

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	13	n.d.	Report	Report from David Derge re: Wave IV polling of 6 states. Handwritten note indicating re-pollled telephone households. 16 pages.
36	13	n.d.	Newspaper	Note from Peter Flanigan to Higby re: Nixon's trip to St Peter's next week, attached newspaper clipping titled "Nixowins college poll". 2 pages.
36	13	n.d.	Report	Note from Peter Flanigan to Higby re: 2 attached college poll results: Prov Journal 10/16/1968 article "Humphrey gains nod over Nixon in poll at URI" and report of Barrington College Polls dated 10/9-10/11/68. 3 pages.
36	13	n.d.	Report	Gallup Poll percentage breakdown (Sept. 20-22), with attached handwritten notes correcting typed information, dated Oct 2. 2 pages.
36	13	n.d.	Report	Report of comparison of 3 ORC surveys taken July 12-22, Sept 4-15, Sept 27-Oct 4. 2 pages.
36	13	10/13/1968	Report	Report of polls in 8 states. 5 pages.

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36	13	10/17/1968	Report	Report of polls taken in 8 states. 3 pages.
36	13	10/22/1968	Report	Report of polls taken indicating number of electoral votes by state. 1 page.
36	13	10/15/1968	Report	Report of polls taken indicating number of electoral votes by state. 1 page.
36	13	10/16/1968	Memo	Twx of South Carolina central surveys poll of 500 personal interviews phoned to Flanigan October 16. 1 page.
36	13	09/25/1968	Report	David Derge report of switches in voting preference between mid-July and early September in 9 northern battelground and 4 southern states. 4 pages.

• Preliminary Analysis of Mid-October Wave IV

Michigan

New Jersey

New York

Ohio

Pennsylvania

Texas

*in field Oct 18 - Oct 22*

*Only reported telephone households*

*Because this is the IV Wave, the incidence of refusals increased. In N.Y. we had a disproportionately higher number of black respondents.*

• Switching Patterns for Selected States

• Effects of Low Wallace Voter Turnout

• October 18 Electoral Vote Projection

David R. Derge

SIX KEY STATES

		Nixon	<i>Difference</i>		Undecided	Per Cent Change Wave to Wave			
			Humphrey	Wallace		Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	
Michigan	July	37%	41	-4	13	9			
	Sept.	44%	31	+13	17	8	+7	-10	+4
	Oct. 4	47%	34	+13	15	4	+3	+3	-2
	Oct. 22	46%	39	+7	13	2	-1	+5	-2
Ohio	July	33%	45	-12	14	8			
	Sept.	38%	38	0	16	8	+5	-7	+2
	Oct. 4	37%	36	+1	19	8	-1	-2	+3
	Oct. 22	37%	41	-4	17	5	--	+5	-2
New Jersey	July	39%	41	-2	8	12			
	Sept.	43%	34	+9	10	13	+4	-7	+2
	Oct. 4	42%	36	+6	13	9	-1	+2	+3
	Oct. 22	48%	37	+11	10	6	+6	+1	-3
New York	Mid-August	47%	38	+9	7	8			
	Sept.	47%	36	+11	7	10	--	-2	--
	Oct. 4	45%	39	+6	5	11	-2	+3	-2
	Oct. 22	50%	37	+13	6	7	+5	-2	+1
Pennsylvania	July	40%	42	-2	8	10			
	Sept.	46%	32	+14	12	10	+6	-10	+4
	Oct. 4	47%	36	+11	10	7	+1	+4	-2
	Oct. 22	49%	40	+9	8	3	+2	+4	-2
Texas	July	27%	44	-17	23	6			
	Sept.	30%	40	-10	24	6	+3	-4	+1
	Oct. 4	32%	38	-6	24	6	+2	-2	--
	Oct. 22	38%	38	0	21	3	+6	--	-3

"Suppose that, before election day, the North Vietnamese pulled back some of their troops and the United States stopped the bombing of North Vietnam. If this happened, who would you vote for on election day -- Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?"

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided, No Answer</u>
Michigan	Trial Heat	46%	39	13	2
	North Vietnam pullback	44%	39	11	6
New Jersey	Trial Heat	48%	37	10	0
	North Vietnam pullback	48%	38	8	6
New York	Trial Heat	50%	37	6	7
	North Vietnam pullback	46%	40	5	9
Ohio	Trial Heat	37%	41	17	5
	North Vietnam pullback	38%	42	13	7
Pennsylvania	Trial Heat	49%	40	8	3
	North Vietnam pullback	46%	39	7	8
Texas	Trial Heat	38%	38	21	3
	North Vietnam pullback	36%	35	20	9

"Suppose that, before election day, there is a cease-fire in Vietnam under international supervision. If this happened, who would you vote for on election day -- Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?"

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided, No Answer</u>
Michigan	Trial Heat	46%	39	13	2
	Cease fire	43%	41	11	5
New Jersey	Trial Heat	48%	37	10	0
	Cease fire	48%	37	8	7
New York	Trial Heat	50%	37	6	7
	Cease fire	46%	41	4	9
Ohio	Trial Heat	37%	41	17	5
	Cease fire	35%	43	13	9
Pennsylvania	Trial Heat	49%	40	8	3
	Cease fire	46%	38	7	9
Texas	Trial Heat	38%	38	21	3
	Cease fire	38%	37	19	6

"Suppose that, before election day, there is substantial progress in the Paris peace negotiations on the Vietnam War. If this happened before election day, who would you vote for -- Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?"

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided, No Answer</u>
Michigan	Trial Heat	46%	39	13	2
	Substantial progress	43%	40	11	6
New Jersey	Trial Heat	48%	37	10	0
	Substantial progress	47%	37	8	8
New York	Trial Heat	50%	37	6	7
	Substantial progress	46%	39	6	9
Ohio	Trial Heat	37%	41	17	5
	Substantial progress	36%	44	13	7
Pennsylvania	Trial Heat	49%	40	8	3
	Substantial progress	46%	38	7	9
Texas	Trial Heat	38%	38	21	3
	Substantial progress	36%	36	20	8

"If George Wallace were not in the Presidential race, who would you vote for -- Nixon or Humphrey?" (If respondent says "undecided" ask: As of this time, do you lean more toward Nixon or more toward Humphrey?)  
*ASK ONLY OF WALLACE VOTERS.*

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Undecided, No Answer</u>
Michigan	59%	24	17
New Jersey	44%	19	37
New York	60%	22	18
Ohio	46%	17	37
Pennsylvania	38%	28	34
Texas	57%	22	21

"Hubert Humphrey says that Nixon has not stated his position on the important issues in the election. Do you agree with Humphrey, or do you feel that Nixon has made his views clear on the important election issues?"

	<u>Nixon Not Clear</u>	<u>Nixon Clear</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Michigan	40%	49	11
New Jersey	45%	43	12
New York	40%	50	10
Ohio	42%	43	15
Pennsylvania	41%	45	14
Texas	38%	47	15

"How interested are you in the outcome of the Presidential election -- very interested, moderately interested, or not too interested?"

	<u>Very Interested</u>	<u>Moderately Interested</u>	<u>Not Too Interested</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Michigan	74%	19	7	0
New Jersey	67%	25	8	0
New York	66%	26	8	0
Ohio	77%	16	7	0
Pennsylvania	71%	23	6	0
Texas	73%	20	7	0

"Within the last two weeks, has there been any change in your thinking as to who you would vote for in the Presidential election?"

	<u>Yes, Have Changed</u>	<u>No, Have Not</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Michigan	16%	84	0
New Jersey	13%	86	1
New York	13%	87	0
Ohio	9%	91	0
Pennsylvania	11%	89	0
Texas	8%	91	1

"Who had you been planning to vote for, before you changed your mind?"

	<u>Nixon/ Agnew</u>	<u>Humphrey/ Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace/ LeMay</u>	<u>Undecided, No Answer</u>
Michigan	35%	15	28	22
New Jersey	23%	21	21	35
New York	20%	36	13	31
Ohio	29%	15	29	27
Pennsylvania	36%	21	36	7
Texas	18%	10	44	28

"Have you definitely made up your mind which candidate you prefer for President, or is there a possibility that you may change your mind during the campaign?"

	<u>Mind Made Up</u>	<u>May Change Mind</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Michigan	73%	25	2
New Jersey	74%	24	2
New York	74%	24	2
Ohio	72%	24	4
Pennsylvania	78%	19	3
Texas	76%	23	1

"Regardless of your choice for President, which candidate do you think will win the election -- Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?"

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Michigan	62%	20	2	16
New Jersey	67%	15	3	15
New York	66%	19	1	14
Ohio	56%	24	5	15
Pennsylvania	55%	27	1	17
Texas	54%	21	9	16

"Does Richard Nixon's decision not to debate Hubert  
Humphrey make you more likely or less likely to vote  
for Nixon for President?"

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Difference</u>	<u>Don't Know, No Answer</u>
Michigan	12%	25	60	3
New Jersey	10%	28	58	4
New York	11%	30	57	2
Ohio	10%	26	62	2
Pennsylvania	11%	28	58	3
Texas	15%	22	60	3

"Suppose General LeMay states that we should increase the pace of the war in Vietnam until we win a military victory. Would this make you more likely or less likely to vote for Wallace for President?" *ASKED ONLY OF WALLACE VOTERS AND "UNDECIDED"*

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Difference</u>	<u>Don't Know, No Answer</u>
Michigan	42%	9	30	19
New Jersey	33%	11	23	33
New York	18%	10	31	41
Ohio	41%	17	14	28
Pennsylvania	48%	11	15	26
Texas	57%	7	16	20

VOTE PROJECTION FOR SELECTED STATES

Assuming that (a) early October to mid-October switching patterns continue during the final weeks of the campaign and (b) undecided voters actually go to the polls and divide among the candidates in the same proportion as they did during early October-mid-October, the popular votes will be as follows. Sampling error of  $\pm 4\%$  should be taken into account.

			<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Michigan	Mid-October Projection	<i>10% up</i>	46% 45%	39 44	13 11	2 --
New Jersey	Mid-October Projection	<i>13</i>	48% 52%	37 39	10 9	5 --
New York	Mid-October Projection	<i>6</i>	50% 50%	37 44	6 6	7 --
Ohio	Mid-October Projection	<i>1</i>	37% 39%	41 46	17 15	5 --
Pennsylvania	Mid-October Projection	<i>5</i>	49% 49%	40 44	8 7	3 --
Texas	Mid-October Projection	<i>10% up</i>	38% 40%	38 40	21 20	3 --

EFFECT OF LOW WALLACE VOTER TURNOUT

Wallace is now leading, or a major threat, in certain border and Southern states. This analysis attempts to project the vote by state under the following assumptions: 1) Undecided voters will divide in proportion to 3-way trial heat vote and 2) 20% of the Wallace vote will not appear at the polls because of organizational deficiencies or other reasons, and 3) the present Nixon and Humphrey voters remain the same.

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Arkansas</u>				
Rockefeller Poll October 15	29%	20	39	12
Projection	39%	26	35	--
<u>Florida</u>				
ORC Wave III, October 1	34%	26	36	4
Projection	39%	30	31	--
<u>Kentucky</u>				
ORC Phone, October 2-6	33%	24	25	18
Projection	43%	32	25	--
<u>North Carolina</u>				
ORC Wave III, October 1	24%	29	41	6
Projection	30%	36	34	--
ORC Phone, September 20-23	30%	22	33	15
Projection	40%	29	31	--
<u>South Carolina</u>				
Central Surveys, October 7-12	30%	22	33	15
Projection	43%	28	29	--
ORC Phone	37%	18	27	18
Projection	50%	24	26	--
<u>Tennessee</u>				
ORC Phone, September 25	31%	16	39	14
Projection	42%	22	36	--
<u>Virginia</u>				
ORC Wave III, October 1	35%	22	35	8
Projection	42%	27	31	--

1968 ELECTORAL VOTE PROJECTION  
(as of October 18)

	NIXON	HUMPHREY	WALLACE
Fairly Safe	3 Alaska 5 Arizona 40 California 6 Colorado 4 Idaho 26 Illinois 13 Indiana 9 Iowa 7 Kansas 4 Montana 5 Nebraska  3 Nevada 4 New Hampshire 17 New Jersey 4 New Mexico 4 North Dakota 6 Oregon 4 South Dakota 4 Utah 3 Vermont 9 Washington 12 Wisconsin 3 Wyoming  (195)	# 3 D. C. # 14 Massachusetts           (17)	w 10 Alabama w 12 Georgia w 10 Louisiana w 7 Mississippi          (39)
Close  *Toss-up	X 8 Connecticut 3 Delaware 9 Kentucky X 4 Maine 10 Maryland 21 Michigan  *12 Missouri 43 New York *26 Ohio 8 Oklahoma 29 Pennsylvania * 8 South Carolina ✓*25 Texas  (135) + *(71)	✓ 4 Hawaii ✓*10 Minnesota # 4 Rhode Island ✓*7 West Virginia      (8) + *(17)	w 6 Arkansas ✓*14 Florida w 13 North Carolina ✓ 11 Tennessee X*12 Virginia     (30) + *(26)

TOTAL      X = leaning RN      401  
                  ✓ = toss up  
                  # = H  
                  w = W

Method: The allocation of states to the three Presidential candidates is based on an analysis of polling data -- not on so-called expert opinion or intuitive judgment. There are two main sources of information that have been used:  
 1. Various trial-heat state polls by Opinion Research Corporation, as well as available data from other organizations.  
 2. Projections to individual states of the most recent regional trial-heat data. These region-to-state projections are given substantial weight when the state and regional results have maintained a consistent pattern in Presidential elections from 1948 to 1964. When the state-to-region pattern of results has been mixed or erratic, less weight is given to such projections. When both trial-heat polls and regional projections are available, estimates are based on a judgment as to which is more reliable.

Peter Flanigan  
Deputy Campaign Manager

**Nixon Agnew**  
Campaign Committee

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Mr. Hybby ✓

Harry -

Per your  
request.

RN is going  
to St. Petrus  
next Sat.

Pete

about a quarter  
from the Salvation Army  
Evangeline residence,  
where she had been living.

## Nixon Wins College Poll

Staff Correspondent

JERSEY CITY — Students of St. Peter's College who voted in a poll yesterday favored Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon as their choice for President.

In a sample ballot, Nixon polled 205 votes as compared with 156 for former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, and 150 for Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

There were two votes for Negro comedian Dick Gregory, and two students submitted blank ballots. The poll was sponsored by the college's Republican Club and Students for Nixon.

In a separate poll of the faculty, 19 cast their ballots for Humphrey and six voted for Nixon.

## Princetonian Backs HHH

Specie

c

9c

\$1

22c

e

33c

57c

r 37c

mi

1-lb. \$1  
boxes

ii

2-lb. \$1  
Boxes

69c

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Mr. Higley

Harry -

Here are 2 more

college polls, as  
requested.

Pete

Proc Journal

10/16/68

### Humphrey Gains Nod Over Nixon In Poll at URI

A presidential poll conducted at the University of Rhode Island by the current events committee last week gave Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, with 35.8 per cent of the 531 votes cast, a narrow edge over Richard M. Nixon, who received 33.4 per cent.

George C. Wallace, the candidate of the American Independent Party, received 6.9 per cent of the votes cast. The remainder went to Fred Halstead, Socialist Party candidate; Charlene Mitchell of the Communist Party; Eldridge Cleaver, Peace and Freedom Party, and Dick Gregory of the Independent Party, all of whom were on the ballot.

Write-in votes were cast for Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Pat Paulsen, the comedian, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

CRISTINA VETTY

Hy 10/9-11/68

11 Poll

Students

Faculty

Returns

# of voters

Candidates	9/24-27/68 Poll		10/9-11/68 Poll		11 Poll	
	Returns	# of voters	Returns	# of voters	Returns	# of voters
Uixon	307	66	244	50	63	16
HHH	40	5	24	3	13	3
McCarthy	12	5	20	2	3	0
Wallace	25	12	17	5	7	4
Others	13	0	14	0	2	0
No return of ballot	250	?	331	?	116	?
Undecided						

\* indicates # of eligible voters among those who cast ballots

GEORGE M. VETTER, JR.

GALLUP POLL Percentage Breakdown (Sept. 20-22)  
 NOT FOR RELEASE BEFORE OCTOBER 3, 1968

*File*

General Total	41.1	35.1	25.7	Yr.
White	41.1	35.1	25.7	
Black	33.1	22.7	35.7	
Hispanic	46.5	35.1	19.7	
West	45.2	24.2	23.9	
Northern Whites	46.3	26.9	16.6	
Southern Whites	35.9	16.2	40.3	
Nonwhite	6.6	62.7	1.2	
Southern Nonwhite				
West	41.0	35.8	25.7	
Midwest	44.2	30.1	17.5	
South	47.7	32.1	23.6	
Catholic	35.7	28.1	15.7	
Protestant	22.1	21.2	7.0	
Under 20 years	36.3	18.6	33.1	
20-30 years	41.4	27.9	21.1	
30 years and over	45.3	26.2	11.1	
College trained	57.6	21.4	8.1	
High School	38.9	27.3	2.1	
Grade School	37.5	33.6	5.1	
Union members				
Nonunion				
Business & Professional	48.8	35.3	11.1	
Director & Sales	48.2	15.2	21.1	
Manual Labor	33.1	21.1	26.1	
Farming	52.5	12.2	27.6	
One Million & over	44.6	29.0	14.7	8.1
500 thousand and over	41.6	31.1	17.3	2.7
30 thou. - 500 thou.	40.0	31.2	14.2	2.6
2,500 to 50,000	44.2	27.5	25.4	4.2
Under 2,500	43.1	21.8	26.4	6.8
Republican	66.0	1.5	7.4	4.2
Democrat	14.5	56.1	11.1	7.3
Independent	31.5	17.2	39.2	11.2
\$10,000 and over	50.2	22.5	20.2	7.1
7,000 - 10,000	46.0	25.7	21.3	7.0
5,000 - 7,000	40.6	31.1	20.3	7.6
3,000 - 5,000	33.5	30.2	24.0	11.5
Under 3,000	44.7	31.6	17.6	5.9

\*Small sample. Not stat. sign.

ORC says Hallyp that HRH hand-  
 are wrong. Hallyp never does ~~the~~ # fractions  
 correct.

Oct. 2

City Sing.	21	46	31	14	9
Mill +		39	37	15	9
5 to Mill		41	25	16	8
50 - 500		44	<del>22</del>	24	57
2500 & 50,		44	22	27	7
2500 -					
Age.					
21-29		39	30	25	6
30-49		42	29	20	9
50+		45	30	19	6
Ed.					
Coll		57	24	10	9
HS		40	28	24	8
GS		37	34	21	6

Occ	N	H	W	U
Pro-Buss	51	29	17	8
Clerical - Sales	50	27	16	7
Manual	34	33	25	9
Religious				
Protestant	47	29	22	7
Cath.	36	40	16	8
Presb.	31	51	4	14
Sex				
M	42	26	25	7
F	44	32	16	8
Race				
W	45	26	21	8
NW	12	80	0	8
Sept 29				
West	49	33	13	5
Midwest	50	27	16	7
East	47	34	12	11
South	31	24	38	7

Comparison of  
 TH : 0-100 SURVEYS  
 data

*File*

(1) July 12-22, (2) Sept 4-15, (3) Sept. 27-Oct. 1

State		N	Chg	H	Chg	W	Chg	Unit	Chg
California	(1)	45		43		7		10	
	(2)	46	+6	36	-6	9	+2	8	-2
	(3)	47	+1	37	+1	9	0	7	-1
Illinois	(1)	40		43		7		10	
	(2)	46	+6	36	-7	9	+2	8	-2
	(3)	47	+1	37	+1	9	0	7	-1
Michigan	(1)	37		41		13		9	
	(2)	44	+7	31	-10	17	+4	8	-1
	(3)	47	+3	34	+3	15	+2	4	-4
Missouri	(1)	31		45		15		9	
	(2)	36	+5	38	-7	17	+2	9	0
	(3)	39	+3	37	-1	17	0	7	-2
Ohio	(1)	31		45		15		9	
	(2)	36	+5	38	-7	17	+2	9	0
	(3)	39	+3	37	-1	17	0	7	-2
New Jersey	(1)	39		41		8		12	
	(2)	43	+4	34	-7	10	+2	13	-1
	(3)	42	-1	36	+2	13	+3	9	-4
New York	(1)	47		38		7		8	
	(2)	47	0	36	-2	7	0	10	+2
	(3)	45	-2	39	+3	5	-2	11	+1

State		N	Chg	H	Chg	W	Chg	Use
Pa.	(1)	40		42		8		10
	(2)	46	+6	32	-10	12	+4	10
	(3)	47	+1	36	+4	10	-2	7
Wisc.	(1)	41		43		8		8
	(2)	45	+4	36	-7	10	+2	9
	(3)	45	0	36	0	11	+1	8

9-NORTHERN

STATE TOTAL	(1)	39		43		9		9
	(2)	44	+5	36	-7	11	+2	9 0
	(3)	45	+1	36	0	11	0	8 -1

4-SOUTHERN

STATE TOTAL	(1)	28		35		31		6
	(2)	33	+5	29	-6	32	+1	6 0
	(3)	30	-3	29	0	35	+3	6 0

LOK

(1)	30		33		33		4
(2)	37	+7	27	-6	33	0	3 -1
(3)	34	-3	26	-1	36	+3	4 +1

TEXAS

(1)	27		44		23		6
(2)	30	+3	41	-3	23	0	6
(3)	32	+2	38	-3	24	+1	6
(Oct 2) (Phone)	35		29		19		17

10/13/68

*File rolls*

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Calif.</u>	<u>Ill.</u>	<u>Mich.</u>	<u>Mo.</u>	<u>N.J.</u>	<u>Ohio</u>	<u>Pa.</u>	<u>Texas</u>
Nixon	38	42	43	36	39	38	37	38	31
Humphrey	32	32	34	35.5	29	31	31	33	34
Wallace	13	10	11	13.5	16	8	15	12	19
Undecided	14	10	9	13	15	19	14	14	15
None	3	6	3	2	3	4	3	3	1

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(one day's sample)

<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>No Opinion</u>	
AV	Und	AV	Und	AV	Und

When it comes right down to it the Democratic Party is still the party that does the most for the people?

50	50	40	25	11	25
----	----	----	----	----	----

Summary: The undecided could be influenced by an appeal of the Republican Party to do things for the people. Half either disagree or have no opinion -- they could be moved.

<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>No Opinion</u>	
AV	Und	AV	Und	AV	Und

It has been said that a Republican administration in Washington for the next 4 years would be a bad thing for the country

27	20	58	46	14	34
----	----	----	----	----	----

Comment: The undecided voter could certainly be swayed to the Republicans. They are not opposed to a change to a Republican administration even though they think the Democrats are better for the people

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<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>No Opinion</u>	
AV	UND	AV	UND	AV	UND

(1 day's sample)

LSuch a debate would have great deal to do with how I vote for President

38	45	50	33	12	222
----	----	----	----	----	-----

If Nixon refused to debate I probably would not vote for him

26	23	47	49	18	28
----	----	----	----	----	----

All 3 candidates debating together would accomplish little or nothing

52	43	37	36	10	222
----	----	----	----	----	-----

Since Nixon disagrees so strongly with Wallace a debate between them would not accomplish anything

50	39	38	38	12	23
----	----	----	----	----	----

Comment: The debate issue, I think, should be held open -- no definitive statement or action taken now. Opinion is somewhat of a stand-off.

I feel strongly personally if a decision is made not to debate Nixon should make a television appearance stating why.

In answer to question what is happening to Wallace the trend of data (examining this on different days) shows Wallace is declining in strength. Example -- last Monday and Tuesday interviewing he had 15 percent. Thursday and Friday he was down to 12 percent. Of those who made up their mind in the last week, he went from 19 to 13 percent.

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On the question, who do you think will win, Wallace went from 6 to 4 percent.

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He has either peaked or is declining -- will have to wait and see.

Comment: It is clear from the data I have that the undecideds can be drawn to Nixon through talking about domestic and other problems and the future. I have the data to support this.

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(whole week's survey)

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>
Labor union families	32	36
Protestants	44	29
Catholics	35	34
Jewish	28	55
Farm families (by using this random selection of phone numbers 7.9% of our sample live on farms	45	23
Negro	10	74
Male	39	31
Female	40	30

-----  
Summary:

1. Wallace is not increasing -- holding steady or declining.
2. Debate issue should be held open -- feel strongly personally if decision is made not to debate RN should make a TV appearance stating why.
3. The undecided voter "could be had" by appeals mentioned before -- domestic issues and the future.

Question for RHF: Do you want more intensive study made of cities, such as Detroit and other places concerning the Wallace vote -- we can supplement the telephone interview and build up the sample there.

Question What is the next problem I should work On?

*Poll file*

October 17, 1968 (12th through the 17th)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cal.</u>	<u>Ill.</u>	<u>Mich.</u>	<u>Mo.</u>	<u>N.J.</u>	<u>Ohio</u>	<u>Pa.</u>	<u>Texas</u>
Nixon	39	41	40	36	41	39	38	38	33
Humphrey	32	32	32	33	29	34	31	31	34
Wallace	13	9	12	14	13	11	14	12	21
Undecided	13	11	14	14	14	13	14	7	11
None	3	7	2	3	2	4	3	2	1

Comment: This is the first day that I have seen the leaners in all states excepting Texas leaning toward Nixon. (These are small figures. The significant thing is they are leaning.) In Texas it is leaning Nixon 4.1/ leaning Humphrey 4.8

Among voters who have definitely made up their minds about a candidate it is:

Nixon	50%
Humphrey	36%
Wallace	14%

Among voters who say they definitely will vote (about 90 percent of the people)

Nixon	37%
Humphrey	27%
Wallace	12%
Undecided	24%

This question was asked only of respondents who said they would vote for Wallace or lean to Wallace.

Well, supposing Wallace were not in the race for the presidency. Would you vote for Humphrey or Nixon? (2 days' sampling)

Humphrey	25%
Nixon	48%
Undecided	27%

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Questions asked of everyone:

		<u>Total</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
The 3 big issues in this presidential campaign seem to have been the Vietnam war, crime and civil rights. Now as between just Nixon and Humphrey which one do you think would do the best job in handling these issues in January?	Nixon	47	27
	HHH	32	26
	Don't know	21	47
There will be a lot of other problems that the next President will have to face in the next 4 years. Some of these will be our relations with countries all over the world -- others will be all sorts of problems inside the United States. Now, putting aside crime and civil rights and thinking about other problems inside the United States which man, Nixon or Humphrey, do you think would do the best job in handling these problems?	Nixon	48	32
	HHH	37	32
	Don't know	15	36

		<u>Total</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Now let's talk about the problems of handling foreign affairs apart from Vietnam and thinking only of Nixon and Humphrey which one of these two men do you think would do the best job in handling them?	Nixon	49	33
	HHH	36	29
	Don't Know	15	37

(In pairing Humphrey/Wallace, Wallace/Nixon -- both Nixon and Humphrey beat Wallace on these, but Nixon beats Humphrey more)

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Indicator Question: (you cannot rely on the exact figures)

Have you heard or read anything new or interesting that Nixon has said or done in the presidential campaign during the last week or two?

Yes 16 percent  
 Yes (among undecided) 12 percent

When the same question asked about Humphrey

Yes 20 percent  
 Yes (among undecided) 15 percent

When the same question asked about Wallace

Yes 19%  
 Yes (among undecided) 17 percent

*file*

State	Elect. Votes	ORC			Date	Other Polls			Date	N	H	W
		N	H	W		N	H	W				
Alabama	10											10
Alaska	3					51	16	33	State Mid Sept	3		
Arizona	5				(due Oct.15)	44	20	18	Pulliam Pr. Oct 1	5		
Arkansas	6					29	20	39	Rock. early Oct			6
California	40	47	37	9	9/20-10/4	45	35	7	Muchmore 10/18	40		
Colorado	6					50	31	13	M-W Sept.25	6		
Connecticut	8				due Oct.17	35	33	10	MORC 10/15-20	8		
Delaware	3	34	34	18	Sept.13-23							
Florida	14	34	26	36	9/29-10/4	34	20	28	Cambridge (foo) 10/16			14*
Georgia	12											12
Hawaii	4											
Idaho	4	51	31	18	9/29 for newspapers	57	22	13	MORC Mid Sept	4		
Illinois	26	48	31	13	9/29-10/4	54	27	15	Am Res. (3/20) 10/16	26		
Indiana	13					43	32	18	MORC 10/3	13		
Iowa	9					51	30	14	CS Sept.20	9		
Kansas	7	Rep	Dem	Other	due Oct 21	46	21	13	M-W Sept.20	7		
Kentucky	9	33	24	25	10/4 (phone)	30	17	20	State Sept 17	9		
Louisiana	10					23	15	48	M-W early Oct			10
Maine	4					47	25	5	MORC Mid-Aug	4		
Maryland	10	37	28	14	Sept.30(phone)	33	39	16	MORC-Early Oct.			*
Massachusetts	14					31	44	3	Becker Res. (5/23)		14	
Michigan	21	47	34	15	9/29-10/4 (a)	40	39	16	MORC 10/15	21		*
Minnesota	10				(e)	44	5	42	5 Minn. Trib. 10/13	10		
Mississippi	7					14	24	54	State-Early Sept			7
Missouri	12	39	37	17	9/29-10/4	41	29	20	M-W 9/29-10/4	12		
Montana	4								See State Note	4		
Nebraska	5					52	19	12	Orka S.W.T. 9/30 10/3	5		
Nevada	3								(due Oct 15)	3		
New Hampshire	4					59	23	6	John Becker 9/23	4		
New Jersey	17	42	36	13	9/29-10/4	45	32	15	Bucci Oct 7	17		
New Mexico	4				See State Note	46	33	-	M-W Jun 5-9	4		
New York	43	45	39	5	9/29-10/4 (b)	31	28	10	Flessner 9/27-30 (phone)	43		*
North Carolina	13	30	22	33	Sept 20(phone)							13
North Dakota	4					47	27	8	CS Sept. 23	4		
Ohio	26	37	36	19	9/29-10/4	44	39	7	MORC 10/19-20 (3m)	26		*
Oklahoma	8					46	34	28	Bellnon 10/15	8		
Oregon	6				(due Oct 2)	44	23	9	Mid Sept.	6		
Pennsylvania	29	47	36	10	9/29-10/4	42	33	9	10/12-13 (ORC phone)	29		*
Rhode Island	4											
South Carolina	8	37	18	27	Sept.29 (phone)	32	20	29	CS 10/7-11 500 m	8		
South Dakota	4					49	21	18	State Oct.16	4		
Tennessee	11	31	16	39	Sept 23-25 (phone)							11
Texas	25	32	38	24	9/29-10/4 (c)	34	38	21	Quayle 10/1 (d)		25	
Utah	4					53	21	8	M-W Aug.19-25	4		
Vermont	3					56	29	5	Becker Sept 30	3		
Virginia	12	35	19	31	Sept.20 (phone)					12		
Washington	9					43	29	12	C.S. Oct 1	9		
West Virginia	7								See State Note			
Wisconsin	12	45	36	11	9/29-10/4	45	30	27	Late Sept.	12		
Wyoming	3									3		
D.C.	3					23	58	6	Sept 17-19		3	
TOTAL										385	42	83

- (a) N 36 H 31 W 12 10/12-13 ORC phone \* Conflicting Results
- (b) 46 42 8 10/14-19 NY News
- (c) 35 29 19 10/2 ORC phone
- (d) 40 23 23 10/1 M-W Batchelder (foo) phone
- (e) 40 42 43 66 10/19-20 Batchelder (foo) phone

*file* 10/11  
PMF

State	Elect. Votes	ORC			Date	Other Polls			Date	N H W		
		N	H	W		N	H	W		N	H	W
Alabama	10											10
Alaska	3					51	16	33	State Mid Sept	3		
Arizona	5				(due Oct.15)	44	20	18	Pulliam Pr. Oct 1	5		
Arkansas	6					29	20	39	Rock. early Oct			6
California	40	47	37	9	9/20-10/4	44	33	7	Field Sept 28-29	40		
Colorado	6					50	31	13	M-W Sept.25	6		
Connecticut	8				due Oct.17	34	31	8	MORC 9/13-26	8		
Delaware	3	34	34	18	Sept.13-23							
Florida	14	34	26	36	9/29-10/4	33	22	37	Quayle Oct.1			14*
Georgia	12				due mid Oct.							12
Hawaii	4											
Idaho	4	51	31	18	9/29 for newspapers	57	22	13	MORC Mid Sept	4		
Illinois	26	48	31	13	9/29-10/4	54	21	18	F. Alley As. 9/25	26		
Indiana	13					43	32	18	MORC 10/3	13		
Iowa	9					51	30	14	CS Sept.20	9		
Kansas	7	Reppem	Other		due Oct 21	46	21	13	M-W Sept.20	7		
Kentucky	9	33	24	25	10/4 (phone)	30	17	20	State Sept 17	9		
Louisiana	10					23	15	48	M-W early Oct.			
Maine	4					47	25	5	MORC Mid-Aug	4		
Maryland	10	37	28	14	Sept.30 (phone)	33	39	16	MORC-Early Oct.			*
Massachusetts	14					31	44	3	Becker Res. (5/73)		14	
Michigan	21	47	34	15	9/29-10/4	36	31	12	10/12-13 (ORC phone)	21		*
Minnesota	10	36	31	15	phone 10/13	44.5	42.5	9	Minn. Trib. Oct. 13	10		
Mississippi	7					14	24	54	State-Early Sept			7
Missouri	12	39	37	17	9/29-10/4	41	29	20	M-W 9/29-10/4	12		
Montana	4								See State Note			
Nebraska	5											
Nevada	3								(due Oct 15)			
New Hampshire	4					59	28	6	John Becker 9/28	4		
New Jersey	17	42	36	13	9/29-10/4	45	32	15	Bucci Oct 7	17		
New Mexico	4				See State Note	46	33	-	M-W Jun 5-9, 1100	4		
New York	43	45	39	5	9/29-10/4	31	28	10	Plessner 9/27-30 (phone)	43		*
North Carolina	13	30	22	33	Sept 20 (phone)							13
North Dakota	4					47	27	8	CS Sept. 23	4		
Ohio	26	37	36	19	9/29-10/4	40.3	32.1	131	MORC Sept.27			*
Oklahoma	8					43	20	21	Spears Sept 28	8		
Oregon	6				(due Oct 2)	44	23	9	Mid Sept.	6		
Pennsylvania	29	47	36	10	9/29-10/4	42	33	9	10/12-13 (ORC phone)	29		†*
Rhode Island	4	46	33	9	phone 10/11							
South Carolina	8	37	18	27	Sept.29 (phone)	32	20	29	CS 10/7-11 500 ind	8		
South Dakota	4					49	21	18	State Oct.16	4		
Tennessee	11	31	16	39	Sept 23-25 (phone)							11
Texas	25	32	38	24	9/29-10/4	37	29	25	M-W Sept.23-29		25	**
Utah	4					53	21	8	M-W Aug.19-26	4		
Vermont	3					56	29	5	Becker Sept 30			
Virginia	12	35	19	31	Sept.20 (phone)					12		
Washington	9					43	29	12	C.S. Oct 1	9		
West Virginia	7								See State Note			
Wisconsin	12	45	36	11	9/29-10/4	45.9	30.3	127	Late Sept.	12		
Wyoming	3											
D.C.	3					23	58	6	Sept 17-19			3
TOTAL										341	42	73

\* Conflicting Results  
 \*\* N H W  
 35 29 19 ORC 10/2 (phone)  
 48 40 12 Becker 10/12-13

HALDEMAN

SOUTH CAROLINA CENTRAL SURVEYS POLL PHONED TO FLANIGAN OCTOBER 16

500 PERSONAL INTERVIEW

	END OF JULY	SEPT. 29 (ORC)	OCT. 7-12 (BEFORE DIRECT MAIL)	WHITES	NEGROS
NIXON	25	37	32	40	4
HHH	25	18	20	8	61
GW	35	27	29	31	3
UNDECIDED	15	18	19	15	33

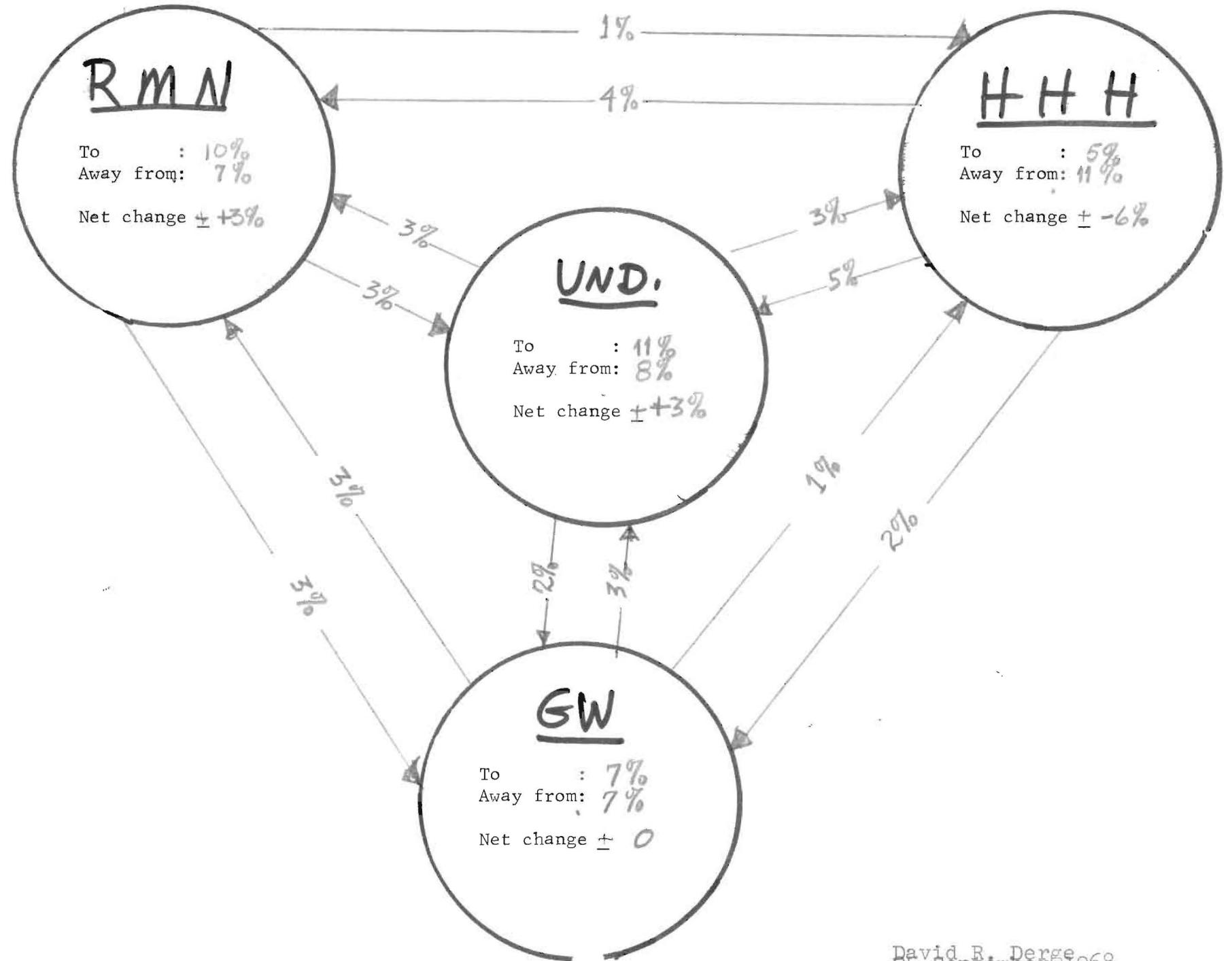
ISSUES	N	H	W
LAW AND ORDER	41	11	29
VIETNAM	33	27	17
F. OF C IN SCHOOLS	24	21	39
RACIAL PROBLEMS	23	28	39
WHO WILL BE ELECTED	51	17	19

*If at all possible  
scratch Illinois +  
add S.C. If this  
breaks too much China,  
forget S.C. You have to  
stay with Minnesota.*

HARRY DENT PUSHING AGNEW STOP IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. CAN BE DONE IF NICK SCRUBS AGNEW IN MINNESOTA (WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET ROCKEFELLER INTO MINNESOTA) OR THE 21ST DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS (WHICH I HAVE ALREADY PROMISED TO THE ILLINOIS PEOPLE) AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR RN NOT GOING TO DECATUR. WOULD LOVE TO SCRUB THE 21ST DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS SO THAT AGNEW COULD DO BOTH MINNESOTA AND SOUTH CAROLINA BUT IT WILL BE VERY BLOODY TO SCRUB THE 21ST DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS. NICK NEEDS DECISION SOONEST ON WHETHER TO COMMIT AGNEW TTO MINNESOTA AND I SEE NO POINT IN COMMITTING AGNEW TO MINNESOTA IF RN GOING TO DULUTH ON THE 30TH. MINNESOTA HAS 10 ELECTORAL VOTES; SOUTH CAROLINA HAS 8.

END

SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE BETWEEN MID-JULY AND EARLY SEPTEMBER: Four southern states.  
Total switching = 33% of all voters



	From RMN to Wallace	From HHH to Wallace	From Undecided to Wallace
SEX	EQUAL DISTRIB.	MEN 54 WOMEN 46	MEN 56 WOMEN 44
Party Identification	1/2 REP, 1/2 D & I,	77% DEM 22% IND.	1/2 DEM 1/2 IND.
Income	60% UNDER 10,000 40% OVER 10,000	78% UNDER 10,000	60% UNDER 10,000 31% OVER 10,000
Union Membership	40% UNION 55% NON-UNION	EQUAL DISTRIB.	<del>40% UNION</del> EQUAL DISTRIB.
Age	2/3 OVER 40	2/3 OVER 40	<del>55% H.S. INC.</del> <del>28% H.S. GRAD.</del> 1/2 30-50
Education	EQUAL DISTRIB.	1/2 H.S. INC. 2/5 H.S. GRAD.	55% H.S. INCOMP. 28% H.S. GRAD
Central City, Suburb, Non-Metropolitan	47% SUBURBS	48% SUBURBS	60% SUBURBS
Religion	70% PROTESTANT	50% CATHOLIC 43% PROTESTANT	1/3 CATHOLIC 1/2 PROTESTANT.
Ethnic Background	U.S. - ETHNIC - 60%	U.S. ETHNIC - 54%	US ETHNIC - 43%
Media Consumption	MODERATE!	MODERATE	MODERATE
Alienation	NOT ALIENATED.	NOT ALIENATED.	<u>MORE</u> ALIENATED
Voting Turnout	GOOD.	GOOD	LOWER TURNOUT

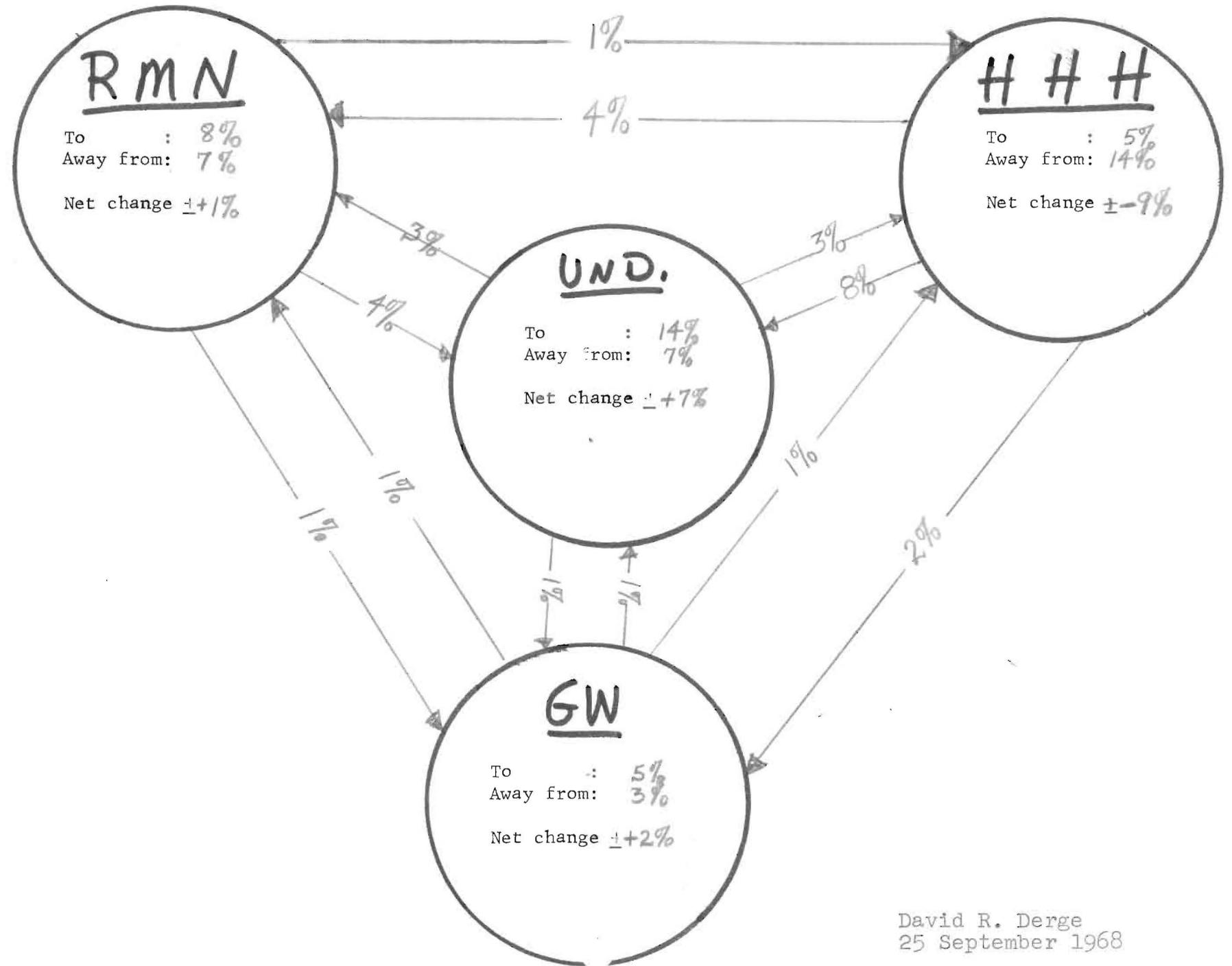
PROFILE OF SWITCHERS:

4 STATE

	From RMN to Wallace	From HHH to Wallace	From Undecided to Wallace
SEX	2/3 MALE	2/3 FEMALE	3/5 MALE
Party Identification	1/2 DEM 1/3 IND. 1/8 REP.	80% DEM.	3/5 DEM. 2/5 IND.
Income	EQUAL DISTRIB.	88% UNDER 10000	68% UNDER 10000
Union Membership	96% NON-UNION	88% NON-UNION	82% NON-UNION
Age	2/3 OVER 40	2/3 OVER 50	57% OVER 40
Education	2/5 H.S. GRAD 2/5 COLLEGE	2/5 H.S. INC. 2/5 H.S. GRAD.	1/2 H.S. INC. 2/5 H.S. GRAD.
Central City, Suburb, Non-Metropolitan	1/2 OUTSIDE METRO. AREA	73% OUTSIDE METRO AREA	51% OUTSIDE METRO AREA
Religion	85% PROTESTANT	86% PROTESTANT	96% PROTESTANT
Ethnic Background	83% U.S. ETHNIC	89% U.S. ETHNIC	84% U.S. ETHNIC
Media Consumption	HEAVIER	MODERATE	HEAVIER
Alienation	NOT ALIENATED	NOT ALIENATED	NOT ALIENATED
Voting Turnout	HEAVY	HEAVY	HEAVY.

SWITCHES IN VOTING PREFERENCE BETWEEN mid-July and early September: Nine northern battleground states  
 Total switching = 32% of all voters

100



David R. Derge  
 25 September 1968