COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N W
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

February 10, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Iowa and North Carolina Poll Results

Attached are my analyses of the results from Iowa and North Carolina. Accompanying these reports are the vendor's analysis.

ROBERT M. TEETER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

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Iowa
January 3-11, 1972
604 Interviews

In Iowa, the President leads Muskie and Kennedy by 8% and is 18% ahead of Humphrey. The undecided vote is less than 7%.

When Wallace is included on the ballot, the President's lead increases slightly over all candidates and the undecided remains the same.

On the Nixon/Muskie/Wallace ballot, the President's strength follows traditional Republican lines. He trails substantially among Catholics but is ahead nationally. The trade off between Republicans and Democrats is even for Muskie and the President, but the President receives over half of the ticket-splitters.

The President's overall approval rating is 57% with 35% disapproving. His rating on Vietnam and the economy are slightly higher than the national average. Catholics split evenly on the President's general job approval rating.

Over twice as many voters are able to rate the President's ability to handle issues as are able to rate Muskie. As in other states Kennedy is better known than Muskie, but still far behind the President. It can be assumed that there is a possibility Muskie and Kennedy will increase their share of the total vote as more voters are able to rate their abilities. The President appears to be most vulnerable on unemployment and drugs.

Iowa has a high proportion of rural and farm residents. These people tend to favor the President at a higher level than the state and national averages. Agriculture and farm problems are mentioned more often than the state average but still lag far behind the typical state problems of taxes and unemployment. There is no reason to expect that the farm vote will not support the President at least equally as strongly as it did in 1968.

Governor Ray, Senator Hughes, and Senator Miller all receive high approval ratings. Ray, whose term expires this year, is ahead of his Democrat opponent, Paul Franzerberg, with 60% compared to Franzerberg's 31% with 9% undecided.

The President is in good shape in Iowa and no serious compaign problems exist. He can be expected to win by at least 1968's margin.

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Iowa
January 3-11, 1972
604 Interviews

A

	Total	Republican	Ticket-Splitter	Democrat
Nixon	51%	84%	57%	15%
Muskie	43	12	36	79
Undecided	6	4	7	6
Nixon	55	83	60	22
Humphrey	37	9	33	66
Undecided	8	8	7	12
Nixon	51	85	57	21
Kennedy	43	9	38	74
Undecided	6	6	5	5
Nixon	48	83	52	14
Muskie	38	12	31	73
Wallace	8	2	10	7
Undecided	6	3	7	6
Nixon	53	88	55	21
Humphrey	32	7	26	61
Wallace	8	2	10	9
Undecided	7	3	9	9
Nixon	49	85	55	19
Kennedy	40	9	34	68
Wallace	4	2	5	5
Undecided	7	4	6	8
Nixon	42	77	46	10
Muskie	31	9	24	60
Wallace	5	1	7	4
McCarthy	8	5	8	8
Chisholm	1	1	1	2
Undecided	13	7	14	16

Secret Ballot D B
President
January 3-11, 1972

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	Undecided	Number
Total - 100%	48	38	8	6	604
Age					
18-24 years	39	49	9	3	74
25-34 years	51	39	7	3	127
35-44 years	50	36	10	4	90
45-54 years	41	43	10	6	91
55-64 years	45	42	4	9	62
65 years +	58	27	5	10	158
Education					
Less than high school	45	36	9	10	172
High school graduate	49	39	8	4	238
College	51	40	5	4	192
Religion					
Catholic	31	52	9	8	124
Protestant	54	34	7	5	459
Jewish	0	100	0	0	1
Other	43	54	0	3	19
Race					
White	47	39	8	6	599
Negro	80	0	20	0	3
Oriental	100	0	0	0	1
Mexican American	100	0	0	0	1
Union					
Yes	34	45	12	9	157
No	53	36	6	5	447
Income					
Under $5,000	53	32	7	8	118
$5,000-9,999	48	41	7	4	202
$10,000-14,999	43	46	8	3	138
$15,000 +	56	33	7	4	82
Sex					
Male	49	36	10	9	300
Female	47	41	5	7	304

C

RATINGS ON ABILITY TO HANDLE ISSUES

Issue	Current Voting	Percentage Rating Nixon Positive	Percentage Rating Nixon Negative	Percentage Rating Muskie Positive	Percentage Rating Muskie Negative
Unemployment	Total	47%	46%	29%	8%
	Muskie	34	61	37	7
	Nixon	60	34	21	11
Bussing	Total	44	44	27	10
	Muskie	37	50	41	11
	Nixon	53	29	20	11
Gen. Unrest	Total	58	37	30	9
	Muskie	37	60	48	5
	Nixon	78	16	21	11
Taxes	Total	53	42	26	10
	Muskie	40	56	47	4
	Nixon	67	30	16	14
Drugs	Total	49	44	31	9
	Muskie	42	51	46	9
	Nixon	56	38	22	11
Crime	Total	56	37	29	10
	Muskie	49	45	46	7
	Nixon	64	30	21	13
Vietnam	Total	72	26	29	12
	Muskie	55	44	47	10
	Nixon	90	9	21	14
Inflation	Total	76	30	26	13
	Muskie	55	44	48	8
	Nixon	80	16	15	17
Race	Total	67	24	32	8
	Muskie	56	36	49	7
	Nixon	80	13	24	9
Environment	Total	68	23	36	6
	Muskie	62	30	50	7
	Nixon	74	18	30	6
Health Care	Total	67	26	34	6
	Muskie	63	33	47	5
	Nixon	75	18	29	7
Education	Total	74	18	34	4
	Muskie	69	23	51	2
	Nixon	81	11	28	6
Defense	Total	81	14	31	8
	Muskie	75	20	47	6
	Nixon	90	7	24	11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

Iowa
January 3-11, 1972
604 Interviews

D

PERSONALITY ATTRIBUTES

	Percentage Rating Nixon			Percentage Rating Muskie		
	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters	Total Voters	Total Voters	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters
Cold	47%	13%	28%	10%	10%	12%
Neutral	25	19	22	30	19	36
Warm	26	66	47	24	55	23
Inexperienced	15	2	8	15	17	17
Neutral	20	6	13	25	10	32
Experienced	64	91	77	33	55	22
Closed Minded	49	13	30	5	2	8
Neutral	17	17	17	31	16	38
Open Minded	31	69	50	36	64	24
Untrained	11	2	8	14	10	11
Neutral	18	6	12	16	31	26
Trained	69	90	77	52	29	36
Timid	16	12	15	9	13	6
Neutral	23	25	24	33	30	35
Bold	58	62	58	31	39	29
Dishonest	29	6	17	8	6	8
Neutral	26	12	19	28	15	37
Honest	43	81	61	36	58	25
Introverted	37	24	30	7	12	4
Neutral	31	40	35	38	31	45
Extroverted	25	31	29	25	31	21
Dangerous	22	4	13	8	3	12
Neutral	30	15	21	30	20	37
Safe	46	80	63	36	56	21
Uninformed	21	7	14	10	11	8
Neutral	14	10	12	22	15	25
Informed	62	82	71	42	54	37

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Iowa
January 3-11, 1972
604 Interviews

	Percentage Rating Nixon			Percentage Rating Muskie		
	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters	Total Voters	Total Voters	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters
Meek	17%	13%	16%	10%	17%	7%
Neutral	21	22	21	30	26	31
Aggressive	59	63	60	32	39	31
Unjust	28	3	15	7	4	9
Neutral	27	18	22	32	20	40
Just	43	78	65	34	58	21
Incompetent	26	5	16	6	5	5
Neutral	25	11	19	26	11	34
Competent	46	82	61	40	64	31
Reserved	48	22	34	13	17	12
Neutral	18	20	19	31	20	39
Frank	31	55	44	29	45	19
Lacks humor	39	11	24	8	8	8
Neutral	21	20	20	35	26	39
Sense of humor	37	67	53	30	50	22
Old fashioned	30	18	22	10	11	9
Neutral	31	25	26	32	24	37
Up-to-date	38	55	49	30	45	23
Relaxed	28	49	38	26	48	16
Neutral	21	24	23	33	20	38
Tense	49	24	36	14	13	16
Soft	25	17	22	14	15	14
Neutral	37	36	36	40	38	43
Tough	36	45	39	18	27	13
Liberal	23	22	22	25	32	21
Neutral	30	30	31	33	24	38
Conservative	43	45	43	12	19	10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

North Carolina
January 3-15, 1972
803 Interviews

In North Carolina, the President enjoys a substantial lead against all candidates. In the two way races, Nixon leads Muskie by 19% and Humphrey by 25%. Kennedy is the strongest Democratic contender; however, he is still 14% behind the President.

Although the margin for Nixon declines in all races when Wallace is on the ballot, the President is still able to maintain a substantial lead. Nixon loses a substantial number of Republican voters to Wallace; however, he receives more Democratic votes to achieve a net gain on tradeoff.

Relative to Muskie, the President runs well with all voter groups, especially ticket-splitters and younger voters under age 35. The percentage of black voters for Nixon is more than twice the national level.

The President's approval rating among all voters is 57%, with 28% disapproving. This is slightly better than the national level. Younger voters (under 35) have a significantly higher level of approval than the national average. Younger voters also display greater approval of Nixon's handling of Vietnam and the economy.

Awareness of the President's ability to handle specific issues far exceeds that of his Democratic rivals. Only 37% are aware of Muskie's abilities while 63% are aware of Kennedy's. Awareness of the President's abilities to handle issues ranges from 85% to 97%. Nixon was rated lowest on his ability to handle problems relating to drugs, unemployment, and bussing.

The most important national issues are Vietnam, the economy and drugs. On the state level, the leading issues are drug abuse, education, and unemployment.

The opinion of North Carolina voters on school desegregation should be given special consideration because of the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education directly affecting a large metropolitan area in this state. Even with all of the publicity given to the case, only 1% said that school integration was the single most important problem facing the nation. Bussing is only mentioned by 8% when voters were asked the greatest problem facing the state. Throughout all of the bussing controversy, 60% of the North Carolina voters are in favor of school integration. When voters were asked to select the greatest failure of the President from an issue list (including bussing), 22% indicated selected the bussing answer. Bussing does not become important until it is mentioned and emphasized.

In general 60% of the voters approve of the treatment of blacks under the administration. Among blacks the approval rate is 47% favorable compared to 20% unfavorable Both figures of approval are higher in North Carolina than the rest of the country.

Republican senatorial candidate James Broyhill and James Gardner run substantially behind Democratic incumbent Everett Jordan. Gardner does very well with ticket-splitters (51%), compared to Broyhill who runs poorly with this voter group (16%). Broyhill is also weak among Republicans. Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Pat Taylor has a substantial lead over James Gardner and James Holshouser. Both Republican candidates do poorly with ticket-splitters. Senator Everett Jordan has an approval rate of 47% with 9% disapproving and 44% unable to answer.

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North Carolina
January 3-15, 1972
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CAMPAIGN IMPLICATIONS

North Carolina is a safe state if either Muskie or Humphrey receives the nomination, regardless of whether Wallace is on the ballot.

Because of the likelihood of Muskie or Humphrey being chosen, North Carolina is not a priority state at the present time. If Kennedy receives the nomination, we should take an additional look at North Carolina then.

If North Carolina is typical of other border states, the President's ability to continue to attract ticket-splitters and particularly young voters in these states will be very important. It appears that young voters in the border states and in the South are much more inclined to support the President than they are in other regions of the country. Therefore, in these states the President's increased support among young voters may well help him offset the lack of behavorial Republicans in the electorate.

The data on school bussing from North Carolina is important in dealing with this problem nationally. The problem is not foremost in the voters mind and until it is mentioned, there are no negative implications for the President. In other words, the President's "low profile - voluntary compliance" approach has been effective, and should be continued here and elsewhere.

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North Carolina
January 3-15, 1972
803 Interviews

A

	Total	Republican	Ticket-Splitter	Democrat
Nixon	40%	71%	56%	23%
Muskie	28	3	15	47
Wallace	20	17	19	19
Undecided	12	9	10	11
Nixon	42	73	60	21
Humphrey	25	2	11	47
Wallace	21	16	20	21
Undecided	12	9	9	11
Nixon	39	73	53	23
Kennedy	30	0	18	48
Wallace	18	17	17	18
Undecided	13	10	12	11
Nixon	53	89	69	31
Muskie	34	3	19	57
Undecided	13	8	12	12
Nixon	56	90	75	31
Humphrey	31	2	16	55
Undecided	13	8	9	14
Nixon	51	88	69	31
Kennedy	37	3	19	19
Undecided	12	9	12	12
Nixon	34	64	45	20
Muskie	21	2	12	37
Wallace	16	12	15	13
McCarthy	5	5	5	4
Chisholm	3	1	3	5
Undecided	21	16	20	21

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	Undecided	Number
TOTAL 100%	40	28	20	12	803
Age					
18-24 years	40	26	23	11	107
25-33 years	41	30	20	9	172
35-44 years	42	28	20	10	156
45-54 years	43	26	20	11	129
55-64 years	37	29	13	21	110
65 years +	36	26	22	16	127
Education					
Less than high school	33	26	23	18	259
High school graduate	43	26	25	6	287
College	54	33	6	7	255
Religion					
Catholic	22	58	13	7	19
Protestant	42	26	20	12	751
Jewish	30	48	0	22	6
Other	12	46	27	15	27
Race					
White	44	21	26	9	732
Negro	25	51	0	24	69
Oriental	0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	0	0	0	0	0
Union					
Yes	39	31	21	9	106
No	40	27	20	13	697
Income					
Under $5,000	37	39	19	15	176
$5,000-9,999	39	24	27	10	284
$10,000-14,999	51	23	20	6	162
$15,000 +	54	32	7	7	91
Sex					
Male	40	28	23	9	401
Female	41	26	17	16	402

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

North Carolina
January 3-15, 1972
803 Interviews

C

RATINGS ON ABILITY TO HANDLE ISSUES

Issue	Current Voting	Percentage Rating Nixon Positive	Percentage Rating Nixon Negative	Percentage Rating Muskie Positive	Percentage Rating Muskie Negative
Unemployment	Total	56%	37%	25%	12%
	Muskie	34	59	44	10
	Nixon	74	19	23	17
Bussing	Total	36	57	20	16
	Muskie	38	55	44	7
	Nixon	45	49	18	20
Drugs	Total	45	27	24	12
	Muskie	39	49	42	5
	Nixon	59	36	24	16
Unrest	Total	54	37	23	13
	Muskie	41	48	46	6
	Nixon	71	22	20	19
Crime	Total	56	35	24	14
	Muskie	45	45	41	12
	Nixon	70	23	24	17
Inflation	Total	71	22	26	11
	Muskie	51	40	48	2
	Nixon	85	10	22	19
Vietnam	Total	73	24	23	13
	Muskie	51	46	43	5
	Nixon	90	7	20	20
Race	Total	60	34	23	14
	Muskie	53	43	47	9
	Nixon	75	19	19	19
Taxes	Total	63	30	24	13
	Muskie	59	37	47	7
	Nixon	78	17	21	19
Defense	Total	76	12	24	13
	Muskie	64	20	43	9
	Nixon	89	4	21	19
Education	Total	72	20	27	11
	Muskie	67	24	47	6
	Nixon	85	11	29	12
Environment	Total	62	23	28	9
	Muskie	76	14	45	8
	Nixon	51	33	29	12
Health Care	Total	73	18	29	8
	Muskie	64	26	49	0
	Nixon	82	11	28	13

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North Carolina
January 3-15, 1972
803 Interviews

D

PERSONALITY ATTRIBUTES

	Percentage Rating Nixon			Percentage Rating Muskie		
	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters	Total Voters	Total Voters	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters
Cold	43%	7%	22%	9%	8%	14%
Neutral	22	17	21	29	8	32
Warm	33	73	53	26	56	20
Inexperienced	17	0	7	14	15	14
Neutral	21	7	12	24	7	28
Experienced	59	91	77	26	51	24
Closed Minded	40	9	22	12	17	15
Neutral	17	14	15	28	11	30
Open Minded	40	74	58	24	45	21
Untrained	12	1	6	11	4	11
Neutral	19	4	11	25	16	25
Trained	66	92	78	28	45	30
Timid	22	11	16	8	6	11
Neutral	19	21	25	26	14	26
Bold	54	65	54	29	52	28
Dishonest	25	3	11	6	9	9
Neutral	24	8	15	30	16	31
Honest	47	87	70	27	48	25
Introverted	25	28	27	11	25	8
Neutral	42	36	40	34	22	32
Extroverted	25	28	24	18	23	25
Dangerous	25	2	10	9	9	11
Neutral	33	13	23	26	11	27
Safe	38	82	52	28	52	27
Uninformed	16	7	11	11	13	13
Neutral	21	8	16	25	12	24
Informed	60	82	69	27	47	28

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North Carolina
January 3-15, 1972
803 Interviews

D (Cont'd.)

	Percentage Rating Nixon			Percentage Rating Muskie		
	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters	Total Voters	Total Voters	Muskie Voters	Nixon Voters
Meek	16	17	18	9	9	12
Neutral	33	22	27	29	16	29
Aggressive	47	57	50	25	47	24
Unjust	32	4	14	6	8	7
Neutral	23	9	16	29	15	30
Just	42	83	66	29	49	28
Incompetent	6	2	12	12	14	13
Neutral	13	13	17	26	11	28
Competent	79	81	64	25	47	24
Reserved	44	22	30	12	15	14
Neutral	29	14	21	30	12	34
Frank	24	61	44	21	45	17
Lacks humor	31	8	19	14	13	19
Neutral	26	14	20	28	15	27
Sense of humor	39	76	57	22	44	19
Old fashioned	39	14	23	8	14	7
Neutral	21	19	20	29	16	34
Up-to-date	36	64	52	27	42	24
Relaxed	33	49	40	14	19	20
Neutral	25	23	25	31	15	33
Tense	38	25	30	18	38	12
Soft	22	18	21	12	9	15
Neutral	37	34	36	32	27	30
Tough	37	46	38	19	36	20
Liberal	20	19	19	27	14	30
Neutral	33	30	33	30	24	30
Conservative	45	47	43	7	35	5