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The Harris Survey

For Release: Thursday, January 13, 1972

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File Harris & Black

HOW BLACK AMERICANS RATE THEIR LEADERS, ORGANIZATIONS

By Louis Harris

The roster of black organizations and black leaders held in most respect by the rank and file of blacks in the United States has not undergone drastic change in the past few years. Topping the list today are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference among national groups, and, among individuals, Ralph Abernathy and Charles Evers.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that a black woman, Rep. Shirley Chisholm of New York, ranks among the leaders, ahead of sport stars such as Muhammed Ali and Kareem Jabbar. And another elected office holder, Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, is also held in high regard. The names of both have figured in 1972 political speculations.

Recently, a special Harris Survey asked a cross section of 1203 blacks across the country:

"I'd like to read you a list of some black leaders and organizations. For each, tell me if you respect them a great deal, some but not a great deal, or hardly at all."
(READ LIST)

RESPECT FOR BLACK LEADERS BY BLACKS

	A Great Deal	Some-Not Great Deal	Hardly Any	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%
NAACP	73	18	4	5
Southern Christian Leadership Conf.	65	22	4	9
Ralph Abernathy	60	25	7	8
Charles Evers	59	20	3	18
Roy Wilkins	58	21	6	15
Carl Stokes	56	19	5	20
Urban League	52	21	6	21
Justice Thurgood Marshall	51	16	6	27
Rep. Shirley Chisholm	50	16	4	30
Jessie Jackson	47	23	5	25
Sen. Edward Brooke	47	20	9	24
Muhammed Ali	47	23	15	15
Kareem Jabbar	45	21	7	27
CORE	43	23	7	27
A. Phillip Randolph	37	14	7	42
Angela Davis	35	21	14	30
Eldridge Cleaver	27	20	16	37
Stokely Carmichael	26	23	23	28
Elijah Mohammed	24	23	22	31
Black Panthers	23	25	32	20
Bobby Seale	21	18	18	43

The order obtained in this last survey roughly parallels that from an earlier study of blacks in 1970. For example, the NAACP led the list then, cited by 75 percent, followed by the SCIC, the organization founded by Martin Luther King, at 73 percent.

-OVER-

Former Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland has slipped some from his 1970 standing, down from 63 to 56 percent, while Jessie Jackson, formerly of Operation Breadbasket in Chicago, also dropped from 51 to 47 percent in the "respect a great deal" category. Jackson recently broke with the Southern Christian Leadership group and reportedly will set up his own organization.

Two of the most prominent black athletes, Muhammed Ali and Kareem Jabbar (the Muslim name taken by Lew Alcindor, the basketball star), stand at midpoint on the list. Ali has risen from 33 to 47 percent as one respected a "great deal" since he returned to boxing again, although his controversial status is documented by the 15 percent among blacks who say they respect him "hardly at all." Jabbar has slipped slightly from 50 to 45 percent, but this might be due to some confusion over his change of name.

Among black militant leaders, Angela Davis emerges as considerably more esteemed than Eldridge Cleaver or Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers. Miss Davis, an avowed communist, is on trial for allegedly smuggling weapons to prisoners in the California courtroom killing of a judge and other hostages. A sizable 35 percent of all blacks express a "great deal" of respect for her, with an additional 21 percent who say they respect her "some but not a great deal." No more than 14 percent say they respect Angela Davis "hardly at all."

The results show widespread differences among different age groups in attitudes toward leaders and organizations. For example, among blacks under 30, Angela Davis is well respected by 48 percent, compared with no more than 26 percent of blacks 50 and over. Comparably, Eldridge Cleaver is highly respected by 40 percent of the young blacks but by no more than 19 percent of older blacks.

On the other hand, Roy Wilkins is held in high regard by 63 percent of all black persons over 50, but by a smaller 49 percent of those under 30. Similarly, the SCLC is respected by 59 percent of the under-30 group but by a much higher 70 percent of the over-50 age bracket.

In general, younger blacks are much more sympathetic with the more militant leadership, while older blacks feel more empathy with moderate leaders and groups. This fact could presage a growing militancy among the black community in the years ahead.

The rise of Rep. Shirley Chisholm to major national stature among black leaders is significant. She is one of the organizers of the Black Caucus in Congress, made up of black elected representatives, who have expressed strong views on pending legislation and criticism of the Nixon Administration. Rep. Chisholm has announced that she intends to run in some of the presidential primaries for the Democratic nomination. She has stated that she does not think she can win, but can corral a major share of the black vote and use it for bargaining purposes at the Democratic National Convention.

Sen. Brooke's name is frequently mentioned as a possibility for a Cabinet post in a Republican Administration or, ultimately, even a place on the national ticket. Respect for him among blacks is as broad, but slightly less intensive than that for Rep. Chisholm.

Certainly, the roster of black leadership most respected by blacks in this country tends to reinforce earlier findings from the Harris Survey that street demonstrations may have tapered off, but blacks are nonetheless more militant than ever about achieving equal opportunity in American society.

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Black polls

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68 Delegates Back Nixon;

Muskie, Kennedy Split Demos

ATLANTA, Ga. — President Richard Nixon is the 1972 personal choice of nearly half of the Blacks who attended the 1968 Republican convention, while their Democratic counterparts are evenly split between Senators Edmund Muskie D-Me. and Edward Kennedy, D-Mass.

The Presidential choice, and others, were made in a just released poll taken by Political Associates, an Atlanta-based research firm headed by Georgia State Representative Julian Bond.

In releasing the results, gathered during the summer of 1971, Bond said the survey "is the first, to our knowledge, which shows what this body of politicians is thinking about 1972."

Fifty-three per cent of the responding Black Democrats split evenly between Senators Muskie and Kennedy as their personal first choice for the Democratic nomination in 1972; 42 per cent of the responding Black Republicans chose President Nixon.

Former Cleveland Mayor Carl

Stokes was chosen by 13.26 per cent first choice; New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller was first choice of 24.8 per cent of the Republicans.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Min.), former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) were each selected by 6.12 per cent of the Democrats, while 15.5 per cent of the Republicans chose Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), 12.4 per cent chose New York Mayor John Lindsay, and 3.1 per cent chose Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.)

Despite their split between Muskie and Kennedy as their own first choice, fully 62 per cent of the Democrats said that Muskie was "most likely" to be nominated by the Democrats in 1972. While Nixon was the personal choice of only 42 per cent of the responding Republicans, 90.3 per cent expected him to be the Republican nominee.

In answer to a third question, 33 per cent of the responding Democrats said Sen. Kennedy would do more for Black people; 33.1 per cent of the

of the Democrats as their personal Republicans said that Rockefeller would "do more."

In the poll, 23.4 per cent of the Democrats said Carl Stokes would "do more" and 24.8 per cent of the Republicans said that Sen. Brooke would "do more."

* * *

Democrats and Republicans were united in believing that the war in Southeast Asia would be the most important issue in 1972, howe-election; 36 per cent of the Democrats and 48 per cent of the Republicans chose the war as the primary issue.

When asked what "should be" the most important issue in 1972, however, 21.7 per cent of the Republicans said "race relations" while more Democrats (18 per cent) chose the war.

The poll conducted in July, was released recently.

"It should be remembered," Bond said, "that this data was gathered before Sen. Harold Hughes and Sen.

Birch Bayh dropped out of the race, before Sen. Fred Harris dropped in and out, before Sen. Proxmire dropped out, before Rep. Shirley Chisholm began to hint she would run, before Mayor Lindsay switched parties, before Nelson Rockefeller's At-tica, before Sen. Muskie's statements about a black vice-president, and before much of the present public discussion about a single — or several — black candidacies for President."

* * *

"Equally important to an understanding of the poll's results is the character of the 1963 delegates themselves. Many were handpicked by old political bosses; most were past middle age; nearly all were chosen because of their past strong, unquestioned allegiance to their respective parties."

* * *

"If the poll suggest anything," Bond said, "it is the need to insure democratic selection and community control of delegates to major party conventions in the future."

File Black polls
BLACK PRESS

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

SHREVEPORT, LA.
SUN
NOV 25 1971
WEEKLY - 15,000

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Poll Shows Blacks Favor Muskie And Kennedy For Democratic Nomination

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53% of the responding Black Democrats split evenly between Senators Muskie and Kennedy as their personal first

choice for the Democratic nomination in 1972. 42% of the responding Black Republicans chose President Nixon.

Former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes was chosen by 13.26% of the Democrats as their personal first choice; New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller was first choice of 24.8% of the Republicans.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn), former United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind) were each selected by 6.12% of the Democrats, while 15.5% of the Republicans chose Senator Edward Brooke (R-Mass), 12.4% chose New York Mayor John Lindsay, and 3.1% chose Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill).

Despite their split between Muskie and Kennedy as their own first choice, fully 62% of the Black Democrats said that

Muskie was "most likely" to be nominated by the Democrats in 1972. While Nixon was the personal choice of only 42% of the responding Republicans, 90.3% expected him to be the Republican nominee.

In answer to a third question, 33% of the responding Democrats said Senator Kennedy would "do more" for Black people; 33.1% of the Republicans said that Rockefeller would "do more".

23.4% of the Democrats said Carl Stokes would "do more" and 24.8% of the Republicans said that Senator Brooke would "do more".

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Black Polls
File
Black
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LEE SLURZBERG NATIONAL BLACK OMNIBUS POLL

WAVE 11 - DECEMBER, 1971

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION VOTER PREFERENCE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>East</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Far & Mid West</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Nixon	9	11	8	7
Lindsay	60	55	66	62
Not Sure	31	34	26	31

QUESTION:

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, or Mayor John Lindsay, the Democrat?

Information is based on 1,000 personal interviews conducted with a nationwide representative sample of urban Black people between November 8 and November 20, 1971.

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LEE SLURZBERG NATIONAL BLACK OMNIBUS POLL

WAVE II - DECEMBER, 1971

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION VOTER PREFERENCE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>East</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Far & Mid West</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Nixon	12	16	9	10
Chisholm	59	57	66	56
Not Sure	29	27	25	34

QUESTION:

Suppose in 1972 it was between Richard Nixon, the Republican, and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn for the Democrats, which would you vote for?

Information is based on 1,000 personal interviews conducted with a nationwide representative sample of urban Black people between November 8 and November 20, 1971.

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION - VOTER PREFERENCE

(Democrat - Kennedy)

National Black Omnibus Study - August 1971

Nixon	3%
Kennedy	66%
Wallace	0%
Lindsay	13%
Not Sure	18%

Question: Now, suppose in 1972 it was between Nixon for the Republicans, Senator Edward Kennedy for the Democrats, Governor George Wallace, an Independent, or New York Mayor John Lindsay, an Independent, who would you vote for?

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION - VOTER PREFERENCE

(Democrat - Muskie)

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

Nixon	9%
Muskie	27%
Wallace	1%
Lindsay	29%
Not Sure	34%

Question: Let's talk for a few minutes about various public figures. 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 Edmund Muskie, the Democrat, Governor George Wallace, an Independent, or New York Mayor John Lindsay, an Independent?

File A-
Black
show polls
(new file)

Poll shows Kennedy No. 1 with Blacks

A nationwide poll of urban Blacks completed August 20 reveals that Senator Edward Kennedy would receive 66 per cent of their votes against only 3 per cent for President Richard Nixon. A New York public opinion polling company asked 500 urban blacks in 100 representative locations how they would vote if the election were held today.

The overwhelming popularity of Sen. Kennedy among blacks is in direct contrast to the results of a recent poll by Lou Harris that showed Nixon leading in a contest involving Sen. Kennedy, George Wallace and John Lindsay. In that poll, Nixon held a 39 per cent to 28 per cent advantage over Kennedy.

The survey also showed urban blacks lack faith in the jobs being done by President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew.

The organization which conducted the poll, Lee Slurzberg Research, Inc. asked the following question:

"Suppose in 1972 the election was between President Nixon for the Republicans, Senator Edward Kennedy for the Democrats, Governor George Wallace, an Independent and Mayor John Lindsay, an Independent, who would you vote for?" (The survey was done just prior to Lindsay's switch to the Democratic party.)

Urban Blacks, August 1971: Nixon, 3 per cent; Kennedy, 66 per cent; Wallace, -; Lindsay, 13 per cent; Not Sure, 18 per cent.

Harris Poll, July 1971: Nixon, 3 per cent; Kennedy, 28 per cent; Wallace, 11 per cent; Lindsay, 16 per cent; Not Sure, 6 per cent.

When the urban Blacks were asked to rate President Nixon's performance of his duties, only 16 per cent gave him an "excellent" or "pretty good" (positive) rating. In comparison, half of the Harris poll respondents gave the President a positive rating. 74 per cent of the Blacks said he is doing "only fair" or "poor" in running the country, compared with a 48 per cent negative response in the Harris poll.

Vice President Agnew receives an equally low rating from Blacks. Only 12 per cent of those polled by Slurzberg feel he is doing a good job and 73 per cent rate his performance as only fair or poor.

On the question of Nixon's handling of the race problem in the U.S., only 10 per cent of the Blacks gave a positive rating, while 79 per cent were negative.

File A

Kennedy rated No. 1 with black voters

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
National political correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

From the higher strata of Democratic leaders here comes a new assessment of the party's presidential candidates and their current appeal to the highly important black vote:

Edward M. Kennedy—still No. 1 in the black community, particularly among young-to-middle-age voters.

Hubert H. Humphrey—No. 2 among blacks generally and No. 1 among older black voters.

George McGovern—very strong with black voters who know him and his positions. But he still suffers from an identity problem.

Edmund S. Muskie—very weak. His recent comment in which he said a black as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate would make the ticket nonelectable has further weakened Muskie support among the blacks.

Fred R. Harris—a little support. His populist appeal to the poor should be persuasive among the blacks who get to know his position.

* Kennedy 1st with blacks?

Continued from Page 1

Henry M. Jackson—very little black support, even though the Senator has been "right" on civil-rights legislation.

Birch Bayh—a little support. His fight against Supreme Court nominees Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell drew black approval, but mainly from leaders, not the rank and file.

Some others not rated

Some other possible candidates, like Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, Sen. William Proxmire, and Mayor Sam W. Yorty of Los Angeles were not rated.

Neither was the new Democrat, New York Mayor John V. Lindsay. Mayor Lindsay is known to have great appeal among the blacks in his own city. It is generally assumed that a Lindsay move toward the presidency would find widespread support among blacks in the U.S.

But given a choice, there is every reason to believe that blacks, and black delegates at the Miami Beach convention next year, would choose Senators Kennedy over Mayor Lindsay and, perhaps, Senators McGovern and Humphrey over the mayor, too.

Rep. Shirley Chisholm is not rated either. But there seems little doubt that this black politician from New York could pull most of the black support away from the other candidates — if her candidacy got off the ground.

The importance of the black community in Democratic prospects is clear:

Because of reform measures that have been taken, the blacks will have greater representation at the Democratic convention than ever before.