

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
White House Special Files Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
36	12	n.d.	Other Document	copy of envelope marked "Haldeman Private Polls Campaign '68"
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: South Dakota poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Iowa poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/03/1968	Other Document	Haldeman handwritten notes marked "dirge" re: status of campaign polls; recognize the gap has closed, race is tight, but still confident strategy is correct. 1 page.
36	12	n.d.	Memo	Haldeman Handwritten notes marked "From Veweman to Finch" re: Dorothy Coy & Associates polling; conclude Nixon has lost one point in 7-10 days. Credits "Meet the Press" appearance. 1 page.
36	12	n.d.	Other Document	Haldeman Handwritten note marked "From Chet" re: polling results. 1 page.

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36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Oregon poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Washington poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Hawaii poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Wyoming poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Montana poll. 1 page.
36	12	11/04/1968	Report	Haldeman Handwritten notes marked "Chotiner" listing polling results from several states, 2 pages.
36	12	11/04/1968	Memo	Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman re: Idaho poll. 1 page.

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36	12	10/31/1968	Report	Report showing electoral votes available by state, poll results indicating votes by date. 1 page.
36	12	10/15/1968	Memo	John Sears to Nixon re: Course of the campaign as of October 15, 1968. 6 pages.
36	12	n.d.	Report	Report of Switches in voting preference by state (NY, TX, PA, NJ, MI, OH) with attachment. 7 pages.
36	12	10/27/1968	Report	Report of instant research: last interview 10/27/1968, showing poll results, with attached survey sample. 8 pages.
36	12	11/01/1968	Memo	Memo from Peter Flanigan to Haldeman re: Poll results from phone interviews in 8 northern states. 4 pages.

Heldem  
Pillars

Poll s.

Campaign '68

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: SOUTH DAKOTA

Contact is Jack Gibson, GOP National Committeeman.

Latest South Dakota poll, interviewing done October 25-27 and published on October 30, shows the following:

	October 30	October 16
RN	58	49
HHH	26	21
Wallace	10	18
Undecided	6	12

RN's lead increased in the last half of October from 28 points to 32 points with an 8-point drop by Wallace.

Projecting the undecided votes, RN could get as much as 62%.

The McGovern-Gubbrud race for United States Senate is still close. The bombing pause does not seem to have any great impact.

Agriculture, War in Vietnam and law and order are the principle issues affecting South Dakota voters.

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: IOWA

Contact is Jack Warren, Republican State Chairman.

The latest Iowa poll, released October 27, shows the following:

RN	56
HHH	37
GW	7

This works out to a plurality for RN of 238,000 with a <sup>total</sup> vote of 1,250,000.

Bob Ray should win his race for Governor by 150,000 votes.

The Hughes-Stanley race is still a toss-up. RN is heavily favored by absentee voters. Already over 2500 received in Black Hawk County (Waterloo). This is very high and reflects the results of GOP efforts to get absentee ballots from patients of nursing homes.

Democrats are still pushing the charge that RN is against medicare and Social Security. This should be met head on.

11/3

Can't afford a projection to wipe them out.  
There are perfect figs for them -  
cause totally hedged.

file

Durge

bad allocation of undecided  
if N wins can say right  
if H wins can say they had trend

interprets -

N holding his own - stayed at 43-44-22  
probly about same people

H picking up defectors - in & out of indec.  
W deteriorating

N probly have 2-3 mill margin

asked Gallup tomorrow for reg's figs.

if change is constant all regions - have sub-  
expects gets shift in E

i.e. NY in jeopardy

H probly closed gap

in NY - Mich - where pts matter  
esp. among women & labor

gap has closed - we knew it would

still have reg margin in right place  
women are the flexible ones - they're likely to H.

To: Fiach  
from: Neweman

Dorothy Coy + Associates

Believes a 4 point spread between RN  
HHH.

G.W. might go down to 5%.

Has not been in the field for 7-10 days  
at that time RN had 5% lead.

Conclusion R.N has only lost  
1 point in 7-10 days.

From work she has done Muchmore  
to high on Cranston.

RN helped himself on "Meet the Press."  
Believes he swayed undecided voters.

✓

From Chat				
Missouri	-	St. Louis	Globe	Dem.
RN		HHH	w	v
38		32.2	15.9	13.9

paper predicts RN carry state by 100,000  
but Dem. landslide for rest of ticket.

RN chairman predicts RN carry state  
by 35,000

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968



TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: OREGON

Contact is Irving Enna, Republican State Chairman.

Portland Oregonian had a poll two weeks ago which showed the following approximate results:

RN	55%
HHH	40%
Wallace	5%

Senator McCarthy has recently made a visit to Oregon in support of Senator Morse and also endorsed Humphrey. Since the biggest group of undecided voters were McCarthy people, this may have increased Humphrey's share of the vote.

Enna believes that RN can still carry Oregon by a comfortable majority.

He reports that the Democrats are using a great many spots on radio which stress RN's opposition to Social Security and medicare. Anything RN can say in the telethon to correct this would be helpful.

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: WASHINGTON

Contact is Gummy Johnson, Republican State Chairman.

The state GOP stopped surveying on October 24. Central Surveys handled the polling operation.

Leaving out the heavily Republican Fourth Congressional District, the most recent poll shows:

RN 43% - holding firm from September poll  
HHH 37% - was 29% in September  
Wallace 6% - was 12 in September  
Undecided - 14%

Johnson believes that Wallace will do better than this and that two out of three Wallace voters are normally Democratic voters.

There have been 100,000 absentee ballots, including a heavy military ballot.

Johnson estimates that 76% turn-out of registered voters - down about 3% from 1964.

His projection of percentage and actual vote is as follows:

RN - 47% - 590,000 voters  
HHH - 41% - 515,000  
Wallace - 8% - 100,000  
Other - 4% - 50,000

Johnson stressed the need for emphasis by RN on positive solution to problems facing the Nation as the best way of holding on to Democrats who now plan to vote for RN or who may be on the fence.

Johnson thinks that personal attacks on Humphrey and Johnson are not effective with Democratic voters.

MEMORANDUM

November 4, 1968

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: HAWAII

Contact is Ed Johnston, Republican State Chairman

There have been no authoritative polls taken in Hawaii. Senator Fong and Johnston both believe that RN will carry the state based on strong RN showing in Oahu and the Island of Hawaii.

The largest newspaper in the Islands, the Star Bulletin, endorsed RN, as have most of the local weekly press. The afternoon paper, The Advertiser, has endorsed Humphrey but recently has been critical of the bombing halt insofar as it represents a failure to take into account the wishes of the people of South Vietnam.

The Humphrey telethon is also being carried in Hawaii, according to Johnston's information.

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: WYOMING

Contact is Bud Brimmer, GOP State Chairman.

A poll completed last week for the State GOP showed the following:

RN	51.5
HHH	38.4
Wallace	10.1

In the House race, John Wold was leading 61.8 to 38.2

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968 ✓

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: MONTANA

Contact is Doc Keller, GOP State Chairman.

There have been no newspaper polls but Keller's best estimate is as follows:

RN	50
HHH	40
Wallace	10

Absentee voting is heavy and the GOP has made a special emphasis on getting out the vote in the 7 big Republican counties.

It is expected that the GOP will pick up a new House seat but Babcock's race is nip and tuck

11/4/68 ✓

Chofener -  
Penn - Bucci

46 42 12

Del 45 41 14

Iowa - Des Moines Register

56 37 7

Illi Chicago Sun Times

46.86 39.69 15.50

plurality 425,000

Detroit News

38 47 11 4

Creighton Holden

Reg. up 200,000 over 1969.

Detroit down 54,000

Wayne County up 83,000

High absentee ballot in Reg

area. People ready to go.

Fla - Bell ~~through~~ Murphkin

125,000 plurality

40 26 39

Tenn - Bob Farris RN champion.

50,000 +. plurality  
Howard Baker. 75,000. plurality  
East Tenn solid for RN.  
Mid & West split evenly <sup>between</sup> ~~above~~ 3 cand.  
Election day act. set up.

N.C. RN Champion.

38 to 40% of vote  
not split evenly.  
Wallace 50-50 / RN & Humphrey.

SC. - Dent. - sure RN will carry state  
Wallace vote going to RN as H.H.H. gains nationally.

40 30 30

Kentucky - people confident according to John Kern.  
Election day act set up.

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 4, 1968

TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLIE McWHORTER  
RE: IDAHO

Contact is Nixon State Headquarters

Information furnished to Flanigan in New York indicates the following probably results:

RN	55
HHH	32
Wallace	13

A Senate race between Church and Hansen is very close. Antying RN can say in the telethon to help Hansen would be appreciated. If anything, the bombing pause benefits RN rather than HHH.

BACHELDER  
10/19-25

State	Elect. Votes	ORC			Date	O T H E R			Date	P O L L S			Date	Electoral Votes			Conflict	
		N	H	W		N	H	W		N	H	W		N	H	W		
Ala.	10															10		
Alaska	3								51	16	33	State Mid Sept				3		
Ariz.	5								55	21	10	M-W Early Oct				5		
Ark.	6								29	20	39	Rockefeller 10/15					6	
41-34-10 Calif.	40	47	37	9	Oct. 4				45	35	7	Muchmore Mid Oct	44	33	7	L.A. Times 9/28-29( )	40	
Colo.	6								46	30	13	Denver Post 10/1	50	31	13	M-W 9/23	6	
Conn.	8								35	33	10	MORC Early Oct	44	31	12	Becker, mid Oct.	8	
Del.	3	40	34	13	Oct. 21				45	41	14	Bucci Oct 31						
Fla.	14	34	26	36	Oct. 4				34	20	27	Cambridge 10/10-17	30	24	43	Bucci 10/16-23(400)	14	*
Ga.	12																	
Hawaii	4								35	43	13	Benham Early Oct					4	
Idaho	4	51	31	18	Sept 29				52	17	10	M-W Early Oct					4	
40-32-13 Ill.	26	48	31	13	Oct. 4				48	39	12	Market Facts 10/2	48	38	75	Sun Times 10/31(f)	26	
Ind.	13								43	32	19	Morc 10/3	46	25	17	Ind. News 9/21	13	
Io.	9								51	30	14	C-S 9/20					9	
Kan.	7								48	24	8	M-W 10/18	46	21	13	M-W 9/20	7	
Ky.	9	33	24	25	10/2-6 phone				30	17	20	Hays 9/17					9	
La.	10								23	15	48	M-W Late Sept.						10
Maine	4								47	25	5	MORC Mid Aug.					4	
Md.	10	37	28	14	Late Sept phone				34	32	17	MORC 10/19-20					10	*
Mass.	14								31	44	8	Becker 9/19-10/2					14	
37-35-11 Mich.	21	46	39	13	Oct. 18				39	45	11	Det. News late Oct	36	31	12	ORC phone 10/12(e)	21	
Minn.	10								40	43	6	Bachelor 10/20	44	42	9	Tribune 10/13	10	*
Miss.	7								14	24	54	Reed Early Sept						7
39-32-14 Mo.	12	39	37	17	Oct. 4				41	29	20	M-W Oct. 5					12	
Mon.	4																	
Neb.	5								52	19	12	Neb Poll 10/1					5	
Nev.	3								42	36	13	M-W Early Oct.					3	
N.H.	4								60	23	4	Becker 10/19-20					4	
36-33-11 N.J.	17	48	37	10	Oct. 18				45	32	15	Bucci mid Oct					17	
N.M.	4																	
N.Y.	43	50	37	6	Oct. 18				43	45	66	Daily News 10/26-29	31	29	10	Cambridge 10/6	43	
N.C.	13	30	22	33	late Sept phone				31	26	30	HHH Oct. 24						13
N.D.	4								47	27	8	C-S 9/23					4	
40-32-13 Ohio	26	37	41	17	Oct. 18				44	39	17	Morc 10/19 phone	37	36	19	ORC 10/4 (a)		*
Okla.	8	73	29	24	Oklahoma 11/1				46	24	28	Bellmon 10/15	35	21	20	M-W Early Sept	8	
Oreg.	6								50	32	9	B & H 10/23	49	20	4	Camp. West 9/15	6	
41-30-10 Pa.	29	49	40	8	Oct. 18				48	40	12	Bucci 10/10-16	42	33	9	ORC phone 10/13(c)	29	
R.I.	4																	
S.D.	4	31	10	2	Late Sept phone				32	20	29	C-S 10/7-12						
Tenn.	11	31	16	39	Phone 9/25				58	26	10	State 10/30	56	24	8	State 9/29	11	
Tex.	25	38	38	21	Oct. 18				34	25	41	Quayle ?	31	25	40	Bucci 10/18 (a)		11
Utah	4								33	37	21	Bowles Mid Oct	40	28	23	M-W Panel early Oct		*
Vt.	3								52	17	10	M-W Panel early Oct	53	21	8	M-W 8/19-26		



(a) HHH's poll	RN 37	HHH 20	GW 34	
(b) Bachelder Oct.19-24	RN 31	HHH 31	GW 23	U 14
(c) Bachelder Oct.19-24	RN 40	HHH 30	GW 10	U 18
(d) Bachelder Oct.19-24	RN 39	HHH 32	GW 13	U 15
(e) Bachelder Oct.19-24	RN 37	HHH 35	GW 11	U 15
(f) Bachelder Oct.19-24	RN 40	HHH 31	GW 13	U 15
(g) Bachelder Oct.19-24	RN 40	HHH 33	GW 10	U 13

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN

From: John Sears

RE: Course of the Campaign as of October 15, 1968



SN - Strong Nixon

SH - Strong Humphrey

SW - Strong Wallace

LN - Leaning Nixon

LH - Leaning Humphrey

LW - Leaning Wallace

U - Undecided

U-4 MAINE

The hope still is that the registration advantage that we have will be enough to overcome Muskie's hometown popularity. So far the Democrats have failed to put it on the basis of electing the hometown boy. The Portland Congressional district appears in good shape; the out-state district, although it has made some progress, looks as though it will fall short.

SN-3 VERMONT

Sure bet, should pick up a Governor. Nobody in any trouble.

SN-4 NEW HAMPSHIRE

No problem, Cotten will win, Wyman and Cleveland all right. Should win the Governorship fairly easily.

LH-MASSACHUSETTS

Democrats are a little bit better off as of now than they were a couple of weeks ago and HHH gaining strength because of this. Unlikely that there will be any change in the House delegation.

SH-4 RHODE ISLAND

Just no way we could carry it.

U-8 CONNECTICUT

Locals still very optimistic about our chances but have little substantial evidence to indicate that we're doing as well as they think we are. With a large number of Independent voters in Connecticut it would be silly to feel that we have a very strong position there. HHH will be there on the 18th and perhaps we will learn something from his reception. Because of the party lever, Congressional races depend a great deal on the top of the ticket. If we do win the state, we should pick up the 2nd, 4th and hold the 6th districts. The Senate race looks impossible.

U-43 NEW YORK

Even though out-registered by 800,000 votes, we could possibly win here if things continue to go as well as they have lately. I do not believe, however, that we are anything like 6 points ahead which is what our recent poll indicated. Congressional races remain about the same. Javits will be reelected by a fantastic vote, some polls show that Budkley might even beat out O'Dwyer.

LN-17 NEW JERSEY

Miraculously we continue to lead in New Jersey despite the horrible shape of the state-wide party. Wallace is pulling substantial number of Union votes from the Democrats. Chance of picking up 2 Congressional seats.

LN-29 PENNSYLVANIA

We continue to do well in Pennsylvania. The prospects remain excellent for substantially reducing the Democratic margins from their 1960 level of votes in Philadelphia

and Pittsburg. State party needs money, however. Clark can beat Schweiker fairly easily. Reading's Congressional district looks about even at the moment and we might pick it up.

SN-3 DELAWARE

Wallace hurting us a little bit down-state, but killing the Democrats in Wilmington. Congressional District seat safe, Gubernatorial race will be close. Governor Terry (a Democrat) suffered a heart attack and of course this will hamper his campaign, might also result in a sympathy vote.

U-10 MARYLAND

Difficult for me to believe that the State won't go to HHH but the voting patterns are so mixed up at the moment we can't quite see how HHH's got it yet. Democratic strength will hold in the city of Baltimore, will be reduced in Baltimore County by Wallace and the situation in suburban Washington is unsettled in any direction. Our normal strength on the Eastern shore will be hurt by Wallace and this will be true to a lesser degree in the out-state areas. Mathias's being benefited by Mahoney's 3rd party candidacy in the Senate race and I'm beginning to think he's going to win although he's trying hard not to. Chances of picking up the 5th District look better and better - 3 incumbents we have all safe.

SN-12 VIRGINIA

Still looks good, may pick up two House seats; one in the 2nd, one in the 7th.

LW-13 NORTH CAROLINA

Wallace still ahead, time running out to catch him, Governor's race will depend on how the Wallace vote goes. Should hold seats we now have. Good chance of picking up two, possibly one other.

LW-8 SOUTH CAROLINA

RN picking up a great deal recently and may well come out and win it, but it still leans to Wallace -- the 4th District will be close but we won't win it. May win in 3rd District. Senatorial race will be determined on how the Wallace vote goes.

SW-12 GEORGIA

Looks like a sure thing for Wallace, but we should hold our two Congressional seats.

LN- FLORIDA

Polls might not reflect this at the moment but I think we're doing a lot better in Florida. Wallace a close second. Senate race looks in the bag for Gurney. May pick up as many as 3 Congressional seats.

SW - 10 ALABAMA

No Chance

SW - 10 LOUISIANA

No Chance

SW - 7 MISSISSIPPI

No Chance

LN - 11 TENNESSEE

We are marginally ahead but we are fairly secure. The Wallace vote has peaked and is starting down-hill. Will hold out four Congressional seats but won't pick up any.

LN-9 KENTUCKY

Should come out of Louisville with a lead. Wallace hurting us in the 5th District, but hurting Democrats worse in both the Eastern and Western parts of the state. Locals say possibility of picking up Congressional seat in either the 2nd or the 6th. I think this is doubtful, however. Senate race shows Cook ahead and gaining.

LW-6 ARKANSAS

State still could be won if we had any time to spend in it. Polls show RN is held in great esteem in Arkansas and really all that needs to be done is to convince a decent number of the voters that Wallace can't win. Might pick up one Congressman. Fullbright will be reelected but not by that large of a margin.

SH-7 WEST VIRGINIA

Will be close, HHH has a hard core of votes that will add up to enough to win. Moore looks as though he'll win the Governor's seat. We'll hold his old seat in the 1st District, but won't pick up any.

LN-25 TEXAS

Only way we'd lost it, if Wallace got stronger. Polls are all over the lot. Some show us ahead, some behind, but the important thing is that the organization is in good shape and there's more enthusiasm than there was 8 years ago for RN. Wallace hurting HHH badly in the East. We seem to be getting back some of our votes in Dallas and Houston. Will hold the 3 House seats we have. Might pick up a couple more. Governor's race will be a lot closer than most people expect, but I still don't think we can win.

LN-27 OHIO

Poll here would probably show us running about even with HHH but the fact that our Republican organization is so much better than the Democrats is enough to tack 3 or 4 points on the poll. Saxbe should beat Gilligan and we'll hold all our Congressional seats with the possible exception of Frances Bolton.

SN-13 INDIANA

Same problem with Wallace here, but he'll cut down on the Democrats more than us. Will hold all 6 Congressional seats and good chance of picking up 2 more and an outside chance of picking up four. Whitcomb looks secure in his race. Ruckelhaus still about 10 points down to Bayh, but Bayh has dropped below 50% in the polls (47%) and Ruckelhaus has made headway since the last poll.

LN-21 MICHIGAN

Still have a problem in some Republican areas with Wallace, but there's no doubt he's hurting the Democrats badly - the election will be close but we are better organized and unified, this should make the difference. None of the Congressional candidates in any trouble but won't pick up any.

SN-26 ILLINOIS

Rn is strongly ahead - no real problems as long as everybody keeps working. Dirksen still far ahead, Ogilvie narrowly ahead. Might pick up a Congressional seat somewhere around Chicago.

SN-12 WISCONSIN

Sure thing, only question is by how much. Knowles will be relected easily. Senate race will depend on size of RN's margin.

SN-9 IOWA

No doubt about the outcome. Bob Ray should run pretty close to the top of the ticket. Stanley still behind but still has time to come on. 2nd District Congressional seat still doesn't look too promising but Culver now under 50% in the polls and this is a good sign.

U-10 MINNESOTA

Will be very close race but would have to pick HHH if we were betting; most recent polls show us with a small lead. Will hold the 5 Congressional seats. Might pick up one in Minneapolis.

SN-4 NORTH DAKOTA

Will win it easily. Neither of the 2 Congressmen nor Senator Young is in any real danger. Gubernatorial race is getting tighter and will certainly take it if RN's margin is as big as everyone expects.

SN-4 SOUTH DAKOTA

We'll win easily; McGovern now going back in front of Gubbred. Will take the Governorship easily and will hold both Congressional seats easily.

SN-5 NEBRASKA

May hit 70%, none of the 3 Congressional candidates in any trouble.

SN-7 KANSAS

Will carry it big. Dole running far ahead in the Senate race. Might pick up the Governorship. None of the Congressmen in any trouble.

LN-12 MISSOURI

Although the polls still show HHH in the 2nd spot there is a chance he will run 3rd in Missouri. Democrats in southeastern part of the state are still passing out ticket-splitting information (Wallace-Eagleton-Hearnes). Senate race not going well. Now appears unlikely Curtis can win it unless RN does will. Conversely, Roos is doing better than expected but still a long shot to become Governor. Race for Curtis's old House seat (2nd) very close and we may not be able to hold it. Should pick up a seat in the 9th if RN carries the district.

SN-8 OKLAHOMA

RN still securely ahead in Oklahoma. Bellmon safely ahead but worried about Wallace vote and where it will go. Looks as though we'll be able to hold the two House seats we have and should pick up one in the new 6th District.

SN-4 MONTANA

Babcock in trouble but if present expectation of size of RN's majority is true will be almost impossible for Babcock to lose. Will hold Battin's seat with no trouble and should pick up one in western district (1st).

SN-6 COLORADO

RN still strong ahead. Doninick running much better than expected. Gap in 3rd District closed to 8 points. and is still moving strong toward our candidate Bradley. Will hold Brotzman's seat with no trouble.

SN-3 WYOMING

RN will win bigger than he did in 1960. Wold having no trouble holding Harrison's old House seat.

SN-4 IDAHO

Democrats have given up on HHH and don't seem to be circulating any material on him since this hurts Church, in his Senatorial race. Hansen needs to tie himself more closely with RN and stop talking about Church's record which only gives Church more publicity. Neither Congressional seat in any danger. Hansen would stand to lose right now.

SN-4 UTAH

Rn will carry state with vast majority. Senator Bennett will be reelected easily and neither Congressmen in any trouble. Could pick up the Governorship if could tie into Nixon/Agnew ticket, but right now we stand to lose it.

LN-4 NEW MEXICO

RN ahead but situation volatile. Oddly enough Wallace is as much a threat as HHH. Cargo looks as though he'll be reelected. If RN carries the state, should pick up a Congressman in the northern district. If RN runs extremely well, we may be able to help Ed Foreman in the Southern district, but this is a long shot.

SN-5 ARIZONA

RN will carry with no problem. Goldwater will win but per centage won't be astonishingly high. Will hold the two Congressioanl seats but still can't break through in the Tuscon district.

SN-40 California

Democrats on verge of giving up, Wallace vote dimishing. Cranston ahead of Rafferty in the Senate race and it may be too late for Rafferty to come back. All Republican incumbents (Congressional) are safe and might pick up a couple.

SN-6 OREGON

No problem on RN's race. Packwood seems to think he can gain votes from Morse by turning dovish on Viet Nam. He might luck out and win this way but the easier thing for him to do would have been to pick up the disaffected Democrats who had voted for Duncan in the primary. Packwood still having trouble getting support from the lumber interests and has failed so far to tie himself in effect with RN. Will hold the 2 Congressional seats we have, the Democrats will hold the remaining two.

SN-9 WASHINGTON

RN strongly ahead at this point with the Democrats in deep disarray and little likelihood that they can recover. Poll projections indicate a 100,000 vote for RN - this is probably a little large but our lead will be hard to lose. Senatorial race (Metcalf vs Magnusson) has even got a little life to it now - nothing serious, but Metcalf will get a little over 40% of it anyway. Will keep the two House seats we now have and prospects look better and better in the 2nd district for a pick-up.

SH-3 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

No chance

SN-3 NEVADA

Leading strongly in Reno, little ahead in Las Vegas and this makes it a sure state. Senate race will be extremely close. We may well be able to pull it off. No chance in the House race.

SN-3 ALASKA

Safe for RN. Rasmussen going down-hill since last reading and is managing to make a sure thing into a tight race. Basic problem is in his own organization which is in a shambles. Pollocks situation has improved and he should win easily.

LH-4 HAWAII

May be able to take it yet. Republicans encouraged by increase in party registration from 17% in '64 to 24% this year. (Since the Democrats dominate Hawaii, most people feel they must register that way although many people don't vote that way.) Of the 265,000 voters registered, 80% are on Oahu and since Mayor Blaisdell is running for the House this year, his candidacy should help the top of the ticket. Blaisdell has a good chance of winning and this should help the top of the ticket. The Senate race is absolutely safe for the Democrats, but shouldn't bother us much.

TOTALS:

RN - 366

HHH - 32

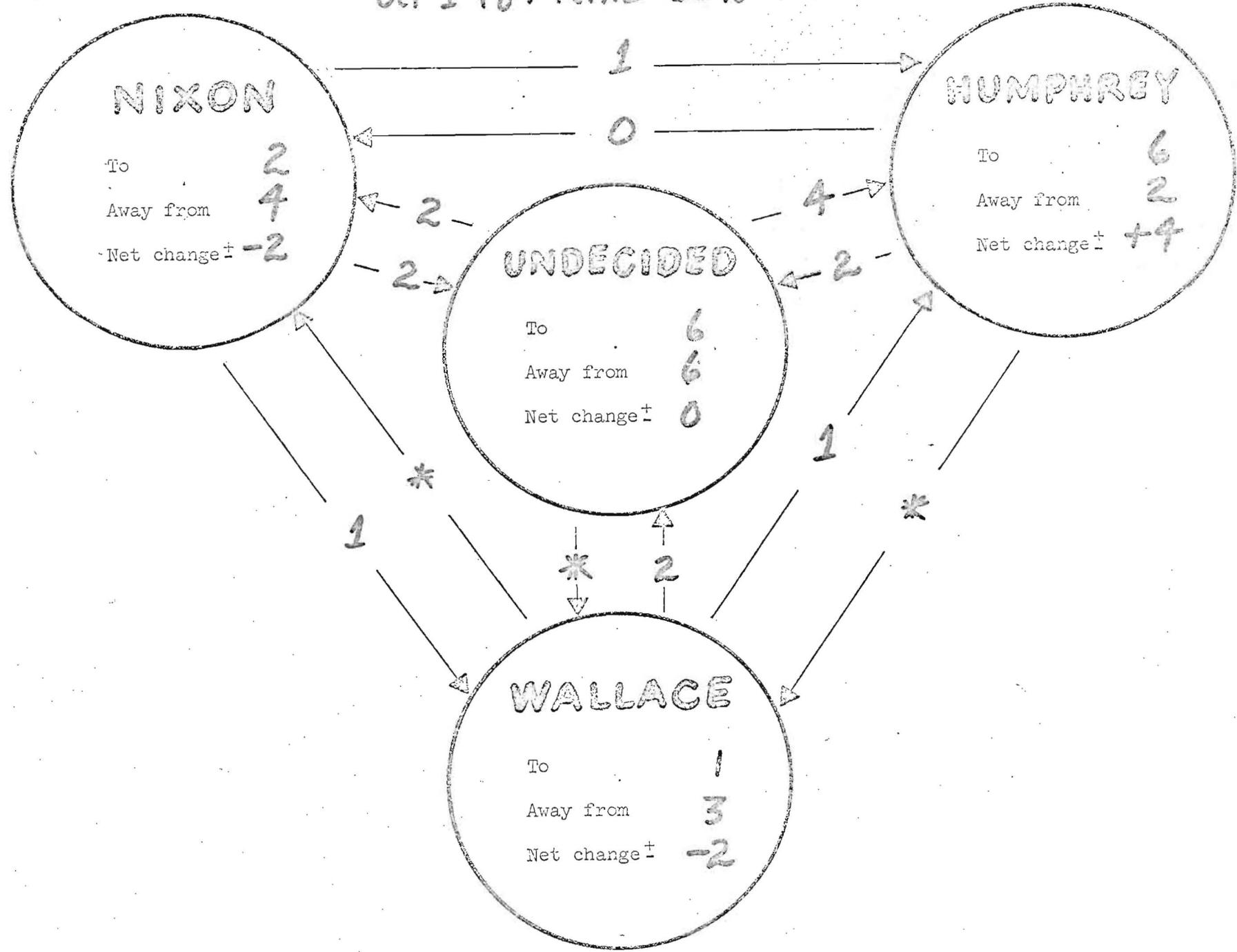
GW - 66

U - 75

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polls

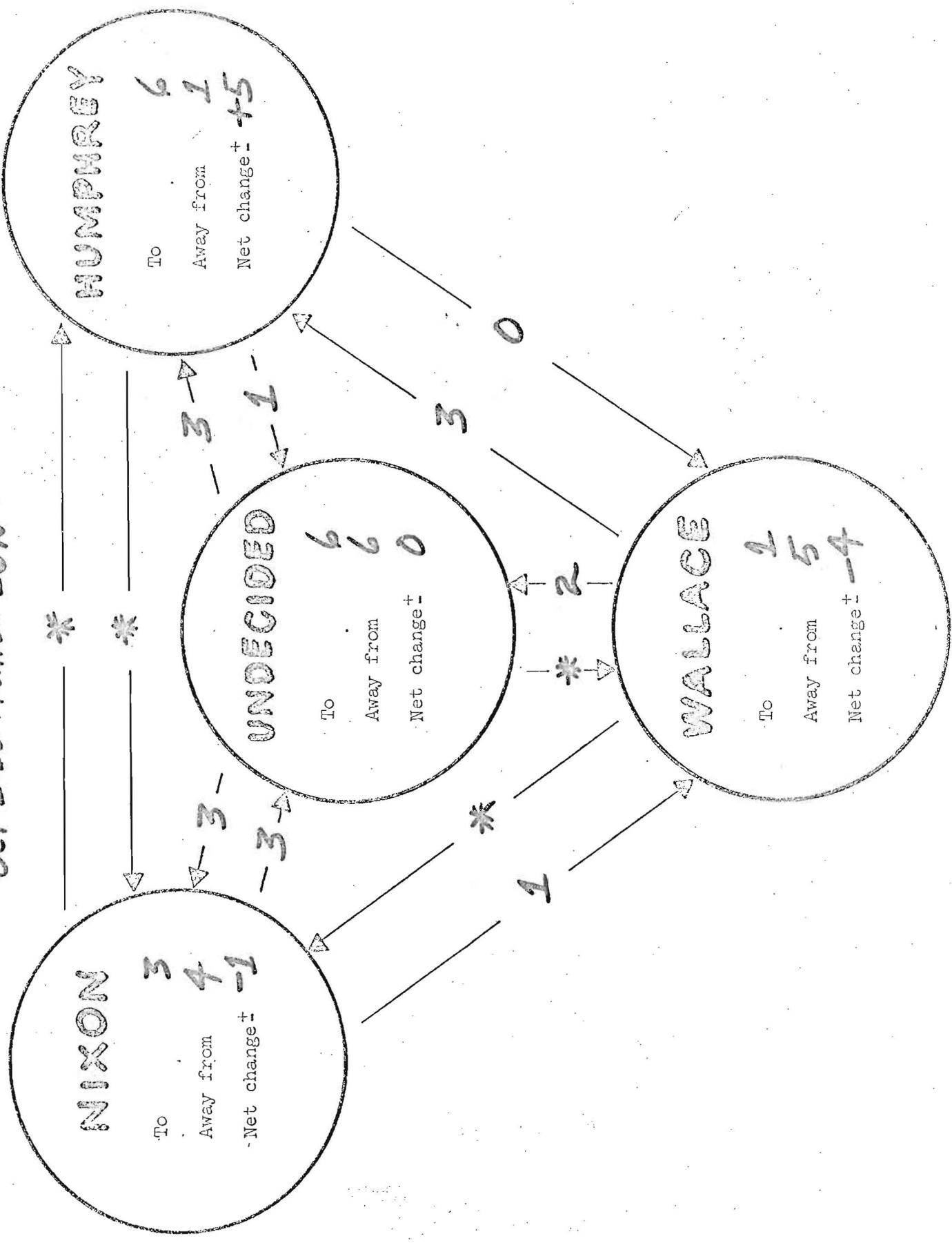
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NEW YORK  
 SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE  
 OCT 1-18: TOTAL - 25%



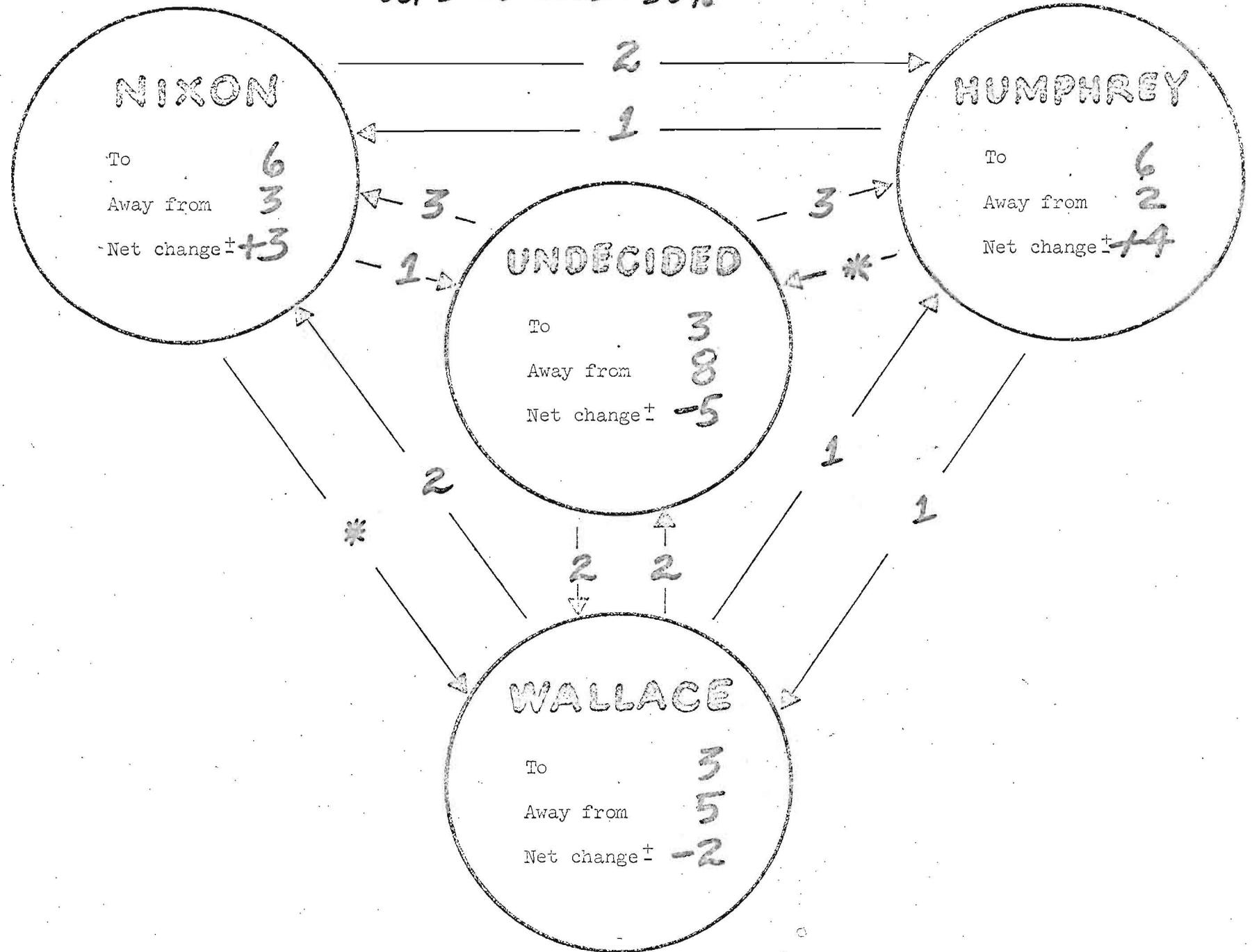
\*LESS THAN 1%

0#10  
 SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE  
 OCT 4-80 : TOTAL: 16%



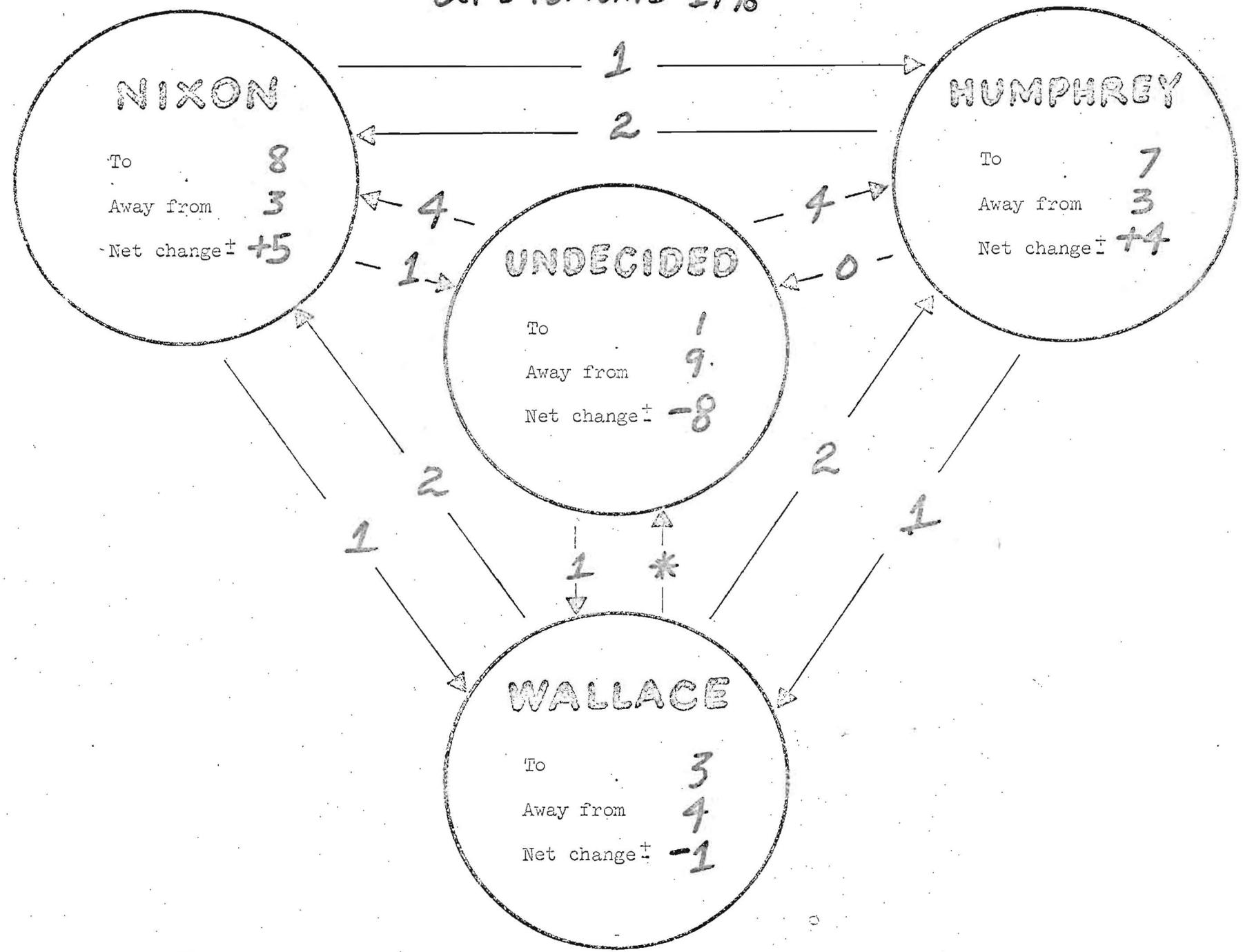
\* LESS THAN 1%

**TEXAS**  
 SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE  
 Oct 1-18: TOTAL = 18%



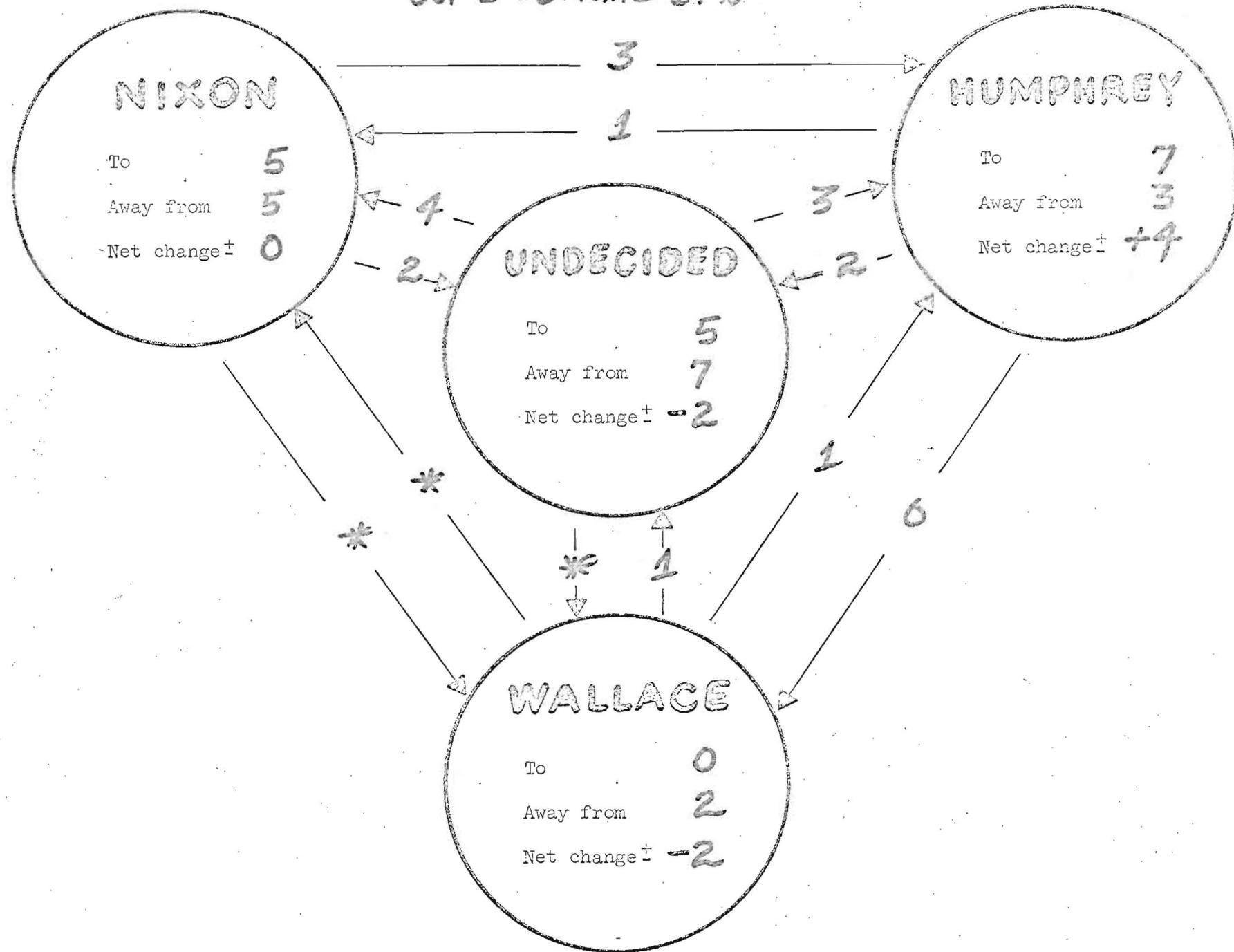
\* LE. : MAN 1%

**NEW JERSEY**  
 SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE  
 Oct 1-18: TOTAL 19%



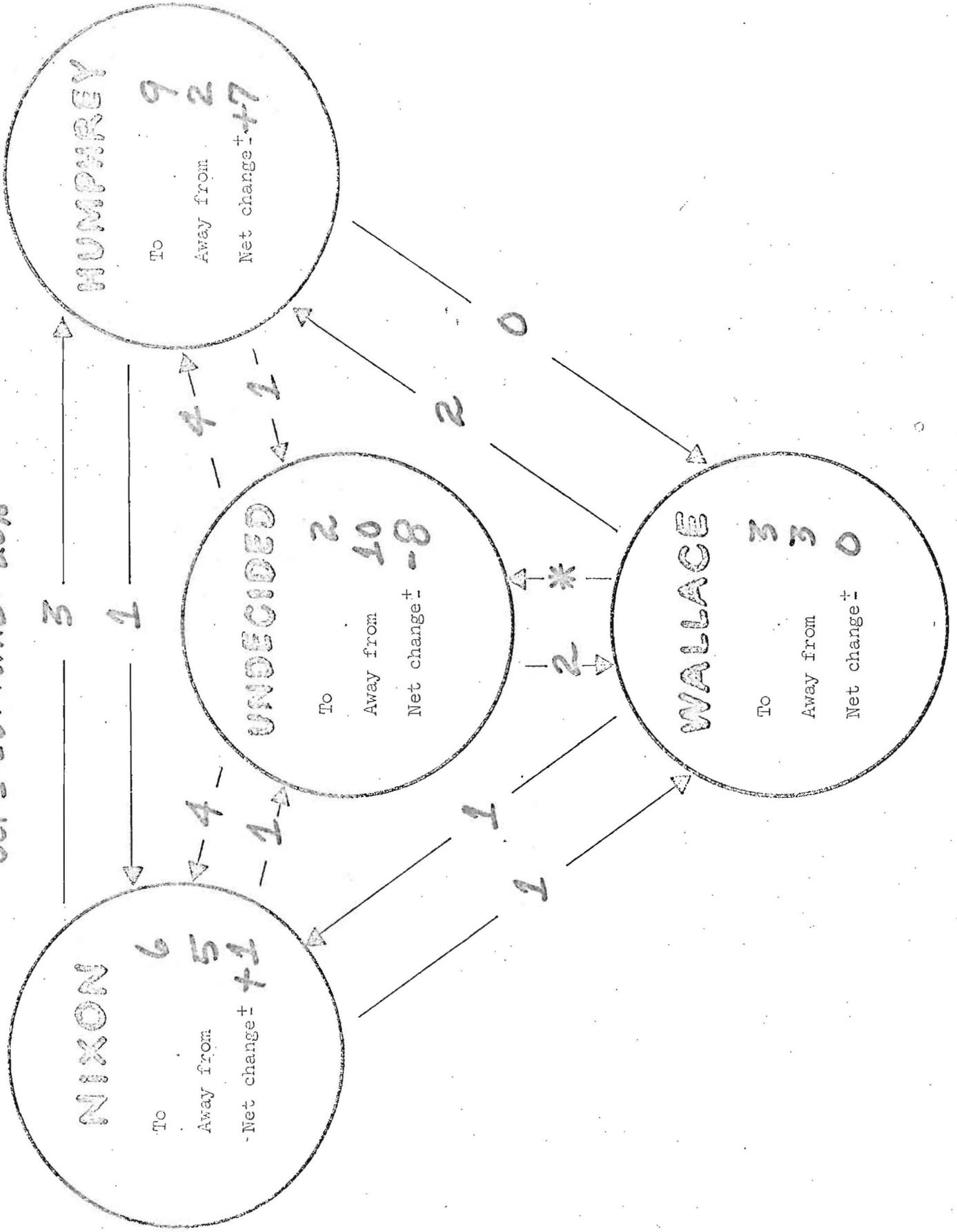
\* LESS THAN 1%

PENNSYLVANIA  
 SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE  
 OCT 1-18: TOTAL 17%



\* LESS THAN 1%

*MICHIGAN*  
 SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE  
 Oct 1-18: TOTAL = 20%



\* Less than 1%

MR. HALDEMAN

REPORT OF INSTANT RESEARCH: LAST INTERVIEW = 27 October 1968\*  
Sample Size: 2,667

*File*

A preliminary analysis of the results of this questionnaire was made on 18 October 1968 with 613 responses. In general, there is little change (2-3 percentage points) in the substantive conclusions when analysis of the larger sample is made. For this reason, a copy of these conclusions is appended. The two exceptions are:

- 1) Humphrey's favorability score with voters has been reversed and the balance is now slightly in his favor.
- 2) A slightly larger number of voters think Nixon is now refusing to debate with Humphrey. However, there is virtually no change in the impact of this refusal on favorability toward Nixon.

Because of the larger sample size, it is possible to break out the trial heats by state. Sample size varied from 289-311 per state, and consequently the results should be treated with caution. Since this is a telephone survey the limitations of this method should be remembered.

Sampling Error =  $\pm 6\%$

	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Undecided
California	48	36	10	6
Illinois	42	36	10	12
Michigan	41	31	10	18
Missouri	42	34	13	11
Ohio	43	32	10	15
Pennsylvania	43	36	12	9
New Jersey	42	35	10	13
New York	41	41	4	14
Wisconsin	43	32	11	14
<u>9-State Total</u>	43	36	7	14

David R. Derge

\*Approximately 1/4 of the interviews were taken 14-16 October, and 3/4 were taken 21-27 October.

SUMMARY OF INSTANT RESEARCH  
October 14 - 16 and October 21 - 27

Background

2667 interviews were completed during October 14 - 16 and October 21 - 27 in the 9 northern battleground states (California, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, New York and New Jersey). Sampling error is  $\pm 3\%$ .

1. Effects of Developments in Peace Negotiations

If an important breakthrough in the Paris peace negotiations resulted in an agreement to end the war in Vietnam, there would be a slight deterioration in the Nixon-Agnew vote, as shown in the following table:

	Trial Heat	Trial Heat (if substantial breakthrough in Paris negotiations)	$\pm$
Nixon-Agnew	43	41	-2
Humphrey-Muskie	36	35	-1
Wallace-Lemay	7	8	+1
Undecided	14	16	+2

The question was restated to assume "a complete settlement of the war in Vietnam on terms favorable to the U.S." The results are as follows:

	Trial Heat	Trial Heat (complete settlement)	$\pm$
Nixon-Agnew	43	41	-2
Humphrey-Muskie	36	36	0
Wallace-Lemay	7	8	+1
Undecided	14	15	+1

A third approach to this problem involved asking whether substantial progress in the Paris peace negotiations would make the voter more favorable or less favorable toward Humphrey or would make no difference. The results are:

More favorable toward Humphrey	19%
Less favorable toward Humphrey	2%
Would make no difference	74%
No opinion	5%

2. Favorability Toward Candidates

Nixon continues to lead the candidates in increasing favorability, with Humphrey slightly behind. Wallace's favorability has dropped since the last measurement.

3. Importance of TV Debates

There is virtually no change in the importance of TV debates to the voter in making up his mind in the election. 43% thought TV debates would be important, and 55% thought they would be not too important or very unimportant. 3/4 of the voters would watch such debates if they took place.

Some shift has developed about belief as to who would do the better job in such debates, as shown in the following table:

	October 27	September 18
Nixon would do better job:	29%	36%
Humphrey would do better job:	32%	24%
No difference:	11%	16%
No opinion:	28%	24%

13% believe Nixon is willing to debate Humphrey, and 69% think he is refusing to debate him.

Perhaps the most significant finding is that there has been virtually no change in the effect on favorability towards Nixon which refusal to debate would produce. In the case of 71% of the voters, there would be no change or they would be more favorable if Nixon refused the debates, and 21% would be less favorable.

4. The Views of Nixon on Social Security and Welfare Programs

The voters see the differences between a Nixon administration and the Johnson Administration on these issues. 27% believe Nixon's policies would be quite a bit different, and 37% a little bit different. Voters also see differences between Nixon and Humphrey on these policies, with 26% seeing a great deal of difference, and 33% some difference.

There is almost even division among voters about whether Nixon would broaden and expand or limit and cut down these programs:

Broaden and expand:	22%
Keep same as they are:	37%
Limit and cut down:	24%

The voters are about evenly divided as to whether Nixon or Humphrey would help get the most benefits for the money in programs like Social Security.

When asked how good a job Nixon would do in handling programs like Social Security and welfare, results are as follows:

An outstanding job:	9%
A good job:	42%
A fair job:	28%
A poor job:	8%

33% think Nixon has clearly stated his positions on Social Security, welfare and similar programs, while 46% think he has not clearly stated his positions.

5. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

There has been some shift in opinions on signing this treaty. 45% now think the U.S. should sign, and 35% think that the U.S. should not sign.

\*\*\*\*\*

David R. Derge

STATE: \_\_\_\_\_

RESPONDENT'S PHONE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: \_\_\_\_\_ MINUTES

**2667 INTERVIEWS**  
**LAST INTERVIEWS 27 OCT.**

OPINION SURVEY

I'm \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm working on a political survey being made for Opinion Research Corporation in Princeton, New Jersey. This will only take a few minutes, and I would very much like to have your views.

1. As you know, in November of this year there will be an election for President of the United States. How sure are you that you will be voting -- very sure, fairly sure, or probably won't you vote?

- 1 VERY SURE
- 2 FAIRLY SURE
- 3 PROBABLY WON'T VOTE
- 4 DON'T KNOW

DISCONTINUE INTERVIEW

2. If the Presidential election were being held today, which candidates would you vote for -- the Republican candidates Nixon and Agnew, the Democratic candidates Humphrey and Muskie, or the Third Party candidates Wallace and LeMay?

- 39 1 NIXON/AGNEW
- 32 2 HUMPHREY/MUSKIE
- 8 3 WALLACE/LEMAY
- 21 4 UNDECIDED

**RAN-4**  
**HT-38**  
**GW-9**  
**W-14**

(IF "UNDECIDED" ON Q. 2, ASK):

3. As of today, do you lean more toward Nixon/Agnew, Humphrey/Muskie or Wallace/LeMay?

- 4 1 NIXON/AGNEW
- 4 2 HUMPHREY/MUSKIE
- 1 3 WALLACE/LEMAY
- 12 4 UNDECIDED

4. Suppose that, a week or so before Election Day, there was an important breakthrough in the Paris peace negotiations, in which agreement was reached for an end to the war in Vietnam. If this happened, which candidates would you vote for on Election Day, Nixon/Agnew, Humphrey/Muskie, or Wallace/LeMay?

- 41 1 NIXON/AGNEW
- 35 2 HUMPHREY/MUSKIE
- 8 3 WALLACE/LEMAY
- 16 4 UNDECIDED

5. Suppose that, before Election Day the Johnson Administration achieved a complete settlement of the war in Vietnam on terms favorable to the United States. If this happened, which candidates would you vote for on Election Day, Nixon/Agnew, Humphrey/Muskie, or Wallace/LeMay?

- 41 1 NIXON/AGNEW
- 36 2 HUMPHREY/MUSKIE
- 8 3 WALLACE/LEMAY
- 15 4 UNDECIDED

- 6. Within the past few weeks, has your opinion of Richard Nixon become more favorable or less favorable than it was before?  
 251 MORE FAVORABLE  
 182 LESS FAVORABLE  
 533 SAME AS BEFORE  
 44 NO OPINION
- 7. Within the past few weeks, has your opinion of Hubert Humphrey become more favorable or less favorable than it was before?  
 261 MORE FAVORABLE  
 222 LESS FAVORABLE  
 463 SAME AS BEFORE  
 64 NO OPINION
- 8. Within the past few weeks, has your opinion of George Wallace become more favorable or less favorable than it was before?  
 141 MORE FAVORABLE  
 262 LESS FAVORABLE  
 333 SAME AS BEFORE  
 274 NO OPINION
- 9. In making up your mind how to vote for President, how important is it to you to have TV debates between Humphrey and Nixon -- very important, fairly important, not too important, or very unimportant?  
 281 VERY IMPORTANT  
 152 FAIRLY IMPORTANT  
 303 NOT TOO IMPORTANT  
 254 VERY UNIMPORTANT  
 25 WALLACE SHOULD BE INCLUDED  
 16 NO OPINION
- 10. If Nixon and Humphrey were to have TV debates, how sure are you that you would watch -- very sure, fairly sure, not too sure, or wouldn't you watch at all?  
 511 VERY SURE  
 242 FAIRLY SURE  
 123 NOT TOO SURE  
 124 WOULDN'T WATCH  
 15 DON'T KNOW
- 11. If Nixon and Humphrey were to have TV debates, who do you think would do the better job -- Nixon or Humphrey?  
 291 NIXON  
 322 HUMPHREY  
 113 NO DIFFERENCE  
 284 NO OPINION
- 12. As of right now, do you think Nixon is willing to debate Humphrey on TV, or is he refusing to debate on TV?  
 131 WILLING TO DEBATE  
 692 REFUSING TO DEBATE  
 183 NO OPINION
- 13. If Nixon refused to debate with Humphrey, would this make you more favorable toward Nixon, less favorable, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?  
 41 MORE FAVORABLE  
 212 LESS FAVORABLE  
 78 NO DIFFERENCE  
 44 NO OPINION
- 14. If Richard Nixon were elected President, do you think his policies and programs in the areas of social security and welfare would be very much like the programs of the present administration, a little bit different, or quite a bit different?  
 221 VERY MUCH LIKE  
 372 LITTLE BIT DIFFERENT  
 273 QUITE A BIT DIFFERENT  
 144 NO OPINION

15. In your opinion, how much difference is there between Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey in their policies regarding social security and welfare -- a great deal of difference, some difference, or not very much difference?

261 A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFERENCE  
332 SOME DIFFERENCE  
273 NOT VERY MUCH DIFFERENCE  
144 NO OPINION

16. If Richard Nixon were elected President, do you think he would work to improve and expand programs like social security, keep such programs about the same as they are now, or limit and cut down such programs?

221 BROADEN AND EXPAND  
372 KEEP SAME AS THEY ARE  
243 LIMIT AND CUT DOWN  
174 NO OPINION

17. In your opinion, which candidate would help us get the most benefits for our money in programs like social security -- Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?

331 NIXON  
382 HUMPHREY  
53 WALLACE  
74 NO DIFFERENCE  
175 NO OPINION

18. If Richard Nixon were elected President, how good a job do you think he would do of handling programs like social security and welfare: an outstanding job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job?

91 AN OUTSTANDING JOB  
422 A GOOD JOB  
283 ONLY A FAIR JOB  
84 A POOR JOB  
135 NO OPINION

19. In your opinion, has Nixon clearly stated his position on social security, welfare, and similar programs, or not?

331 CLEARLY STATED POSITION  
462 HAS NOT CLEARLY STATED  
213 NO OPINION

20. Is there anything about Nixon's position on these issues that you would like more information on? (If "YES," ask: What would you like to hear Nixon talk about? RECORD BELOW)

221 YES, WOULD LIKE INFORMATION  
772 NO, WOULDN'T



21. As you may know, the United States and Russia are discussing a treaty to control the spread of nuclear weapons. Do you think it would be a good thing for the United States to sign such a treaty with Russia at this time, or not?

451 U.S. SHOULD SIGN 45  
352 U.S. SHOULD NOT SIGN 35  
203 NO OPINION 20

22. Suppose that substantial progress is made in the Paris peace negotiations over the next few weeks. Would this make you more favorable toward Hubert Humphrey, less favorable, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?

191 MORE FAVORABLE 19  
22 LESS FAVORABLE 2  
743 NO DIFFERENCE 74  
54 NO OPINION 5

23. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or what?

331 DEMOCRAT 33  
292 REPUBLICAN 29  
113 INDEPENDENT 11  
24 OTHER 2  
5 UNDECIDED 3  
(Specify)

(IF "INDEPENDENT" ON Q. 23, ASK):

24. To which party -- Republican or Democrat -- do you lean?

121 REPUBLICAN 12  
102 DEMOCRAT 10  
3 NEITHER

25. What is your age, please?

- 1 21 - 25 YEARS
- 2 26 - 29 YEARS
- 3 30 - 39 YEARS
- 4 40 - 49 YEARS
- 5 50 - 59 YEARS
- 6 60 - 64 YEARS
- 7 65 YEARS AND OVER

26. Sex: 1 MAN  
2 WOMAN

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

TO: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: PETER FLANIGAN  
NOVEMBER 1, 1968

A. THE FOLLOWING IS RESULT OF ROLLING WAVE RESEARCH FROM 577  
TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS BETWEEN OCTOBER 29-31 IN 8 NORTHERN STATES.

1. TRIAL HEAT

RN 43%  
HHH 37%  
GW 7%  
UND. 13%

2. WHO DO YOU THINK WILL WIN?

RN 52%  
HHH 25%  
GW 2%  
UND. 22%

3. SUPPOSE A FEW DAYS BEFORE ELECTION A BOMBING HALT IS ANNOUNCED IN  
EXCHANGE FOR A PULL BACK OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS TO THE  
DEMILITARIZED ZONE

FAVORED 66%  
OPPOSED 16%  
NO OPINION 16%

4. IF SUCH A BOMBING HALT WERE ANNOUNCED WOULD IT REPRESENT A GENUINE  
MOVE TOWARD PEACE OR A LAST MINUTE ATTEMPT TO HELP HUMPHREY?

MOVE TOWARD PEACE 43%  
ATTEMPT TO HELP HHH 34%  
NO OPINION 23%

5. IF SUCH A HALT WERE ANNOUNCED, SHOULD RN SUPPORT IT?

SUPPORT	37%
OPPOSE	3%
DON'T SAY ANYTHING	23%
NO OPINION	37%

6. SUPPOSE THAT A FEW DAYS BEFORE ELECTION LBJ ANNOUNCED A VOLUNTARY BOMBING HALT WITH NO CONCESSIONS OF ANY KIND FROM NORTH VIETNAM.

FAVOR	24%
OPPOSE	56%
NO OPINION	20%

B. LAST NIGHT BACHELDER POLLED 50 RESPONDENTS EACH IN NEW YORK, LOS ANGELES AND CHICAGO, WITH THE FOLLOWING RESULTS:

1. THE BOMBING HALT WAS CONSIDERED "WISE" BY 66% AND UNWISE BY 34%
2. ONE HALF THE RESPONDENTS BELIEVE THE BOMBING HALT WAS CALLED IN AN EFFORT TO EFFECT THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION.
3. 88% OF THE RESPONDENTS SAID THE BOMBING HALT WOULD NOT CCHANGE THEIR WHILE 12% SAID THEY DID NOT KNOW WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD CHANGE THEIR VOTE.

C. A NEW WAVE GOES INTO THE FIELD THIS MORNING WITH 400 ANSWERS TONIGHT WHICH I WILL CALL TO YOU. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE BEING ASKED.

1. TRIAL HEAT QUESTION.
2. AS YOU MAY KNOW, PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS ANNOUNCED A VOLUNTARY HALT OF ALL BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM ALONG WITH EXPANDED NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS TO INCLUDE BOTH SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE VIETCONG. DO YOU FAVOR THIS ACTION OR OPPOSE IT?
3. IN YOUR OPINION, DOES THIS BOMBING HALT REPRESENT A GENUINE MOVE TOWARDS PEACE IN VIETNAM OR A LAST MINUTE ATTEMPT TO HELP HUBERT HUMPHREY WIN THE ELECTION?
4. IN YOUR OPINION, SHOULD RICHARD NIXON DECLARE HIS SUPPORT OF THE BOMBING HALT, DECLARE HIS OPPOSITION TO THE BOMBING HALT, OR NOT SAY ANYTHING ABOUT IT?
5. PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID THAT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT--THAT IS THE VIETCONG-- WILL TAKE PART IN THE PARIS PEACE TALKS. DO YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE THE VIETCONG TAKING PART?
6. IN YOUR OPINION WILL THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HOLD DOWN THEIR ACTIVITIES OR TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE BOMBING HALT TO PREPARE FOR A NEW OFFENSE?
7. IN THE LONG RUN DO YOU THINK THAT AMERICAN CASUALTIES WILL BE HIGHER, LOWER, OR REMAIN ABOUT THE SAME BECAUSE OF THE BOMBING HALT?
8. OVER-ALL, HOW HELPFUL DO YOU FEEL THE BOMBING HALT AND THE EXPANDED NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS WILL BE TOWARD BRINGING ABOUT A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE VIETNAM WAR?

9. HAS THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOMBING HALT CAUSE YOU TO CHANGE YOUR MIND ABOUT WHO YOU WILL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OR ARE YOU PLANNING TO VOTE FOR THE SAME CANDIDATE? (IF THEY SAY THEY HAVE CHANGED THEIR MINDS, WE THEN SAY, "IN WHAT WAY HAVE YOU CHANGED YOUR MIND?"
10. WHICH WOULD BE MOST LIKELY TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES FOR SUCCESSFUL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ONCE THE ELECTION IS OVER--A NIXON VICTORY OR A HUMPHREY VICTORY?

END