

Wallace Vote Could Hurt Nixon, Times Study Finds

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By JACK ROSENTHAL

The New York Times's primary election surveys indicate strongly that a third-party candidacy by Gov. George C. Wallace would be likely to cut far more sharply into President Nixon's vote than into that of the Democratic nominee.

The survey findings contrast strikingly with the prevalent interpretation of the impact of an independent Wallace candidacy; and, while far from conclusive, the findings raise anew the possibility that no candidate could muster an electoral majority next November.

These conclusions, which had been suggested in an earlier survey, were given striking support by the results of a cross-section survey of voters in Michigan's Democratic primary yesterday. The survey was conducted by The New York Times and Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.

Governor Wallace won impressive popular-vote victories yesterday in both the Michigan and Maryland primaries. Technically, he could expect a total of 113 convention votes from the two states, but party maneuvering raised considerable doubt that he would get that many. [Details on Page 36.]

In Michigan, about half of the Alabama Governor's votes came from independents and Republicans, who are free in Michigan to vote on the Democratic ballot.

According to the survey, these cross-over voters accounted for nearly a third of the total vote in the Democratic primary.

It is the passion of these cross-over voters that casts doubt on the conventional view that in the North, Democrats would be hurt the most

Continued on Page 36, Column 4

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

by a third-party Wallace race. According to this interpretation, Mr. Wallace would hurt Mr. Nixon more in the South, drawing away conservative voters, but would hurt the Democratic nominee more in the North, drawing away working-class voters.

But conservative cross-over voters surveyed in Michigan, most of whom would vote for Mr. Nixon in a two-way race, find Mr. Wallace so appealing that they would switch to him if he made the third-party race.

The same general result was found in The Times-Yankelovich survey of the March primary in Wisconsin, which also permits cross-over voters. But the proportion of defections from the Nixon ranks was not so striking there.

Significant Bloc

Cross-over conservatives cannot be regarded as representatives of all voters. But in both Wisconsin and Michigan, the cross-overs alone constituted a large share of the electorate. And the high defection rate in so significant a bloc might well be decisive in a close election.

The potential defection rate in Michigan can be measured by comparing how Republicans and independents said they would vote in a two-way race and in a three-way race.

If the choice were limited to President Nixon or Senator H. Humphrey, these voters would favor the President 76 per cent to 15 per cent.

But if Mr. Wallace runs, as he did in 1968, as a third-party candidate, 54 per cent of the cross-over voters say they would support him. Mr. Nixon's 76 per cent share of the cross-over vote would plummet to 36 per cent. Mr. Humphrey would drop from 15 per cent to 6 per cent.

Meanwhile, a Wallace candidacy would draw away approximately equal numbers of Democrats who otherwise would vote either for the President or for Senator Humphrey. Thus, in total, the net loss to Mr. Nixon would be substantially larger.

Wallace Alabama Headquarters Already Getting Back to Normal

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By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 17 — Buoyed by reports that Gov. George C. Wallace was no longer on the critical list, the Wallace for President campaign headquarters got almost back to normal today.

Clerks were kept busy answering telephones from well wishers and sorting letters and telegrams that have begun pouring into Montgomery by thousands.

At the same time, Wallace campaign employes were busy pushing plans for future primaries and state conventions.

There was a cheerful air about the headquarters building, which is on U.S. 80, the highway used in the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march eight years ago.

Yesterday, there was gloom at the Wallace headquarters as workers gathered in small groups to pass on latest re-

ports from the hospital where Governor Wallace was being treated.

"I just knew the campaign was over yesterday," one worker said. "Today we're back in business."

The atmosphere in the one-story headquarters building brightened noticeably today as a result of the latest doctors' reports.

"We have got to get ready for other states," said Mrs. Dot House, the director of campaign scheduling.

Three Primaries Ahead

Mr. Wallace's name will be on the Presidential ballot in Oregon next Tuesday and in New Mexico on June 6, and there may be a write-in campaign for him in the California primary on June 6.

Mrs. House said that campaign plans had been disrupted by the assault on Governor Wallace but that new ones were being made. "We have organizations in those states and are ready to go," she said.

Charles Snider, the national campaign director, returned to

Montgomery today and said that no decision has been made on who would stand in for Mr. Wallace at future campaign rallies. He said that Mrs. Cornelia Wallace, the Governor's wife, or former Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida were possibilities.

No one in the Montgomery headquarters would say whether the outpouring of sympathy for Governor Wallace had included an increase in campaign donations.

There have been reports that the Wallace campaign is running at a deficit, possibly as high as \$100,000.

Letters Not Counted

"A lot of the mail has been going to the Governor's office at the capital," said Mrs. House. No one has counted the letters and telegrams as yet, but there are many thousands of them.

Meanwhile, the director of the Alabama State Highway Patrol, Col. Walter L. Allen, said that he had no reason to believe that Mr. Bremer was part of an organized plot to assassinate Governor Wallace.

The Alabama state patrol is not investigating the shooting, but Colonel Allen is kept informed. One of his officers, Capt. E. C. Dothard, was among those who were wounded in the Maryland shooting.

Captain Dothard was treated for his wound in Maryland Monday and returned to Ala-

The results would be similar, though somewhat less pronounced, if Senator George McGovern is the candidate. The cross-over voters would still give Mr. Wallace about half their votes, the survey showed.

It was a cross-section survey of 411 persons in 41 scientifically selected Michigan precincts. Voters were interviewed as they left their polling places.

Among other findings of the survey were the following:

¶ Though busing to achieve school integration was outranked on the list of important issues by crime, Michigan voters were passionate about the busing question. More than half said they would oppose busing even if ordered by the courts. Among Wallace voters alone, nearly 8 in 10 said so.

¶ Most voters said they do not consider Senator McGovern too radical. Only a third agreed with the statement that he is "too far out" on such issues as

abortion and marijuana. Only a quarter said they believed he would cut defense spending too much.

¶ The turnout of first-time voters, aged 18-24, appeared moderate. A strong majority of these voters supported Senator McGovern.

Senator Humphrey's sluggish third-place finish appeared to stem importantly from his failure to maintain past strength among blue-collar voters. Mr. Wallace won almost two-thirds of the vote in this category.

days, the Lieutenant Governor shall become acting Governor. Governor Wallace was in Alabama this past weekend before going to Maryland for a last day of campaigning before that state's primary.

Alabama last night, but he has not been available for an interview. No date has been set for the return of Governor Wallace to Alabama. The state constitution provides that if a Governor is absent from the state for 20