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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 11, 1972

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By SD NARA, Date 12/31/89

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *Yarish*

SUBJECT:

Wallace Strategy

This memorandum will outline the current impact of George Wallace on the November election and various campaign implications of his candidacy at this time.

Ballot Effect of the Wallace Vote

In our national study, George Wallace obtains approximately 11% of the vote. As expected there is great geographical variance in his strength. In those states where we have conducted campaign polls, the Wallace vote ranges from 24% in Tennessee to 5% in New Hampshire. Our 1968 experience would indicate that the Wallace vote might range up to 40% in the deep south — Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia. Attachment A shows the vote in those states where we have polled.

The effect of a Wallace candidacy on the President's vote varies greatly depending on the Democratic nominee. Against Humphrey or Kennedy, a Wallace candidacy hurts the President's chances in several crucial northern states. On the other hand, it is to the President's advantage to have Wallace on the ballot where Muskie is the candidate. In the border states, the President defeats all potential Democratic candidates by such large margins that a Wallace candidacy has no effect.<sup>1/</sup> The following table shows the effect of the Wallace candidacy:<sup>1/</sup>

1/

A state was put in "Helps" or "Hurts" category depending upon the change in the President's margin from the two way to the three way ballots. A state was categorized as "No difference" if the margin remained the same or if the President won or lost the state by 10% or more.



MUSKIE

HUMPHREY

KENNEDY

HELPS: Indiana +4/+8  
 Missouri -10/-8  
 New Hampshire +7/+10  
 New Jersey +8/+11  
 Ohio +6/+8  
 Oregon +1/+3  
 Pennsylvania -6/-4  
 Texas -2/-1  
 Wisconsin -12/-9

Wisconsin 0/+2

Iowa +8/+9

HURTS: California -5/-6  
 New York +1/-1

Maryland +4/+1  
 Missouri -2/-3  
 New York +9/+7  
 Oregon +11/+7  
 Pennsylvania +6/+3  
 Texas +9/+6

California -5/-7  
 Kentucky +9/+8  
 Maryland -1/-2  
 Missouri -2/-6  
 New Jersey +8/+7  
 New York +2/+1  
 North Carolina +14/+9  
 Ohio +10/+7  
 Pennsylvania +6/+3  
 Tennessee +15/+9  
 Texas +1/0

NO DIFFERENCE:

Florida +21/+17  
 Iowa +8/+10  
 Kentucky +15/+15  
 Maryland -1/-1  
 N. Carolina +19/+12.  
 Tennessee +14/+11  
 Virginia +15/+15

California +7/+7  
 Florida +22/+17  
 Indiana +15/+14  
 Iowa +18/+21  
 Kentucky +16/+16  
 New Hamp. +24/+23  
 New Jersey +18/+16  
 N. Carolina +25/+17  
 Ohio +13/+10  
 Tennessee +17/+11  
 Virginia +23/+17

Florida +15/+10  
 Indiana +8/+8  
 New Hampshire +22/+20  
 Oregon +4/+4  
 Virginia +25/+18  
 Wisconsin -11/-11

Our research shows that the farther to the left the Democratic candidate is perceived from the President the more negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. Therefore, if the Democratic nominee moves to a central position on the liberal-conservative spectrum, a Wallace candidacy should be to our advantage and vice versa. It appears that if McGovern is the nominee, the effect of a Wallace candidacy would be similar to Kennedy and Humphrey rather than like Muskie.

Approximately 50% of the Wallace vote is hard core voting for him on all ballots, while the other half switch to and from Wallace depending on the particular candidate choices offered.



### Profile of Wallace Voters

The demographic voter profile of the Wallace voter varies considerably by region. In California, Wallace voters are primarily in the \$7,000 to \$15,000 income bracket, have less education, are more Protestant and are slightly more non-union than other voters. A high percentage are male. In terms of voting behavior, Wallace draws slightly more Republicans than Democrats.

In New York, Wallace voters are more likely to be Democrats, Catholics and union members. A much higher percentage of men support Wallace than do women.

Wallace voters in Florida are highly Democratic, and have substantially lower education than other voters. Wallace also draws heavily from voters who are Protestant and non-union. The support from men and women is more even in Florida than in other states although slightly more men than women support Wallace.

In terms of issues, Wallace voters rank the issues in approximately the same importance as other voters; however, Wallace voters display more intensity of feeling about all issues.

Nationally, bussing remains the least important of all issues tested, although Wallace voters are more opposed to bussing than Nixon or Muskie voters. The most important issues are crime, drugs, and taxes, and Vietnam. The tax issue is more important for Wallace voters than other voters. A majority of Wallace voters disagree that the President's economic policies will benefit the working man, compared to lesser percentages of Nixon and Muskie voters who disagree. Wallace voters generally perceive the President's handling of issues more favorably than Muskie voters but substantially less favorably than Nixon voters.

### Other Third Party Candidates

Our research shows that our chances for winning every state are substantially improved with the addition of other Democratic third party candidates such as Shirley Chisholm and Eugene McCarthy on the ballot. This conclusion was confirmed by an independent California study showing a similar result in increasing the President's margin with addition of Benjamin Spock to the ballot.

Alternatively a conservative Republican third party candidate would undoubtedly be a detriment to the President's voting strength.

### Campaign Implications

In the border states, the President's large margins preclude any negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. The effect in the deep south, however, is uncertain and consideration should be given to conducting additional secret ballots in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana to determine whether the President would be



able to win these states with and without a Wallace candidacy. A recent poll conducted in Louisiana shows a slight edge for Nixon over Wallace. This finding should be verified and studied in other deep south states.

Our research also indicates that the Wallace voters do considerable switching and a careful program should be developed to identify concentrations of Wallace vote in critical states. The issues that appeal to Wallace voters (crime, drugs, and taxes) are ones which will need emphasis to all voters. Therefore, our success in dealing with the Wallace voters will depend largely on our ability to identify these voters and reach them with our message. Similar to ticket-splitters, Wallace voters should be easier to convert than traditional straight Democratic party voters. Direct mail and canvassing programs should first be directed at the heaviest Wallace precincts from 1968. This effort should be coordinated with an identical effort directed at high ticket-splitting precincts.

The decision as to whether we want Wallace on or off the ballot should be delayed until the Democratic candidate is chosen and his perceived position on the liberal-conservative spectrum is determined. The closer the Democratic candidate is perceived to the President, the more help a Wallace candidacy will be. As of now, it appears that a Wallace candidacy in November would be a detriment against either Humphrey or Kennedy. There are indications, however, that this situation may change as a result of the primaries and further campaigning. At this time, it seems most appropriate to us to keep our options available rather than making any firm decision.

If possible, we should begin to take whatever steps are necessary to have Shirley Chisholm, Eugene McCarthy and Benjamin Spock on the ballot in all critical states. Chisholm appears to be our best choice of these potential candidates. Consideration should be given to funding the candidacy of one of these persons to permit their filing as a third party candidate in as many states as possible. Similarly, we must make every effort to prevent a conservative third party candidate being used against us.

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	<u>Dev. from U.S.</u>
Tennessee	+13
North Carolina	+ 9
Florida	+ 9
Virginia	+ 6
Texas	+ 1
Missouri	+ 1
Kentucky	0
Indiana	0
Maryland	- 3
Iowa	- 3
New Jersey	- 3
Ohio	- 3
Pennsylvania	- 3
Wisconsin	- 4
Oregon	- 4
California	- 5
Illinois	- 5
New York	- 6
New Hampshire	- 6





COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

April 11, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
MR. FREDERIC V. MALEK  
MR. KENNETH C. RIETZ  
MR. PETER H. DAILEY  
DR. ROBERT H. MARIK

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *Savish*

SUBJECT:

Youth Poster Study

This memorandum will outline the results of the poster study which evaluated several alternative posters to be used by the young voters division.

POSTERS LIKED BEST

The poster showing President Nixon at the window in the White House was the one most favorably received as shown in the table below:

Percentage Naming Poster as First Choice

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Calif.</u>	<u>Ohio</u>	<u>Texas</u>
<u>Poster</u>				
Window	30%	27%	33%	29%
China	24	25	30	19
Wood	20	21	13	25
Vietnam	15	18	9	17
Draft	10	8	14	8
No Opinion	1	1	1	2

The window poster is the first choice for all regions, demographic and voter groups. The China poster is much more popular in Ohio and California than in Texas, especially with independent voters and Democrats. The wood poster is rated highest in Texas and is more generally popular with Republicans. The Vietnam and draft issue posters were not as well received as the other posters.

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Young voters are more likely to hang the three "image"<sup>1/</sup> posters on their walls than the "issue posters as shown below:

<u>Likelihood of Hanging Up Poster</u>	<u>Poster</u>				
	<u>Window</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>Wood</u>	<u>Vietnam</u>	<u>Draft</u>
Likely	23%	20	24%	14%	12%
Perhaps	14	19	7	8	10
Not Likely	63	61	69	78	78

Republicans are more likely to hang all of the Nixon posters than are Independents or Democrats. Republican voters generally favor the Wood poster, while Independents and Democrats are more inclined to hang the Window or China posters.

STRENGTH AND WEAKNESSES OF POSTERS

Window Poster

As a first reaction to this poster, 36% of the young voters surveyed immediately said, "Great, fantastic, like it." This was even more the case with Democrats and Independents than Republicans. Most reactions to the picture and setting are positive, young voters believe that the poster shows Nixon as "concerned" and "thoughtful". The voters believe that the picture depicts his loneliness and the great weight of the office of President.

The slogan is the weakest part of the poster. Thirty percent believe that the message and words do not fit the picture. For instance, the picture says we need less "charisma" which may be exactly what the picture conveys. The slogan may also be hard to understand. This may be an appropriate vehicle to use the theme of the "destiny speech".

China Poster

This poster successfully conveys the concept of "Peace". Twenty-five percent of the young voters believe the poster signifies that the President "made an attempt for peace." Twenty-six percent feel that the poster "shows two worlds coming together for understanding".

Even in light of these favorable comments, 35% of the voters find the poster hard to believe. This results primarily from the word "peace" used on the poster. A substantial proportion of these voters do not feel that peace can result from just one trip. The poster slogan simply comes across "too strongly".

<sup>1/</sup> The term "image" posters is used to refer to the Wood, China and Window posters as opposed to the "issue" posters (Vietnam and Draft) which show facts and figures.



This poster could be greatly improved if another word or phrase was substituted for the word "peace" or if the poster had no words at all. <sup>2/</sup>

#### Wood Poster

This poster is perceived as "old fashioned" or the kind of poster used in Lincoln's day. The poster primarily conveys the message that the President is a "good family man".

It appears that this kind of campaign poster is well received. The research, however, uncovered a number of negative comments about this particular poster. Thirty-one percent of the young voters say they simply "don't like it". Nine percent characterize it as funny or humorous and 6% indicate that it is "ridiculous, corny or kooky".

On the positive side, 21% say they simply "like it." Twelve percent respond favorably because it is in color compared to black and white for all of the other posters.

The research basically shows that this type of poster could be well received but there are very definite problems with this particular poster. This may account for the success of the 1968 Nixon poster which was in many ways similar to the wood poster.

#### Vietnam Poster

A substantial proportion found this poster to be impressive and liked it, but there was also a great deal of negative comment. This unfavorable reaction involved disbelief of the statistics set forth. Forty-three percent didn't believe the figures quoted and having Nixon take sole credit for the reduction in troops was also unfavorably received.

It may be possible to improve this poster with more descriptive text so that it more clearly conveys some of the problems of the Vietnam disinvolvement. It seems that the young voters do not share the view that the United States has in fact left Vietnam.

It should be pointed out that the poster has excellent impact of presenting facts of which the young voters were not aware.

There was very little interest by the young voters in hanging this poster on the wall. It was perceived as a political propaganda item rather than expressing an idea that the particular young voter happened to agree with and wished to express.

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2/

Our research indicates that the statement made on this poster might more appropriately indicate a striving for peace but not attainment of peace itself. Consideration might be given to such slogans as "a chance for peace", "a journey for peace", "we come in peace for all mankind", or even a more vague statement such as "a journey of a thousand miles begins with one step".



### Draft Poster

This poster effectively conveyed an idea that the young voters know to be true -- that the draft is ending. It was believable and well received although it was not the type of poster the young voters would be likely to hang on their wall.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Our research leads us to several recommendations:

1. The poster approach appears to be an excellent technique to achieve a high level of personal use of a political item and to convey a message to young voters. Approximately one third of this voter group are likely to hang either the Window, China, or Wood Posters on their wall at home or school. The expected use of the Window and China Posters by Independents and Democrats is especially important due to the President's poor showing in terms of voting strength with this voter group.
2. We would recommend that the Window Poster and the China Poster (or both) be selected for the greatest impact across all voter groups especially Independents and Democrats.

With regard to the Window Poster, the slogan should be rewritten to convey more idealism and thereby fit the picture. On the China Poster, the word "Peace" should be dropped, leaving no slogan or changing the slogan to show our striving for peace but not actually attaining it. Consideration should be given to printing the China Poster in color.

3. The Wood Poster should only be used if it is redesigned along the lines of the 1968 poster in order to eliminate the negative responses. The current Wood Poster is less effective than the Window and China Posters.
4. The Draft Poster should be considered for advertising purposes rather than for personal use by individual young voters as a decorative or personal political item.
5. Before further use is made of the Vietnam poster, consideration should be given to redesigning it in order that a more complete story of the President's Vietnam record is conveyed. The poster as currently designed is a little too strong.
6. Consideration should be given to developing an advertising program for young voters which could convey some of the President's idealism to this voter group.

It would be important to convey those kinds of feelings about the President which young voters would find believable. For instance, this might portray the President as concerned, very patriotic, and holding a very lonely job.



The program could show the President working to solve some of our difficult national problems of concern to young people. Such an approach might be well received by this voter group and it might take some pressure off some of the issues we have been less than successful in solving, such as crime.

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