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<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>
42	10	7/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 3pgs.
42	10	7/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	6/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 5pgs.
42	10	5/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	5/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	5/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
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42	10	5/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	4/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon. From: Joan Hall. 1pg

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42	10	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. "51% Think McGovern Speaks Out" 1pg.
42	10	4/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	4/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 4pgs.
42	10	3/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Trial Heats. 5pgs.
42	10	7/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Louis Harris. RE: Harris Survey analysis. 6pgs.
42	10	12/21/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Mr. Colson. From: L. Higby. Attached telephone poll. 1pg.
42	10	12/17/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Harris Horerace polls. 1pg.
42	10	12/14/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Larry Higby. From: Charles Colson. RE: Harris poll. 1pg.
42	10	11/30/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Mr. Colson. From: H. R. Haldeman. RE: Harris Poll. 1pg.

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

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, July 3rd, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

In the aftermath of the attempt on his life, a deep wellspring of sympathy has developed for Gov. George Wallace personally. The number who see him as a "man of high integrity" has risen from 40 to 56 percent, and 75 percent of the public agree with the statement that "he is brave to keep running for President after he was shot."

Although there has been a dramatic rise in the favorable estimates of Wallace the man by the American people since the attempted assassination, his actual vote totals have not changed appreciably from what they were just before that tragic event. Paired as the nominee of the Democratic party, Wallace polled 24 percent of the vote just before the shooting, precisely what he achieved in the latest Harris Survey taken in mid-June. As an independent third-party candidate, Wallace received 17 percent of the vote against President Nixon and Sen. McGovern in May and the same percent in June.

However, another highly important political fact now surrounds the Wallace candidacy. If Sen. McGovern is the Democratic nominee, Wallace as a third-party candidate would draw off nearly twice as many votes from President Nixon as from McGovern. If Senator Edward Kennedy were the Democratic candidate, the pattern would be much the same.

Put another way, if George Wallace decides not to run as a third-party candidate this fall, the net result, as of now, would be to add 4 points to the Nixon margin against McGovern and 6 points if Kennedy were the Democratic standard-bearer.

(more)

Thus, the Democrats have a deep dilemma as they await the possible visit of Governor Wallace to their convention in Miami Beach next week. The Democrats would be much better off if Wallace were to bolt the Democratic party and run as an independent again. On the other hand, public sympathy for the Alabama Governor runs so strong now that any unfair treatment of Wallace could cause deep resentment against the Democrats and their ultimate nominee.

Here is the trend of the public profile of Governor Wallace from surveys in May and June, the latest taken among 1,401 likely voters between June 7th and 12th, in response to this question:

"Now let me read you some statements which have been made about Governor George Wallace of Alabama. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree." (READ STATEMENTS)

PROFILE OF GOV. GEORGE WALLACE

		Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
		%	%	%
<u>Positive:</u>				
<u>Has courage to say what he really thinks</u>				
	June	90	6	4
	May	85	10	5
<u>Brave to keep running after shooting</u>				
	June	75	16	9
	May	x	x	x
<u>Wants to help working people by relieving their tax burden</u>				
	June	56	20	24
	May	49	26	25
<u>Man of high integrity</u>				
	June	56	23	21
	May	40	35	25
<u>Right to want to leave race relations to the states</u>				
	June	46	38	16
	May	43	42	15
<u>Would keep law and order the way it should be kept</u>				
	June	42	41	17
	May	38	45	17
<u>Negative:</u>				
<u>Represents view of one section, not whole country</u>				
	June	53	37	10
	May	59	29	12
<u>Extremist, makes him less qualified for presidency</u>				
	June	44	44	12
	May	54	34	12
<u>If elected, would divide country, could not rule</u>				
	June	42	40	18
	May	50	26	24
<u>Racist, stirring up trouble</u>				
	June	38	51	11
	May	44	43	13
<u>Should not run after being wounded</u>				
	June	30	59	11
	May	x	x	x
<u>Dangerous demagogue</u>				
	June	24	57	19
	May	35	45	20

x - not asked in May

Across the Board, each of the positives about Wallace has risen, with confidence in him personally increasing the most. Comparably, the negatives about Wallace have also declined. Most notably, the number who view him as an extremist has dropped from 54-34 percent in May to an even-up 44-44 percent in June. The 44-43 percent margin who believed him to be a racist in May turned around to a denial of this charge in June, 51-33 percent.

The delicacy with which Wallace is treated at the Democratic convention is important; if he should leave Miami Beach and endorse President Nixon, he would be in a position to damage the Democratic nominee significantly. On the other hand, a Wallace, third-party candidacy at this juncture would harm the Republicans more than the Democrats. In a Nixon-McGovern two-way contest, the Wallace vote divides 50-37 percent for the President in the North, and an even higher 62-22 percent in the South. In a Nixon-Kennedy two-way contest, the Wallace vote divides 53-38 percent in favor of Mr. Nixon in the North, and 63-22 percent in the South.

Apart from the South, where a Wallace withdrawal of his third-party candidacy would virtually assure President Nixon of sweeping that region, the absence of Wallace from the ballot would add a net advantage of 10 points to the Nixon column among independents, 4 among suburban voters, 7 among voters 50 years of age and over, 7 points among the \$5,000-9,999 income group, and 5 points among the pivotal \$15,000 and over group.

A Wallace endorsement of the Democratic nominee might blunt some of this loss for the Democrats. Ironically, the Democrats would be best off if Wallace were to run as a third-party candidate again in 1972. As an independent, with the deep sympathy he has evoked, he would in all likelihood make a better showing than he did in 1968. He would still finish third, however, while making the popular vote closer between the two major-party candidates for President.

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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, July 6th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Sen. George McGovern for the first time is the first choice of Democratic and independent voters nationwide to be nominated for President at the Democratic convention next week. But his small lead in a popularity contest against the Democratic field is in contrast to his impressive standing in the delegate count.

McGovern polls a minority of 24 percent, followed by Gov. George Wallace in second place with 21 percent, Sen. Edward Kennedy at 19 percent, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey at 15 percent. With Kennedy eliminated from the list of choices, McGovern still finishes on top, both among Democrats and independents, although polling less than a majority of the total preferences.

Although McGovern is the unquestioned front-runner at the Democratic convention opening Monday, in a variety of tests conducted by the Harris Survey after his pivotal primary victories the South Dakotan failed to amass a clear majority in any one.

In a three-way showdown against Humphrey and Wallace, McGovern finishes on top with 38 percent, compared with Sen. Hubert Humphrey's 29 percent, and Gov. George Wallace's 28 percent. In a head-to-head contest with Sen. Humphrey, the result is no better than 48 to 38 percent for McGovern.

A cross section of 1,036 likely Democratic and independent voters was asked this question between June 7th and 12th:

(more)

"Which one of the people on this list (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) would be your first choice for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972?"

FIRST CHOICE FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION

	Dems. - Inds. %	Dems. %	Inds. %
<u>McGovern</u>			
June	24	23	28
May	21	18	31
<u>Wallace</u>			
June	21	21	23
May	19	19	18
<u>Kennedy</u>			
June	19	22	13
May	20	23	14
<u>Humphrey</u>			
June	15	18	9
May	20	25	10
<u>Muskie</u>			
June	7	7	7
May	6	5	8
<u>Other Candidates</u>			
June	9	6	13
May	8	6	11
<u>None</u>			
June	2	1	3
May	3	2	4
<u>Not Sure</u>			
June	3	2	4
May	3	2	4

As a result of the spate of McGovern primary victories in late May and early June, the South Dakota Senator continued his upward rise as the first choice of Democrats. However, the number of independents who preferred him slipped 3 points after the California primary.

After the attempt on his life, the number backing Gov. George Wallace rose 5 points, from 18 to 23 percent. Wallace also gained ground among Democrats, moving from 19 to 21 percent as their first choice. By contrast, Senator Hubert Humphrey was slipping 7 points as the first choice of Democrats, from 25 to 18 percent.

(more)

Continued McGovern gains and Humphrey declines also were evident in the three-way and two-way "showdown" tests. The cross section of Democrats and independents were asked:

"Suppose for the Democratic nomination for President it came down to a choice between Senator Hubert Humphrey, Senator George McGovern, and Governor George Wallace, whom would you be for?"

HUMPHREY-McGOVERN-WALLACE TEST

	Total Dems.-Inds.	
	June %	May %
McGovern	38	31
Humphrey	29	34
Wallace	28	26
Not sure	5	9

In a two-way showdown between Humphrey and McGovern, the cross section was asked:

"Suppose for the Democratic nomination it were between Senator Humphrey and Senator McGovern, whom would you be for?"

HUMPHREY-McGOVERN TEST

	Total Dems.-Inds	
	June %	May %
McGovern	48	40
Humphrey	38	45
Not sure	14	15

When the supporters of Sen. Edward Kennedy were asked for their second choice for the Democratic nomination, once again McGovern moved up between May and June to become the favorite alternative for Kennedy voters instead of Humphrey:

(more)

SECOND CHOICE OF KENNEDY SUPPORTERS

	<u>June</u>	<u>May</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
McGovern	32	22
Humphrey	24	41
Wallace	14	9
Muskie	12	7
Other candidates	10	5
None	4	5
Not Sure	4	11

With Senator Kennedy out of it, McGovern in fact moves into a 6-point lead over Wallace among Democrats and independents.

PREFERENCE WITH KENNEDY OUT
(Total Dems and Inds.)

	<u>June</u>	<u>May</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
McGovern	30	26
Wallace	24	21
Humphrey	21	28
Muskie	10	7
Chisholm	5	3
Jackson	3	3
Mills	2	1
None	2	2
Not sure	3	5

Thus, on the eve of the convention which he hopes to win, Senator McGovern has finally moved into a clear first-choice position among the rank-and-file of Democrats and independents. He is particularly strong among voters under 30, the college educated, persons with incomes of \$10,000 and over, and on the East and West coasts.

However, the results also show that, if nominated, he is likely to preside over a rather divided party. For in none of the extensive tests in the Harris Survey was the South Dakota Senator able to obtain over 50 percent support from likely Democratic voters. Clearly, if named as its standard-bearer this coming week in Miami Beach, Sen. McGovern has a major task ahead of him of sowing party harmony.

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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, June 26th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although President Nixon has gained substantial ground in the wake of his summit trip to Russia, Sen. Edward Kennedy has emerged -- as of new -- as the potential Democratic candidate who runs the strongest race against the Republican incumbent in the White House. This latest Harris Survey is based on a national cross section of 1,401 voters interviewed between June 7th and 12th.

In a three-way contest against Richard Nixon and Gov. George Wallace on third-party ticket, Sen. Kennedy trails the President by a 43-37 percent margin, with the Alabama Governor at 16 percent. The current front-runner for the Democratic nomination, Sen. George McGovern, runs behind Mr. Nixon by 45-33 percent, with Wallace at 17 percent. Sen. Hubert Humphrey trails by an even wider 47-31 percent, with Wallace's vote at 17 percent. Sen. Edmund Muskie is even farther behind by a margin of 49-28 percent, with Wallace at 18 percent.

If Gov. Wallace chooses not to run as a third-party candidate, President Nixon's lead over all four Democrats increases. Contrary to earlier trends in Harris Surveys, there is little doubt now that a Wallace withdrawal from the race would help Mr. Nixon more than any potential Democratic opponent.

In two-way contests, Sen. Kennedy trails Mr. Nixon by a 53-41 percent margin, Sen. McGovern is behind by 54-38 percent edge, Sen. Humphrey finishes in behind by 58-34 percent, and Sen. Muskie trails by 59-33 percent.

Thus, with the Democratic convention only two weeks away, President Nixon holds a commanding lead against the field of prominently mentioned possible Democratic candidates. Of that field, however, Sen. Kennedy would now appear to be capable of running the strongest race.

When matched in a three-way contest against President Nixon as a Republican and former Sen. Eugene McCarthy as a third-party candidate, Gov. Wallace as the Democratic nominee finishes in third place. Nixon leads with 52 percent, McCarthy is second with 21 percent, and Wallace as a Democrat is third with 20 percent. In a two-way race, Republican Nixon far outdistances Democrat Wallace by 64-24 percent.

Here is the trend of Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace trial heats in response to the basic question:

"Suppose in 1972 for President it were between Nixon the Republican, Senator Edward Kennedy for the Democrats, and George Wallace as an Independent. If you had to choose now, whom would you be for?"

NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Kenn- edy</u> %	<u>Wall- ace,</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
June, 1972	43	37	16	4
May	42	38	14	6
April	45	35	14	6
Jan.	45	39	10	6
Nov. '71	45	37	11	7
Sept.	45	38	11	6
Aug.	48	37	11	4
July	44	36	13	7

In a period of Nixon gains resulting from the widespread approval of his summit agreements in Moscow, Sen. Kennedy has lost a net of only two points to the incumbent Republican. In other match-ups, Democrats have lost on both sides of the ledger -- their percentages have been dropping while the President's rises. Senator McGovern, who was winning a string of six primaries while the President was in Russia, has dropped two points while Mr. Nixon was gaining five for a net drop of seven po

NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>McGov- ern</u> %	<u>Wall- ace</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
June, 1972	45	33	17	5
May	40	35	17	8
April	47	29	16	8
March	53	28	13	6
Aug., 1971	48	33	13	6
May	47	33	11	9
April	46	36	13	5
Feb.	45	34	12	9

McGovern's chief opponent in the California primary, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, dropped even more precipitously, from a 4-point to a 16-point deficit behind President Nixon:

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Hum- phrey</u> %	<u>Wall- ace</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
June, 1972	47	31	17	5
May	41	37	16	6
April	42	36	16	6
March	48	35	12	5
Feb.	47	36	12	5
Jan.	46	37	12	5
Sept., 1971	45	36	12	7

Sen. Muskie, who has renewed his campaign for the nomination, fares less well of all of the prominently mentioned possible Democratic nominees:

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Muskie</u> %	<u>Wall- ace</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
June, 1972	49	28	18	5
April	44	33	15	8
March	47	35	12	6
Feb.	44	40	11	5
Jan.	42	42	11	5
Sept., 1971	47	35	11	7

(more)

With Wallace out of the race as a third-party candidate, here is how the five leading Democratic possibilities line up against Richard Nixon.

NIXON VS. LEADING DEMOCRATS

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Demo- crat</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Nixon vs.:</u>			
Kennedy	53	41	6
McGovern	54	38	8
Humphrey	58	34	8
Muskie	59	33	8
Wallace	64	24	12

It should be cautioned that these current results probably represent a high-water mark for Mr. Nixon, and any Presidential race is likely to narrow as Election Day approaches. But, for the moment, it is apparent that summit politics are more effective in winning voter favor than primary politics, if these latest results are any indication.

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

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, June 5th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

As Sen. George McGovern has become more visible to the American electorate, with the number of voters expressing familiarity with him nationwide rising from 55 to 70 percent in the past two months, the public impression of him has firmed up to a highly positive profile. As yet, however, the intensity of this support has not risen to peak levels. By contrast, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, well known to 82 percent when the primaries began, strikes most voters in a mixed way -- well respected and well liked, but with political handicaps perceived by close to half the electorate. At the same time, those who respond to the Humphrey warmth do so with considerable conviction.

A national cross section of 1,385 likely voters was recently asked this series of questions about McGovern:

(more)

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

McGOVERN PROFILE

<u>Positive</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>April</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Has courage to say what he thinks, even if unpopular</u>		
Agree	63	51
Disagree	11	9
Not sure	26	40
<u>Deserves credit for being against Vietnam war before others were</u>		
Agree	54	41
Disagree	21	19
Not sure	25	40
<u>Fighter for tax reform and wants to help working man</u>		
Agree	48	x
Disagree	14	x
Not sure	38	x
<u>Has sincere, appealing personality</u>		
Agree	46	27
Disagree	26	26
Not sure	28	47
<u>Negative</u>		
<u>Doesn't inspire confidence as a President should</u>		
Agree	33	x
Disagree	36	x
Not sure	31	x
<u>Has too extreme, liberal views</u>		
Agree	31	29
Disagree	33	20
Not sure	36	51
<u>One issue man -- only Vietnam</u>		
Agree	28	33
Disagree	43	22
Not sure	29	45
<u>Flat, uninteresting personality</u>		
Agree	28	28
Disagree	45	26
Not sure	27	46

x - Not asked

(more)

Across the board, on all dimensions, McGovern has improved his personal standing with the voters. The growth in the appeal of the McGovern personality is particularly striking. In early April, voters were evenly divided, 27-26 percent, over whether he has a "sincere, appealing personality," with 4 out of 10 Americans unable to express an opinion on this score. In this May Harris Survey, 26 percent are still negative but 19 percent more have reached a judgment about his personality -- and all come down on the positive side.

McGovern also shows some signs of communicating a sense of "wanting to help the working man," which is important to his success with the blue-collar vote.

His problems appear to be two-fold: 1) He has yet to convince more than 36 percent of the voters nationwide that he "inspires confidence as a President should," and 2) The public has not yet made up its mind on the charge that he is "too extreme a liberal." Basically, the test on George McGovern is how his credibility holds up as he moves up from an outside challenger to a front-runner.

Because he has been a nationally known figure for many years, Senator Humphrey profile has been subject to far less change. The cross section of voters was asked:

(more)

"I'd like to read you some statements some people have made about Senator Hubert Humphr
For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree." (READ STATEMENTS)

HUMPHREY PROFILE

<u>Positive</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>April</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Warm, decent, friendly man</u>		
Agree	73	70
Disagree	12	12
Not sure	15	18
<u>Unafraid to speak out on controversial subjects</u>		
Agree	56	53
Disagree	28	27
Not sure	16	20
<u>Long experience qualifies him for Presidency</u>		
Agree	55	51
Disagree	38	38
Not sure	7	11
<u>Negative</u>		
<u>Too long-winded when he speaks</u>		
Agree	57	53
Disagree	30	28
Not sure	13	19
<u>Not very attractive personality</u>		
Agree	48	45
Disagree	41	39
Not sure	11	16
<u>Belongs more to past than future</u>		
Agree	47	46
Disagree	35	31
Not sure	18	23
<u>Too closely connected with LBJ mistakes in Vietnam</u>		
Agree	46	46
Disagree	35	31
Not sure	19	23

(more)

Those who view the former Vice President as a warm and friendly man include three out of every four Americans. Although he is well liked, Hubert Humphrey has nearly as many negatives going against him as positive attributes working for him. Above all else, he is a fully known quantity to the American electorate.

George McGovern, on the other hand, comes across as a late discovery, which gives him momentum. But the newness of these impressions also make him more subject to changing public appraisal -- one that can move up or down, depending on his day-to-day performance.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, May 22nd, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota has now established himself as a formidable candidate for the White House, and is running just as strongly as Sen. Hubert Humphrey against Mr. Nixon in Presidential pairings.

In the latest Harris Survey, President Nixon is ahead of Sen. McGovern 48-41 per cent in a two-way contest. In a three-way race, Mr. Nixon leads the South Dakota Senator 40-35 percent, with George Wallace as a third-party nominee at 17 percent.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey runs behind President Nixon 50-42 percent in a two-way matchup. With Wallace running as a third-party nominee, the Minnesota Senator draws closer, trailing by only 41-37 percent, with Wallace at 16 percent.

Although the differences in the percentages between Senators Humphrey and McGovern are not significant, the obvious moving force in the electorate today is Sen. McGovern. He has come from far back in the field to become a major contender, not only for the Democratic nomination but with a chance now to capture the White House in November. It is worth noting that at the present time a third-party candidacy by Gov. George Wallace would help both Humphrey and McGovern in their nationwide percentages against Mr. Nixon.

Here is the trend since early 1971 of a Nixon-McGovern-Wallace race, with the latest survey being conducted among a cross section of 1,385 likely voters on May 9th and 10th, shortly after the President's announcement of the mining of North Vietnam harbor:

"Suppose in 1972 for President it were between Richard Nixon for the Republicans, Sen. George McGovern for the Democrats, and Gov. George Wallace as an independent. If you had to choose right now, whom would you be for?"

NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%	%
May, 1972	40	35	17	8
April	47	29	16	8
March	53	28	13	6
August, 1971	48	33	13	6
May	47	33	11	9
April	46	36	13	5
February	45	34	12	9

Here is the trend in a direct Nixon-McGovern contest with no third-party candidates:

NIXON-McGOVERN TREND

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%
May, 1972	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
March	59	32	9

Just over a month ago, the South Dakota Senator appeared to be running poorly against the President. A number of political commentators predicted that if he were nominated at the July Democratic convention, McGovern would prove to be a "Barry Goldwater of the Left," referring to the weak run made by the Arizona Senator when the Republican candidate polarized the electorate in 1964. Certainly McGovern's upsurge belies any such theory.

The dramatic McGovern gain in this latest Harris Survey obscures to an extent the fact that, in the aftermath of the escalation of Vietnam hostilities, his chief opponent for the Democratic nomination, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, also makes his closest run against President Nixon in a year.

The cross section was asked:

"Suppose this November, it were between Richard Nixon for the Republicans, Senator Hubert Humphrey for the Democrats, and George Wallace as an independent. If you had to choose right now, whom would you be for?"

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
May, 1972	41	37	16	6
April	42	36	16	6
March	48	35	12	5
February	47	36	12	5
January	46	37	12	5
November, 1971	45	36	12	7
September	45	36	12	7
May	44	39	10	7
April	42	41	13	4
November, 1970	46	39	11	4
April	50	36	11	3
November, 1969	48	37	12	3

In a two-way contest, here is the Nixon-Humphrey trend:

NIXON-HUMPHREY TREND

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

In both the case of Senators McGovern and Humphrey, the Democratic nominee is now showing better with George Wallace in the race as a third-party candidate than when the Democrats run alone against Mr. Nixon. At this point in time, President Nixon is picking up slightly more of the Wallace vote in a two-way contest than either of his two leading possible Democratic opponents. This is a reversal of earlier findings of the Harris Survey over the past year.

With Wallace out of the race, Mr. Nixon holds a substantial but not decisive 7 to 8 point lead. This means that as of the second week in May, either Humphrey or McGovern would be no farther behind than was Mr. Humphrey immediately following the 1968 Democratic convention, a gap he all but closed by Election Day. At the moment, however, the momentum would appear to be moving with McGovern. The central question is whether he can continue his surge or will level out in the precarious position of Democratic front-runner.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, May 25th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

The upward surge in Sen. George McGovern's standing in the Harris Survey is a classic test of the new politics versus the old.

The South Dakotan's strength is heavily geared toward forging a coalition of independent voters, the college educated together with those of highest income, the young, plus suburban residents. This would constitute a new, affluent center of gravity in American politics.

The pattern of McGovern support in a general election shapes up as dramatically different from that for his chief rival for the Democratic nomination, Sen. Hubert Humphrey's basic strength in his trial heat runs against President Nixon can be found among lower income voters, the elderly, the less well educated and minority groups.

As reported last Monday, in two-way races against President Nixon, Sen. McGovern is now running 48-41 percent behind, while Sen. Humphrey is 50-42 percent behind. Statistically, there is not much difference between 7 or 8 points. But the character of the vote patterns of the two leading Democrats is decisively different.

Here is an analysis of the McGovern sources of strength in the latest Harris Survey, taken between May 9-10 among 1,385 likely voters 18 years of age and over, contrasted with Humphrey's showing among the same voters:

McGOVERN STRENGTHS VS. HUMPHREY

	<u>Total Voters</u> %	<u>Inde- pendents</u> %	<u>18- 29</u> %	<u>\$15M & Over</u> %
<u>Nixon-McGovern</u>				
Nixon	48	43	46	49
McGovern	41	42	48	43
Not sure	11	15	6	8
<u>Nixon-Humphrey</u>				
Nixon	50	55	51	53
Humphrey	42	34	44	40
Not sure	8	11	5	7

The most decisive difference between the McGovern and Humphrey showings can be found among the 20 percent of the voters who now call themselves independents. McGovern trails the President by no more than a point among this swing group, while Humphrey lags a full 21 points to the rear.

McGovern's run among young persons under 30 is not as strong as his backers have claimed. He holds only a narrow 48-46 percent lead in a race against Mr. Nixon. However, Humphrey trails among young people by 44-51 percent. Among the highest income voters, McGovern is only 6 points behind, while Humphrey trails by 13 points.

By contrast, McGovern does far less well among precisely those segments of the electorate where Humphrey makes his best showing:

HUMPHREY STRENGTHS VS. McGOVERN

	<u>Total Voters</u> %	<u>Blacks</u> %	<u>8th Grade</u> %	<u>Dems.</u> %
<u>Nixon-Humphrey</u>				
Nixon	50	9	43	28
Humphrey	42	87	48	63
Not sure	8	4	9	9
<u>Nixon-McGovern</u>				
Nixon	48	21	46	29
McGovern	41	62	37	59
Not sure	11	17	17	12

Humphrey sweeps the black vote, which he won by 94-6 percent in 1968, by almost as wide a margin today. McGovern as of now would lose as much as 21 percent of the black vote to President Nixon.

Among voters whose education did not go beyond the eighth grade, Humphrey holds a 5-point lead, while McGovern trails by 9 points. Among enrolled Democrats, Humphrey is ahead by 35 percentage points, but McGovern by only 30.

These patterns, of course, have been evident in the spring primaries, where Humphrey and McGovern have run against each other. But the likelihood is that they will also carry over into the fall election, depending on whom the Democrats finally nominate.

The pivotal question involved in determining who ultimately might be the strongest Democratic nominee could boil down to this: can McGovern more easily pick up the votes of the so-called Democratic "gut" vote than Humphrey can come back with the more independent, better educated, higher income suburban vote?

While it is too early to tell, the chances at this writing would seem to favor McGovern accomplishing a firming up of traditional Democratic votes over Humphrey making inroads into the newer and fast-growing independent vote.

The striking part of the McGovern surge is that as of early May he has obviously inherited almost the entire vote that before the primaries appeared to be going to Sen. Edmund Muskie. Previously, Muskie appeared to be the only Democrat who could give President Nixon a run in the suburbs and among high-income, affluent voters. Now McGovern appears to have won that mantle.

The reason for McGovern's success -- and probably Muskie's failure -- can be traced to the fact that the better educated and younger voters in America are those most committed to change. When Muskie took on the trappings of the establishment, he faded in popularity among this change-seeking sector. McGovern has come on strong in a campaign emphasizing that he is, above all else, a candidate committed to change in America.

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HARRIS SURVEY (BONUS)

For Release: Friday AM, May 19th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

If Gov. George Wallace of Alabama were to become the Democratic Party nominee for President, he would presently trail President Nixon by 59-24 percent in a two-way contest, by far the largest margin behind among the current leaders in the Democratic delegate count.

In a three-way race, matched against Mr. Nixon and former Sen. Eugene McCarthy on an independent ticket, the Alabama Governor receives only 21 percent of the vote, trailing McCarthy's 22 percent, and 26 points behind the President's 47 percent.

The commanding political fact about the Wallace candidacy is that he appears to have attracted between 16 and 25 percent of the electorate as hard-core supporters, but at the same time he has also firmed up close to 75 percent of the voters in solid opposition to his becoming President.

Two months before the Democratic convention he does not shape up as a viable candidate for the White House, either on a major-party or independent ticket. By the same token, he is capable of amassing a substantial minority of the vote, which shows to best advantage as a symbol of protest among a large field in the Presidential primaries. The trend to watch in the weeks ahead will be George Wallace's threat as a "spoiler," depending on the matchups which emerge from the major-party nominating conventions.

On May 9th and 10th, the Harris Survey visited approximately 2250 households and surveyed a sample of 1,385 likely voters 18 years and over. The cross section of voters was asked:

"Suppose in 1972 for President it were between Richard Nixon, the Republican, Governor George Wallace of Alabama for the Democrats, and Eugene McCarthy as an independent. If you had to choose right now, whom would you be for?"

NIXON-WALLACE-McCARTHY RACE

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>McCarthy</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%	%
<u>Nationwide Voters</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>10</u>
East	47	15	27	11
Midwest	50	18	21	11
South	44	38	12	6
West	51	14	27	8
Border States	46	33	14	7
<u>Deep South</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
18-29-year-olds	44	15	35	6
30-49	49	21	22	8
<u>50 and over</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>
8th grade educated	41	31	13	15
High school	45	25	20	10
College	54	11	29	6

Even with the Democratic party nomination, Wallace would turn out to be almost wholly a sectional candidate with his only chance of winning any electoral votes limited to the South, and probably the four Deep South states at that. Even in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana -- which he took in 1968 -- Gov. Wallace would be hard-pressed this year by President Nixon.

These latest Harris Survey results also point up some significant changes which have taken place in the pattern of Wallace backing since 1968. Much was made of Wallace's appeal to young people four years ago, but today he runs weaker among the under-30 group than with any other age bracket. In addition, the Alabama Governor's vote is largely centered among those with no more than an eighth grade education, a shrinking proportion of the electorate with a relatively poor percentage of turnout at the polls in a national election.

A direct, two-way test against President Nixon would find Wallace losing by

an even wider margin:

"Suppose this year for President, it were between Richard Nixon, the Republican, and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama as the Democratic Party nominee, whom would you vote for?"

NIXON-WALLACE RACE

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Nationwide Voters</u>	59	24	17
East	59	18	23
Midwest	62	21	17
South	50	41	9
West	64	18	18
Border States	53	36	11
Deep South	45	46	9

In a Wallace-Nixon race, President Nixon would win by a landslide in every region of the country, except the Deep South. As the Harris Survey will report next week, either of the other main Democratic contenders, Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Sen. George McGovern, would run far stronger than Gov. Wallace in pairings against the President.

These results also shed some significant light on the role which Gov. Wallace has played in the 1972 Democratic primaries, where he has run surprisingly well in a number of states. There is real evidence that many voters find it satisfying to register a protest by casting votes for Wallace in a primary contest, only to turn around and vote for someone else when it comes down to choosing the next President.

This latest Harris Survey also confirms clearly that Wallace does better in a crowded, multiple candidate race than when he is pitted head-to-head against a single opponent. The reason is evident: George Wallace has a solid minority of the electorate for whom he is the first choice for President. He is likely to win this hard-core vote no matter who is pitted against him. In primary contests where the front-runner often polls less than a majority, and where large numbers of those who will vote next fall do not participate, Wallace appears relatively stronger than under the conditions of an actual Presidential election.

The ultimate reality about the Wallace candidacy emerges when he is pitted by himself against another candidate for President. Under such a circumstance, the Alabama Governor holds no more than one out of four voters. That is why George Wallace, in the unlikely event he were to receive the Democratic nomination in 1972, shapes up as a weak candidate to win in November. How much he is in a position to spoil the chances of either Mr. Nixon or the Democrats, on the other hand, bears careful watching as the summer conventions approach.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, May 15th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

When asked to rate the major candidates for President on their views toward school busing to achieve racial balance, 30 percent of the public agrees with President Nixon, 23 percent with George Wallace, and 14 percent with Hubert Humphrey. For Wallace who is now up to 17 percent in the Harris Survey as a potential third-party candidate, his score on the busing issue may be the forerunner of further gains.

Wallace has called for a Constitutional amendment outlawing busing of school children to achieve racial balance. President Nixon has rejected an amendment to the Constitution, but favors a moratorium of two years in enforcement of court-ordered busing during which black schools would be upgraded with Federal help. Sen. Humphrey first endorsed President Nixon's position and then, 48 hours later, changed his mind.

A Harris Survey recently asked a nationwide cross section of 2,973 households:

"If you had to choose, which one man would you most agree with on his stand on busing school children to achieve racial balance -- Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, or George Wallace?"

MOST AGREE WITH ON BUSING

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Wallace</u> %	<u>Humphrey</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>33</u>
East	32	14	18	36
Midwest	31	22	13	34
South	24	39	11	26
West	34	15	16	35
Black	16	8	40	36
White	32	26	11	31
Union members	27	26	15	32

Although Wallace's position on busing is supported most in the South (rising to 54 percent agreement in the Deep South), he is obviously crowding President Nixon on the issue among whites and among union members. Sen. Humphrey's less than unequivocal stand on busing has left him with less than normal support from blacks on this issue. He appears to have reaped the worst of all worlds by his backing and filling on the busing question.

The basic lineup of the public on the political meaning of the busing issue did not alter appreciably when the identity of the potential Democratic candidate was changed

--- When Sen. George McGovern was substituted for Humphrey, the results showed much the same pattern:

MOST AGREE WITH ON BUSING

	<u>Total Public</u> %
Nixon	28
Wallace	20
McGovern	11
Not sure	41

The busing issue works most intensively in generating voter preferences for Gov. Wallace. The correlation is illustrated by the following results:

VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Humphrey</u> %	<u>Wallace</u> %
<u>On busing agree with:</u>			
Nixon	52	17	9
Wallace	16	13	73
Humphrey	3	35	2
Not sure	29	35	16

Mr. Nixon's weakness on the busing issue is illustrated by the fact that 1-in-8 of his supporters prefer Wallace's position, while no more than a bare majority like his stand the best. Sen. Humphrey is in even worse shape, with 17 percent of his backers preferring the Nixon position and another 13 percent the Wallace stand on busing. Scarcely more than 1-in-3 Humphrey voters agree with his approach on busing. By contrast a massive 73 percent of Wallace's supporters agree with him on the busing issue.

One of the ironies of the busing issue is that the proportion of Americans who nonetheless say they still favor desegregation of the public school system remains a 58-32 percent majority, even though people also oppose busing by 79-14 percent. When the vote of the majority in favor of desegregation is analyzed, the results are significant:

IMPACT OF ATTITUDE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	On School Desegregation: -	
	Favor (58%) %	Oppose (32%) %
<u>Voting for:</u>		
Nixon	40	39
Humphrey	39	31
Wallace	12	22
Not sure	9	8

In 1968, George Wallace's vote rose to a high of 21 percent as a third-party candidate, closely approximating the 22 percent he achieves among people opposed to desegregation of the schools. But then a reaction set in against Wallace and he dropped to 13 percent in three weeks.

The racial issue is like an elastic band and when there appears to be overkill in one direction or the other, the public snaps back in the other direction.

This spring's uproar over school busing could produce a counter reaction by voting time next November. But at the moment, Gov. Wallace is making the most of it.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, May 11th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Sen. Edmund Muskie peaked a year ago in April when he lead Richard Nixon by 47-39 percent, but when he withdrew as an active candidate in the Presidential primaries exactly 12 months later, his standing with voters had receded to a point where the Maine Senator was trailing the incumbent in the White House by a substantial 44-33 percent.

The sharp decline in Muskie's standing in the polls can be traced to two separate but critical developments: 1.) By his dramatic efforts to open up a new era in U.S.-Communist bloc relations, President Nixon robbed Muskie of his former favored position among independents, suburban residents, higher-income, and college-educated voters; 2.) In his own campaigning, the Maine Senator was not able to articulate the fundamental bread-and-butter issues against the Administration at a time when the public was still worried about unemployment and high prices.

As a consequence, Muskie failed in the primaries and can no longer claim that he would make the strongest race against President Nixon if nominated by his party's convention in July. Muskie's last remaining hope is that he might turn out to be a bridge if a deadlock developed between Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Sen. George McGovern. But without a more convincing run against the President than he now makes in the trial heats in the polls, Sen. Muskie stands the risk of being counted out even before the Democrats convene in Miami Beach.

(more)

Here is the trend of Muskie-Nixon-Wallace trial heats as recorded by the Harris Survey over the past three years:

MUSKIE-NIXON-WALLACE TREND

	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%	%
April, 1972	33	44	15	8
March	35	47	12	6
February	40	44	11	5
January	42	42	11	5
November, 1971	39	43	11	7
September	35	47	11	7
August	41	43	12	4
June	42	40	11	7
May	42	40	11	7
April	47	39	11	3
February	44	39	12	5
January	43	40	11	6
November, 1970	46	40	10	4
September	43	43	10	4
May	38	42	12	8
April	36	47	10	7
February	35	49	11	5
November, 1969	35	49	11	5
October	35	51	9	5
May	35	51	11	3

Since last January when he was running dead even with Mr. Nixon, Sen. Muskie has dropped a full 9 points, although, ironically, the President has picked up only 2 points in his column. The biggest gainer has been George Wallace who has jumped from 11 to 15 percent in this three-way matchup. At 33 percent Muskie is lower than at any time since this survey first listed him in a Presidential poll in May of 1969.

A revealing insight can be gained by comparing key groups' backing of Muskie from April of 1971, his high-water mark, to one year later, when he hit his lowest ebb

CHANGE IN MUSKIE VOTE BY KEY GROUPS

	April 1972 %	April 1971 %	Change %
<u>Nationwide</u>	33	47	-14
East	40	53	-13
Midwest	34	45	-11
South	22	41	-19
West	35	47	-12
Cities	41	56	-15
Suburbs	35	47	-12
Towns	26	44	-18
Rural	26	34	- 8
18-29	38	48	-10
30-49	34	49	-15
50+	29	42	-13
8th grade	35	41	- 6
High school	34	42	- 8
College	31	51	-20
Men	31	47	-16
Women	35	46	-11
Blacks	58	64	- 6
Whites	31	45	-14
Under \$5000	31	43	-12
\$5000-9999	35	43	- 8
\$10000-14999	30	44	-14
\$15000 and over	32	52	-20
Catholics	40	50	-10
Republicans	8	18	-10
Democrats	50	67	-17
Independents	29	41	-12
Union	40	49	- 9

Sen. Muskie a year ago was the only Democrat to hold a decisive lead over President Nixon among the key college-educated and affluent voting segments who have grown from 11 to 20 percent of the electorate in just four years. But in one year's time he has slipped 20 points with both groups. By the same token, President Nixon's positive rating among this key elite, independent voting group for his performance in "working for peace" has soared from 43 to 71 percent. Sen. Muskie's appeal among the affluent finally dissolved with Mr. Nixon's trip to China and the announcement of his journey to Moscow.

(more)

At the same time, Sen. Muskie had also slipped among enrolled Democrats, particularly those in cities and in small towns. He did not seem to be able to connect with the bread-and-butter vote at precisely the time disenchantment with the Nixon Administration on this score was rising in 1972.

As the late President Kennedy said after he failed to win a decisive win in the Wisconsin primary in 1960, "Any front-runner who walks on eggs is doomed." Sen. Muskie confirmed this observation in 1972.

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HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, May 8th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

If blacks, low-income whites, and young people were to vote their full numbers at the ballot box, Sen. Edward Kennedy would run the strongest race of any leading Democrat against President Nixon. Among the entire population 18 years of age and over, Kennedy trails Nixon by four percentage points -- 41-to-37 percent -- with Gov. George Wallace as a third-party nominee at 15 percent. By contrast, Sen. Hubert Humphrey runs behind by six, 41-35 percent, Sen. Edmund Muskie by eight, 42-34 percent, and Sen. George McGovern by 45-28 percent.

Even with Sen. Kennedy as the nominee, however, it is extremely unlikely, judging on past performances, that blacks, low-income whites, and young people would vote their full potential next November. When those least likely to vote are eliminated Sen. Kennedy slips behind Mr. Nixon by a full 10 points: 45-to-35 percent, with Wallace at 14 percent.

Here are the results of trial heats in early April among a sample of 2,973 households representative of the entire population 18 years of age and over and the parallel results among just those likely to go to the polls next November:

TOTAL ELIGIBLE VS. LIKELY VOTERS

	<u>Total Eligible</u> %	<u>Likely Voters</u> %
<u>Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace</u>		
Nixon	41	45
Kennedy	37	35
Wallace	15	14
Not sure	7	6
<u>Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace</u>		
Nixon	41	42
Humphrey	35	36
Wallace	17	16
Not sure	7	6
<u>Nixon-Muskie-Wallace</u>		
Nixon	41	44
Muskie	33	33
Wallace	16	15
Not sure	10	8
<u>Nixon-McGovern-Wallace</u>		
Nixon	45	47
McGovern	28	29
Wallace	17	16
Not sure	10	8

As the vote is winnowed down from a potential 100 percent of those 18 and over to a more likely 65 percent, the big loser in the process of attrition is Sen. Kennedy. Here are the reasons why:

--- Young persons 18-29 years of age now make up 28 percent of the population eligible to vote, but likely will be no more than 24 percent of the actual electorate in November, based on present registration totals and past turnout. Kennedy wins this segment 48-33 percent with Wallace at 12 percent. Slippage among the young who do not turn out to vote on Election Day could cost Kennedy 1.5 points of his support.

--- Blacks make up 11 percent of the population, but at best will be 9 percent of the actual electorate, based on past turnout and voting restrictions still in effect. Kennedy holds a wide, 79-14 percent lead among blacks. The failure of blacks to vote their full numbers in November could cost Kennedy another 2.5 points.

--- Low-income voters are 25 percent of the potential but are likely to be no more than 21 percent of the actual voters come Election Day. Kennedy leads with the group with income under \$5,000, by 46-40 percent. He loses almost another point here when his vote percentage is adjusted for decreased turnout.

In contrast, running against Sen. Kennedy, President Nixon picks up real ground because of the likelihood that certain key groups ready to back him will turn out at the polls at a high rate.

--- Persons earning \$15,000 and over, although only 20 percent of the whole population, are expected to make up 23 percent of the actual voters next November. Mr. Nixon wins this group against Sen. Kennedy by a wide 57-29 percent margin. Among the most affluent, the President thus adds more than 1.5 points to his lead over Kennedy because of high turnout.

--- Suburban voters are 26 percent of the total population 18 years of age and older, but will comprise an estimated 28 percent of the electorate next fall. President Nixon holds a 51-33 percent edge among suburbanites over the Massachusetts Senator. He gains another point here.

The story on Sen. Kennedy is that of all the Democratic field he certainly could generate the most enthusiasm among the young, the blacks, and low-income whites. Whereas Humphrey loses the vote of the under-30 segment by 40-34 percent and McGovern by a closer 39-37 percent, Kennedy sweeps the young.

(more)

But Kennedy also has some glaring weaknesses. He runs relatively poorly among the college educated, losing to Nixon 56-29 percent. He also flounders among voters 50 and over, losing by 50-28 percent, more than offsetting his gains among the young. He is also relatively weak among Jewish voters, giving away 35 percent of this group to the opposition, as against 21 percent who would vote Republican if Humphrey were the candidate.

These might be troubles enough for the last remaining Kennedy brother in a bid for the White House in 1972. But his single biggest handicap as a candidate will be that it is precisely among those groups where his appeal is greatest -- blacks, low-income whites, and the young -- where the turnout is likely to be lowest. And among the groups where his appeal is weakest -- the suburbs, the affluent, the college educated -- the turnout on Election Day is likely to be highest.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, May 4th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

If he holds his current wide lead over his prospective Democratic opponents in the polls until November, President Nixon might well prove that an incumbent in the White House can achieve re-election in the absence of broad-based enthusiasm for his personal appeal.

In the most recent Harris Survey among a sizable cross section of 2,973 households, there was much public sympathy for Mr. Nixon's burdens in the most difficult job in the world. The President is also widely admired for having the courage to take decisive action, even in a direction 180 degrees opposite from views he has held for many years.

But on the personal dimension, President Nixon has never been able to approach the public esteem usually bestowed upon occupants of the White House at some high point of their Administrations.

--- By 49-40 percent, a plurality of the public agrees with the statement that President Nixon "does not inspire enough confidence as a President should." This result has scarcely wavered over the past year. Last August, people felt the same way by a margin of 50-40 percent.

--- By 44-42 percent, a narrow plurality of the public also agrees that Mr. Nixon "is lacking in personal warmth and color." Eight months ago, the public registered the same view, by 46-45 percent.

--- By 44-43 percent, a razor-thin plurality also feels that President Nixon "is often uncertain and wishy-washy in what he stands for." Back in August of 1971, the public was likewise evenly divided on this score, at 45-45 percent.

--- On one count, nevertheless, a clear plurality of the people turn down a charge which some of the critics have leveled against the President: by 47-35 percent, voters deny that Mr. Nixon "is so eager to be popular that he's willing to change his stand from what he always stood for just to be popular."

Three substantial elements are working favorably as far as the public's estimation of the President is concerned, but all have more to do with his policies than his personality:

--- By 82-12 percent, a lopsided majority of the public agrees with the statement that Mr. Nixon "inherited a lot of problems and is trying to solve them the best he can." Back in August, a comparable 85-12 percent agreed. There is little doubt that most Americans sympathize with the difficulties of being President during this period of the nation's history.

--- By 76-14 percent, better than three out of four people respect the President because "he's not afraid to take decisive action, as in the wage-price freeze and in taking his trip to China." These two episodes have stood Mr. Nixon in good stead and it is a fairly safe assumption that they will be heard about time and again during the political campaign in the fall.

--- By 58-24 percent, better than a two-to-one majority of the public agrees with the assessment of the President that "he is experienced and smart, especially in foreign affairs." Last August, the majority who felt the same way came to 57-26 percent.

However, President Nixon has had difficulty turning around public opinion on one score which is likely to become a political issue in the fall -- the question of whether or not he has fulfilled his 1968 campaign promises:

Howard

(F) H
FU
4/11/72

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/10/72

Harris

Gordon: I called Harris and got the following info.

The busing stuff that came out last week was done in early March -- before speech. They will have some new busing stuff soon -- just finishing -- Harris is going to call Chuck Wed. with more dope.

FU

Harris took a poll Feb. 28 - March 6...the one before that was early Feb. -- He ~~is~~ ^{has}, as I said, just finished one and will have figures later this week.

Joan Hall

--- By a narrow 40-39 percent, a slim plurality of the public believes that Richard Nixon "has kept most of the promises he made in 1968." Back in August, the balance was somewhat the other way, with a 44-37 percent plurality feeling he had not kept his promises. Thus, the President has made some eight points progress over the past eight months on fulfilling his pledges of four years ago.

Taken as a whole, the American people express a good deal of sympathy with the magnitude of the President's task. They give him high marks for taking decisive action during the wage-price freeze and in deciding to go to China, and recognize him as an experienced hand in government, especially in foreign policy. But his problem areas surround the personal dimension of the office.

He clearly does not cast the kind of spell that his Republican predecessor, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, did over the office. Back in the 1950's, people were far less concerned with the specifics of the Eisenhower record and held a rather sublime faith that the President could be trusted personally in nearly any situation.

With Richard Nixon, it is apparent he must make it on specific accomplishments or not at all. He appears to be a current beneficiary of a situation within the Democratic Party where no front-runner has demonstrated an electric quality of charismatic appeal.

The cross section of 2,973 households was asked between April 1st and 7th:

Let me read you some statements about President Nixon. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree."

NIXON PROFILE

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Positive</u>			
<u>He inherited a lot of tough problems and is trying his best to solve them.</u>			
April, 1972	82	12	6
August, 1971	85	12	3
<u>He is not afraid to take decisive action, as in the wage-price freeze or the trip to China</u>			
April, 1972	76	14	10
August, 1971	74	17	9
<u>He is experienced and smart, especially in foreign affairs</u>			
April, 1972	58	24	18
August, 1971	55	28	17
<u>He has kept most of the promises he made in 1968</u>			
April, 1972	40	39	21
August, 1971	37	44	19
<u>Negative</u>			
<u>He does not inspire confidence as a President should</u>			
April, 1972	49	40	11
August, 1971	50	40	10
<u>He is lacking in personal color and warmth</u>			
April, 1972	44	42	14
August, 1971	46	45	9
<u>He's often uncertain and wishy-washy in what he stands for</u>			
April, 1972	44	43	13
August, 1971	45	45	10
<u>He's so eager to be popular he's willing to change his stand from what he always stood for</u>			
April, 1972	35	47	18
August, 1971 (NOT ASKED)	X	X	X

#

McGovern's Personal Appeal

By Louis Harris

Although he has been the best declared candidate in the race for President, only now are the American people beginning to make up their minds about Sen. George A. McGovern of South Dakota. Their impressions of McGovern are more positive than negative, but for a number of voters, as many as four or five out of every ten have not yet focused attention on him.

On the positive side, two qualities have come to dominate public thinking about the man:

- By 51-9 per cent, a majority of Americans 18 years and over agrees with the statement that McGovern "has the courage to say what he thinks, even if it is unpopular." Among persons under 18, this admiration rises to 55 per cent. Among the better informed, more affluent, college-educated group it increases to 61 per cent. Still, on an overall basis, 40 per cent is not yet able to answer such a question regarding McGovern one way or the other.

- By 41-19 per cent, a cross section of voters believes that he "deserves a lot of credit for being against the Vietnam war before others were." This sentiment increases among the young, the college educated, and independent voters.

A larger than usual cross section of 2,973 households, interviewed between April 1 and 7, yielded the results on the impact of the McGovern personality:

By 27-20 per cent, only a slight plurality of the public thinks that McGovern "has a personal appeal." When asked the McGovern personal appeal to be rated by only 1-22 per cent. Among the better educated, the senator's personal appeal comes out negatively 2-12 per cent. The numbers who express no opinion after ex-

tensive TV coverage of the early primaries is unusually high.

Turning the question around, whether simultaneously, 28-26 per cent says that McGovern "has a flat, uninteresting personality." Young people take exception to such a statement by only 33-27 per cent. The important college-educated group agrees that McGovern lacks personal excitement by 34-35 per cent.

As McGovern takes his stands to the people, he is becoming known as the left-most candidate. This point is tied with a McGovern's position on the political spectrum was examined:

By 29-20 per cent, the pub-

lic feels that the senator has "too extreme, liberal views." Nearly every group in the electorate tends to feel this way, except young voters, who disagree by 17-13 per cent. The college educated tend to be critical of McGovern for being overly liberal by a lesser level, 17 per cent more. Labor union members, on the other hand, are more concerned that the general public think McGovern is an "extremist" by 27-21 per cent.

In a survey of the Congressional Record, McGovern's position on the anti-Vietnam war has been noted.

The cross section of voting households was asked:

"The McGovern position on the Vietnam war is:

1. Too liberal

2. Just right

3. Too conservative

4. Don't know

5. No opinion

6. Other

7. No answer

8. No opinion

9. No opinion

10. No opinion

11. No opinion

12. No opinion

13. No opinion

14. No opinion

15. No opinion

16. No opinion

17. No opinion

18. No opinion

19. No opinion

20. No opinion

21. No opinion

22. No opinion

23. No opinion

24. No opinion

25. No opinion

26. No opinion

27. No opinion

28. No opinion

29. No opinion

30. No opinion

31. No opinion

32. No opinion

33. No opinion

34. No opinion

35. No opinion

36. No opinion

37. No opinion

38. No opinion

39. No opinion

40. No opinion

41. No opinion

42. No opinion

43. No opinion

44. No opinion

45. No opinion

46. No opinion

47. No opinion

48. No opinion

49. No opinion

50. No opinion

Position	Area	Men	Women
Too liberal	31	9	11
Just right	41	19	40
Too conservative	27	14	47
Don't know	13	17	50
No opinion	7	72	41
Other	19	17	51
No answer	13	26	40
No opinion	21	29	50

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, April 13th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

This is a political year, where issues more than personalities are likely to make a decisive difference.

A special analysis by the Harris Survey points up these cutting edges of key issues in the presidential race:

---The school busing issue is helping both President Nixon and Gov. George Wallace in about equal proportions, but is definitely hurting the leading Democratic contenders for the nomination.

---Continued public worries over the slowness of recovery of the economy is hurting President Nixon and helping the Democrats but not Wallace.

---Public impatience over the rate at which U.S. troops are being brought back from Vietnam is hurting Mr. Nixon and helping his potential Democratic opponents.

On the school busing issue, the Harris Survey reported this week that the American people stand in opposition to busing "to achieve racial balance" by a decisive margin of 73 to 20 percent. When this division is analyzed according to how it affects potential pairings in this fall's election, a significant pattern emerges nationwide:

(more)

POSITION ON BUSING

<u>Vote For:</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Nixon	34	49
Muskie	49	27
Wallace	4	15
Not Sure	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>
Nixon	36	52
Humphrey	56	28
Wallace	5	16
Not Sure	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

Clearly, if school busing were the dominant issue in a three-way election this fall, the electorate would divide sharply. Those in favor of busing go heavily Democratic, while those opposed vote much more for President Nixon or Gov. George Wallace.

However, even among those opposed to busing, Wallace is unable to come up with more than 15 to 16 percent of their vote, compared to his current nationwide average as a third-party candidate of 12 percent. By the same token, Richard Nixon wins between 49 and 52 percent of the vote of the anti-busing group, compared with his current nationwide total of 47 to 48 percent. Thus, the busing issue gives Wallace an extra 3 to 4 points and the President an added 2 to 4 points, depending on his Democratic opponent.

The significant fact about the busing question, however, is that both the Nixon and Wallace gains on the issue are taken entirely from the Democratic candidates, who lose 7 to 8 points among persons opposed to busing for racial balance. And with the division in the country 73 to 30 percent in opposition, it is more than evident that school busing at this point in time is hurting Democratic chances of winning the White House next November.

(more)

By the same token, however, the economic issue is still working against the President and for the Democrats. In the latest Harris Survey, by 49 to 34 percent, most people still think the country is in a recession, even though economists insist the nation left the recession behind over a year ago.

The difference between people believing there is or is not a recession around election time could have an important bearing on the final outcome:

POSITION ON RECESSION

<u>Vote For:</u>	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
Nixon	35	60
Muskie	43	21
Wallace	12	12
Not Sure	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
Nixon	39	63
Humphrey	45	22
Wallace	13	13
Not Sure	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>

Among the 34 percent of the electorate who are convinced the economic recession is over, President Nixon is an easy winner. But among the larger 49 percent who think there still is a recession, Mr. Nixon runs 6 to 8 points behind his leading potential Democratic opponents. Interestingly enough, Wallace's vote does not appear to be affected by the economic issue, despite the fact that he has stressed the economic plight of the voter in his campaigning.

Finally, on the question of withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, the Harris Survey shows that 43 percent think the pace is "too slow" and an almost identical 44 percent see the rate as "about right," a close division.

Politically, the pace of troop withdrawal issue divides the electorate decisively:

(more)

PACE OF TROOP WITHDRAWAL

<u>Vote For:</u>	<u>Too Slow %</u>	<u>About Right %</u>
Nixon	26	66
Muskie	47	19
Wallace	14	9
Not Sure	13	6
Nixon	33	65
Humphrey	46	24
Wallace	16	9
Not Sure	5	2

• These results clearly demonstrate how much President Nixon has to gain or lose by his ability to resolve American involvement in Vietnam by election time. If voters think he has been laggard in liquidating U.S. troop involvement, he could be in real trouble. But if he has defused the issue, he will have clear sailing. It is apparent, however, from this evidence that Vietnam is still very much alive as a political issue seven months before election day.

As important as any one of these issues, of course, is what the mix of issues will be as the campaign unfolds, particularly in September and October. If any one of the three reported on is front and center, then the result can be affected in quite different ways. In many ways this year, then, the issues rather than the men could well be decisive in the outcome of the presidential election.

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HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, April 20th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Since the last Presidential election, American voters have become considerably less willing to describe their political philosophy as "conservative."

In 1968, 37 percent classified themselves that way. Today, four years later, the number who report they are right-of-center has dropped to 29 percent. A plurality of Americans, 35 percent, now prefer to be characterized as "middle-of-the-road".

With this apparent shift of political gravity toward the center, President Nixon is now viewed as more conservative than the general public rates itself. On the other hand, two would-be Democratic opponents, Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Edmund Muskie, are seen as more liberal, or left-of-center, than the average American.

Far outside the mainstream, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama is looked upon as a "radical" by an even 50 percent of the public. There has been little perceptible shift in the way voters size up Wallace's base political set since 1968, when 52 percent described his philosophy as "radical."

A recent Harris Survey among 1,604 households asked a cross section this question:

(more)

"How would you describe your own political philosophy --- as conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal, or radical?"

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF PUBLIC

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>
	%	%
Conservative	29	37
Middle-of-the-road	35	31
Liberal	19	17
Radical	4	2
Not sure	13	13

The most decisive divisions in political philosophy can be found when voters are assessed by the key dimensions of age and party affiliation. Younger persons tend to be far more liberal and radical, while their elders are much more conservative. By the same token, Republican party members are more conservative, while Democrats and Independents are more liberal:

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY BY KEY GROUPS

	<u>Conser- vative</u>	<u>Middle- of-the- Road</u>	<u>Lib- eral</u>	<u>Rad- ical</u>
	%	%	%	%
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>By Age</u>				
18-20	15	34	26	11
21-29	20	30	26	7
30-49	30	36	19	3
50 and over	38	37	11	2
<u>By Party</u>				
Democratic	26	34	22	4
Republican	44	34	10	2
Independent	21	40	23	7

In every group, the middle-of-the-roaders hold the balance of power between the liberals and radicals on one side and the conservatives on the other. Conservatism has clearly made relatively little inroad among voters under 30. Much the same can be said about liberals among those 50 years of age and over. It is significant, moreover, that 11 percent of the new voters in the 18-20-year-old category view themselves as "radicals."

The most telling division, however, emerges when preferences for president this fall are analyzed according to the political philosophies of voters:

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE PREFERENCE
BY POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

<u>Voting for:</u>	<u>Conser-</u>	<u>Middle-</u>	<u>Lib-</u>	<u>Rad-</u>
	<u>vative</u>	<u>of-the-</u>	<u>eral</u>	<u>ical</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>Road</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
		<u>%</u>		
Nixon	62	52	27	27
Humphrey	25	36	59	40
Wallace	12	9	10	30
Not sure	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>

For example, President Nixon sweeps the conservative vote against both Humphrey and Wallace. Significantly, Wallace does not attain any higher level among conservatives than he does among the entire electorate --- 12 percent.

Sen. Humphrey, as the Democratic standard-bearer, wins the liberal vote by almost as decisive a margin as Mr. Nixon carries the conservatives. Humphrey also takes the radical vote, but his chief rival among this small, extreme group is more Gov. Wallace than President Nixon.

The balance of power clearly rests with middle-of-the-road voters, the largest group today at 35 percent. Among this moderate group, the President wins the day handily by a 52-36 percent margin over Sen. Humphrey. Significantly, Wallace does poorest among this moderate segment of the electorate.

Talk that America has turned more conservative in recent years simply is not borne out by these results. By the same token, those who would claim an emerging liberal-radical majority have a long way to go before even approximating any dominance in American politics.

(more)

In 1972, at least, the battle will be over the middle-of-the-road group, where Richard Nixon now holds a substantial lead. However, Mr. Nixon can vie for the centrist vote only after consolidating his conservative base. Any Democratic candidate, on the other hand, must have solid backing from the left-of-center groups before gains from the center can have any meaning. By itself, paradoxically, a strictly centrist position appeals only to a minority of the coalition needed to achieve a national political victory in 1972.

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GALLUP AND HARRIS TRIAL HEATS

1968 - 1972

GALLUP POLLS - TRIAL HEATS 1968

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
October 31, 1968	42%	40%	14%	4%
October 17, 1968	44	36	15	5
October 3, 1968	43	31	20	6
September 27, 1968	44	29	20	7
September 20, 1968	43	28	21	8
September 3, 1968	43	31	19	7
August 21, 1968	45	29	18	8
July 20, 1968	40	38	16	6
June 29, 1968	35	40	16	9
June 15, 1968	37	42	14	7
May 25, 1968	36	42	14	8
May 4, 1968	39	36	14	11
April 6, 1968	43	34	9	14

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MCCARTHY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
August 21, 1968	42%	37%	16%	5%
July 20, 1968	41	36	16	7
June 29, 1968	36	39	18	7
June 15, 1968	39	41	14	6
May 25, 1968	40	38	13	9
May 4, 1968	39	37	14	10
April 6, 1968	41	38	10	11

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
April 6, 1968	41%	38%	10%	11%

HARRIS SURVEY - TRIAL HEATS 1968

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
November 1, 1968	42%	40%	12%	6%
October 27, 1968	40	37	16	7
October 9, 1968	40	35	18	7
September 27, 1968	44	29	20	7
September 20, 1968	43	28	21	8
September 11, 1968	39	31	21	9
September 3, 1968	43	31	19	7
August 24, 1968	40	34	17	9
July 25, 1968	36	41	16	7
July 6, 1968	35	37	17	11
June 11, 1968	36	43	13	8
May, 1968	36	38	13	13

HARRIS SURVEY - TRIAL HEATS 1968 CONT.

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
May, 1968	40%	38%	14%	8%
April, 1968	35	41	8	16
March, 1968	39	44	10	7

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MCCARTHY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
August 24, 1968	41%	35%	16%	8%
July 26, 1968	35	43	15	7
July 8, 1968	34	42	16	8
June 10, 1968	36	44	12	8
Late May, 1968	40	39	14	7
Early May, 1968	37	40	13	10
March, 1968	43	34	14	9

HARRIS SURVEYS - TRIAL HEATS 1969-1972

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE TREND

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	44%	40%	11%	5%
January, 1972	42	42	11	5
November, 1971	43	39	11	7
September, 1971	47	35	11	7
August, 1971	43	41	12	4
June, 1971	40	42	13	5
May, 1971	40	42	11	7
April, 1971	39	47	11	3
February, 1971	39	44	12	5
January, 1971	40	43	11	6
November, 1970	40	46	10	4
September, 1970	43	43	10	4
May, 1970	42	38	12	8
April, 1970	47	36	10	7
February, 1970	49	35	11	5
November, 1969	49	35	11	5
October, 1969	51	35	9	5
May, 1969	51	35	11	3

NIXON-MUSKIE RACE TREND

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	47%	45%	8%
January, 1972	45	48	7
November, 1971	48	43	9
September, 1971	50	40	10

NIXON - MUSKIE RACE TREND CONT.

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
August, 1971	47%	45%	8%
June, 1971	46	46	8
April, 1971	44	50	6
February, 1971	42	48	10
January, 1971	46	49	5

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE TREND

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
March, 1972	48%	35%	12%	5%
February, 1972	47	36	12	5
January, 1972	46	37	12	5
November, 1971	45	36	12	7
September, 1971	45	36	12	7
May, 1971	44	39	10	7
April, 1971	42	41	13	4
November, 1970	46	39	11	4
April, 1970	50	36	11	3
November, 1969	48	37	12	3
November, 1968 (actual vote)	44	43	13	-

GALLUP POLLS - TRIAL HEATS 1969-1972TREND SINCE 1969

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	43%	42%	10%	5%
January 7-10, 1972	43	42	12	3
November 19-22, 1971	44	41	10	5
October 8-11	43	35	13	9
August 20-23	42	36	11	11
May 7-10	39	41	12	8
March 12-14	43	39	12	6
January 9-10	44	44	9	3
December 5-6, 1970	44	43	9	4
June 19-22	43	36	13	8
January 30-February 2	47	35	13	5
September 12-15, 1969	49	34	11	6

GALLUP POLLS - TRIAL HEATS 1969-1972 CONT.

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	47%	39%	9%	5%
November, 1971	44	41	10	5
August, 1971	43	38	10	9
May, 1971	42	41	10	7
March, 1971	46	38	11	5
January, 1971	47	38	9	6
December, 1970	47	37	11	5
January, 1970	49	35	11	5
September, 1969	53	31	10	6
July, 1969	52	36	9	3
April, 1969	52	33	10	7

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	46%	39%	10%	5%
November, 1971	47	37	12	4
August, 1971	43	37	11	9
May, 1971	42	39	12	7
March, 1971	46	36	12	6
January, 1971	48	38	10	4
April, 1970	50	32	11	7
February, 1970	54	34	12	X
January, 1970	50	33	13	4
September, 1969	53	33	11	3

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>LINDSAY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	53%	29%	12%	6%
August, 1971	45	30	12	13
December, 1970	48	35	12	5
June, 1970	46	29	15	10

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McGOVERN</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
February, 1972	49%	34%	11%	6%
November, 1971	49	33	12	6

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>McCARTHY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
January, 1970	55%	24%	12%	9%

*File
Harris*

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, July 12th, 1971

Not Before

By Louis Harris

President Nixon leads Senator Edward Kennedy by 44 to 36 percent among likely voters in the 1972 election with Governor George Wallace on a third-party ticket taking 13 percent of the vote. Two years after the tragedy of Chappaquiddick (July 18, 1969), Mr. Nixon would sweep three out of four regions of the country against the Massachusetts Senator, losing only Senator Kennedy's home area of the East.

Between June 9 and 15, a national cross section of likely voters in 1614 households was asked:

"Suppose the 1972 election for President were being held today and you had to choose right now -- would you vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican, Senator Edward Kennedy, the Democrat, or Governor George Wallace, the Independent?" and

"(If "Not Sure") Well, if you had to say, would you lean toward Nixon, the Republican, Kennedy the Democrat, or Wallace, the Independent?"

NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE RACE

	Total Likely Voters %
Nixon	44
Kennedy	36
Wallace	13
Not Sure	7

These results come on the heels of Harris Survey findings which showed Sen. Kennedy moving into first place among Democrats as the preferred choice for the party's nomination in 1972. And they point up a basic fact about Kennedy's prospects for the presidency next year: he has pockets of real strength among blacks, the young, Catholics, and labor union members. Among

House.

But the basic Kennedy weakness is that he falls far short of approaching majority support in the country as a whole, and, in fact, tends to polarize voters outside of the big cities. Independent voters, persons over 50, and the growingly important college-educated group are solidly against him.

Thus, it is fair to conclude that Sen. Edward Kennedy would make a far stronger showing at this point in time in a Democratic primary, where he would not be subject to the opposition of Republican and Independent voters and could be the beneficiary of a selective turnout on the part of those groups who fiercely support him. But in a general election situation, he would be carrying heavy handicaps which could cripple his chances of winning the White House.

The results also indicate that Sen. Kennedy, just over a year away from the Democratic convention, is essentially a one-region candidate:

NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE BY REGION

	East	Mid-west	South	West
	%	%	%	%
Nixon	39	47	42	51
Kennedy	43	38	23	39
Wallace	7	8	28	6
Not Sure	11	7	7	4

Senator Kennedy would run 9 to 19 points behind in all regions except the East, where he is ahead by four percentage points.

The divisions by age and education are equally decisive:

CONTEST ANALYZED BY AGE, EDUCATION

	Nixon	Kennedy	Wallace	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>By Age</u>				
18-29	37	45	14	4
30-49	41	37	12	10
50 and over	54	27	12	7
<u>By Education</u>				
8th grade or less	31	39	19	11
High School	40	38	15	7
College				

CUT OFF ON ORIGINAL

(more)

Kennedy carries the vote of young people and also those whose education never went beyond the eighth grade. But he is edged out among the middle-aged and those who received a high school education. He is literally swamped by voters over 50 and with some college education.

The Massachusetts Senator also divides the electorate sharply by race and by religion:

CONTEST ANALYZED BY RACE, RELIGION

	Nix- on. %	Kenn- edy %	Wall- ace %	Not Sure %
<u>Nationwide</u>	44	36	13	7
<u>By Race</u>				
White	48	31	14	7
Black	13	71	2	14
<u>By Religion</u>				
Protestant	56	23	16	5
Catholic	35	48	9	8

Kennedy would do better among black voters than any other Democrat prominently mentioned in the running today. However, he would lose the majority white vote by a margin of 17 points. Similarly, he would carry his co-religionist Catholics by 13 points, but would lose the more numerous Protestants by a thumping 33 points.

As a candidate, Senator Edward Kennedy would divide the country more sharply than at any time in recent political history, even more than when his older brother, John F. Kennedy, ran in 1960. People tend to vote for or against Sen. Kennedy, but with substantially more on the negative than positive side at this time.

On Thursday, the Harris Survey will analyze what the people think of Senator Kennedy, his problem with the Chappaquiddick issue, the impact of his record in the Senate, and how he compares with his older brothers in the minds of the voters.

(Editor's Note: First of a series of two columns on Senator Edward Kennedy.)

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



HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, July 15th, 1971

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although 68 percent of the American people believe that Sen. Edward Kennedy "works hard at his job and is a good U.S. Senator," no more than 34 percent feel that "he has the personality and leadership qualities a President should have."

And one in three persons, 33 percent, holds the view that "because of what happened at Chappaquidick, Senator Kennedy showed he does not deserve the Presidency."

As a result of this decidedly mixed reaction, Kennedy now trails President Nixon substantially in the latest Harris Survey trial heat published last Monday. (Those results gave Mr. Nixon 44 percent, Sen. Kennedy 36 percent, Gov. George Wallace 13 percent, and 7 percent undecided.)

The Chappaquidick incident two years ago this July 18, in which the Senator was involved in a car crash which proved fatal to a secretary companion, unquestionably hurt Kennedy's chances. Although 51 percent of potential voters say that they will not be influenced by the tragic accident, the one-third who criticize him on this issue is politically damaging.

Chappaquidick counts most as an issue among people over 50, white Protestants, and the college-educated. Women, however, are no more disturbed over it than men.

Significantly, over 8 in 10 of the persons who are critical of the Senator over Chappaquidick are prepared to vote against him if he were nominated for President.

A majority of the public, nonetheless, gives Senator Kennedy high marks on two other scores:

2.

--- By 68 to 20 percent, people feel that he "works hard at his job and is a good U.S. Senator." He is cited particularly for his efforts in the health field and for his opposition to the war.

---By 51 to 34 percent, a majority also agree that "he is one of the few people willing to take courageous stands on basic issues facing the country." This sentiment rises to 60 percent among Catholics, 62 percent among Democrats, and 77 percent among blacks. Both his brothers, John and Robert, also had majorities in the country who accorded the quality of "courage" to their stands in politics.

But sizable numbers of voters also hold the view that Sen. Kennedy has gone as far as he has largely on the strength of his family association:

--- By 57 to 35 percent, a majority agree with the statement that Sen. Kennedy "has gotten as far as he has because of his name." This view is held by 62 percent of the voters in the West, 60 percent of the college-educated, and 62 percent of persons who are independents in their politics.

--- By 48 to 37 percent, a plurality feels that Edward Kennedy "is not in the same league with his older brothers." A majority of 53 percent in the West, 52 percent of the college-educated, and 53 percent of the Independents share this view.

Clearly, the challenge to Sen. Edward Kennedy is to prove to the electorate that he merits his current prominence on his own rather than a legacy of his family's past efforts. He is suffering from a form of comparison which has plagued the sons and relatives of other famous men in American politics.

Of course, Senator Kennedy has denied repeatedly that he is interested in the nomination in 1972. However, when asked directly, most people (44 to 31 percent) say that "although he denies it, he is really trying to get the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972."

The reaction of a majority, 58 to 29 percent, is that "although The day he might run for the Presidency, he is not ready for it now." Among Major groups in the electorate only among blacks do less than a majority hold To this view that Ted Kennedy's White House aspirations would be premature now.

A key question in the survey of 1614 households, conducted between June 9th and 15th, dealt with Sen. Kennedy's qualifications for the Presidency: "Do you tend to agree or disagree that Senator Edward Kennedy has the personality and leadership qualities a President should have?"

EDWARD KENNEDY QUALIFIED FOR PRESIDENT?

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
	%	%	%
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>By Education</u>			
8th grade or less	55	28	17
High school	37	47	16
College	23	64	13
<u>By Race</u>			
White	30	56	14
Black	67	15	18
<u>By Religion</u>			
Protestant	26	59	15
Catholic	43	42	15

The clear-cut pockets of Kennedy strength are the blacks, the least well educated, and Catholics. But this basic support adds up to a minority of today's electorate.

Most significant are persons with a college education who now heavily populate the fast-growing suburbs and are highly independent in their voting habits. Without substantial backing among this affluent group, it is unlikely that any man can get elected President in the 1970's.

It is the judgment of this swing group that Senator Kennedy is "not ready" for a run for the White House, partly at least because of the incident at Chappaquiddick two years ago next week.

December 21, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. COLSON

FROM: L. HIGBY

Attached is the information on our telephone poll methodology that you requested to forward to Lufkin. If he needs any additional information please do not hesitate to let me know.

Attachment

RNC TELEPHONE POLL METHODOLOGY

.. The following questions are asked:

1. In 1972 there will be another Presidential election. Suppose this election were being held today and the candidates were Richard Nixon and Edmund Muskie, which one would you vote for?
2. Now suppose the candidates were Richard Nixon, Edmund Muskie and George Wallace, as a third party candidate. Which one would you vote for?

Sample Selection

The sample selection of telephone numbers is a computer-generated list of telephone numbers by exchange. They know how many numbers are in each exchange for each area in the country and generate a random list based on this. This method has the advantage of also getting private telephone numbers. It does, however, exclude business, commercial, and other numbers of a non-private nature.

They get the regional breaks by knowing the exchange numbers for groups of states.

Voice identification is done on a male or female basis. All other questions such as income, city size, etc., are all done by asking the party such as in a personal field interview situation. The calls are primarily made during the evening although some are made during the day.

The last survey took place on December 1, 2, 3.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 17, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY *L*
SUBJECT: Harris Horserace Polls

Colson had Lufkin down this afternoon and went over the Harris problem again. Lufkin has agreed to talk with Harris about the wide discrepancy between the most recent RNC (Chilton) poll and his poll. However, before doing this he would like to have a reading on the methodology surrounding our poll.

I have attached an explanation of our poll for Colson to pass on to Lufkin for his discussion with Harris.

However, I wanted you to have an opportunity to review it before passing it on.

Okay to send it to Colson *H*

Other _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By ~~Enclave~~ NARS, Date 5-22-80

December 14, 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*
SUBJECT: Harris Poll (Log P1030H)

Telephone polls generally produce a very high "don't know" response. Most pollsters believe this should be factored out inasmuch as it does not commonly reflect indifference towards the candidates but rather unwillingness to reply over a telephone. The "don't know" reply is the single biggest disadvantage to a telephone poll. ORC, for example, simply disregards the reply altogether.

Having factored out "don't knows" from the latest Chilton Poll, the results are:

Nixon 54	Muskie 40	Undecided 6
Nixon 46	Muskie 37	Wallace 14
		Undecided 3

This is merely for the record in the event the "Colson interpretation" of the Chilton Poll needs to be used in other places than the leak to Evans and Novak.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 30, 1970

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By emp/vas NARS, Date 5-22-80

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. COLSON
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN
SUBJECT : Harris Poll

The Harris poll reported today showing Muskie leading Nixon 46-40 should be checked out carefully.

For your own private background information, a national poll taken at the same time and in which we have complete reliance, shows Nixon 37, Muskie 35, and Wallace 13.

HRH:pm