

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	5	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Ehrlichman and Cole/Campaign Poll Results." 11pgs.
13	5	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stracahn To Haldeman RE: "New Hampshire Youth Coordinator/Alleged Haldeman Telephone Call." 10pgs.
13	5	2/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Haldeman RE: "Post China Poll." 2pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 236

Folder: Strachan Chron-HRH only February 1972 Book II

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
284	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/29/72.
285	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/29/72.
286	Retain Open
287	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2/25/72.
288	Retain Open
289	Retain Open
290	Retain Open

Administratively Confidential

February 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Ehrlichman and Cole/Campaign
Poll Results

On February 10 you decided that Ken Cole should receive the issue sections of the national and state polls being conducted by Bob Teeter for the Campaign (original memorandum at Tab A).

While you were in China the interest in poll results on bussing increased tremendously. Members of the White House Staff and Domestic Council asked for results. The Attorney General asked Bob Teeter to prepare an analysis of the bussing issue based on the state polls that have been received. After discussion with Magruder, who, at the Attorney General's direction instructed Teeter to prepare the memorandum, I decided to give the bussing memorandum to Ken Cole (attached at Tab B). He told me that only he and John Ehrlichman would have access to the memorandum. Any information sought by Ed Morgan, Len Garment, or others involved with the bussing question would be given orally by Cole in his discretion.

Potentially the most sensitive aspect of the memorandum describes the President's current percentage of black vote, current margin vis-a-vis Muskie and Wallace, and the President's 1968 margin. Cole and I talked twice about the importance of keeping this material as "close" as possible. Cole again assured me that only he and John Ehrlichman had seen it and no one else would see it.

At the Committee Jeb Magruder, Bob Teeter, and Ted Garrish, who worked on the memorandum for Teeter, have copies. The Attorney General received his copy Monday morning (February 28th).

GS:lm

1

A

L

1

2

3

4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

February 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Campaign Surveys

Bob Teeter submitted the attached seven-page summary of the Pennsylvania poll conducted by MOR. In Teeter's mind this is the format agreed upon when you and the Attorney General met with him on January 31. Discussion with Teeter developed the following points for you to consider:

1) The Attorney General asked for the two pages on personality, but Teeter wonders whether you also want to receive them.

Yes, Haldeman receive personality pages

No, exclude personality material

Other

2) The Attorney General has not asked for a Presidential approval page with full demographics, but you may want to have that page added.

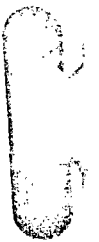
Yes, Haldeman receive Presidential popularity with full demographics

No, exclude popularity demographics

Other

3) Peter Dailey and Bob Marik will have direct access to all of Teeter's poll information except these summary memoranda and the trial heat results.

4) Jeb Magruder will have access to all of Teeter's polling information though it will be delivered to the Attorney General in the first instance.



13



SUMMARY OF SURVEYS
ON RACE AND BUSSING

In conducting our campaign polls during December and January, considerable data was collected on school desegregation, bussing and race relations. This memorandum will summarize and analyze the important political aspects of the data obtained.

Favor School Desegregation

Americans overwhelmingly support the principle of school desegregation.

School Desegregation

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>East</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Va.</u>	<u>Tex.</u>	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Calif.</u>
Favor	75	80	75	65	84	60	70	79	78	87
Oppose	20	14	19	30	14	37	25	37	15	9
No Response	5	6	6	5	2	3	5	3	7	4

Racially integrated public schools are favored by over two-thirds of every political and demographic group in the country except Wallace voters. Nixon voters and Luskie voters favor integration by 78% and 80% respectively. 51% of the Wallace voters are opposed to school integration, compared to 45% in favor. Both white and black voters favor desegregation to approximately the same degree. Young voters, especially ages 25 to 34, who are parents of elementary age children, approve of school integration by 83%.

Oppose Bussing

There is no doubt that the American public is opposed to bussing to achieve a racial balance in schools.

Bussing to Achieve School Integration

	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>East</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Va.</u>	<u>Tex.</u>	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Calif.</u>
Favor	20	21	19	18	22	33	23	18	24	25
Oppose	76	75	77	78	73	59	73	61	55	61
No Response	4	4	4	4	5	8	4	20	21	14

All political, geographic, and demographic groups except blacks are opposed to bussing by large margins. Those persons who vote for Nixon and Wallace are somewhat more opposed to bussing than Muskie voters.

Black voters hold a different view on bussing than their white counterparts.

Bussing to Achieve School Integration

	<u>White Voters</u>	<u>Black Voters</u>
Favor	17%	60%
Oppose	79	38
No Response	4	2

Other studies, however, have found a majority of blacks opposed to bussing but the opposition is not as strong as among whites. Black opposition also declines when bussing is perceived to be the only alternative for blacks to achieve equal educational opportunity. The key to black attitudes on bussing appears to be whether or not they believe they can get equal education in their own neighborhood schools now.

Those blacks who believe they now have good schools in their areas tend to oppose bussing, but those who believe their schools are educationally inferior to others in the area are in favor of bussing as a means of securing equal education for their children. Whites also fully support equal education for blacks.

On the question of federal funds being used to provide for bussing, 78% were opposed to funds being used in this manner.

As expected, the acceptability of bussing depends partially on the length of ride.

Percentage Willing-Unwilling
to Accept Length of Ride

	<u>10 Minutes</u>	<u>20 Minutes</u>	<u>30 Minutes</u>	<u>45 Minutes</u>
All Voters	37-50%	26-66%	16-76%	9-83%
Ages 18-24	52-83	39-56	24-73	13-64
Ages 25-34	48-47	32-63	19-75	11-84

Younger voters (ages 18 to 34) are the most likely to be affected by bussing in that they are the families with young children; and they are not as opposed to short bus rides as older voters.

Bussing Not Vote Determining Issue

Bussing is not perceived as a particularly important national problem. Nationally, less than 1% voluntarily mention it as an important national problem. In fact, only 3% mention racial problems as an important national issue. However, local studies have shown that where bussing has been a problem or the subject of a court order, the large majority of voters are strongly and intensely opposed. The highest mention of bussing as a national problem is 8% in North Carolina.

On our recent surveys, voters were asked to rate 13 issues in terms of their importance to them personally, and bussing received the lowest average rating of all issues tested--nationally and in all regions. In comparison, education was classified as important by twice the number of voters as bussing, especially those aged 18 to 35 years. The respondents were also asked which of these 13 issues would be most important to them in deciding how to vote for President and bussing was mentioned as the most important factor by only 1% nationally.

President Lacking Credibility on Bussing

Among those who are able to rate the candidates, the President receives a less favorable rating on his ability to handle bussing than Muskie or Kennedy. This is true nationally and in the south.

When voters were asked to select the greatest failure of the President from an issue list (including bussing), 22% selected the bussing answer. The same question was asked regarding the voter's expectation of the issue on which Muskie would do the poorest job. Of those who were able to answer, 3% indicated bussing. With Kennedy, bussing received a 1% mention.

Potential Negative Impact

There may be some risk in the President taking a very strong anti-bussing stand.

In the south where the problem is for the most part history, the President enjoys a comfortable margin.

The greatest impact will probably be in the northern states. In the states where the President is able to be obtaining a level of black support, particularly against Muskie, which is higher than a Republican candidate could normally expect or than the President received in 1968. This is in any form of form of attack of A. If the black community perceives the President's position as "anti Negro" it may seriously jeopardize his winning margin in several very critical areas, particularly in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio by increasing total opposition to his and increasing black turnout.

Conclusions

I think that several conclusions can be drawn from the data we have available.

- Bussing is not seen as a major national problem by any significant group of voters except in those local areas where it has become an important local issue by virtue of a court decision or local political campaign. However, once it does become a local issue, the large majority are strongly opposed and their opposition is very intense.
- If asked specifically about the idea of bussing students to achieve integration, a large majority of Americans in every region of the country are opposed by large margins.
- A large majority of Americans are strongly in favor of equal education for all children. Most voters are in favor of integrated public schools but do not believe bussing should be used to achieve them. Blacks are much more concerned with equal education than with integration or bussing. Most whites see education as the primary long-range solution to the racial problems in our country.
- The President currently has a credibility problem on this issue, particularly in those areas where it has become a major local issue. He receives low ratings for his ability to handle the problem, and while most people know he has said that he is against bussing, they also know that he has been unable to stop it. This leads them to the conclusion that he is either not believable or that he is ineffective. Any further statements by the President will have to be accompanied by some definite action in order to be believable. This is particularly true in those areas where bussing is a problem.
- There is a definite danger of "overkill" on this issue.

There is a fine line between being against bussing and being "anti-Negro" and the President needs to treat this subject with great care. As more Democrats take anti-bussing positions, the President should be careful not to go as far in his opposition and be perceived as "anti-Negro" just to keep the lead on the bussing issue.

The President is not in a position to get 15-20% of the black vote in several large northern states against Muskie. Presently, there is no particular intensity in black support for Muskie. Any position which is perceived to be "anti-Negro" could reduce the President's black support to 5-10%, intensify black opposition to him, and increase black turnout for Muskie. These factors would damage the President's chances of carrying several large northern states which he is now likely to win.

A position which is perceived to be anti-black could also give the press the opportunity to move the President's perception too far to the conservative end of the liberal-conservative spectrum. This could hurt the President's chances with significant numbers of white ticket-splitters or swing voters who tend to be moderate on the race question, very pro education, and who are now supporting the President on Vietnam, inflation, and other more important national issues.

- It appears unlikely that this issue could produce any additional voters for the President. Rather, we should primarily be concerned with not losing any votes.

Recommendations

As the President has already taken a strong stand against bussing and has some credibility problems with the issue, I think that he should either say nothing more or that he should reaffirm his stand but accompany it with some specific action. If his decision is to further oppose bussing, I would suggest that it contain the following elements:

1. He should not endorse a constitutional amendment.

His endorsement of a constitutional amendment would clearly be perceived as "anti-Negro" and it would seriously damage our chances of carrying several large northern states by intensifying black opposition and costing us the support of significant numbers of swing voters.

2. He should reaffirm his support for the principles of equal educational opportunity and integration.

3. He should recognize that many schools, particularly black schools, are now educationally inferior to others in their same school district or area.

4. He should strongly oppose bussing as a means of remedying this situation.

5. He should propose legislative action which would tie anti-bussing provisions to a program which would give immediate remedial attention to schools which have no realistic prospect of being desegregated and would provide maximum educational opportunity for all school children, white and black.

6. His approach should have the advantage of satisfying the majority who are opposed to bussing, and at the same time, protect us with the blacks and moderate whites who are primarily concerned with high quality education. The data clearly indicates that many blacks would support an anti-bussing stand if they believed they were going to get equally good schools in their own neighborhoods.

ATTACHMENT A

<u>STATE</u>	<u>1968 MARGIN</u>	<u>CURRENT MARGIN (N/M/W)</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE BLK. SUPPORT</u>
National		+ 9%	11%
California	+ 3%	- 6%	11%
Florida	+ 9%	+17%	33%
Illinois	+ 3%	+ 7%	2%
Indiana	+12%	+ 8%	4%
Iowa	+12%	+10%	*
Kentucky	+ 6%	+16%	38%**
Maryland	- 2%	- 1%	17%
Missouri	+ 1%	- 8%	4%
North Carolina	+ 8%	+12%	25%
New Hampshire	+ 8%	+10%	*
New Jersey	+ 2%	+11%	21%
New York	- 5%	- 1%	23%
Ohio	+ 2%	+ 9%	19%
Oregon	+ 6%	+ 3%	*
Pennsylvania	- 4%	- 4%	10%
Tennessee	+ 4%	+11%	20%
Texas	- 1%	- 2%	8%
Virginia	+10%	+15%	15%
Wisconsin	+ 4%	- 8%	3%

* Sample Size Too Small

** Based on 20 Negroes in Sample

Administratively Confidential

February 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

New Hampshire Youth Coordinator/
Alleged Haldeman Telephone Call

The February 28th news summary refers to a Sunday POST (February 27th) article on the New Hampshire Campaign (attachments at Tab A). The article emphasizes the youth activities for the President. The President's New Hampshire Youth Coordinator, Mike Scully, works for Ken Rietz. Jeb Magruder and Ken Rietz granted Scully authority to talk to the press about the youth activities. Magruder received a "blank" memorandum (orally explained to Magruder as being from the President) that the campaign should win some mock elections (copy attached at Tab B). I have talked with Magruder and Rietz several times about the importance of winning mock elections. This New Hampshire college mock election was the first that Rietz thought we could win and publicize if there were an all out effort (memorandum attached at Tab C regarding the New Hampshire mock election). Rietz personally went to New Hampshire to emphasize to his youth campaigners the importance of this election.

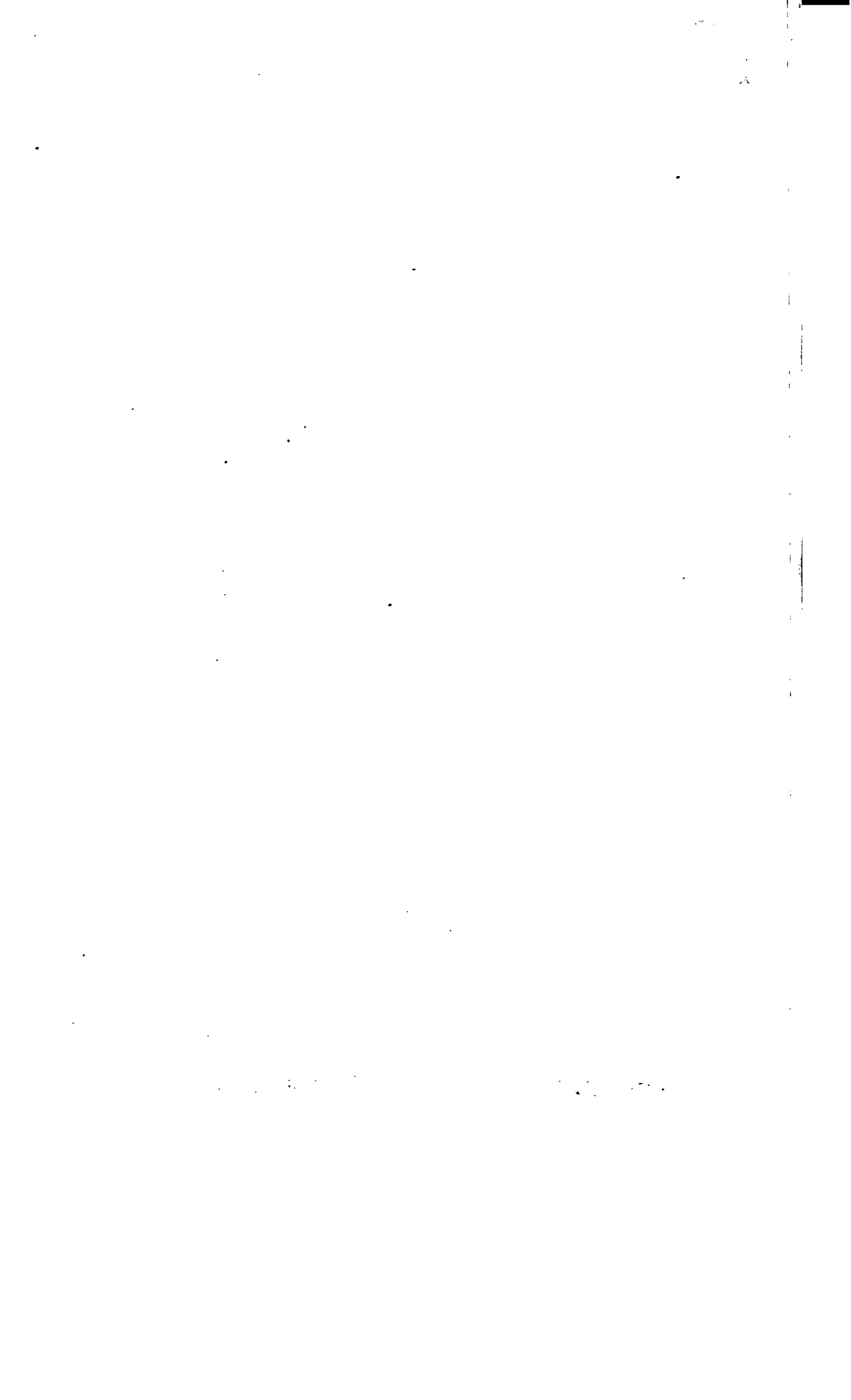
On the day of the election I called Magruder and Rietz at 1:30 p.m. to find out how the voting was going. Rietz called his New Hampshire contacts and said he had just had a call from Mr. Haldeman and wanted to know the results. My telephone call to Rietz and Magruder served as the basis of the statement in the newspaper. Rietz and Magruder admit they inappropriately used your name but Rietz felt he needed the extra "clout" to push his people in New Hampshire.

The Attorney General was also quite anxious to receive the results and Magruder called him at 2:30 p.m., one-half hour after the polls closed with the results. The Attorney General referred to the results that evening in a story that was picked up by the POST on February 11.

The net result is that I should have instructed Rietz more carefully never to use your name for "clout". Rietz and Magruder and I talked about this on Sunday when the POST story appeared.

The mock election at Dartmouth, scheduled for February 28, was cancelled because the President would have lost. He would have lost because the Muskie students are in a very rough battle with the McGovern students over fraudulent polls. The result of this battle would have been^A maximum ~~turmoil~~ ~~TURMOIL~~ and no assurance that the President would win.

GS:lm



The following is the missing page 6 of China News Summary No. 28: Wires, Saturday pm and early Sunday D.C. papers and Saturday night specials:

When Muskie got to the Newsweek piece reprinted by the Union Leader on Mrs. Muskie's dirty jokes, smoking and drinking remarks, he broke down and wept. Several times, applause came as he sought to compose himself. Loeb responded that his paper had said nothing itself on Mrs. Muskie and Newsweek says it has no complaint from Muskie's camp when the article first appeared.

Also p. 1 in Post: Miss. Gov. Waller buys some more time as he seeks to put together a bi-racial delegation to the Dem. Convention; Thurmond receives credit from Veteran civil rights leaders in S.C. for securing grants which help blacks; Mansfield and Scott summon entire Senate for Tuesday attempt to defeat Griffin's measure.

Unprecedented slashing of Holton budget request (\$136 M of \$5.2 B) and analysis of what's happened to intellectuals and their overinflated hopes and capacities to influence the Gov't close out p. 1.

P. 2 features RN's NH effort -- its biggest asset is RN in China; its "biggest surprise" is the strength of the youth for Nixon operation which has mobilized as many weekend volunteers as McGovern, and in New Hampshire college's mock election, RN received 32 percent, Muskie 28 percent, McGovern 15 percent. Note by RN Youth Coordinator of the President's interest in the vote as seen by an HRH call even before results were in... Gallup says it's 43-42 RN over Muskie with 10 percent for Wallace, 47-39 RN over EMK.

Becker poll in Mass. gives Muskie 46 percent, HHH 15 percent, McGovern 11 percent, Lindsay 8 percent...Muskie is featured interviewee in Outlook's continuing series on candidates. He says his peace proposal -- set date for end of all US actions -- hasn't been made. He says RN's wasn't new and had been rejected before. Muskie feels Saigon should start acting as if there could be an end to US aid -- that is US public's attitude. The interview closes with Muskie saying he doesn't have a formula to handle the backgrounder controversy. He could have answered similarly on questions on busing, the economy, and disclosure of contributors. Of interest is his denial of "Trust Muskie" slogan. Credibility is an issue -- but "I don't really think that as a man I'm more trustworthy than other men."

####

So the goal of the Nixon campaign is to keep up interest, take advantage of the President's image as a statesman and ward off any feeling of neglect New Hampshire voters may have since the President has taken himself out of active campaigning until after the Republican National Convention in August and will make no personal appearance here.

To reach these goals the campaign has been organized into an effort that consists of:

- A volunteer telephone campaign that aims at reaching almost all of the 110,000 registered Republican voters in the state.

- A well-planned Youth for Nixon effort to get the vote of young people.

Visits by nearly a dozen "surrogates"—cabinet members, congressmen, senators and agency heads who come to the state to speak for the President.

A media campaign with some radio spots, TV spots and newspaper ads has just begun. It will intensify up to primary day and will feature, according to Sias, endorsements of the President by others.

The climax of the surrogate appearances in the state will be March 3 with an "Appreciation Day Rally" for the President.

Gov. Rockefeller will be the keynote speaker, radio and TV star Art Linkletter will be master of ceremonies. At least 14 cabinet officers, governors, congressmen and senators will also attend the rally.

It is rumored that Vice President Spiro Agnew and movie star John Wayne will also be brought in.

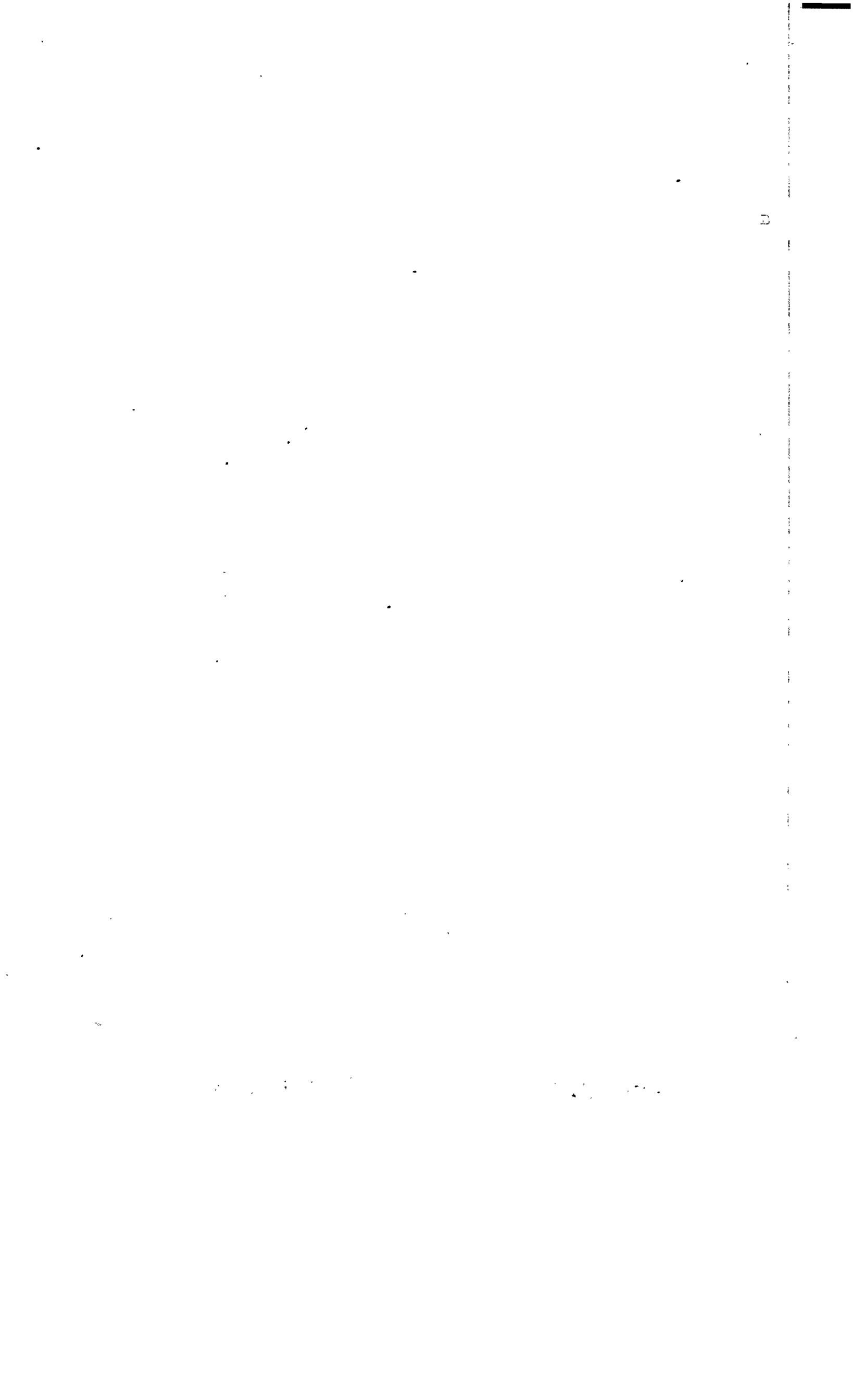
The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President, headed by former New Hampshire Gov. Lane Dwinell, with main headquarters in Concord, New Hampshire, handles most of the operations.

The telephone survey was organized by Nancy Brataas, a Minnesotan with the National Committee for the Re-election of the President in D.C.

Volunteers mostly housewives—work out of eight headquarters scattered around the state. They keep from two (Wolboro) to 16 (Manchester) phones manned twelve hours a day (from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.).

Working from voter registration lists they call those in their districts listed as Republicans and ask, "In the primary election can President Nixon count on your support?" Computerized file cards are then marked, for Mr. Nixon, against and undecided. If they are against, they are asked whether they will support Ashbrook or McCloskey. If they are undecided, they are asked which of a number of issues are bothering them — Vietnam, the economy, the environment, drugs, foreign policy, crime and health care. The issue is then checked, they are sent literature on the issue. All undecideds are called back again.

A get-out-the-vote-drive will be launched from the phone centers a few days before the election.



January 11, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVE ONLY - CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

SUBJECT: Campaign Activities

What is happening with our effort to start to get good trial heat polls out of colleges and high schools.

We need to try to develop an effort here on both counts, particularly going for some high school support in New Hampshire so we don't get all negative stories.

It is ridiculous to let the McGloney people get the kind of story they got out of the one high school poll which was obviously a heavily loaded exercise.

Perhaps we should try one high school in New Hampshire and maybe one college to test operations since the overall effort has some results today. Also if we can't get more out of each one of these a major effort and if that effort is productive, get several other schools doing the same thing and get some polls out on them.

On a different subject, we now need to see that there is a maximum interest developed in the Democratic primary and try to get all the news media focusing there instead of on the Republicans.

One line we should be using is "because of the lack of significant competition in the Republican primaries, we don't expect any large vote turn out".

LH:lant

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHEN
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Mock Election

The Committee to Re-Elect the President conducted a mock election at New Hampshire College in Manchester, New Hampshire today. Sample ballots were given to 150 students (total enrollment 950). The results were:

Nixon-----	323
Huskie-----	263
McGovern-----	153
Ed Cole (local)-----	53
Murphrey-----	33
Lindsay-----	33
McCloskey-----	33
Ashbrook-----	13
Hartke-----	13
Yorty-----	13

At the direction of Jeb Magruder and Ken Rietz, Van Shurway and Tom Sias, the New Hampshire PR Director for the Committee to Re-Elect the President, are handling publicity in Washington and New Hampshire respectively.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

February 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Post China Poll

Discussion with Bob Teeter and Tom Benham about the possibility of conducting a poll after the President returns from the People's Republic of China developed the following comments:

- 1) Teeter and Benham recommend against a poll because so little could be learned;
- 2) Any popularity or trial heat measurement would record a "temporary blip";
- 3) Harris recently (February 23rd) released a poll indicating overwhelming public support for the President's trip. The next Harris popularity poll will appear March 2 (55-44-1). Gallup is planning on conducting a poll immediately after the President returns from China (Colson is trying to get Rumsfeld to call for the information). These developments might mean that any publicity attempt by release of an ORC poll would be muted. Nevertheless, if a poll were to be conducted, suggested questions have been prepared. In addition to these questions, Teeter suggests some questions on Mrs. Nixon's performance on the trip and the standards trial heats. Pending questions suggested by you and Larry are:
 - A. "Do you approve or disapprove of President Nixon's meetings to reduce international tensions in Peking with the Chinese leaders?"
 - B. "Do you approve or disapprove of President Nixon's plan to meet the Soviet leaders in Moscow for negotiations to reduce international tensions?"
 - C. "In your opinion how successful has the Nixon Administration been in dealing with Congress. Very successful; somewhat successful; somewhat unsuccessful; very unsuccessful?"

D. "Do you feel you would trust Senator Muskie more than you would trust President Nixon?"

As to the timing of the poll, both Benham and Teeter recommend that the interviews be conducted Wednesday and Thursday for results on Friday. In light of Herb Klein's announcement of a possible Presidential report to the nation on the China trip, it might be valuable to wait until after the President's speech.

Recommend:

That a post China poll not be conducted on March 1-2.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Comment _____

GS:lm