margin.

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted between August 30th and September 1st, a cross-section of 1640 likely voters 18 years of age and over was asked: "This November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, who would you be for?"

	<u>Total</u> <u>Voters</u>
	%
Nixon	59
McGovern	25
Not Sure	16

Then the 16 percent "not sure" vote was asked:  
 "If you had to say, would you lean toward Nixon, the Republican, or McGovern, the Democrat?"

LEANER ANALYSIS

	Total "Not Sure" %
Nixon	4
McGovern	4
Still not sure	8

When the committed and leaners are added together, President Nixon emerges with his 63-29 percent lead. Here is the trend in the Nixon-McGovern standings:

NIXON-McGOVERN TREND

	Nix- on %	McGov- ern %	Not Sure %
Sept.	63	29	8
Aug.	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
Mar.	59	32	9

In the latest results, Senator McGovern now trails President Nixon by the most sizable margin since the Harris Survey first pitted the two men against each other in two-way pairings last March. However, between March and May, McGovern reduced a 27 point deficit to 7 points. The 34 point Nixon lead is larger than the Harris Survey recorded at a comparable period in the Johnson-Goldwater race of 1964, which the Democratic incumbent finally won by a 29 percentage point margin.

Here are some key dimensions of this latest Nixon-McGovern trial heat:

--- Contrary to expectations, President Nixon continues to lead Sen. McGovern among voters under 30 by a 10 point margin, 52-42 percent, identical to the results in early August. However, there is a sharp difference between new voters, aged 18-24, who show a 47-47 percent standoff, and voters 25-29 who favor Mr. Nixon by 59-34 percent. On an age basis, the contest for the White House is still closest among young voters.

--- The President's margin has been soaring among voters with incomes of \$10,000 and over, a substantial 45 percent of the electorate. Back in May, Mr. Nixon led among voters in the \$10,000-15,000 bracket by 51-39 percent, but now is ahead by 70-23 percent. With the \$15,000 and over group, in May the Nixon lead was a narrow 49-43 percent, but has risen to 71-24 percent.

--- Consistently, Richard Nixon has been weaker among women than among men, but now the two sexes are giving the incumbent President an identical 63-29 percent lead. His gains among women have been dramatic, with his coming from only a 47-42 percent lead in May to a full 34 points in the latest survey.

--- The heartland of Nixon strength in 1972 was supposed to be found in the South and in the Midwest. Yet, in early August, the President was ahead by a wider margin in the East than the Midwest. But in the past month, the Nixon lead in the Midwest has jumped to 64-29 percent, a vast change from the narrow 46-43 percent edge he showed just last May. In the South, Mr. Nixon is ahead by 70-19 percent.

--- The trade union vote has now gone to a rather decisive 56-34 percent Nixon lead, a margin of 22 points. This is a direct reversal of the 1968 pattern, when Humphrey won among union members by 53-32 percent, a Democratic edge of 21 points.

--- Among Catholic voters, the President has moved out to a commanding 62-27 percent margin. This is a dramatic turnaround from the standing in May, when McGovern held a slim 46-44 percent lead.

( more )

Despite the current wide Nixon lead, by only 46-40 percent, a plurality of the likely voters think the President "deserved to win by a landslide margin." The cross-section was asked:

"Do you feel that President Nixon deserves or not to win reelection by a landslide vote?"

DOES NIXON DESERVE TO WIN  
IN A LANDSLIDE?

	Deserves To Win %	Doesn't Deserve %	Not Sure %
<u>Total Likely Voters</u>	46	40	14
Live in West	40	51	9
Democrats	35	50	15
18-29 age	40	47	13
Union members	39	46	15

A minimum of four voters in 10 are not happy with the prospect of a Nixon sweep. Especially unhappy about that prospect are voters who live in the West, union members, young people, and those who are traditional Democrats. If McGovern is to reverse the heavy tide against him, it is among these groups where he might find the most receptive segments of the electorate.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, September 7th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The number of persons who feel familiar with Sen. George McGovern's political stands has risen from 49 to 81 percent since last April, but at the same time the number who think he has "too extreme liberal views" has jumped from 29 percent in April to 55 percent in August. A comparable 55 percent of the voters also agree with the statement that McGovern "wants to change things too much."

It is now apparent that while the outcome of the election will depend in part on voter assessment of the Nixon record in office, Sen. McGovern's political philosophy has become a central pivot of controversy as well.

Harris Survey results to date point to the following conclusions concerning Sen. McGovern's standing with the voters:

--- The Eagleton affair is not the root of McGovern's early troubles in this campaign. At worst, the public believes that the South Dakota Senator was the unwitting victim of a series of unfortunate events concerning the Vice Presidency he could not foresee. Even though a majority of 51 percent agree that he was right ultimately to drop Eagleton, in retrospect 59 percent also agree the Eagleton choice appeared to be a good one at the time it was made.

--- Rather, McGovern's problems stem in large part from his original formulation of his welfare program, which came under sharp attack during the latter stages of the California primary. By a thumping 73-15 percent, voters reject the proposal "to give each individual in the population \$1,000" by "sharply increasing taxes on people with incomes of \$12,000 and over." Significantly, even 55 percent of those who now plan to vote for McGovern say they are opposed to his original plan to scrap the welfare system. A substantial 59 percent of the entire electorate agree with the charge that "his program for redistributing the wealth is too radical."

( more )

--- Although by 76-21 percent the country overwhelmingly wants to "bring home all U.S. troops, naval, and air forces from Vietnam," by the same token an equally overwhelming 74-19 percent of the voters also do not think that McGovern would be able to fulfill his pledge to "have all U.S. troops and prisoners of war out of Vietnam three months after he is in the White House." Even his own supporters doubt his ability to accomplish this objective, by 52-36 percent.

By 49-36 percent, voters also agree with the statement that McGovern was "wrong to say he would go to Hanoi to beg for release of U.S. prisoners of war."

The net result is that when voters are asked whether his stands on Vietnam make them feel "more" or "less" like voting for Sen. McGovern, the verdict is 44-19 percent negative, with large numbers of them up in the air.

--- The net impact of the early McGovern positions on welfare, income redistribution, and prisoners of war is that; by 47-37 percent, a plurality of the voters agree with the charge that "he does not inspire confidence as a President should." With this loss of credibility, McGovern's criticisms of President Nixon inevitably lose some of the bite they might otherwise have.

Earlier this month, after McGovern had dropped Eagleton from the ticket, a cross section of 1,635 voters was asked:

( more )

"Now I'd like to read you some statements some people have made about Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree."  
 (READ STATEMENTS)

STATEMENTS ABOUT MCGOVERN

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Positive</u>			
Has courage to say what he thinks even if unpopular	69	18	13
Deserves lot of credit for giving many young people faith in political system	58	24	18
Deserves credit for being against Vietnam before others	51	34	15
Fighter for tax reform and wants to help working man	49	27	24
Sincere, appealing personality	43	39	18
Stands for right kind of change in country	35	44	21
<u>Negative</u>			
Program for redistributing wealth too radical	59	18	23
Has too extreme liberal views	55	26	19
Wants to change things too much	55	30	15
Wrong to say he would beg for release of POW's in Hanoi	49	36	15
Does not inspire confidence as President should	47	37	16
Has a flat, uninteresting personality	35	48	17

These results indicate that McGovern is not without appeal for speaking out on unpopular issues, involving the young in politics, opposing the Vietnam war before other politicians and advocating the reform of tax loopholes. Had McGovern stayed within the bounds of the elements going for him, he might have been much closer in the poll standings today than he is. His problems appear to stem from seemingly going beyond the pale on eliminating welfare with income redistribution and promising flatly to bring all U.S. forces and POW's home from Vietnam three months after assuming office.

On welfare and income redistribution, the cross section of likely voters was asked:

"Senator McGovern has proposed to eliminate the present welfare system and instead to give each individual in the population \$1,000. He would pay for this plan by sharply increasing taxes on people with incomes of \$12,000 and over, as well as on corporations. Do you favor or oppose this substitute for the welfare system proposed by Senator McGovern?"

MCGOVERN WELFARE REFORM PROGRAM

	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>McGovern Voters</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Favor	15	27
Oppose	73	55
Not sure	12	18

( more )

On the promise to bring home all Americans from Vietnam, the cross section was asked:

"Senator McGovern has said that three months after he went into the White House as President he would have all U.S. troops and prisoners of war home. Do you think he would be able to do that or not?"

McGOVERN PLAN TO BRING TROOPS AND POW'S HOME

	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>McGovern Voters</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Would be able	19	36
Not be able	74	52
Not sure	7	12

These stands, much more than the Eagleton affair, have put the stigma of "extremist" on Sen. McGovern --- a handicap he must now seek to overcome if he is to get back into this election.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, August 31st, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

One of the original hopes of the McGovern campaign -- that the bulk of "alienated" voters in the country would go decisively for the South Dakota Senator in November -- thus far simply is not taking place. With the withdrawal of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama from the race, President Nixon now holds a 46-43 percent lead among voters identified on the Harris alienation index.

Had Wallace remained in the race, the protest vote would have divided 55-38 percent against Mr. Nixon. Not only has the Wallace vote gone over to Nixon over-all, but those particularly disaffected with the way things are going in the country these days favor the President nearly two to one.

Faced with their ideological disagreements with Sen. McGovern on the one hand, and their alienation from the Establishment on the other, most former Wallace backers are now inclined to swallow their disenchantment with the status quo and cast their ballots for President Nixon.

However, it should be pointed out that these results are based on polling which took place early in August when Sen. McGovern reached a low point just after dropping Sen. Eagleton from his ticket. What is more, a substantial 30 percent of the former Wallace voters were still undecided, most of whom would fall into the "alienated" category. So it is still possible that McGovern might win as many as half of the alienated who originally preferred Wallace.

(more)

The Harris Alienation Index, devised back in 1966, is made up of five items on which people have been questioned periodically. In a Harris Survey early in August, a cross section of 1,630 potential voters were asked:

"I want to read off to you a number of things some people have told us they have felt from time to time. Do you tend to feel (READ LIST) or not?"

EXTENT OF ALIENATION

	<u>Feel</u> %	<u>Don't</u> <u>Feel</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	64	33	3
What you think doesn't count very much	51	45	4
The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	43	52	5
People who have the power are out to take advantage of you	39	53	8
Left out of things around you	24	73	3

Taken together on the Alienation Index, some 47 percent of the voters report they feel alienated in 1972. If Gov. Wallace were still in the race, here is how the vote would have divided on each item in the Alienation Index:

IMPACT OF ALIENATION  
WITH WALLACE IN RACE

	<u>Would Vote For:</u>			
	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>McGovern</u> %	<u>Wallace</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	44	36	15	5
What you think doesn't count very much	40	37	16	7
The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	35	40	17	8
People who have the power are out to take advantage of you	36	39	17	8
Left out of things around you	37	41	16	6
Average division of vote:	38	39	16	7

(more)

If the McGovern and Wallace vote were combined, then by 55-38 percent the alienated in the country could be voting against Richard Nixon this November.

However, in a two-way contest, the alienated split quite differently than the McGovern people had hoped:

IMPACT OF ALIENATION  
IN TWO-WAY RACE

	Would Vote For:		
	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>McGovern</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	51	39	10
What you think doesn't count very much	48	40	12
The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	42	44	14
People who have the power are out to take advantage of you	45	43	12
Left out of things around you	43	46	11
Average division of vote:	46	43	11

Clearly, the aversion of alienated Wallace voters for McGovern's political stance means more to them at this stage of the campaign than their disenchantment with the power structure headed by President Nixon.

When the key groups where alienation runs highest are analyzed, a mixed political roster emerges:

MOST ALIENATED GROUPS

	<u>Feel Alienated</u> %
<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>47</u>
Blacks	71
8th grade educated	56
Under \$5,000 income	54
Big cities	54
Union members	53
Democrats	52
18-29 year olds	50

At the moment, McGovern is drawing heavily among the alienated only from blacks and the under-30 voters. A major question of the campaign is whether the McGovern style and rhetoric will appeal to the least-well-educated, the poor, union members, and big-city voters -- who make up much of the traditional Democratic vote.

In the spring primaries, this so-called "gut" vote is precisely where George Wallace, rather than George McGovern, found his greatest appeal. The theory that Sen. McGovern might also be the beneficiary in November of similar protest in the grassroots remains to be documented.

# # #

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1972

HARRIS SURVEYS

"In the election this November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, whom would you vote for -- Nixon the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?"

	<u>MAY 9-10</u>	<u>JUNE 10-15</u>	<u>JULY 1-6</u> N	<u>AUG 2-3</u>	<u>MAY 9-10</u>	<u>JUNE 10-15</u>	<u>JULY 1-6</u> M	<u>AUG 2-3</u>	<u>MAY 9-10</u>	<u>JUNE 10-15</u> N.S.	<u>JULY 1-6</u>	<u>AUG 2-3</u>
Nationwide	48	54	55	57	41	38	35	34	11	8	10	9
East	42	51	53	58	47	42	37	33	11	7	10	9
Midwest	46	54	54	53	43	39	36	36	11	7	10	11
South	59	61	62	65	30	27	27	27	11	12	11	8
West	47	49	45	55	44	45	45	39	9	6	10	6
Deep South	57	-	62	68	34	-	27	26	9	-	11	6
Border States	62	-	60	62	24	-	23	29	14	-	17	9
Cities	38	44	45	50	49	49	45	42	13	7	10	8
Suburbs	48	58	57	57	41	38	33	33	11	9	10	10
Towns	53	61	65	62	36	32	26	31	11	7	9	7
Rural	57	59	57	62	36	33	31	28	7	8	12	10
18-29 yrs	46	41	46	53	48	55	46	43	6	4	8	4
30-49 yrs	47	58	56	58	44	34	34	34	9	8	10	8
50+	51	59	59	59	34	30	29	28	15	11	12	13
8th grade	46	51	49	52	37	37	34	36	17	12	17	12
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College	50	53	58	58	43	42	36	37	7	5	6	5
Men	49	53	57	58	41	39	33	33	10	8	10	9
Women	47	54	52	56	42	38	37	35	11	8	11	9
Black	21	27	24	16	62	74	64	77	17	4	12	7
White	51	57	59	62	39	35	31	29	10	8	10	9
Under \$5,000	48	40	44	52	39	51	40	39	13	9	16	9
\$ 5,000- 9,999	51	57	54	55	39	37	37	35	10	6	9	10
\$10,000-14,999	51	54	60	58	39	38	32	31	10	8	8	11
\$15,000 +	49	64	65	65	43	29	29	30	8	7	6	5
Union Members	35	46	50	49	53	44	39	40	12	10	11	11
Republican	82	86	87	87	14	11	10	10	4	3	3	3
Democrat	29	36	36	38	59	55	53	53	12	9	11	9
Independent	43	54	54	60	42	37	34	25	15	9	12	15
Catholic	44	54	54	55	46	40	36	33	10	6	10	12
Protestant	58	66	66	68	33	25	25	24	9	9	9	8
Jewish	39	22	31	46	51	68	58	44	10	10	11	10

1972

HARRIS SURVEYS

"In the election this November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, whom would you vote for -- Nixon the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?"

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Jewish	39	22	31	46	51	68	58	44	10	10	11	10

1972

HARRIS SURVEYS

Ⓟ  
Harris  
Bank

"In the election this November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, whom would you vote for -- Nixon the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?"

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Democrat	29	36	36	38	59	55	53	53	12	9	11	9
Independent	43	54	54	60	42	37	34	25	15	9	12	15
Catholic	44	54	54	55	46	40	36	33	10	6	10	12
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1972

HARRIS SURVEYS

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South	59	61	62	65	30	27	27	27	11	12	11	8
West	47	49	45	55	44	45	45	39	9	6	10	6
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Under \$5,000	48	40	44	52	39	51	40	39	13	9	16	9
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Protestant	58	66	66	68	33	25	25	24	9	9	9	8
Jewish	39	22	31	46	51	68	58	44	10	10	11	10

HARRIS SURVEYS

Nixon McGovern Demographic Study

May 9-10, 1972

June 10-15, 1972

July 1-6, 1972

August 2-3, 1972

..... PAGE 1

Nixon McGovern Trial Heats: 1972

August

July

June

May

April

March

..... PAGE 2

HARRIS SURVEY

	Nixon			McGovern			Not Sure		
	(May 9-10, 1972)	(1385 likely voters)		(June 10-15, 1972)	(1401 likely voters)		(July 1-6, 1972)	(1901 likely voters)	
Nationwide	48	41	11	54	38	8	55	35	10
East	42	47	11	51	42	7	53	37	10
Midwest	46	43	11	54	39	7	54	36	10
South	59	30	11	61	27	12	62	27	11
West	47	44	9	49	45	6	45	45	10
Deep South	57	34	9	-	-	-	62	27	11
Border States	62	24	14	-	-	-	60	23	17
Cities	38	49	13	44	49	7	45	45	10
Suburbs	48	41	11	58	38	9	57	33	10
Towns	53	36	11	61	32	7	65	26	9
Rural	57	36	7	59	33	8	57	31	12
18-29	46	48	6	41	55	4	46	46	8
30-45	47	44	9	58	34	8	56	34	10
50+	51	34	15	59	30	11	59	29	12
9th grade	46	37	17	51	37	12	49	34	17
High school	47	41	12	56	35	9	54	35	11
College	50	43	7	53	42	5	58	36	6
Men	49	41	10	53	39	8	57	33	10
Women	47	42	11	54	38	8	52	37	11
Black	21	62	17	27	74	4	24	64	12
White	51	39	10	57	35	8	59	31	10
Under \$5,000	48	39	13	40	51	9	44	40	16
\$5,000-9,999	51	39	10	57	37	6	54	37	9
\$10,000-14,999	51	39	10	54	38	8	60	32	8
\$15,000+	49	43	8	64	29	7	65	29	6
Union Members	35	55	12	46	44	10	50	39	11
Republican	82	14	4	86	11	3	87	10	3
Democrat	29	59	13	36	55	9	36	53	11
Independent	43	42	15	54	37	9	54	34	12
Catholic	44	46	10	54	40	6	54	36	10
Protestant	56	33	9	66	25	9	66	25	9
Other	39	51	10	22	68	10	31	58	11

(August 2-3, 1972)

Nixon 57  
McGovern 34  
Not Sure 9

(1630 likely voters)

58	33	9	58	33	9
53	36	11	53	36	11
65	27	8	65	27	8
55	39	6	55	39	6
68	26	6	68	26	6
62	29	9	62	29	9
50	42	8	50	42	8
57	33	10	57	33	10
62	31	7	62	31	7
62	28	10	62	28	10
53	43	4	53	43	4
58	34	8	58	34	8
59	28	13	59	28	13
52	36	12	52	36	12
58	31	11	58	31	11
58	37	5	58	37	5
56	33	9	56	33	9
16	77	7	16	77	7
62	29	9	62	29	9
52	39	9	52	39	9
55	35	10	55	35	10
58	31	11	58	31	11
65	30	5	65	30	5
49	40	11	49	40	11
87	10	3	87	10	3
38	53	9	38	53	9
60	25	15	60	25	15
55	33	12	55	33	12
68	24	8	68	24	8
46	44	10	46	44	10

1972

HARRIS TRIAL HEATS

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
August, 1972	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
June	54	38	8
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
March	59	32	9

To: Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Inc.  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, August 14th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

When the American electorate is surveyed face to face in person and in depth on the Eagleton affair, perhaps the most important finding is that in dropping Eagleton, Sen. McGovern took a course most pleasing to people over 50, but in rather sharp disagreement with his potentially strongest constituency, young people under 30. While people over 50 believe by 58-29 percent that "any man with a background of mental disorders should disqualify himself from running for President or Vice President," young people disagree with that point of view by 60-30 percent.

Although a majority of the public agreed with McGovern's decision by 53-37 percent, a substantial 44 percent of young people under 30 thought he should have followed his initial course and retained Eagleton on the ticket.

An intensive, in person survey of a cross section of 1,630 voters on August 2nd and 3rd after McGovern made his decision, reveals these key points:

-- By 59-30 percent, a majority of voters hold the view that "if the doctors thought Sen. Eagleton was of sound mind and body, then he could run for any high office." By 49-29 percent, a clear plurality point to the fact that "it has been six years since Sen. Eagleton had any trouble," therefore indicating that "he has overcome his past troubles." These two results point to a sense among the electorate that a man's past mental problems should not be held against him.

( ENCL )

-- By his actions early in in the Eagleton case, when he expressed firm confidence in his running mate, Sen. McGovern might have caused problems for himself when he reversed his initial inclination and dropped the Missouri Senator from the ticket. By 64-23 percent, a majority hold the view that "Senator McGovern has to be admired for telling about Eagleton's past problems before they were reported in the newspapers." And, by 57-30 percent, Senator McGovern build up deep respect for "showing great loyalty in standing up for Sen. Eagleton." McGovern gave up these advantages of candor and loyalty when he finally decided to drop Eagleton.

-- Contrary to the expectation of most political analysts, the fact that Eagleton had received electric shock treatment did not mean that he was automatically ruled out for high office by the public. By decisive 59-28 percent, a majority of the public disagreed with the claim that "the fact that Sen. Eagleton had shock treatment disqualifies him for high office."

Taken together, two central facts, then, begin to emerge from the Eagleton affair:

1) That the American people did not panic upon hearing the news that Sen. Eagleton had had previous psychiatric troubles. Apparently, a substantial segment of public opinion feels that mental problems can be solved, much as medical difficulties can be overcome.

2) In taking his action to drop Eagleton, McGovern gave up the gains he had scored for being candid about the Missouri Senator's troubles, and at the same time showing steadfast loyalty to a member of his team who was in trouble.

( more )

Part of the reason for the relative tolerance on the part of the public for mental troubles stems from the degree to which the American people themselves have encountered similar problems in their own lives. For example, when the cross section of voters was asked if they had "sometimes felt down, lonely, or depressed," a high 65 percent reported they had felt this way, up from 54 percent five years ago. Significantly, 72 percent of young people under 30 said they had felt down or depressed. When people were asked if any member of their own family had received psychiatric treatment, 21 percent reported they had. This was markedly up from 14 percent who reported a family member receiving psychiatric attention five years ago.

Thus, a substantial segment of American public opinion had had first hand experience with psychiatric problems and treatment, and was not prepared to write a man off for high office simply on these grounds alone.

Of course, all of these findings must not be taken to mean that the American people think past psychiatric troubles are an asset for a man running for high office. This was evident when the cross section was asked:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that any man with a background of mental disorders should disqualify himself from running for President or Vice President?"

SHOULD MENTAL DISORDERS DISQUALIFY  
A CANDIDATE FOR HIGH OFFICE?

	<u>Should</u> %	<u>Should</u> <u>Not</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>By Age</u>			
18-29	30	60	10
30-49	40	49	11
50 and over	58	29	13

( more )

With the young people 2 to 1 opposed to letting past mental troubles automatically disqualify a man from high office, it is apparent that Sen. McGovern put himself in some trouble among young people when he made his decision to drop Eagleton. This development has been reflected in McGovern slipping from a 55-41 percent lead among the under-30 group in June to a 53-43 percent deficit today.

In the eyes of the public, a more salient reason for dropping Sen. Eagleton could be found not in the mental health question, but rather the fact that the Missouri Senator did not reveal his past troubles before he was nominated, an error of omission condemned by a 76-18 percent margin. This was evident in this key question put to the cross section:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator Eagleton's past mental troubles should not have been held against him but his show of bad character in keeping this information from Senator McGovern should have disqualified him?"

NOT MENTAL TROUBLES BUT LACK OF CANDOR  
SHOULD HAVE DISQUALIFIED EAGLETON

	<u>Total Voters</u>
	%
Agree	46
Disagree	39
Not Sure	15

Thus, if Sen. Eagleton had told Sen. McGovern about his psychiatric problems in the first place and nonetheless had been chosen, the chances are that on the mental health issue alone, the storm that followed might have been avoided. As it is, Sen. McGovern not only has lost the momentum in these early stages of the campaign, but has created some problems with his one best hope for ultimately achieving victory -- the new voters under 30 years of age.

# # #

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To: Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Inc.  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, August 17th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

In the aftermath of the three hectic weeks during which the Democratic Party went through the tortures of finally coming up with its nominee for Vice President, the net result has surely been a serious setback for Senator George McGovern.

Here are some of the implications of the dropping of Senator Eagleton from the ticket and the subsequent efforts to finally come up with a candidate for the second spot who would make the run:

--- Senator McGovern now has opened his campaign for the Presidency 23 percentage points behind President Nixon, who holds a 57-34 percent lead. At no time in recent political history has a candidate of the Democratic Party started off trailing by such a margin. Hubert Humphrey never was more than 12 points behind in the Harris Surveys of 1968. Senator Barry Goldwater came out of the Republican convention in 1964 behind by roughly the same margin as McGovern today. But Goldwater never closed the gap and ended up losing by 21 points.

--- Even more serious than the actual numbers, which likely will change, is that McGovern has now lost the initiative he hoped to gain from his spectacular victory in his race for the nomination. His new politics coalition, basically built around an appeal to the young, the educated, the independents, and the black and Spanish-speaking minorities, saw most of the steam go out of it, as he became embroiled over whether to drop his selected nominee for Vice President. His June lead of 55-41 percent among young people under 30 evaporated and he now trails President Nixon by 53-43 percent among the young. Back in May, he was only one point behind among the independent voters, 43-42 percent, but he had dropped far behind to 60-25 among independents by early August.

( cont )

--- On the Eagleton affair directly, on the surface, the voters indicate they mean to be eminently fair to Senator McGovern. By 80-12 percent, a big majority say that "Senator Eagleton's problems should not be held against Sen. McGovern in the election." Yet further probing reveals that 33 percent of the voters feel that "Sen. McGovern's choice of Sen. Eagleton casts real doubts about McGovern's qualifications to pick good men if he became President," although 54 percent disagree. That one-third of all the likely voters who are skeptical of McGovern's judgment could be a serious handicap indeed. Fully 19 percent of the people who now plan to vote for him registered these doubts, as do 23 percent of the under-30 vote, 31 percent of the college educated, 31 percent of the independent voters, 33 percent of the \$15,000 and over income group --- all of whom form the backbone of the McGovern new politics coalition.

• --- Much of the edge of a potential Democratic issue in attacking Vice President Agnew has now been taken off. The Vice President has no better than a 45-47 percent negative job rating and has been one of the most controversial Vice Presidents in recent history. In separate tests made among potential Democratic nominees for Vice President against Agnew in early August, his average lead was 52-40 percent. At first glance, this would appear to be a substantial vote of endorsement of the Vice President. However, it should be noted that in this same poll among a cross section of 1,630 voters surveyed in person, conducted August 2nd and 3rd, President Nixon held a much wider 57-34 percent lead over Senator McGovern.

There is little doubt that Agnew is the weaker half of the Republican ticket in 1972. But it will be difficult for the Democrats to make much of the Vice Presidential issue now. For when they do, they will conjure up the fiasco of the past three weeks, and that memory can only hurt George McGovern's chances next November 7th.

( more )

Having reported all of this, however, it is well to keep in mind that the election is still nearly three months off, and the early anti-McGovern trend is not necessarily irreversible. One phenomenon which must be watched closely is the fact that in 1972 the American people have had a tendency to look kindly on underdogs and to end up voting for candidates whom the press establishment has written off.

In fact, there have been sure signs from other recent elections, including the elections in Britain in 1970 that when an incumbent who is not overly popular has appeared to be on the threshold of a decisive victory, the voters reacted by saying, in effect, that they did not think he should win by such a wide margin. So what might be called the Harold Wilson backlash from Britain of 1970 could well begin to set in during this election in America in 1972.

Nonetheless, by no stretch of the imagination can it be said that the events surrounding the Eagleton affair did anything but damage the ultimate chances of Senator George McGovern to win the White House in November.

# # #

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To: Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Inc.  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, August 14th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

When the American electorate is surveyed face to face in person and in depth on the Eagleton affair, perhaps the most important finding is that in dropping Eagleton, Sen. McGovern took a course most pleasing to people over 50, but in rather sharp disagreement with his potentially strongest constituency, young people under 30. While people over 50 believe by 58-29 percent that "any man with a background of mental disorders should disqualify himself from running for President or Vice President," young people disagree with that point of view by 60-30 percent.

Although a majority of the public agreed with McGovern's decision by 53-37 percent, a substantial 44 percent of young people under 30 thought he should have followed his initial course and retained Eagleton on the ticket.

An intensive, in person survey of a cross section of 1,630 voters on August 2nd and 3rd after McGovern made his decision, reveals these key points:

-- By 59-30 percent, a majority of voters hold the view that "if the doctors thought Sen. Eagleton was of sound mind and body, then he could run for any high office." By 49-29 percent, a clear plurality point to the fact that "it has been six years since Sen. Eagleton had any trouble," therefore indicating that "he has overcome his past troubles." These two results point to a sense among the electorate that a man's past mental problems should not be held against him.

( more )

-- By his actions early in in the Eagleton case, when he expressed firm confidence in his running mate, Sen. McGovern might have caused problems for himself when he reversed his initial inclination and dropped the Missouri Senator from the ticket. By 64-23 percent, a majority hold the view that "Senator McGovern has to be admired for telling about Eagleton's past problems before they were reported in the newspapers." And, by 57-30 percent, Senator McGovern build up deep respect for "showing great loyalty in standing up for Sen. Eagleton." McGovern gave up these advantages of candor and loyalty when he finally decided to drop Eagleton.

-- Contrary to the expectation of most political analysts, the fact that Eagleton had received electric shock treatment did not mean that he was automaticlly ruled out for high office by the public. By decisive 59-28 percent, a majority of the public disagreed with the claim that "the fact that Sen. Eagleton had shock treatment disqualifies him for high office."

Taken together, two central facts, then, begin to emerge from the Eagleton affair:

1) That the American people did not panic upon hearing the news that Sen. Eagleton had had previous psychiatric troubles. Apparently, a substantial segment of public opinion feels that mental problems can be solved, much as medical difficulties can be overcome.

2) In taking his action to drop Eagleton, McGovern gave up the gains he had scored for being candid about the Missouri Senator's troubles, and at the same time showing steadfast loyalty to a member of his team who was in trouble.

( more )

Part of the reason for the relative tolerance on the part of the public for mental troubles stems from the degree to which the American people themselves have encountered similar problems in their own lives. For example, when the cross section of voters was asked if they had "sometimes felt down, lonely, or depressed," a high 65 percent reported they had felt this way, up from 54 percent five years ago. Significantly, 72 percent of young people under 30 said they had felt down or depressed. When people were asked if any member of their own family had received psychiatric treatment, 21 percent reported they had. This was markedly up from 14 percent who reported a family member receiving psychiatric attention five years ago.

Thus, a substantial segment of American public opinion had had first hand experience with psychiatric problems and treatment, and was not prepared to write a man off for high office simply on these grounds alone.

Of course, all of these findings must not be taken to mean that the American people think past psychiatric troubles are an asset for a man running for high office. This was evident when the cross section was asked:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that any man with a background of mental disorders should disqualify himself from running for President or Vice President?"

SHOULD MENTAL DISORDERS DISQUALIFY  
A CANDIDATE FOR HIGH OFFICE?

	<u>Should</u> %	<u>Should</u> <u>Not</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>By Age</u>			
18-29	30	60	10
30-49	40	49	11
50 and over	58	29	13

( more )

With the young people 2 to 1 opposed to letting past mental troubles automatically disqualify a man from high office, it is apparent that Sen. McGovern put himself in some trouble among young people when he made his decision to drop Eagleton. This development has been reflected in McGovern slipping from a 55-41 percent lead among the under-30 group in June to a 53-43 percent deficit today.

In the eyes of the public, a more salient reason for dropping Sen. Eagleton could be found not in the mental health question, but rather the fact that the Missouri Senator did not reveal his past troubles before he was nominated, an error of omission condemned by a 76-18 percent margin. This was evident in this key question put to the cross section:

"Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator Eagleton's past mental troubles should not have been held against him but his show of bad character in keeping this information from Senator McGovern should have disqualified him?"

NOT MENTAL TROUBLES BUT LACK OF CANDOR  
SHOULD HAVE DISQUALIFIED EAGLETON

	<u>Total Voters</u>
	%
Agree	46
Disagree	39
Not Sure	15

Thus, if Sen. Eagleton had told Sen. McGovern about his psychiatric problems in the first place and nonetheless had been chosen, the chances are that on the mental health issue alone, the storm that followed might have been avoided. As it is, Sen. McGovern not only has lost the momentum in these early stages of the campaign, but has created some problems with his one best hope for ultimately achieving victory -- the new voters under 30 years of age.

# # #

To: Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Inc.  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, August 17th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

In the aftermath of the three hectic weeks during which the Democratic Party went through the tortures of finally coming up with its nominee for Vice President, the net result has surely been a serious setback for Senator George McGovern.

Here are some of the implications of the dropping of Senator Eagleton from the ticket and the subsequent efforts to finally come up with a candidate for the second spot who would make the run:

--- Senator McGovern now has opened his campaign for the Presidency 23 percentage points behind President Nixon, who holds a 57-34 percent lead. At no time in recent political history has a candidate of the Democratic Party started off trailing by such a margin. Hubert Humphrey never was more than 12 points behind in the Harris Surveys of 1968. Senator Barry Goldwater came out of the Republican convention in 1964 behind by roughly the same margin as McGovern today. But Goldwater never closed the gap and ended up losing by 21 points.

--- Even more serious than the actual numbers, which likely will change, is that McGovern has now lost the initiative he hoped to gain from his spectacular victory in his race for the nomination. His new politics coalition, basically built around an appeal to the young, the educated, the independents, and the black and Spanish-speaking minorities, saw most of the steam go out of it, as he became embroiled over whether to drop his selected nominee for Vice President. His June lead of 55-41 percent among young people under 30 evaporated and he now trails President Nixon by 53-43 percent among the young. Back in May, he was only one point behind among the independent voters, 43-42 percent, but he had dropped far behind to 60-25 among independents by early August.

( more )

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--- Much of the edge of a potential Democratic issue in attacking Vice President Agnew has now been taken off. The Vice President has no better than a 45-47 percent negative job rating and has been one of the most controversial Vice Presidents in recent history. In separate tests made among potential Democratic nominees for Vice President against Agnew in early August, his average lead was 52-40 percent. At first glance, this would appear to be a substantial vote of endorsement of the Vice President. However, it should be noted that in this same poll among a cross section of 1,630 voters surveyed in person, conducted August 2nd and 3rd, President Nixon held a much wider 57-34 percent lead over Senator McGovern.

There is little doubt that Agnew is the weaker half of the Republican ticket in 1972. But it will be difficult for the Democrats to make much of the Vice Presidential issue now. For when they do, they will conjure up the fiasco of the past three weeks, and that memory can only hurt George McGovern's chances next November 7th.

( more )

Having reported all of this, however, it is well to keep in mind that the election is still nearly three months off, and the early anti-McGovern trend is not necessarily irreversible. One phenomenon which must be watched closely is the fact that in 1972 the American people have had a tendency to look kindly on underdogs and to end up voting for candidates whom the press establishment has written off.

In fact, there have been sure signs from other recent elections, including the elections in Britain in 1970 that when an incumbent who is not overly popular has appeared to be on the threshold of a decisive victory, the voters reacted by saying, in effect, that they did not think he should win by such a wide margin. So what might be called the Harold Wilson backlash from Britain of 1970 could well begin to set in during this election in America in 1972.

Nonetheless, by no stretch of the imagination can it be said that the events surrounding the Eagleton affair did anything but damage the ultimate chances of Senator George McGovern to win the White House in November.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

SUBJECT: Harris Data

Per pur conversation on Saturday, attached is the latest trial heat data from Lou Harris.

HARRIS SURVEY

August 4, 1972

Trial Heats

(August 2 & 3)	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u> -- Slippage	
Nationwide	57	34	
East	58	33	(-20)
Midwest	53	36	(-14)
South	65	27	(-7)
West	55	39	(-13)
Deep South	68	26	(-9)
Border States	62	29	(+5)
Cities	50	42	(-19)
Suburbs	57	33	(-17)
Towns	62	31	(-14)
Rural	62	28	(-5)
18-29 year olds	53	43	(-12)
30-49 year olds	58	34	(-21)
50+	59	28	(-4)
8th grade education	52	36	(-7)
High School "	58	31	(-21)
College "	58	37	(-14)
Men	58	33	(-17)
Women	56	35	(-16)
Black	16	77	(+20)
White	62	29	(-18)
Under \$5,000	52	39	(-4)
\$5,000 - 9,999	55	35	(-8)
\$10,000 - 14,999	58	31	(-5)
\$15,000+	65	30	(-27)
Union Members	49	40	(-27)
Republicans	87	10	(-9)
Democrats	38	53	(-15)
Independents	60	25	(-34)
Catholics	55	33	(-24)
Jewish	46	44	(-29)

*Check previous figures*

## HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Tuesday AM, August 8th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

In the aftermath of the Eagleton affair, Sen. George McGovern has slipped even further behind in his race against President Nixon and now trails by 23 points, 57-34 percent. Early in July, the Nixon lead over McGovern stood at 55-35 percent, 20 points ahead.

Here is the trend of Harris Survey trial heats pitting the two opponents for the Presidency against each other, the latest taken on August 2nd and 3rd, among a cross section of 1,630 likely voters interviewed in person:

"In the election this November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Sen. George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now whom would you vote for --- Nixon the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?"

## NIXON VS. McGOVERN TREND

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
August, 1972	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
March	59	32	9

Thus, in this latest test, reflecting the full impact of the episode in which McGovern had to drop Sen. Thomas Eagleton as his running mate, the South Dakotan is now running more behind the President than at any time since last March, when McGovern was much less known.

( more )

Of particular significance in this latest survey is that President Nixon leads by a substantial margin in every region of the country, is ahead of McGovern in the big cities, the under 30 vote, both men and women, union members, independent, and Catholic voters. In the case of the union, Catholic; and the big city vote, these have been traditional Democratic strongholds in national Presidential elections.

The following table shows the breakdown of the Nixon-McGovern division among key voting groups, and also the slippage that has taken place in the McGovern margin between May and August.

NIXON-Mc GOVERN RACE BY KEY GROUPS

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Margin McGovern Dropped</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>-16</u>
<u>By Region</u>				
East	58	33	9	-20
Midwest	53	36	11	-14
South	68	26	6	-7
West	55	39	6	-13
<u>By Size of Place</u>				
Cities	50	42	8	-19
Suburbs	57	33	10	-17
Towns	62	31	7	-14
Rural	62	28	10	-5
<u>By Age</u>				
18-29	53	43	4	-22
30-49	58	34	8	-21
50 and over	59	28	13	-4
<u>By Income</u>				
Under \$5,000	52	39	9	-4
\$5,000-\$9,999	55	35	10	-8
\$10,000-\$14,999	58	31	11	-5
\$15,000 and over	65	30	5	-29
Union Members	49	40	11	-27
<u>By Party</u>				
Republican	87	10	3	-9
Democratic	38	53	9	-15
Independent	60	25	15	-34
<u>By Religion</u>				
White Protestant	68	24	8	-19
Catholic	55	23	12	-24

McGovern has dropped from his strongest showing back in May when he trailed by only 7 points chiefly among voters in the East, in the big cities, the suburbs, the 30-49 age group, those with incomes of \$15,000 and over, union members, independent voters, and Catholics. In addition, of course, President Nixon has scored heavily on his peace missions to Peking and Moscow, the economy has improved, and the public believes he inspires more confidence personally. The vote which would have gone to Gov. George Wallace on a third-party line now divides better than two-to-one for Mr. Nixon.

The irony of McGovern's showing over the past two months, including the period in which he was nominated by his party in Miami Beach is that he has lost much ground among both the pivotal groups making up the old Democratic coalition and those which are forming up to constitute the new politics. The Democratic nominee has slipped heavily among union members, big city voters, and Catholics, who provided the margin of victory for Democrats from Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 to John F. Kennedy in 1960.

The South Dakotan has also lost ground heavily among the newer and most rapidly growing parts of the electorate: the better educated, suburban residents, younger voters, high income groups, and most of all among the growing independent segment. In his drive to the nomination, these groups were the very backbone of McGovern support. These latter groups tend to agree most with McGovern stands on cuts in defense spending, Vietnam, easing penalties for use of marijuana, amnesty for those who left the country to avoid the draft, and stiff tax reform directed against the rich and corporations.

In short, up to this point in time, George McGovern has received the worst of both worlds of politics. He is losing among the groups most traditionally oriented to economic or bread-and-butter issues and also among those attuned to the newer, non-economic issues.

It is possible for McGovern to slip further, but the likelihood is for the current Nixon lead to diminish, even sharply, before Election Day. For it is probably when McGovern comes out of his troubles over a running mate and begins to attack on the issues that he will recoup at least some of the ground he has lost among either the old Democratic coalition or the new politics centers of the young, the suburban, the affluent, the educated, and the independents.

But with three months to go, it is a long uphill fight for George McGovern to the White House.

# # # #

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To: Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Inc.  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, August 7th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

If the voters were able to vote for the office of Vice President alone next November, Senator Edmund Muskie on the Democratic ticket would begin with a 48-47 percent edge over Vice President Spiro Agnew on the Republican line. This narrow lead for Muski contrasts with the 54-37 percent margin by which Agnew would have been leading Senator Thomas Eagleton had he remained on the ticket as George McGovern's running mate.

When asked directly if they thought McGovern was right or not to drop Eagleton from the ticket, by 53-37 percent, a cross-section of 1,630 likely voters interviewed in person between August 2nd and 3rd, said they thought McGovern was right to replace the Missouri Senator.

Senator Muskie was tested for the Vice Presidency against Agnew along with former Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien, Mayor Kevin White of Boston, and Senator Eagleton.

The cross-section of voters was asked:

"Suppose you could vote for Vice President between Spiro Agnew for the Republicans and (Eagleton, Muskie, etc.) for the Democrats. If you had to choose, would you vote for Agnew the Republican or Eagleton the Democrat?"

AGNEW VS. EAGLETON FOR VICE PRESIDENT  
(Likely voters)

	<u>Agnew</u> %	<u>Democrat</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Agnew vs.</u>			
Senator Edmund Muskie	47	48	5
Ex-Democratic Chairman Lawrence O'Brien	50	43	7
Senator Thomas Eagleton	54	37	9
Mayor Kevin White	56	30	14

(COPY)

Out of the four possible choices tested, Muskie ran easily the strongest race, although O'Brien finished no more than 7 points behind Agnew. Mayor White, obviously unknown to large numbers of the voters ran 26 points behind Vice President Agnew.

Of course, on November 7th, voters will have to cast their ballots for both the President and Vice Presidential candidates grouped together, since there is no way to vote for the two offices separately. However, these results indicate that Sen. Muskie would be contributing appreciable support to the McGovern candidacy, particularly in contrast with Sen. Eagleton.

The following analysis shows some of the key groups where Muskie makes a particularly strong showing against Agnew:

AGNEW VS. MUSKIE BY KEY GROUPS			
	<u>Agnew</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Total Likely Voters</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>By Region</u>			
East	45	50	5
Midwest	45	50	5
South	57	37	6
West	42	53	5
Border States	54	40	6
Deep South	61	34	5
<u>By Age</u>			
18-29	39	57	4
30-49	46	49	5
50 and over	54	40	6
<u>By Education</u>			
8th grade or less	42	52	6
High school	49	44	7
College	47	50	3
<u>Union Members</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>By Religion</u>			
White Prot.	58	37	5
Catholic	43	50	7
Jewish	32	62	6

( more )

Senator Muskie makes a strong showing in all regions outside the South, where Vice President Agnew is ahead by 57-37 percent. Agnew is particularly popular in the Deep South. Among age groups, Muskie wins the under 30 vote handily by 57-39 percent, although Agnew leads among 50 and older voters 54-40 percent. Muskie shows an ability to carry the pivotal college educated vote by a narrow 50-47 percent. He also scores well among union members by 53-40 percent, and among Catholics by 50-43 percent.

In fact, of the four possible Democratic picks for Vice President tested, Muskie was the only one who was able to carry the college educated, the East and West Coasts, and Catholics. In addition, Muskie runs even with Agnew in the suburbs of the country 47-47 percent, far ahead of the other Democrats who lost in the suburbs by at least 11 points. Muskie runs 18 points ahead among young people, compared to no more than a three-point edge for either Eagleton or O'Brien.

The cross section of voters was also asked:

"Do you think Senator McGovern was more right or more wrong to ask Senator Eagleton not to run for Vice President on the Democratic ticket?":

MC GOVERN MORE RIGHT OR WRONG TO DROP EAGLETON?

	<u>Total Voters</u>
	%
More right	53
More wrong	37
Not sure	10

# # #

HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Tuesday AM, August 8th, 1972

Not Before

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( more )

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McGovern has dropped from his strongest showing back in May when he trailed by only 7 points chiefly among voters in the East, in the big cities, the suburbs, the 30-49 age group, those with incomes of \$15,000 and over, union members, independent voters, and Catholics. In addition, of course, President Nixon has scored heavily on his peace missions to Peking and Moscow, the economy has improved, and the public believes he inspires more confidence personally. The vote which would have gone to Gov. George Wallace on a third-party line now divides better than two-to-one for Mr. Nixon.

The irony of McGovern's showing over the past two months, including the period in which he was nominated by his party in Miami Beach is that he has lost much ground among both the pivotal groups making up the old Democratic coalition and those which are forming up to constitute the new politics. The Democratic nominee has slipped heavily among union members, big city voters, and Catholics, who provided the margin of victory for Democrats from Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 to John F. Kennedy in 1960.

The South Dakotan has also lost ground heavily among the newer and most rapidly growing parts of the electorate: the better educated, suburban residents, younger voters, high income groups, and most of all among the growing independent segment. In his drive to the nomination, these groups were the very backbone of McGovern support. These latter groups tend to agree most with McGovern stands on cuts in defense spending, Vietnam, easing penalties for use of marijuana, amnesty for those who left the country to avoid the draft, and stiff tax reform directed against the rich and corporations.

In short, up to this point in time, George McGovern has received the worst of both worlds of politics. He is losing among the groups most traditionally oriented to economic or bread-and-butter issues and also among those attuned to the newer, non-economic issues.

It is possible for McGovern to slip further, but the likelihood is for the current Nixon lead to diminish, even sharply, before Election Day. For it is probably when McGovern comes out of his troubles over a running mate and begins to attack on the issues that he will recoup at least some of the ground he has lost among either the old Democratic coalition or the new politics centers of the young, the suburban, the affluent, the educated, and the independents.

But with three months to go, it is a long uphill fight for George McGovern to the White House.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, July 24th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The decision of Gov. George Wallace not to run again on a third-party ticket could well cost Sen. George McGovern, the Democratic nominee, as much as 5 percentage points in the fall election. When likely voters who prefer Wallace for the presidency - 15 percent at latest count - are asked to choose between Sen. McGovern and President Nixon, they say they will vote Republican by 57-25 percent.

On a national basis, the Democrats stand to lose a greater number of total votes in the North than in the South among former Wallace voters. In all, 56 percent of the Wallace vote is drawn from the more populous North and 44 percent from the South, where Nixon already runs strongly. In the North, the Wallace vote at this stage of the campaign splits - for President Nixon by a margin of 55-25 percent. In the South, Wallace supporters prefer Nixon over McGovern by 61-25 percent. Although these patterns are similar, the Wallace vote in the North could be the key to the outcome of a close, two-way presidential race in the large industrial states.

The following table spells out the impact of a Wallace withdrawal among key groups in the electorate. The results are drawn from a Harris Survey conducted among 1,901 household nationwide between July 1st and 6th:

NIXON GAINS FROM WALLACE SUPPORTERS

	Net Nixon Gain %
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>5</u>
North	2
South	9
Suburbs	4
18-29 year olds	8
\$5,000 - 9,999 income	5
\$10,000 - 14,999	6
Union members	4
Independents	7
Catholics	2

( more )

The implications of these findings are:

-- In the South, the net pickup of 9 points for President Nixon from the former Wallace vote gives the Republican a commanding 62-27 percent lead in that region. In the North, former Wallace supporters give Mr. Nixon an average gain of 2 points. While this may seem like a small difference, the margin could prove decisive in a number of key industrial states that are pivotal in the election.

-- The swing suburban vote could also be vitally affected by ex-Wallace backers. In all, 12 percent of all suburban residents were for the Alabama Governor. When asked to choose between Sen. McGovern and President Nixon, they contribute a net gain of 4 points to the Nixon column there.

-- Among the under-30 group, a majority of whom are not on the college campuses, former Wallace supporters now intend to give Mr. Nixon a net gain of 8 points. This could sharply reduce the current McGovern lead among the young.

-- Among middle-income groups, where the Wallace vote had risen to 18 percent, President Nixon scores a net gain of 5 points. This adds to Mr. Nixon's already wide lead among middle-income voters.

-- Among union members, where Wallace had attracted a substantial 18 percent of the vote, Mr. Nixon runs two-to-one ahead in preference and picks up a net gain of 4 points. In 1968, similar defections from union ranks were evident, and only a concerted drive by trade unions in the final month kept the Wallace total down. Given the coolness to the McGovern candidacy by union leaders, this loss for the Democrats could be costly.

-- Among independent voters, 17 percent of whom had intended to go for Wallace, President Nixon registers a net gain of 7 points. It is highly likely that Sen. McGovern's ultimate chances depend on his ability to carry the independent vote in November. The former Wallace supporters could well make that more difficult.

( more )

-- The politically sensitive Catholic vote also will be affected by where ex-Wallacites end up on Election Day. With Wallace out, Mr. Nixon scores a net gain of 2 points. At last count, voters who are Catholics were going 54-37 percent for the GOP candidate in a two-way race.

Obviously, the early reactions of those who wanted to vote for George Wallace looks like bad news for Senator McGovern. However, it should be pointed out that the two principal motivators of the Wallace vote stemmed from (1) a deep feeling against school busing to achieve racial balance and (2) from an alienation which focused heavily on tax inequities and tax reform. The busing issue works strongly in President Nixon's favor. But the tax reform issue definitely helps Senator McGovern.

So, in the end, the direction in which the former Wallace vote will eventually go, although at the moment heavily inclined toward Richard Nixon, is still subject to the flow of the 1972 campaign as waged by the candidates of the two major parties.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, July 27th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The heart of the strategy and arithmetic of the McGovern candidacy in 1972 is that 18 million young people newly eligible to vote for President can be registered and that a sizable majority can be delivered to the Democratic column on Election Day. From the recent evidence, there is every indication that young people under 30 are likely to be voting differently from their elders in this year's election.

In the last two Harris Surveys, while the electorate as a whole has been giving President Nixon a wide 18-point lead, Senator McGovern has been ahead among voters under-30 by a margin of 9 points. The South Dakotan's lead among young voters has been as high as 14 points. Although this bulge for McGovern has yet to be translated into actual votes, he begins the campaign with his most substantial support to be found among young voters.

McGovern strategists are banking on this heavy tilt of the young toward the Senator to make a substantial difference in a close election. Historically, however, the turnout of the young in national elections has been consistently lower than that of their elders. Most major polls are usually adjusted for this turnout of "likely voters." Much of the accuracy of the polls this year will depend on how correctly public opinion analysts can estimate the rate of turnout of the young vote. For Senator McGovern, the rate of turnout of the young could spell the difference between victory and defeat.

Based on registration figures to date and turnout patterns in both regular elections and in the primaries, where the 18-29-year-old group has had the vote, the likely under-30 vote is today running well below its potential:

(over)

## POTENTIAL VS. LIKELY VOTERS

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
18-29 age	29	23
30-49	36	39
50 and over	35	38

At the moment, the best estimate is that the share of the actual vote for those under 30 might well turn out to be as much as 6 points below their share of the population potentially eligible to vote. The over-30 vote share of the actual electorate is running 6 points higher than its share in the population.

Although Sen. McGovern has had a 9-point lead among young people under 30 in the last two Harris Surveys, he has trailed by 23 points among voters over 30. Combined, this has given President Nixon a 14-point lead over his Democratic opponent.

However, if the under-30 vote were to come out to its full potential of the total (29%) on Election Day, this fact alone would improve McGovern's standing against Nixon by better than 1 point. Accordingly, if the proportion of the 30-49 age group in the total vote cast were to shrink from 39 to 36 percent, this would bring Mr. Nixon's margin down by another 4 percentage points.

Thus, just by changing the rate of turnout among young people up to their full potential, the Nixon lead of 14 points could be cut to 8 points. To be sure, this would still leave the President with a wide lead, and his edge in the early stages of this campaign would not be wiped out.

The range of difference between an average and exceptional turnout among young voters in this election could mean between 4 and 6 percentage points in the outcome. This means that in a close 52-48 percent or 53-47 percent Nixon lead over McGovern in the popular vote, the ultimate outcome would be cast in doubt or reversed.

All of this analysis assumes, of course, that the McGovern lead among young voters will remain where it is or even increase. Over the past year, President Nixon has run as much as 16 points behind to dead even among young voters. After his trips to Peking and Moscow, the President narrowed the deficit he had been showing among the under-30 vote.

There is no doubt that the peace issue is dominant with the young in 1972, and much of where this vote will go depends on the resolution of the Vietnam war and how the candidates make their cases on peace between now and Election Day.

This analysis of the youth vote, however, points up an equally challenging problem for Senator McGovern. It is evident that he has been trailing by substantial margins -- over 20 points -- among middle-aged and older voters. If the South Dakota Senator focuses an inordinate amount of his campaign energies on the young at the neglect of the other age groups, a herculean effort to reverse the traditional patterns of low turnout among young people might prove to be in vain.

In short, McGovern's problem with the young may be the difficult matter of getting them to come out to register and vote. With the other age categories, he faces the even more difficult task at this stage of the campaign of actually changing their minds.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, July 10th, 1972  
For

Not Before

By Louis Harris

As a result of his striking string of primary victories, Sen. George McGovern is now a familiar figure to 75 percent of the nation's electorate. For example, 67 percent of the voters admire the South Dakota Senator for having "the courage to say what he thinks even if it is unpopular," up from 63 percent who felt that way in May. By and large, McGovern evokes a positive response from most voters.

However, the bitter primary struggles have not left his public image untarnished:

--- The number of voters who agree with the statement that "McGovern deserves credit for being against Vietnam before others" is 50 percent, while 29 percent disagree. This latest division is not quite as good as the 54-21 percent positive split McGovern enjoyed in May.

--- By 45 to 23 percent, voters give the South Dakotan high marks for being a "fighter for tax reform who wants to help the working man." In May, however, the public agreed with the same statement by a larger 48-14 percent.

--- By 42-34 percent, voters feel that McGovern has a "sincere, appealing personality," but this is down from the 46-26 percent margin he showed in May.

--- By 38-34 percent, a slim plurality believes that George McGovern "stands for the right kind of change in the country." This question was not asked in previous Harris Surveys.

( more )

Thus, with the exception of public adulation for his courage to be outspoken, Sen. McGovern did not materially improve on the initial positive impression he had made on the electorate in the latter stages of the battle for the nomination.

At the same time, some of the negative aspects about the South Dakota Senator have been increasing:

--- The most striking reversal has been over the charge that McGovern has "too extreme, liberal views." At latest count, by 41-33 percent, a plurality of the voters agree with that statement. Back in May, by a narrow 35-31 percent, a plurality disagreed with the same statement. This switch illustrates a damaging turn to the McGovern cause.

--- By a slim 39-38 percent, voters agree with the statement that McGovern "does not inspire confidence as a President should." Back in May, by 36-33 percent, voters rejected that criticism.

--- However, by 38-36 percent, another small plurality disagrees with the charge that "McGovern wants to change things too much." This question was not asked in May.

--- And, by 43-32 percent, voters now disagree with the criticism that George McGovern "has a flat, uninteresting personality." However, in May, a larger 45-29 percent took exception to such a statement.

--- Finally, by 48-28 percent, the public denies the claim that McGovern is a "one-issue man --- only Vietnam." On this score, he has improved since May, when the public disagreed with the one-issue image by a lesser 43-23 percent.

( more )

Basically, after a tremendous surge forward in both public recognition and respect from April to May, the McGovern impact has slowed down on the positive side and new doubts crept in as a result of the bitter California primary.

This trend was further reflected in the trial heats the Harris Survey conducted between Sen. McGovern and President Nixon and Gov. George Wallace on a third-party line. As reported earlier, the latest Harris Survey shows McGovern now trailing the President by a 12-point margin in a three-way race, 45 to 33 percent, and by 16 points in a two-way race, 54-38 percent. In May, the South Dakotan was behind by no more than 5 points, 40-35 percent, in a three-way contest and by 7 points, 48-41 percent, in a two-way contest.

However, there is one result in the current survey findings which might mean more in the end than all the rest: the 38-34 percent margin by which a plurality of the voters express the view that "George McGovern stands for the right kind of change." A breakdown of the results of that question reveal a pattern of potential McGovern support that could make him a formidable contender by November. The cross section of 1,401 voters was asked between June 7th-12th:

( more )

"Do you tend to agree or disagree with the statement that Senator George McGovern stands for the right kind of change in this country?"

DOES McGOVERN STAND FOR RIGHT KIND OF CHANGE?

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis-</u> <u>agree</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total Voters</u>	38	34	28
<u>By Region</u>			
East	44	27	29
Midwest	37	39	24
South	25	40	35
West	48	28	24
<u>By Age</u>			
18-29	54	28	18
30-49	34	36	30
50 and over	32	36	32
<u>By Education</u>			
5th grade or less	33	23	44
High school	34	36	30
College	44	35	21
<u>Union Members</u>	39	30	31
<u>By Politics</u>			
Republicans	25	46	29
Democrats	44	26	30
Independents	44	35	21
<u>By Religion</u>			
Protestants	29	40	31
Catholics	38	35	27
Jewish	62	21	17

Perhaps the secret of McGovern's success in the primaries was his ability to become the personification of "the right kind of change" at a time when the country clearly was ripe for this kind of challenge. Only in the South does McGovern fail to score as the symbol of acceptable change. If he is the Democratic nominee, and if McGovern can translate the inclination of the young, independents, the college educated, Catholics, and union members into hard votes in the months ahead, the arithmetic of the election might wind up a good deal closer than it is today.

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