

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>
46	1	1/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Higby RE: Muskie's image in contrast to that of RN. 1 pg.
46	1	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: new polling figures. 1 pg.
46	1	2/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the latter's preferences with regard to receiving polling data. 3 pgs.
46	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A "Summary of Surveys on Race and Bussing." 7 pgs.
46	1	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: new polling figures. 2 pgs.
46	1	2/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the latter's preferences with regard to receiving polling data. 3 pgs.
46	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A "Summary of Surveys on Race and Bussing." 6 pgs.
46	1	2/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Walker to Ronald Reagan, Ed Meese, Mike Deaver, Gordon Luce, and Lyn Nofziger RE: California polling data. 2 pgs.
46	1	3/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of memo from Higby to Strachan RE: California polling data from Teeter and a potential meeting of Teeter, Haldeman, and Mitchell. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Original memo attached. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
46	1	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Colson to Haldeman RE: the wording of questions in polling interviews. 1 pg.
46	1	1/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: information on a possible Muskie or Kennedy purchase of the Gallup organization. Handwritten notes added by multiple unidentified individuals. 1 pg.
46	1	12/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: the Democrats' purchase of the Gallup polling organization. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

[ Item N-1 ]

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 12, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. LAWRENCE HIGBY

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN *H.*

In his analysis, Hallett makes the point that Muskie's public image is everything the President's is not: strong, reflective, prudent, even wise.

The President on the other hand, is viewed as a man on the make, ashamed of and constantly running away from his past, manipulator, unsure of his convictions, tactician instead of strategist, grand vizier of all Rotarians, substituting pomposity for eloquence. Further, the American people do not think he has any broad conceptional framework or any sense of direction or purpose.

These are arguable points and they should be pursued by some valid polling as soon as possible. In other words, we need to test the Nixon image versus the Muskie image against the hypotheses laid out by Hallett.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



Administratively Confidential

February 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

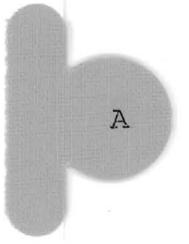
Ehrlichman and Cole/Campaign  
Poll Results

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).



A

1992

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.

5) Iowa, New Jersey, and North Carolina have also been received. The results are presented in the same format as the Pennsylvania results. The New Jersey polling information is attached. Larry has Iowa and North Carolina, as well as a special New Hampshire follow-up telephone poll.

6) The schedule for the receipt of the rest of the poll results is:

Ohio, Indiana, Missouri-----February 14  
California, New York, Oregon, Virginia-----February 21  
Texas, Tennessee, Maryland, and National---February 28

7) Upon completion of this first wave, Teeter will begin projects that you discussed with him on January 31 in this order -- Presidential travel, the President's image, and the President's handling of the issues.

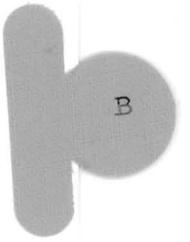
8) Ken Cole, on February 9, asked you by memorandum whether the Domestic Council staff could receive the results of these campaign polls. He wants only the material dealing with "domestic policy issues" and would personally limit the distribution of the results.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Ken Cole receive the issue sections of the National poll which will be available on February 28. You and the Attorney General would sign off on the text to be given to Cole.

H. AGREE DISAGREE

He should also have COMMENT  
the issue sections of the state polls.



100-1000

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 Muskie voters favor integration by 78% and 80% respectively. 51% of the Wallace voters are opposed to school integration, compared to 43% 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	37-56%	26-66%	16-76%	9-83%
Ages 18-24	52-43	39-56	24-73	13-84
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 those states where the President is ahead, he is obtaining a level of black support, particularly against Muskie, which is higher than a Republican candidate might normally expect or than the President received in 1968. This is shown in tabular form on Attachment A. If the black community perceives the President's position an "anti-Negro," he may seriously jeopardize his winning margin in some very critical northern states, such as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio by increasing black opposition to him 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 now 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 29 Negroes in Sample

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

AGENCIJA ZA VEŠTAČENJE I  
POSREDOVANJE U PROMETU  
NEKRETNIM PRAVIMA  
IZ OBLASTI NEKRETNOSTI  
POSREDOVANJE U PROMETU  
NEKRETNIM PRAVIMA

1

1

1

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.

5) Iowa, New Jersey, and North Carolina have also been received. The results are presented in the same format as the Pennsylvania results. The New Jersey polling information is attached. Larry has Iowa and North Carolina, as well as a special New Hampshire follow-up telephone poll.

6) The schedule for the receipt of the rest of the poll results is:

Ohio, Indiana, Missouri-----February  
California, New York, Oregon, Virginia-----February  
Texas, Tennessee, Maryland, and National---February

7) Upon completion of this first wave, Teeter will begin projects that you discussed with him on January 31 in this order -- Presidential travel, the President's image, and the President's handling of the issues.

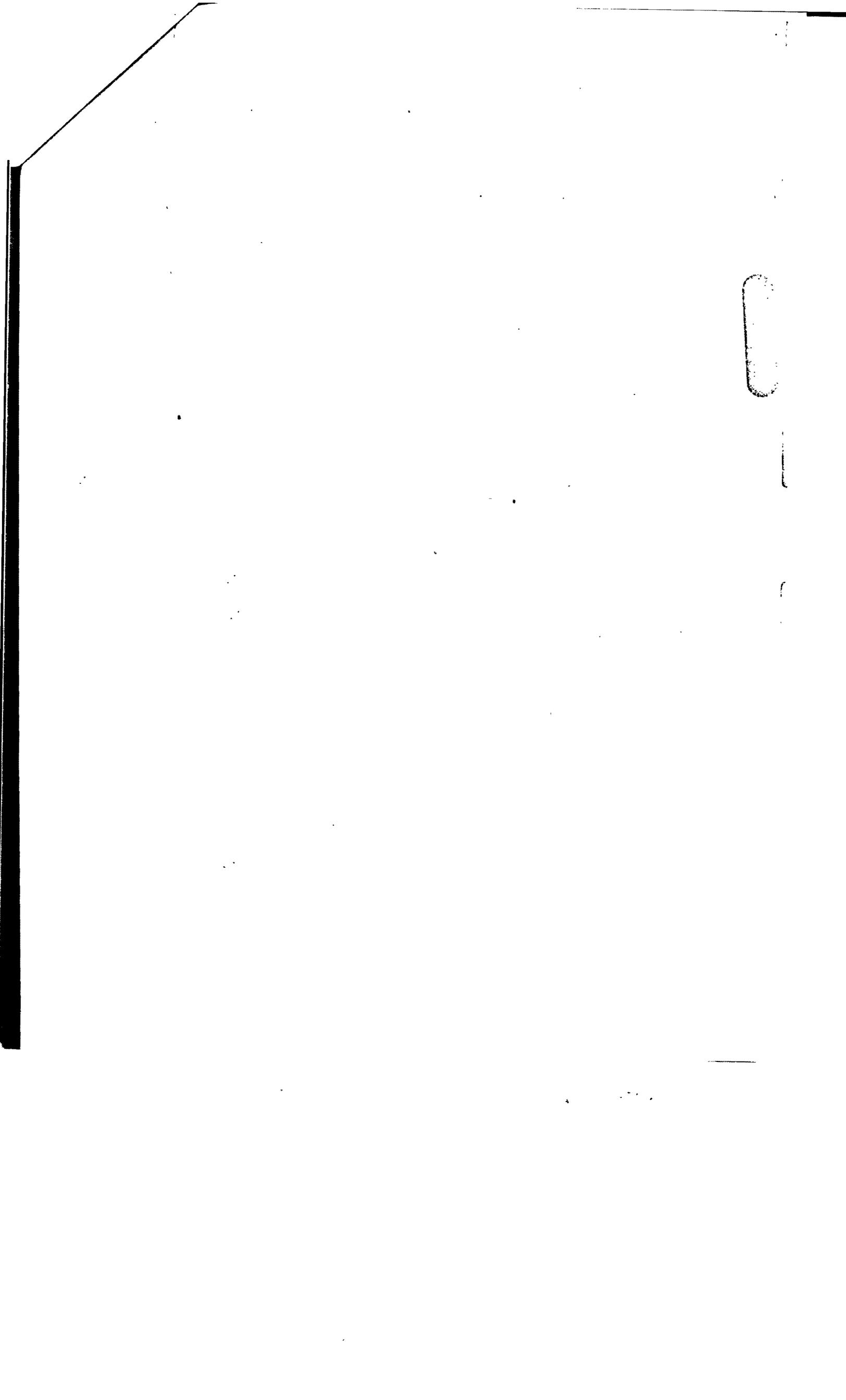
8) Ken Cole, on February 9, asked you by memorandum whether the Domestic Council staff could receive the results of these campaign polls. He wants only the material dealing with "domestic policy issues" and would personally limit the distribution of the results.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Ken Cole receive the issue sections of the National poll which will be available on February 28. You and the Attorney General would sign off on the text to be given to Cole.

H. AGREE DISAGREE

He should also have COMMENT  
the issue sections of the state poll



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 Muskie voters favor integration by 78% and 80% respectively. 51% of the Wallace voters are opposed to school integration, compared to 43% 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	37-56%	26-66%	16-76%	9-83%
Ages 18-24	52-43	39-56	24-73	13-84
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 those states where the President is ahead, he is obtaining a level of black support, particularly against Muskie, which is higher than a Republican candidate might normally expect or than the President received in 1968. This is shown in tabular form on Attachment A. If the black community perceives the President's position an "anti-Negro," he may seriously jeopardize his winning margin in some very critical northern states, such as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio by increasing black opposition to him 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 now 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 29 Negroes in Sample

Memorandum

- : Governor Reagan
- Ed Meese
- Mike Deaver
- Gordon Luce
- ✓ Lyn Nofziger

Date: February 25, 1972

Subject: Wallace and Spock in California

*Feb. 25, 1972*  
*471*  
*Wallace has will*  
*announced will*  
*stay out of Calif.*

- : Robert C. Walker

If the latest (mid-February) California Poll (Field) is reliable and Muskie gets the nomination, it would seem highly desirable that Wallace and Spock be on the ticket in California. If they are, the poll shows:

Nixon	44%
Muskie	40
Wallace	9
Spock	2
Undecided	<u>5</u>
	100%

If Wallace and Spock are not on the ballot, their 11 points are distributed as follows:

Muskie	8
Undecided	2
Nixon	1

The result is a Muskie victory assuming the undecided vote breaks in the same proportion:

Muskie	43%
Nixon	45
Undecided	<u>7</u>
	100%

This does not occur with Humphrey or Kennedy. The distribution of 11 points cast for Wallace and Spock when Humphrey is the nominee is as follows:

Nixon	5
Humphrey	5
Undecided	1

With Kennedy as the nominee Wallace and Spock get only 3 points and they break as follows when Wallace and Spock are removed:

Nixon	4
Kennedy	4

Governor Reagan  
Ed Meese  
Mike Deaver  
Gordon Luce  
Lyn Nofziger

-2-

February 25, 1972

The phenomenon of a disproportionate share of Wallace votes going to Muskie instead of to Nixon might be explained by the voters perception of Muskie as a new and more neutral figure, whereas they have sharp impressions of Nixon, Humphrey and Kennedy. In other words, a lack of knowledge about Muskie may affect their choice of him at this time. As the campaign progresses, however, this may gradually decline and should be watched closely. If it does decline to the point of equal distribution as in the Humphrey and Kennedy showings, then, of course, it will make little difference whether or not Wallace and Spock are on the California ballot.

Since we cannot be sure that the unfavorable pro-Muskie distribution will evaporate and since we are not hurt by the Humphrey and Kennedy distributions, I suggest that any moves to disqualify the AIP's be held in abeyance, at least.

As you know, this is contrary to the efforts of Robert Walters these past few months.

*Teeter/mag*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

Bob asked that in addition to getting more information from DMI if we can get it, also get our January figures for Los Angeles and Orange County. What he wants to do, obviously, is make a comparison to see if the shift has been in Orange County and Los Angeles County. As you know, Teeter was worried about Orange County figures. The shift, as I'm sure you are well aware, is almost too much to believe, so let's check it out.

With regard to the Mitchell meeting on March 21, Bob felt there might be some interest in John Mitchell, Bob Teeter and Haldeman getting together for a meeting. Rather than responding to the fact that Mitchell and Teeter are getting together, why don't you just say would it not perhaps be worthwhile for the former Attorney General and Bob to sit down with Teeter and review the situation together and see what the feeling is. The point is that Bob does not want to horn in on Mitchell's meeting, but I would guess Mitchell would welcome Haldeman sitting in on a polling meeting now that we have gone round the polls once. Obviously Bob studied them more than John did.

Why don't you get a reading <sup>from fel</sup> on what can be done here and, if so, plan on setting up the meeting on March 21. It would obviously be to our advantage to have the meeting in Haldeman's office, but I don't know if Mitchell can, or would prefer to arrange that, and obviously there is no need to make waves here. See what you can work out.

*Cancelled  
per JM.*

*Teeter / Mag* [Item N-6]

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

Bob asked that in addition to getting more information from DMI if we can get it, ~~also~~ also get our January figures for Los Angeles and Orange County. What he wants to do, obviously, is make a comparison to see if the shift has been in Orange County and Los Angeles County. As you know, Teeter was worried about Orange County figures. The shift, as I'm sure you are well aware, is almost too much to believe, so let's check it out.

With regard to the Mitchell meeting on March 21, Bob felt there might be some interest in John Mitchell, Bob Teeter and Haldeman getting together for a meeting. Rather than responding to the fact that Mitchell and Teeter are getting together, why don't you just say would it not perhaps be worthwhile for the former Attorney General and Bob to sit down with Teeter and review the situation together and see what the feeling is. The point is that Bob does not want to horn in on Mitchell's meeting, but I would guess Mitchell would welcome Haldeman sitting in on a polling meeting now that we have gone round the polls once. Obviously Bob studied them more than John did.

*Cancelled per JM.*

Why don't you get a reading <sup>from Feb</sup> on what can be done here and, if so, plan on setting up the meeting on March 21. It would obviously be to our advantage to have the meeting in Haldeman's office, but I don't know if Mitchell can, or would prefer to arrange that, and obviously there is no need to make waves here. See what you can work out.

[Item N-7]

EYES ONLY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

EYES ONLY

February 10, 1972

*AK*  
*factu*

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *CC*  
SUBJECT: Polling

Apropos our conversation on polls this morning, I think it might be a very interesting experiment to have our pollsters ask at the outset of the interview the approval question and the trial heats. Then go into the development of issue data and all the questions about the President that would be a part of the poll. At the end of the session, the interviewer might say, "I just want to check my notes once again. How did you say you would vote between Nixon and X?"

If there is any shift, i. e. , any change at the end of the interview from the beginning, this could be very significant information. More importantly, the profile of the kind of people who shift could be invaluable. That would identify the type of voter we really need to get to with issue material; That is, the people who can be sold if we work on them. Conceivably that could be the swing vote.

Harris said he would do this for me. On the other hand, I have some reservations about having him do this. We all know he is for sale and, while he is presently in our hands (I think), there is no telling what might happen in the future. The more I think about it the more I would be inclined to have it in the hands of one of our suppliers whom we can control rather than in the hands of Harris.

Would you let me know?

100-1070

[Item N-10]

Teeter

H  
FU  
Person 2/6

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

January 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Poll

for  
Walt  
G  
2/8-GS  
CHEN  
TECH

You asked that an attempt be made to find out whether Gallup had been purchased by Muskie/Kennedy or at least the DNC.

Jeb Magruder contacted Bob Teeter, who has a professional relationship with George Gallup Jr. Teeter talked with Gallup according to Magruder but could learn nothing. Magruder also had Cliff Miller contact Lloyd Free, Rockefeller's pollster who has strong connections with Gallup. Again, nothing concrete developed.

I did not call Tom Benham because he would be the third individual with tenuous White House connections. This could have been very embarrassing.

Rumsfeld is of course the correct, above board, contact with Gallup. I advised Dick Cheney of our suspicions on December 20. He discussed them with Counsellor Rumsfeld before Rumsfeld's lunch with George Gallup Jr. on December 29. Cheney doubts that Rumsfeld has called Mr. Haldeman with a report on that luncheon.

[Item W-117]

Mag/O'neley

FU

12/20

12/21

12/30

1/5

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 14, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY L

It is obvious that Gallup has been <sup>bought</sup> ~~begged~~ by Muskie/Kennedy or at least the Democratic National Committee.

They have probably figured that we bought Harris and they might as well get something.

Of course this is not the case, but it is probably worth finding out exactly what the Democratic - Gallup relationship is. I don't know if you want to talk to Dean about this or to Colson, but one of them should get something going on a low-key basis.

You may also want to mention this to Magruder and let's do each of them independently so we don't have everyone running around making statements about this. Let me know what progress you have made in one week.

Thank you.

G → DH 12/16,  
will see if  
CWC wants  
to go to Rums or  
whatever  
CWC + Harris (biops)  
agree Gallup bought  
but can't get Rums to  
really find out.

G → JRM 12/17  
Use Miller / Free-etc  
G → O'neley 12/20  
Rums lunch w/ Gallup  
on 12/20 but hasn't reported  
to it yet  
→ Teeter