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in this information: *PAT Buchanan*

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HIS QUESTIONS.*

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*Richard
Wirthlin*

JV

The Harris Survey

307355

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PRO15

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BED0304

For Release: Thursday AM, March 7th, 1985

1985 #19
ISSN 0273-1037

OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

By Louis Harris

By an overwhelming 68-28 percent margin, a solid majority of the American people reject the notion that farmers should make out without federal government help, and instead opt for continuation of a program of price supports and subsidies for farmers.

This result is significant, for it means that more than a 2 to 1 majority of the American people back substantial assistance for agriculture. There is, therefore, more than enough public sentiment to support a veto override by Congress of the emergency relief legislation passed by the House and Senate, but vetoed by the President, since an override of a veto requires a two-thirds majority in Congress.

There is also little doubt that President Reagan's opposition to federal government legislation which will bring some relief to farmers is taking a toll on his popularity. When asked to rate Reagan on "his handling of the crisis of farm failures," a big 68-27 percent majority comes up with negative marks. Significantly, Republicans give him negative marks on his farm policy by 56-39 percent, conservatives by 60-35 percent, and those who voted for him in 1984 by 55-41 percent. In other words, the President does not appear to be capable of carrying his own base on this important farm issue.

The reason for this public sentiment is not hard to find. When asked how serious they feel the farm crisis is, with an estimated 12 percent of the farmers going out of business this year, 63 percent of the public nationwide say it is "very serious," an additional 28 percent say "somewhat serious," compared with only 6 percent who say the situation is "not very serious." Obviously, feeling for the plight of farmers goes far beyond just those engaged in agriculture or those who live in farming areas.

When asked about the specific legislation that passed both the House and the Senate this past week and was sent to the President, sizable majorities, all over the 2 to 1 mark, back the major provisions, according to the latest Harris Survey, taken by telephone between March 2nd and 5th among a national cross section of 1,256 adults:

--By 65-31 percent, a majority favors "the federal government putting up \$100 million to help farmers pay the interest on loans they now owe the government." A major crisis for so-called family farmers is that they have debt payments which have mounted steadily in the face of declining prices and income they receive for their crops. An important depressant of farm prices has been the continuing strength of the U.S. dollar abroad, which in turn allows foreign-grown farm products to be sold at much reduced prices.

The issue of farmer indebtedness became aggravated when Budget Director David Stockman testified before Congress and maintained that much of farmer borrowing was speculation born of the inflationary items of the past decade. Stockman basically was claiming that farmers were betting on inflation continuing and now were caught short by the levelling out of inflation over the past few years. In turn, he suggested that it was wrong to "bail out" the farmers with taxpayer money.

However, it is evident from these results that the taxpayers disagree with Stockman in rather emphatic terms, and want to help farmers meet their loan payments and not have to go into bankruptcy.

--By 67-30 percent, another majority of the public also favors "the U.S. giving \$175 million in aid to starving African countries, most of which would be sent in surplus U.S. food." This provision was introduced into the emergency farm relief bill

(over)

partly because of the outpouring in this country of feeling for the starving peoples of Africa and partly as a way to subsidize further and make use of surplus agricultural production.

--By 69-28 percent, a substantial majority favors "allowing farmers to be paid now in advance by the federal government for crops they will be harvesting next fall to allow the farmers to buy their seeds for planting." This is clearly the most open-ended part of the emergency relief bill, since it cannot be determined just how many farmers will seek such advance payment on their crops. However, once again, a better than 2 to 1 majority of the public favors making these advance payments.

All in all, when a \$3.7 billion price tag is put on this farm legislation, big majorities of the American people simply are not put off from supporting continuing federal financial help for farmers. Farmers may be only a bare 3 percent of the population these days, but a solid majority of the other 97 percent non-farmers clearly stand in high support of the farmers. Should a presidential veto be upheld and this emergency legislation fail, the scar tissue is likely to be around a long time not only in farm states, but across the entire country.

T A B L E S

Between March 2nd and 5th, the Harris Survey asked a nationwide cross section of 1,256 adults by telephone:

"Now, let me ask you about the current situation facing the American farmer. As you know, the U.S. is one of the biggest producers of goods in the world. Over the years, because of the uncertainty of the prices farmers can get for their crops and the effect of weather, the federal government has guaranteed farmers a price support system and has subsidized payments for surplus food production. Generally, do you favor a program of federal price supports and subsidies for farmers, or do you think they should be forced to make out or not without federal government help?"

FAVOR FARM PRICE SUPPORTS AND SUBSIDIES

	<u>1</u>
Favor subsidies and price supports	68
Farmers should make out without federal help	28
Not sure	4

"Because of foreign competition, prices on farm products have been lower in many cases than what it costs to produce them. This has caused many farmers to go deeply into debt. It is estimated that 12 percent of farmers will go out of business this year alone, and 30 percent will go out of business in the next few years. Some Reagan Administration people say this kind of shake out in farming is inevitable and should take place. How serious do you feel the plight of farmers in America is today -- very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, or not at all serious?"

SERIOUSNESS OF FARMERS' PLIGHT

	<u>1</u>
Very serious	63
Somewhat serious	28
Not very serious	6
Not at all serious	1
Not sure	2

(continued)

"Congress has voted for, but the Reagan Administration has opposed, an emergency bill that would provide \$3.7 billion in relief for farmers. Let me ask if you favor or oppose what's in that bill. Do you favor or oppose (READ EACH ITEM)?"

FAVOR VARIOUS ASPECTS OF EMERGENCY RELIEF BILL FOR FARMERS

	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	<u>Not sure</u> %
Allowing farmers to be paid now in advance by the federal government for crops they will be harvesting next fall, to allow the farmers to buy their seeds for planting	69	28	3
The U.S. giving \$175 million in aid to starving African countries, most of which would be sent in surplus U.S. food	67	30	3
The federal government putting up \$100 million to help farmers pay the interest on loans they now owe the government	65	31	4

METHODOLOGY

This Harris Survey was conducted by telephone within the United States between March 2nd and 5th among a cross section of 1,256 adults nationwide. Figures for age, sex, race and education were weighted where necessary to bring them into line with their actual proportions in the population.

In a sample of this size, one can say with 95 percent certainty that the results are within plus or minus three percentage points of what they would be if the entire adult population had been polled.

This statement conforms to the principles of disclosure of the National Council on Public Polls.

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*Richard
Wirthlin*

Los Angeles Times

POLL

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La Times Poll

Majority of Taxpayers in Support of Reforms

By DAVID TREADWELL, Times Staff Writer

Nearly two out of every three U.S. taxpayers believe that the federal government's first priority should be reforming the tax system rather than trimming budget deficits, and a majority of taxpayers favor the Treasury Department's controversial proposal to simplify the tax structure, according to the latest Los Angeles Times Poll.

But the nationwide survey also suggests that the Administration faces an uphill struggle in pushing tax reform through Congress because, although most taxpayers believe that the present tax system is unfair and needs drastic revision, they tend to describe tax breaks from which they personally benefit as equitable. They also endorse the present graduated tax-rate structure in which rates are lowest for the poor and highest for the rich.

Taxpayers also are skeptical about claims that the Treasury proposal would reduce tax cheating, encourage more persons to report their federal taxes and result in smaller tax bills for most individual taxpayers, according to the poll.

In fact, in one of the most revealing indications of the tough selling job ahead for the Administration on tax reform, more than one-third of those surveyed said they would probably end up paying more federal income tax if the Treasury plan were to become law, compared to only 11% who thought they would pay less.

Also compounding the Administration's task is that, despite widespread discontent with the federal tax system, taxpayers are not in the mood for the kind of revolt that spawned California's tax-slashing Proposition 13 and similar proposals elsewhere in the nation in the late 1970s.

Only 28% of respondents said that they were angry about the amount of federal income taxes they or their families paid last year. An overwhelming 70% said they were satisfied or had no particular feeling one way or the other about the amount of federal income taxes they paid last year.

The survey results suggest that the nation's taxpayers like what little they know about the Treasury proposal. But two-thirds of those surveyed believe that the current system of graduated tax rates was preferable to a modified flat-tax structure, as the Treasury is proposing because they believe that any overhaul of the tax system should require upper-income taxpayers to shoulder a greater share of the tax burden.

On the other hand, 56% endorsed the idea of getting rid of most deductions as the Treasury proposal calls for.

But the survey suggests that the deductions they believe should be eliminated are ones from which they do not particularly benefit. For example, 74% of respondents believe the currently allowed deduction for business entertainment expenses is unfair, but only 7% of them use this tax break.

Among taxpayers who do use it, 59% said the entertainment deduction was fair, compared to 41% who labeled it unfair. Among those who do not use it, 81% thought it was unfair.

The poll sampled a scientific cross-section of 1,454 taxpayers by telephone from Jan. 19 and 24, a time when debate intensified over tax reform and deficit reduction as President Reagan was formally inaugurated for a second term and White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, his nominee to become the new secretary of the Treasury, began confirmation hearings on Capitol Hill.

In his Inaugural Address, Reagan endorsed the principles of tax reform embodied in the Treasury proposal without embracing any of the plan's specifics. White House aides say the President intends to go into more detail on tax reform in his coming State of the Union message on Feb. 6.

Meanwhile, at the confirmation hearings by the Senate Finance Committee, Baker said that the President considers tax reform his chief domestic goal for his new term, overshadowing even reducing the deficit or keeping

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inflation in check.

But in a sign of the obstacles ahead for the Administration, Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said deficit reduction will be the "more pressing goal" for the Senate and gave scant odds for action on any tax reform this year.

The Treasury proposal, which was disclosed last November by Secretary of the Treasury Donald T. Regan, would scrap the current system of 15 graduated tax brackets running from 11% to 50% and replace it with a modified flat-tax structure with only three brackets: 15% at the lowest income levels, 25% at the broad middle-income level and 35% for the highest income levels.

The proposal also calls for the elimination or reduction of many cherished individual deductions and business tax breaks. For instance, the mortgage deduction for interest on a principal residence would be retained but a \$5,000 ceiling would be imposed on deductions for interest on all other loans, including automobiles and second homes.

Battle lines already have been drawn in Washington over the proposal, with unions, big business and realtors—to name some of the most formidable challengers—vociferously opposed to the plan.

According to the latest Times poll, the public shares the Administration's priority for tax reform, with 60% saying it should take precedence over deficit reduction. Despite the relative lack of anger over taxes, 56% of respondents said

the federal tax code is unfair and needs substantial improvement, if not a fundamental overhaul.

The Treasury proposal was favored by 52% of those surveyed against 30% who opposed it—although nearly two-thirds of respondents admitted that they knew little or nothing about the plan.

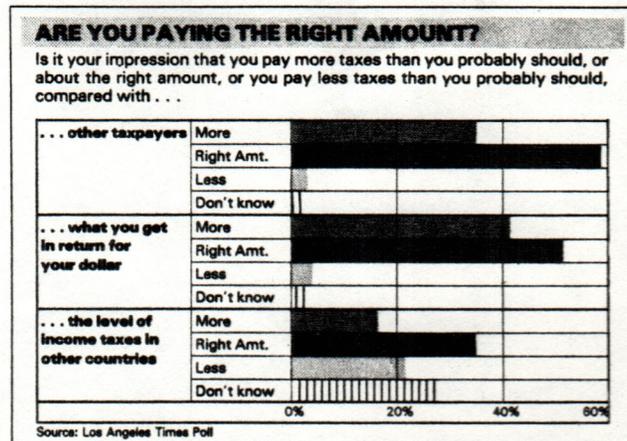
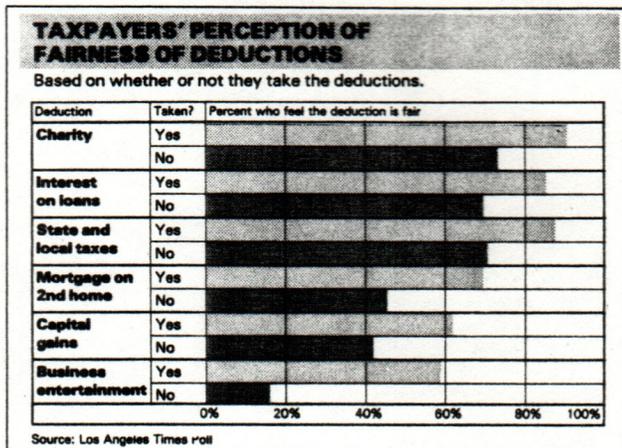
Among the poll's other findings:

—Taxpayers were nearly equally divided over two issues: whether business should pay higher taxes and whether current tax breaks for "smokestack" industries such as auto and steel should be retained.

—Skepticism over the Treasury proposal was high, with 62% of respondents saying they believe that special interests would be able to restore any loopholes that would be eliminated so that individual taxpayers would be worse off than before. Sixty-six percent said the proposal would have no impact on tax cheating.

—Thirty seven percent of taxpayers believe that they would pay more taxes under the Treasury proposal, and 42% believe that they would pay about the same amount as now. Treasury Department analysts say that 56% of individual taxpayers would receive a tax cut under the proposal and that 22% would suffer no change at all in their tax payments.

The poll, conducted by I. A. Lewis, Times poll director, has a margin of error of 3 percentage points in either direction.



Nation's Business

Robert T. Gray
Editor

Chamber of Commerce of the United States

1615 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20062
202/463-5650

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4206

April 17, 1985

PRO15

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BE003

FE006-07

The Honorable John A. Svahn
Assistant to the President for
Policy Development
Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

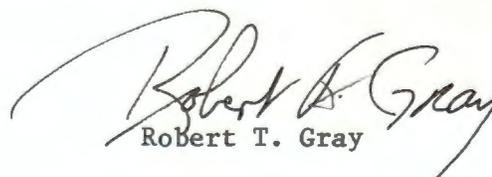
Dear Mr. Svahn:

Through its monthly poll, "Where I Stand," NATION'S BUSINESS magazine obtains the views of its readers on major public-policy issues of concern to the business community.

These readers number more than 850,000 owners and managers of businesses of all sizes and types. We believe that this audience is more representative of the full spectrum of American enterprise than that of any other publication or organization.

We are therefore sending to you another in our series of reports to key decision makers in government on the outcome of these polls on issues of current interest to the Congress and the executive branch. We hope that you find them informative and useful in developing your own position on the issues listed.

Sincerely yours,


Robert T. Gray

Enclosure

NATION'S BUSINESS POLL ON MAJOR BUSINESS ISSUES

Reader Responses to Questions Posed in
Most Recent Surveys (*)

QUESTION	% YES	% NO
Should company-paid employee benefits be taxed as income to the worker?	17.9	78.5
Should special civil rights rules be extended to more businesses?	7.6	86.1
Should there be federal registration of hand guns?	20.7	78.3
Should daylight saving time be extended?	68.9	29.5
Should the government set comparable worth standards?	5.6	93.0
Should the law on vehicle-use records be repealed?	96.5	3.2

(*) -- The "Undecided" category is omitted.

JV

TR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1985

NOTE FOR DONALD T. REGAN
FROM: DAVID L. CHEW
SUBJ: Public Comments

Attached is a short synopsis of all of the public calls, letters and comments received by the Anne Higgins operation in March.

Dec 84 Through Mar 31

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date:

4-22-85

To:

Dave

This is Fiji -
just an
over-all look
at what has
been coming
in -

a

ANNE HIGGINS
Special Assistant to the
President and Director
of Correspondence
Room 94, x7610

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

312284

1110

PRO15

UT001-03

FB001

April 5, 1985

TO: Anne Higgins

FROM: Joan De Cain

RE: "Comments" from the Comment Office

During March the Comment Office received 10,212 calls. Of these 715 were positive toward the President while 195 were negative.

WH004

1,015 Presidential greetings were requested; 794 calls were transferred to various Agencies, Congress, State and local governments. A daily average of 486 calls were received.

The major issues for March are shown below:

	POS	NEG	TOTAL
1. Farm Bill	1,759	451	2,210
2. MX	132	413	545
3. Central American Policy	39	187	226
4. Genocide Treaty	1	193	194
5. President's 3/12 TV Press Conference	68	22	90
6. U.S. Reaction to the killing of Major Nicholson		63	63
7. Miscellaneous			2,710

The Greetings Office sent 35,777 birthday cards and 4,640 anniversary cards during the month of March. Additionally, 1,131 100th birthday requests were filled with the card for this occasion. 122,707 greetings were sent to Senior Citizens from January 1, to March 31 of 1985.

This year the Comments Office has handled a total of 30,820 calls through March 1985. This represents an average of 10,273 calls per month.

It is interesting to note that 455 assignments were made to 22 different White House offices during March. Additionally, this office completed the following special projects during March:

- addressed 50,000 labels for the children's unit, half used for the children's booklet (#36) the remainder stuffed with a package of information (#50)
- addressed, stuffed and mailed 2,369 newsletters to students (#13)
- addressed, stuffed and mailed 2,557 support cards (C-12)
- addressed and stuffed 223 off sets concerning the Etheopian Food Crisis (of-48 & 49)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

- addressed, stuffed and mailed 174 comic books supporting the First Lady's Drug Program.
- addressed and stuffed 500 "Lucky" pictures for the First Lady's Office.
- addressed and stuffed 200 YP5 & 6 for children's mail.
- compiled 1,200 packets for Public Liaison and took reservations for briefings.
- read and coded 8,000 pieces of children's mail

The volunteers continued to support the mailroom, children's mail, gift unit, SLR, and the office of the Director of Correspondence. They also assisted with the wrapping of presidential mementoes, viewing videos, listening to audios and translating foreign mail.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1985

TO: Anne Higgins

FROM: Joan De Cain *jd*

RE: "Comments" from the Comment Office

During ~~February the Comment Office received 10,690 calls.~~ Of these 785 were positive toward the President while 165 were negative.

1,023 Presidential greetings were requested; 944 calls were transferred to various Agencies, Congress, State and local governments. A daily average of 562 calls were received.

The major issues for February are shown below:

	POS	NEG	TOTAL
1. Central American Policy	61	1,268	1,329
2. David Stockman's Remarks	300	497	797
3. President's State of the Union Speech 2/6	598	71	669
4. Farm Policy	207	155	362
5. Budget Cuts in Social Programs	57	188	245
6. Meese's Confirmation	34	105	139
7. President's 2/21 TV Press Conference	67	18	85
8. Miscellaneous			3,935

The Greetings Office sent 35,523 birthday cards and 5,840 anniversary cards during the month of February. Additionally 1,123 100th birthday requests were filled with the card for this occasion. 80,755 greetings were sent to Senior Citizens from January 1, to February 28 of 1985.

This year the Comments Office has handled a total of 20,608 calls through February 1985. This represents an average of 10,304 calls per month.

It is interesting to note that 392 assignments were made to 24 different White House offices February. Additionally, this office completed the following special projects during February:

- Stuffed and mailed 2,682 letters sent to the President concerning the Ethiopian food crisis (OF48-49)
- Mailed 175 comic books in connection with Nancy Reagan's Drug Program
- Rolled and packaged 300 poster pictures of the O.E.O.B. for distribution to the O.M.B. staff.
- Stuffed and mailed 1,955 Presidential letters to children- (YP5-6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 6, 1985

TO: Anne Higgins

FROM: Joan De Cain *jd*

RE: "Comments" from the Comment Office

During January the Comment Office received 9,918 calls. Of these 705 were positive toward the President while 76 were negative.

1,249 Presidential greetings were requested; 1,119 calls were transferred to various Agencies, Congress, State and local governments. A daily average of 451 calls were received.

The major issues for January are shown below:

	POS	NEG	TOTAL
1. Star Wars Program	189	31	220
2. J. Jackson's Demonstrations on Inaugural Day		151	151
3. E. Meese's Confirmation	34	105	139
4. Support for J. Kirkpatrick	66	1	67
5. Support for Mr. Tupper Sausey IRS Problem	117		117
6. Save the Ahales	105		105
7. Tax on Charitable and Church Contributions		92	92
8. Miscellaneous			3280

The Greetings office sent 31,920 birthday cards and 4,788 anniversary cards during the month of January. Additionally, 1,079 100th birthday requests were filled with the card for this occasion.

It is interesting to note that 319 assignments were made to 25 different White House offices during January. Additionally, we were able to acknowledge, prior to the Inaugural, 35,000 of the President's letters of congratulations with the C-12 Card. This Office also detailed, for the month of January, four students to the Inaugural Committee on a full time basis. The volunteers assisted the Administration Office with rolling and packaging posters for distribution to the White House Staff. We also helped the Children's Unit read and sort 20,000 pieces of mail from young people. The office continued to support Public Liaison by taking RSVP's and preparing packets (75). We also continued to support the mail room, gift unit, SLR and the Office of the Director of Correspondence. The volunteers continued to wrap Presidential Mementoes, view videos, listen to audios and translate foreign mail.

*The
Volunteers*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Received SS
1985 APR 22 PM 9:51

January 3, 1985

TO: Anne Higgins

FROM: Joan De Cain

RE: "Comments" from the Comment Office

During ~~December the Comment Office received 13,976 calls.~~ Of these 600 were positive toward the President, while 95 were negative.

836 Presidential greetings were requested; 942 calls were transferred to various Agencies, Congress, State and local governments. A daily average of 689 calls were received.

The major issues for December are shown below:

	POS	NEG	TOTAL
1. Tax on Charitable and Church Contributions	13	* 4,547	4,560
2. Save the Whales	540		540
3. Aid to Ethiopia	584	17	601
4. Jeanne Kirkpatrick as Secretary of State	42		42
5. Miscellaneous			4,497

*Organized Call-In 700 Club

The Greetings Office sent 28,830 birthday cards and 6,687 anniversary cards during the month of December. Additionally, 668 100th birthday requests were filled with the card for this occasion. 483,456 greetings were sent to Senior Citizens from January 1, to December 30 of 1984.

This year the Comments Office has handled a total of 137,692 calls through December 1984. This represents an average of 11,474 calls per month.

It is interesting to note that 120 assignments were made to 22 different White House offices during December. Additionally, 53 volunteers assisted the Visitors Office with the Christmas festivities. The number of detailees assigned to staff offices was curtailed to complete the Christmas Card project. Nevertheless, our usual assistance was provided to Administration for momento wrapping; to Children's Mail, the Mail Room and Gift Unit and Correspondence. We were able to meet our deadline and mail 120,000 Christmas Cards by December 14.

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.1(a)
By NARA *[Signature]* Date *1/4/92*

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April 5, 1985 **312416**

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable
Robert McFarlane
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House

FROM: Charles Z. Wick *[Signature]*
Director

SUBJECT: West European Public Opinion on SDI

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The attached European attitude survey results compiled by USIA's Research Office are furnished as part of our commitment to keep the public diplomacy community informed of timely foreign opinion trends which can influence our strategy and action.

Findings from surveys in Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark show:

- o Rather large numbers of West Europeans have heard about the Strategic Defense Initiative.
- o Except in Denmark, publics tend to consider U.S. development of a defense system against missiles a good idea. Last June's negative reactions by West Germans appear to have changed to positive.
- o There is no consensus on SDI's effect on reaching an arms control agreement nor its impact on the risk of war.
- o Relatively few are concerned that deployment of anti-missile weapons would diminish America's willingness to come to West Europe's defense.

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MSC 8502811

Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of Research

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.1(a)

By NARA *[Signature]* Date *1/4/92*
March 28, 1985

WEST EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION ON SDI

This report is based on USIA-commissioned public opinion surveys fielded between February 12 and March 3 in six West European NATO countries -- Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark. In each country, between 924 and 1354 personal interviews were conducted with adults age 18 and above by prominent local research institutes.

Summary:

Considering the newness of the topic, rather large numbers of West Europeans have heard about SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative. Except in Denmark, publics tend to consider U.S. development of a defense system against missiles a good idea. Last June's negative reactions by West Germans appear to have changed to positive. In several countries, there is a tendency to believe that SDI development will enhance West European security. But there is no consensus on SDI's effect on reaching an arms control agreement nor on its impact on the risk of war. Majorities of those with an opinion regard SDI development primarily as a bargaining chip. Relatively few are concerned that deployment of anti-missile weapons would diminish America's willingness to come to West Europe's defense.

End Summary

High Awareness of SDI

Substantial numbers of West Europeans have some familiarity with the rather new topic of SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative. Roughly one-third of the general public in Belgium, the Netherlands and West Germany, and as many as one-half in Britain, Denmark, and Italy say they have heard or read at least "a fair amount" about "the U.S. decision to try to develop a new defense system, the so-called Star Wars, that could destroy attacking enemy missiles."

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(Decontrol March 31, 1986)

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- 2 -

Among the better-educated -- those with post-secondary education -- nearly nine in ten Italians and more than six in ten Britons, Belgians, and Danes are aware of the U.S. decision. In West Germany and the Netherlands, more than half say they have heard "a great deal" or "a fair amount" about SDI development. (Table 1)

Except in Denmark, More Approve Than Disapprove of SDI

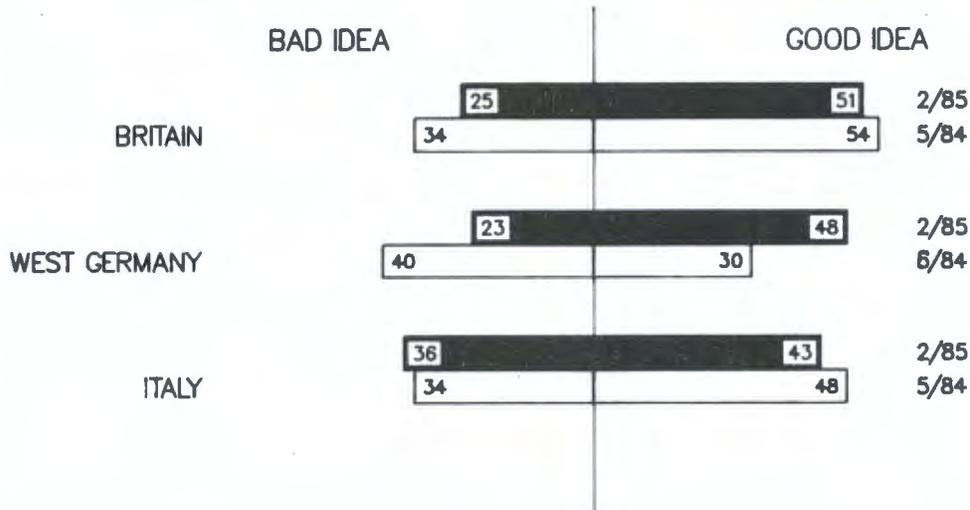
When all -- including those who had heard little or nothing about SDI -- are then told that "the United States is considering the development of a defense system which could destroy attacking enemy missiles" and asked whether they approve, it becomes clear that there is as yet no West European consensus. In Britain, West Germany, and Belgium, publics consider SDI a good idea by a margin of two to one. In Italy and the Netherlands, approval narrowly exceeds disapproval. Only in Denmark does a plurality think it a bad idea. Large numbers, however, are not sure whether SDI development is good or bad, suggesting that West European opinion on this issue is still coalescing. (Table 2)

The distribution of opinion among those with post-secondary education is comparable to opinion among the general public in Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands but quite different in West Germany. While the German public, by a margin of 48 to 23 percent, regards SDI development as a good idea, Germans with Abitur or university think it a bad one (by 52 to 31%). Better-educated Danes and Belgians also view SDI development more negatively than the general public. In Britain, on the other hand, half the total public as well as half the better-educated think SDI development a good idea. In the Netherlands, opinion among both general public and better-educated is about evenly divided.

The West German general public's approval of SDI represents a reversal of opinion since June 1984. At that time, a 40 to 30 percent plurality considered "the development of a weapon in space which could destroy attacking enemy missiles" a bad idea. In Britain, the number considering SDI a bad idea has decreased slightly since the Spring of 1984, while in Italy there has been almost no change during that period. Trend data for Belgium, The Netherlands, and Denmark are not available. (Figure 1)

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Figure 1. OPINION OF SDI DEVELOPMENT, 1984-85



Widespread Uncertainty on Consequences of SDI Development

Answers to several questions on the perceived consequences of U.S. development of an anti-missile defense system reveal widespread uncertainty. Unusually high percentages -- among the better-educated as well as among the general public -- are unable to express an opinion. And those who do give an opinion divide in several countries fairly evenly between positive and negative assessments.

In general, opinion tends to be more favorable in Britain, West Germany, and Belgium, more unfavorable in Italy, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Details are shown on Table 3 and summarized below:

- o Pluralities of roughly four in ten in Britain, West Germany, and Belgium think SDI development would increase the security of Western Europe. In the Netherlands and Denmark, pluralities are undecided and as many see it decreasing as increasing West European security. In Italy, a 44 to 37 percent plurality think SDI would decrease the security of Western Europe.
- o The prevailing view in Britain, and by much larger margins also in Italy, the Netherlands and Denmark, is that SDI development would upset the balance of power and accelerate the arms race. German and Belgian opinion is about evenly divided on whether SDI will accelerate the arms race or increase chances of reaching an arms control agreement.

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- o Small pluralities in five of the six surveyed countries believe that SDI development will not affect the risk of nuclear war. Among those who feel that SDI does affect the risk of nuclear war, Britons, Germans and Belgians, by small margins, tend to think it will decrease the risk. Dutch and Danes by equally small margins, but a plurality of Italians, think SDI increases the risk of nuclear war.

Majorities Regard SDI Development Primarily as Bargaining Chip

Majorities among those with an opinion on this question consider SDI development important primarily as a bargaining chip in arms control negotiations. Considerably fewer think SDI is so important for Western security that research on it should be pursued even at the cost of a nuclear arms control agreement. The bargaining chip view is especially prevalent in Italy, the Netherlands, and Denmark, and among better-educated West Germans. (See Table 4)

Publics Not Worried That SDI Deployment Would Lead to Decoupling

By margins of at least two to one, West European publics believe that the United States would come to their country's defense in case of a Soviet attack even after deployment of an effective defense against nuclear missiles. Majorities or near majorities in all six countries hold that view. Far fewer (between 14% in the Netherlands and 28% in Italy) think that the U.S. would not come to their defense once it had deployed an effective shield against nuclear weapons. Substantial numbers -- roughly three out of every ten Dutch, Danes, and West Germans -- say they don't know what effect SDI deployment would have on U.S. willingness to come to their country's defense. (See Table 5)

Opinions on the effect of SDI deployment on the U.S. defense commitment to Western Europe are about the same among the better-educated as among the general public. Only in the Federal Republic are the better-educated somewhat more skeptical than others that the U.S. would honor its defense pledge once "the U.S. deploys an effective defense against nuclear missiles."

In each of the six surveyed countries, confidence in the U.S. defense commitment to Western Europe following the possible deployment of anti-missile weapons appears to be as high or higher than in May/June 1984, when SDI was not part of the

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question. And far fewer think the U.S. would not come to their country's defense after deployment of "an effective defense against nuclear missiles" than thought last Spring that the U.S. would not keep its defense commitment. (See Table 6) The 1984 question, however, was rather different and included the confidence-deflating reminder that by coming to West Europe's defense the U.S. would risk the destruction of U.S. cities.

Prepared by:
Kenneth P. Adler (P/RWE)
(202) 485-7136

M - 3/28/85

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Table 1. AWARENESS OF SDI DEVELOPMENT

16. How much have you heard or read about the U.S. decision to try to develop a new defense system, the so-called "Star Wars", that could destroy attacking enemy missiles -- a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

	TOTAL SAMPLE					
	BRITAIN (1073)	FRG (924)	ITALY (1077)	BELGIUM (1003)	NETH. (1354)	DENMARK (942)
A great deal	12%	10%	16%	15%	6%	11%
A fair amount	<u>34</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>39</u>
Subtotal	46	33	50	39	29	50
Not very much	35	42	25	26	43	29
Nothing at all	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
Subtotal	51	54	49	53	57	41
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>
Total*	99	100	101	99	100	100

	BETTER-EDUCATED					
	BRITAIN (130)	FRG (96)	ITALY (76)	BELGIUM (113)	NETH. (208)	DENMARK (108)
A great deal	20%	14%	42%	35%	10%	25%
A fair amount	<u>42</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>47</u>
Subtotal	62	56	87	64	53	73
Not very much	32	39	8	22	40	20
Nothing at all	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Subtotal	36	41	13	35	44	25
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total*	100	101	100	100	100	99

*Totals may deviate from 100 percent due to rounding.

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Table 2. OPINION OF U.S. SDI DEVELOPMENT

17. As you may know, the United States is considering the development of a defense system which could destroy attacking enemy missiles. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?

	TOTAL SAMPLE					
	BRITAIN (1073)	FRG (924)	ITALY (1077)	BELGIUM (1003)	NETH. (1354)	DENMARK (942)
A good idea	51%	48%	43%	46%	32%	27%
A bad idea	25	23	36	24	28	36
Neither good nor bad (vol.)	12	-	14		13	12
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>25</u>
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100

	BETTER-EDUCATED					
	BRITAIN (130)	FRG (96)	ITALY (76)	BELGIUM (113)	NETH. (208)	DENMARK (108)
A good idea	49%	31%	46%	40%	39%	34%
A bad idea	27	52	34	36	42	43
Neither good nor bad (vol.)	15		17	-	12	15
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
Total*	101	99	100	100	101	100

*Totals may deviate from 100 percent due to rounding.

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Table 3. PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF SDI DEVELOPMENT
(February/March 1985)

	BRITAIN (1073)	GERMANY (924)	ITALY (1007)	BELGIUM (1003)	NETH. (1354)	DENMARK (942)
<u>A. On West European Security</u>						
Increases security of Western Europe	46%	39%	37%	40%	33%	26%
Decreases security of Western Europe	28	22	44	32	30	27
Undecided	26	39	19	27	37	47
<u>B. On Chances for Arms Control Agreement</u>						
Increases chance of arms control agreement	31%	35%	30%	37%	22%	15%
Accelerates the arms race	44	35	56	32	41	49
Undecided	25	31	14	31	37	36
<u>C. On Risk of Nuclear War</u>						
Decreases risk of war	26%	27%	25%	28%	17%	17%
Increases risk of war	22	20	43	22	23	24
Makes no difference	41	31	23	31	36	31
Undecided	11	22	9	18	24	28

Questions:

A. Do you think that development of an anti-missile weapon by the U.S. would increase or decrease the security of Western Europe?

B. Some people say that U.S. development of a defense against nuclear missiles would increase the chance of reaching an arms control agreement between the superpowers. Others say that development of such an anti-missile defense system would only upset the balance of power and accelerate the arms race. Which statement is closer to your own opinion?

C. On balance, do you think the development of an anti-missile defense system will increase the risk of nuclear war, decrease the risk of nuclear war, or make no difference?

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Table 4. SDI DEVELOPMENT: NEEDED DETERRENT OR BARGAINING CHIP?

20. Which of the two statements on this card (HAND CARD) is closer to your own view?

A says: The development of an anti-missile defense system is so important to deter a Soviet attack that the West should continue research on it even if that means not getting a nuclear arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

B says: The development of an anti-missile defense system is important primarily as a bargaining chip which could be given up in return for a nuclear arms control agreement.

	TOTAL SAMPLE											
	<u>BRITAIN</u> (1073)		<u>FRG</u> (924)		<u>ITALY</u> (1077)		<u>BELGIUM</u> (1003)		<u>NETH.</u> (1354)		<u>DENMARK</u> (942)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A. Should not be given up	32	(41)	31	(45)	18	(23)	28	(47)	18	(28)	14	(27)
B. Important primarily as bargaining chip	47	(59)	39	(56)	61	(77)	31	(53)	46	(72)	38	(72)
Don't know	<u>21</u>	___	<u>31</u>	___	<u>21</u>	___	<u>41</u>	___	<u>36</u>	___	<u>47</u>	___
Total*	100	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	99

	BETTER-EDUCATED											
	<u>BRITAIN</u> (130)		<u>FRG</u> (96)		<u>ITALY</u> (76)		<u>BELGIUM</u> (113)		<u>NETH.</u> (208)		<u>DENMARK</u> (108)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A. Should not be given up	34	(40)	20	(25)	17	(22)	27	(38)	19	(24)	19	(30)
B. Important primarily as bargaining chip	51	(60)	59	(74)	62	(78)	44	(61)	61	(76)	44	(70)
Don't know	<u>14</u>	___	<u>20</u>	___	<u>21</u>	___	<u>28</u>	___	<u>20</u>	___	<u>37</u>	___
Total*	100	100	99	99	100	100	99	99	100	100	100	100

Numbers in parentheses show percentages based on those with an opinion, omitting the "don't know."

*Totals may deviate from 100 percent due to rounding.

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Table 5. TRUST IN U.S. DEFENSE PLEDGE AFTER SDI DEPLOYMENT

22. If the U.S. deploys an effective defense against nuclear missiles, do you think they would still come to the defense of (SURVEY COUNTRY) in case of a Soviet attack or do you think they would not come to our defense?

TOTAL SAMPLE

	BRITAIN (1073)	FRG (924)	ITALY (1077)	BELGIUM (1003)	NETH. (1354)	DENMARK (942)
U.S. would still come to our defense	58%	48%	57%	51%	59%	46%
U.S. would not come to our defense	24	20	28	24	14	25
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>29</u>
Total*	99	100	100	100	100	100

BETTER-EDUCATED

	BRITAIN (130)	FRG (96)	ITALY (76)	BELGIUM (113)	NETH. (208)	DENMARK (108)
U.S. would still come to our defense	61%	46%	50%	49%	65%	60%
U.S. would not come to our defense	27	35	32	27	19	24
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>
Total*	100	101	100	101	100	100

*Totals may deviate from 100 percent due to rounding.

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Table 6. TRUST IN U.S. DEFENSE PLEDGE, MAY/JUNE 1984,
AND AFTER HYPOTHESIZED SDI DEPLOYMENT

22. (February 1985) If the U.S. deploys an effective defense against nuclear missiles, do you think they would still come to the defense of (SURVEY COUNTRY) in case of a Soviet attack or do you think they would not come to our defense?

28. (May/June 1984) If the Soviet Union were to attack Western Europe, how much confidence do you have that the U.S. would do whatever is necessary to defend (SURVEY COUNTRY) even if this would risk the destruction of U.S. cities -- a great deal, a fair amount, not very much or none at all?

TOTAL SAMPLE

	<u>BRITAIN</u>		<u>W.GERMANY</u>		<u>ITALY</u>		<u>BELGIUM</u>		<u>NETH.</u>		<u>DENMARK</u>	
	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>6/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>
U.S. would come to our defense	52%	58%	27%	48%	58%	57%	46%	51%	41%	59%	45%	46%
U.S. would not come to our defense	43	24	63	20	39	28	43	24	42	14	43	25
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>29</u>
Total*	99	99	99	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100

BETTER-EDUCATED

	<u>BRITAIN</u>		<u>W.GERMANY</u>		<u>ITALY</u>		<u>BELGIUM</u>		<u>NETH.</u>		<u>DENMARK</u>	
	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>6/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>	<u>5/84</u>	<u>2/85</u>
U.S. would come to our defense	40%	61%	26%	46%	54%	50%	39%	49%	42%	65%	49%	60%
U.S. would not come to our defense	55	27	71	35	45	32	54	27	46	19	42	24
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>
Total*	99	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	101	100	99	100

*Totals may deviate from 100 percent due to rounding.

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EUROPE WEST

SUBJECT: WEST EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION ON SDI

ACTION: ANY ACTION NECESSARY DUE: 11 APR 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

~~RAYMOND~~

LENCZOWSKI

LINHARD

SMALL

STEINER

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COMMENTS

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April 10, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Next Sunday, when you return to Washington, you will face what I strongly believe will be a period of both action and high risk. A little more than two weeks will mark the time between your return and your departure to Bonn and the Economic Summit. Two key issues may well be resolved in this period. Both issues will have long term consequences for your Administration. If the Senate passes the budget before you leave for Europe, this could well develop momentum needed to pressure the Democratic House to deal responsibly with the budget. In this same period, Congress will decide whether or not to extend aid to the Nicaraguan Contras.

It is essential that we win both of these battles. My immediate concern relates to how you personally might help most in securing a positive vote on the Nicaraguan aid issue.

There have been suggestions made publicly and privately that you conduct a mini-campaign, taking the Nicaraguan case directly to the people by having you give major speeches, in settings which would dramatize your commitment to this issue. Hopefully, some day, this would swing additional congressional support behind your request. I think such a course is both dangerous and counter productive.

During your first term you were unusually successful in marshaling public support of your programs. Almost always, three or four conditions held when you generated that kind of public response in the past:

- The public was, at times, misinformed about an issue. You used the **bully puppet** of the presidency to both inform and change attitudes on that issue. (The air traffic controllers' strike is a prime example.)

- When you went into the public arena on a given policy or issue you immediately raised the political stakes across the board on that issue. (The budget and tax action you took in 1981 provides a case in point.) This is most, but only, helpful when the issue considered already has strong grassroots support.
- Your personal involvement in past mini-campaigns increased press coverage of issues and raised their public saliency. Once again this brings popular pressure to bear on the Congress if that issue has, from the outset, broad support.
- On more than one occasion you amplified the public's political voice directly by asking the people to write letters and make telephone calls to Congress as a last step to persuade a balky legislature.

Unfortunately, none of these four circumstances are appropriate in boosting support for the Nicaraguan aid request. While the public is misinformed about many of the consequences of such aid, it is not misinformed about the Nicaraguan government. Seven out of ten know it is a communist totalitarian regime engaged in a variety of activities that threatens its neighbors militarily.

In response to the question as to whether or not it is necessary for us to provide aid to those fighting the regime in Nicaragua only 28% favor it and 70% of all Americans now oppose. By raising the political stakes and the public saliency of this particular issue, you would not only put into jeopardy the favorable job approval you now enjoy, but, more importantly, you will generate more public and congressional opposition than support. !!

Over time there is no doubt that you will be able to allay some of the concern that our activity in Central America will lead us into another Vietnam (as seven out of ten Americans now believe), and strengthen the perception that the Nicaraguan regime represents a clear and immediate danger to our near and long term interests. But, two weeks is far too short a time to move public attitudes when they are firmly set. A better use of your time would involve your bringing pressure to bear on the Congress. I, thus, strongly recommend, Mr. President, that you not take your case concerning aid to the Contras to the public in some dramatic and/or symbolic fashion. Rather, I believe that you should use press conferences and other lower profile activities to reaffirm your consistent support of the rebels. ||←

Despite the press' scepticism on your turning the aid issue into a "peace issue," it is the best possible positioning you can make for your case at this juncture. Your activities should reinforce the peace initiative aspects of your recent proposal. Futhermore, we need to encourage and highlight statements that our friends and allies in other Central American countries have made concerning the viability of your offer to the Nicaraguans to negotiate. Our organizational allies, such as the RNC, Heritage, A.F.D., etc., should contact their constituents who are firmly committed to our Central American objectives and urge them to call and write their Congressmen and

Senators. It is also advised that we bring the voice of the Administration surrogates to the fore on this issue. Secretary Shultz, Mr. McFarlane and others should be active in this two week period and highlight the progress that is being made in El Salvador, and touch upon the consequences should a communist state become firmly entrenched so close to our borders.

Away from the glare of the TV lights, you may point out to the fence-sitting Congressmen and Senators, the historical consequences they must shoulder should they not go along with this modest request to stem the communist threat in this hemisphere.

If we should secure support for the Contra aid and get Senate passage on the budget, these strong successes will enhance your political leverage to deal effectively with an historical opportunity to simplify the federal tax code. Once again, you would take the offensive. Americans are most comfortable with your presidency when you are attacking aggressively problems they consider important -- when you are, in essence, the engine of change that moves this nation forward.

While the Central American battle is well worth the fight, if you are not careful, Mr. President, you could well make the swing Democratic Congressmen more likely to vote against Contra aid, and, at the same time, squander the most valuable of all political resources -- your own broad grassroots support.

I am taking another read of national mood tonight and will have a report for you when you return next week. Give my best regards to Nancy.

Respectfully yours,



Richard B. Wirthlin

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April 10, 1985

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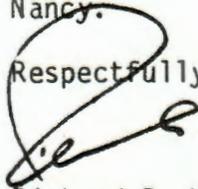
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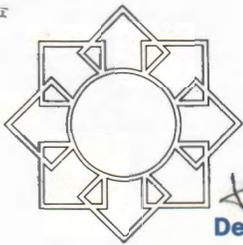
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Respectfully yours,



Richard B. Wirthlin



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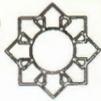
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#3084-01

Richard Wirtkin



The following tables contain the aggregate results for questions asked of the American public on behalf of the Republican National Committee on the dates indicated below.

Account Executive:	Richard B. Wirthlin
Senior Project Director:	Todd Remington
Universe:	Adult Americans (persons aged 18 and older)
Mode of Interview:	Telephone
Date(s) of Interviews:	April 9-11, 1985
Sample Size:	1,050
Confidence Interval:	<u>±</u> 3.0 in 95 out of 100 cases

Pat -

See Contra Aid
section - clipp.

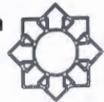
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

RNC April Monitor National Survey April 1985

Summary of Findings

- The slowing of the economy, along with the impact of other high profile controversial issues is apparently tempering American's optimism, even though a majority continue to feel that the country is moving in the right direction.
- The President remains popular at this juncture, but recent developments clearly threaten his job rating. In particular, Central America and Social Security pose key potential liabilities.
- Concerning the federal budget, most Americans favor freezing federal pay and reducing defense spending growth. However, they oppose most of the suggested cuts in domestic spending and government subsidies.
- Americans like the idea of restricting imports as a means of battling balance-of-trade deficits, even when the advantages of lower prices and a wider selection of goods are mentioned.
- A strong majority of Americans now believe that defense contractors cheat the Defense Department as a rule rather than an exception through overcharging and poor workmanship.

MAJOR FINDINGS

The Mood of the Country

Fewer Americans feel the country is moving in the right direction than at any time in the last nine months. Currently, 53% of adult Americans think the country is moving in the right direction. A growing number of Americans (45%) now think the country has "seriously gotten off on the wrong track."



In particular, senior citizens (38% -- down 5 more points), continue to express significantly less optimism about the state of the country. Only Black Americans currently express less optimism (35%) than do senior citizens. Attitudes of senior citizens contrast sharply with the optimism of 18-to-24 year olds (62% right direction).

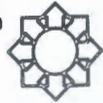
An attitudinal gap also exists between men and women. While 59% of American men now believe the country is headed in the right direction, only 47% of the women feel the same way.

Number One National Problem

The relative importance of the major issues facing the nation remains virtually unchanged this month. Americans worry most about pocketbook issues (40%), including unemployment (13%), deficits/federal debt (10%), and the economy generally (8%). Secondly, Americans cite foreign policy/peace issues (25%) -- the arms race (11%) and the threat of war (10%) -- as the number one problem facing the nation.

Americans also frequently list social issues (22%) as the number one problem facing the nation. In particular, they point to concern over crime/drugs (5%), social security (5%), poverty/hunger (4%), and the decline in moral values (3%).

With the problems of the farmers no longer dominating the headlines, the number of Americans specifically mentioning concern about the farm problems dropped from 4% of all mentions last month -- 12% in the farm belt -- to only 1% of all mentions now -- 5% in the farm belt.



Perceptions of the President

Perceptions of the President have changed little over the past month. Fully 61% (down 1 point) of adult Americans approve of the job he is doing as president while 38% disapprove (up 2 points). Americans also rate him at 59 on the thermometer scale (down 2 points).

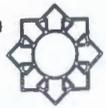
Although the President remains popular, the controversy surrounding the budget, the continuing wrangling over aid to the contras, and the ongoing protest over U.S. policy towards South Africa pose key challenges to his popularity. Despite these problems, the American voters, if given the chance to vote again today, would give the President the same electoral mandate they gave him last November: Reagan 59%, Mondale 40%.

Respondents were asked:

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling _____?

	<u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Disapprove</u> (%)
His job as President	61	38
The economy	55	44
Foreign affairs	54	45
Arms control discussions	56	41
Tax simplification	54	42
Central America	43	50

For the first time in nearly a year, fewer than 60% of adult Americans approve of his handling of the economy (55% -- down 8 points from March). The slowing of the growth of the economy in the first quarter of 1985 may also account for some of the decline in his job rating occurring during the past three months.



In terms of the specific fairness of Reagan's economic policies, Americans were asked to rate how fair they felt his policies were towards certain groups of Americans. A rating of 0 meant they were completely unfair while a rating of 100 meant they were completely fair. Adult Americans tend to feel that Reagan's economic policies favor professionals (63), government workers (57), and other white collar workers (55). They find his policies considerably less fair to the working man (45), Social Security recipients (39), and farmers (36).

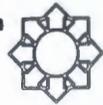
Although attracting comparatively less media attention recently than other issues when this survey was taken, 54% of adult Americans approve of Reagan's efforts at tax simplification. *

Fewer Americans approve of his handling of foreign affairs (54% -- down 4 points) than in March. However, his handling of the situation in Central America has remained about stable (43% -- up 2 points over March). Nevertheless, U.S. policy in central America continues to divide the nation. An unchanged 50% still disapprove of his handling of the situation in Central America.

Despite the shooting incident in East Germany and Gorbachev's freeze proposal, 56% of adult Americans still approve of the President's handling of the arms control discussions. However, only 46% of younger Americans (18-to-24 years old) approve of his handling of arms control discussions. These same young people consistently list foreign policy issues (36%) as their number one national concern.

The Status of the National Economy

American attitudes about the performance of the economy have become markedly less sanguine than at any time in the past two years. Only 36% of adults now feel that the national economy has gotten better compared to a year ago. And, 25% say the economy has actually gotten worse.



Blacks (39% gotten worse), 55-to-64 year olds (34% gotten worse), those with less than a high school education (33% gotten worse), and un-married women (33% gotten worse) are most likely to suggest the economy is worse off now than it was a year ago.

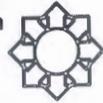
Americans expect less from the economy over the next year. Last month 37% thought the economy would continue to get better. Now, only 30% think it will improve. Just 28% (up 1 point) think the economy will get worse, while fully 41% (up 5 points) expect it to stay about the same as it is now.

Reducing the Federal Deficits

In terms of priorities, approximately 10% to 11% of adult Americans consistently cite federal deficits as the number one problem facing the nation today. Nevertheless, they only favor some aspects of the President's proposal to reduce the deficit while strongly opposing other aspects.

More specifically, 62% would favor freezing "the pay of federal employees for one year," and 60% would favor cutting "the real increase in defense spending." However, a majority of Americans oppose (77% -- 62% strongly oppose) making "cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, farm supports, student aid, and other domestic spending programs."

Americans split over two proposals: limiting "the cost-of-living increase for federal pensions to two percent a year," (47% favor this proposal, but 51% oppose it); and, eliminating "spending programs like subsidies for Amtrak passenger service, the Small Business Administration, and revenue sharing with local governments," (42% favor it, but 54% oppose it).



Social Security Proposals

Two-thirds of adult Americans (66%) oppose a simple two percent, three year guaranteed cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security recipients. However, if they knew that under the current law, Social Security benefits increase only when inflation increases by more than three percent, then 59% would favor a guaranteed two percent increase, including 52% of those who previously opposed the two percent increase. Further, if they knew that in addition to the automatic two percent adjustment, Social Security benefits would increase at a rate equal to inflation minus two percent if inflation rises above four percent (under the Senate program), then 70% favor the guaranteed two percent increase. Given this stipulation, 68% of those who previously opposed a simple two percent increase would favor the proposal.

When asked to choose between the current program and the proposed two percent plan, 64% of adult Americans opt for a plan that "guarantees Social Security recipients a two percent cost-of-living increase for each of the next three years regardless of the rate of inflation, unless, the rate of inflation exceeds four percent, in which case, they would get an increase equal to the rate of inflation less two percent." Only 33% prefer the current plan that "guarantees Social Security recipients a cost-of-living increase equal to the increase in the rate of inflation above three percent, but give them no increase at all if inflation falls below three percent."



Defense Waste

A majority of Americans firmly believe that most defense contractors cheat the Department of Defense. Fully 68% (44% strongly) agree with the statement that "... a lot of companies cheat the defense department by charging high prices and doing poor workmanship." On the other hand, only 31% feel "... that only a very few companies cheat the defense department by charging high prices and doing poor workmanship; they just receive a lot of publicity when they get caught."

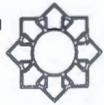
Central America

The President's handling of Central America continues to polarize the nation -- 43% approve of the President's policies in Central America and 50% disapprove.

Strong opposition registers over providing even "humanitarian" aid to the rebels in Nicaragua. Last month, the American public was asked if they felt it was "absolutely necessary that we provide 14 million dollars in military aid to those fighting the regime in Nicaragua." At the time, 70% disagreed with that statement. This month, the word "humanitarian" was substituted for "military" and the rest of the statement was left unchanged. The change made no difference -- 68% still disagree with the statement. A majority of the adult population (58%) have not even heard or read anything recently about the President's proposal to use aid to the Contras for humanitarian purposes.

Other Countries

American preceptions of Japan have deteriorated over the past 18 months. Americans now rate Japan an even 50 on the thermometer scale -- four points lower than in September, 1983 and June, 1982.



In addition, a large number of Americans also favor protectionist trade policies, particularly vis-a-vis the Japanese, even when the advantages of free trade -- lower prices and more goods and services -- are highly touted. In April, 1982, 65% supported restricting imports. Now, three years and a large balance-of-trade deficit later, 70% support restricting imported goods.

France receives a thermometer rating identical to Japan at 50. England rates a much higher 61, although Americans even rate England lower now than they did in June, 1982 (65) and April, 1984 (66).

Tip O'Neill

Americans now rate the Speaker of the House higher (53) than they have in previous months. His highest ratings come from Blacks (67), base Democrats (63), liberals (60), Hispanics (59), residents of the South (57), college graduates (57), 45-to-54 year olds (56), 55-to-64 year olds (56), and residents of the Northeast (54).

The Parties

Once again, Americans rate the Republican party (56 -- up one point) slightly higher than the Democratic party (55 -- down one point).



Among specific subgroups, the following table illustrates the ratings of the parties by key swing groups:

	<u>Republican</u> <u>Rating</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Change</u>	<u>Democrat</u> <u>Rating</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Change</u>
White Southern Baptists	64	+1	54	-1
Professionals	56	-2	55	0
Irish	54	-6	58	+6
Independents/Leaners	56	+1	50	-5
Senior citizens	54	-2	54	-4
Catholics	54	-2	56	-2
Blue-collar workers	55	+2	55	-4
Women	53	-1	56	-1
18-to-24 year olds	54	-3	54	-3

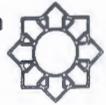
Party Affiliation

The Democratic party now enjoys a six-point edge over the Republican party (46% Democratic to 40% Republican) in party affiliation.

The following table illustrates the groups that hold the keys to realignment and the changes in their allegiances over the last four months:

	<u>Jan</u> <u>12-14</u> <u>1985</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1985</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Change</u> <u>(%)</u>
18-to-24 years olds	50	47	38	-12
White Southern Baptists	50	50	40	-10
Men	46	42	42	-4
South	44	40	36	-8
25-to-34 year olds	41	42	42	+1
Blue-collar workers	41	38	37	-4
Catholics	36	39	37	+1

In addition, 10% of those Americans who are registered Democrats actually consider themselves Republicans.



In the generic congressional ballot, Republican candidates garner 44% of the vote to 47% for the Democrats, with 9% remaining uncommitted. Republican congressional prospects are brighter in the Midwest (47% of the vote) and the West (54% of the vote). In the South, the Democrats continue to enjoy a strong advantage on the congressional level garnering 51% of the vote to only 41% for the Republicans. In fact, 83% of conservative white Democrats plan, at this juncture, to vote for a democratic Congressman.

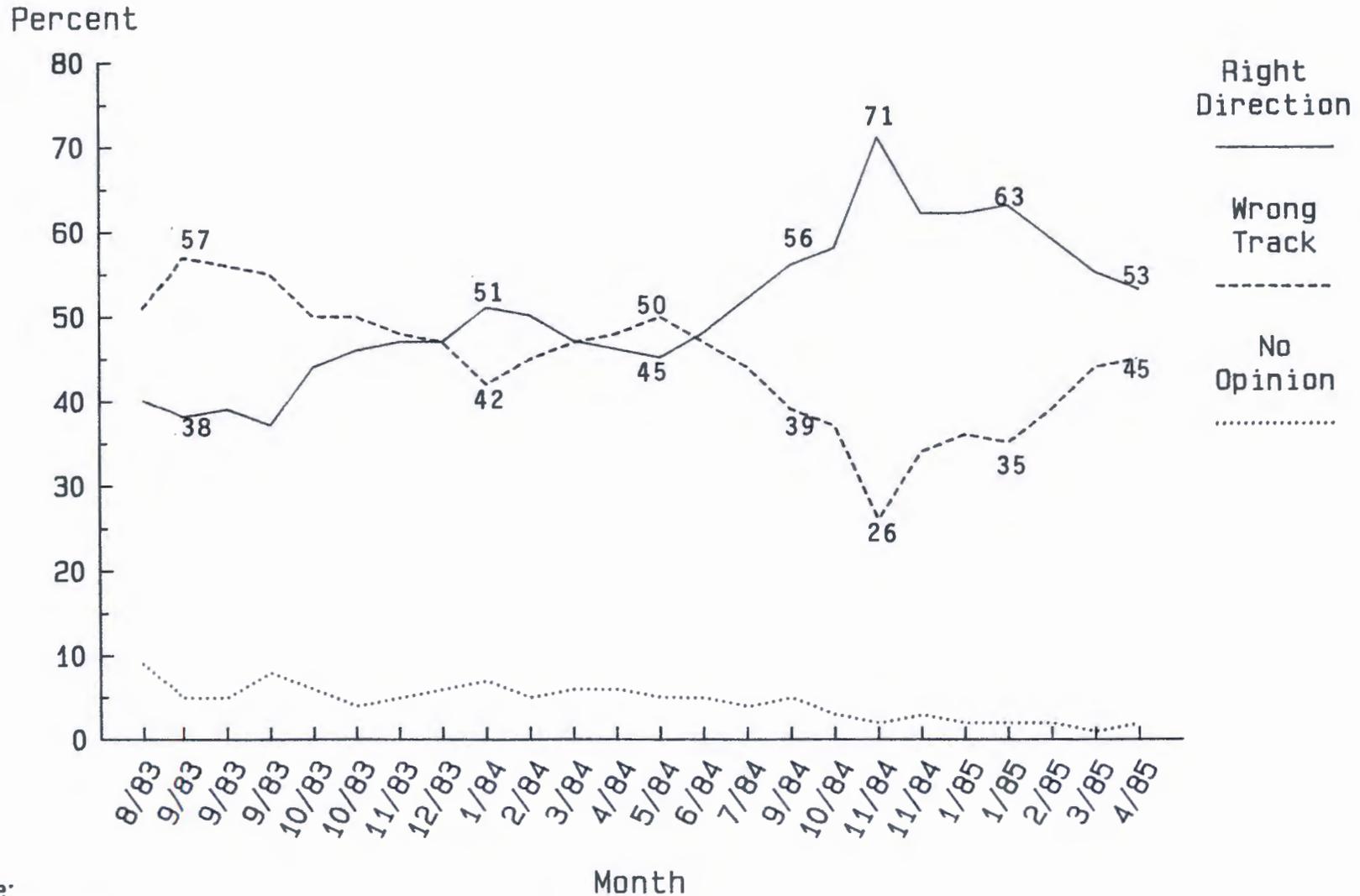


Right Direction/Wrong Track

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 "Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

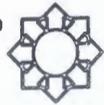
	<u>Feb 20-22 1981</u>	<u>Jun 12-14 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>
Right direction	42	41	46	50	32	33	33
Wrong track	51	51	47	45	62	63	64
No opinion	8	8	7	5	6	4	3
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>Jul 6-11 1983</u>	<u>Jul 12-17 1983</u>	<u>Jul 18-23 1983</u>	<u>Aug 17-22 1983</u>	<u>Sep 6-9 1983</u>	<u>Sep 13-19 1983</u>
Right direction	42	51	43	48	40	38	39
Wrong track	51	45	51	45	51	57	56
No opinion	7	4	5	7	9	5	5
	<u>Sep 23-25 1983</u>	<u>Oct 18-21 1983</u>	<u>Nov 25-29 1983</u>	<u>Dec 14-17 1983</u>	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>
Right direction	37	44	47	47	51	50	47
Wrong track	55	50	48	47	42	45	47
No opinion	8	6	5	6	7	5	6
	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>	<u>Jul 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>	<u>Oct Track 1984</u>	<u>Nov 7-10 1984</u>
Right direction	46	45	48	52	56	58	71
Wrong track	48	50	47	44	39	37	26
No opinion	6	5	5	4	4	5	3
	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>	
Right direction	62	62	63	59	55	53	
Wrong track	34	36	35	39	44	45	
No opinion	3	2	2	2	1	2	

RIGHT DIRECTION or wrong track?



Source:
D/M/I Polls





Number One National Problem

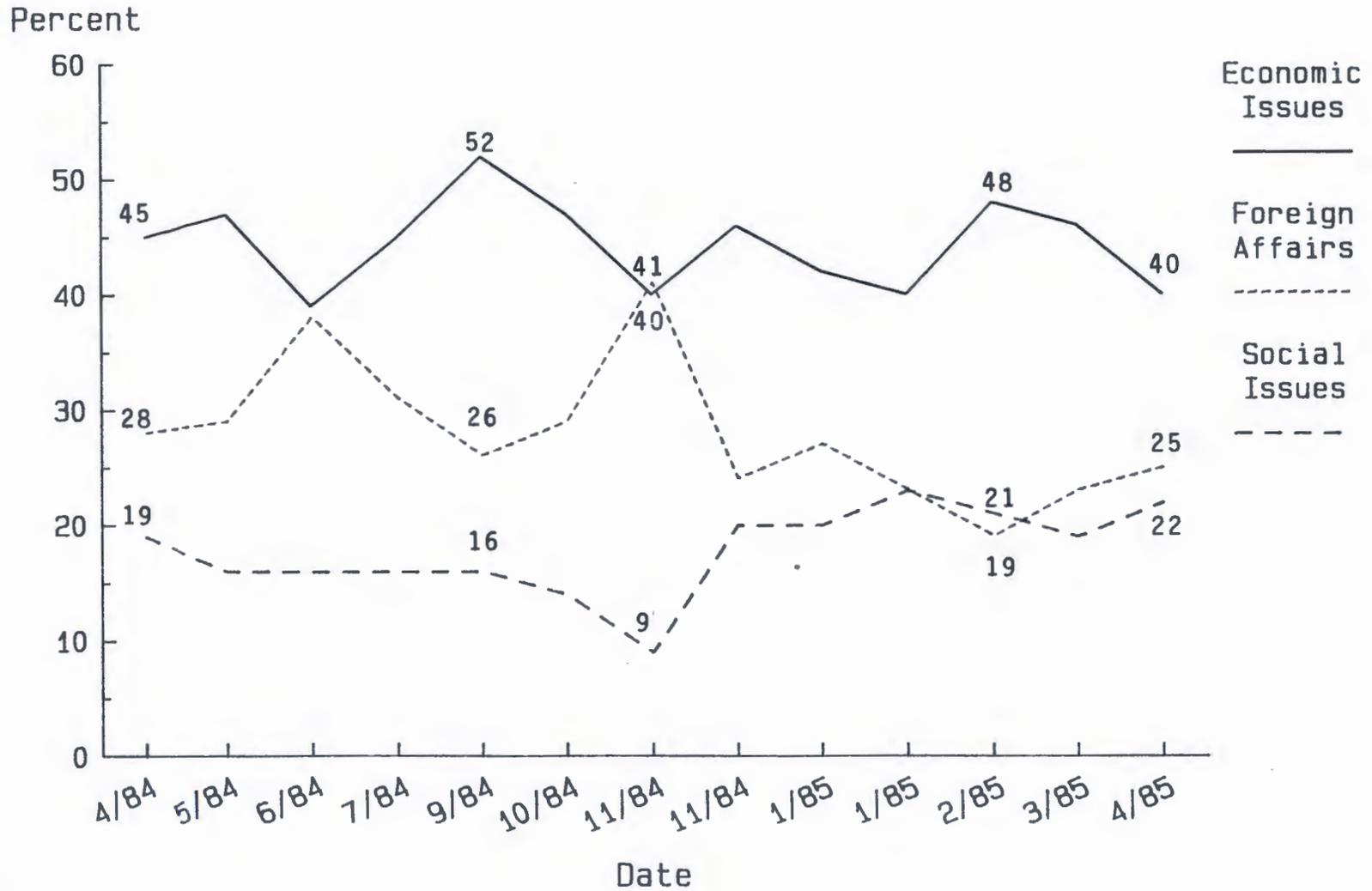
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 "What would you say is the single most important problem facing the United States today, that is, the one that you, yourself, are most concerned about?"

	<u>Feb</u> <u>20-22</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jul</u> <u>16-18</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>
Unemployment	5	6	24	28	36	51	37
Inflation	38	31	17	15	12	5	8
Economy/Other	33	26	29	19	22	18	18
Domestic/Social	7	13	5	5	6	7	7
Crime/Drugs/Morals	8	10	9	10	7	4	9
Foreign Affairs/Defense	6	10	10	15	9	11	14
Government leadership	3	3	3	4	4	1	4
No problems/No opinion	1	2	3	4	4	2	3

	<u>Aug</u> <u>17-22</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>14-17</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-11</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>2-5</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>3-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>Track</u> <u>1984</u>
Unemployment	28	16	18	17	15	17	14
Inflation	6	5	4	4	5	6	4
Economy/Other	21	15	18	24	19	29	29
Domestic/Social	8	5	6	9	8	7	14
Crime/Drugs/Morals	7	11	9	11	8	7	4
Foreign Affairs/Defense	23	41	39	26	38	26	29
Government leadership	2	3	2	3	1	4	2
No problems/No opinion	5	2	4	6	6	4	2

	<u>Nov</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>12-14</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>22-28</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>5-10</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
Unemployment	9	12	16	14	13	15	13
Inflation	2	3	5	4	4	4	4
Economy/Other	29	31	21	22	31	27	23
Domestic/Social	7	18	14	17	16	14	14
Crime/Drugs/Morals	2	9	6	6	5	5	8
Foreign Affairs/Defense	41	24	27	23	19	23	25
Government leadership	1	2	1	2	1	1	3
No problems/No opinion	1	1	3	5	3	1	2

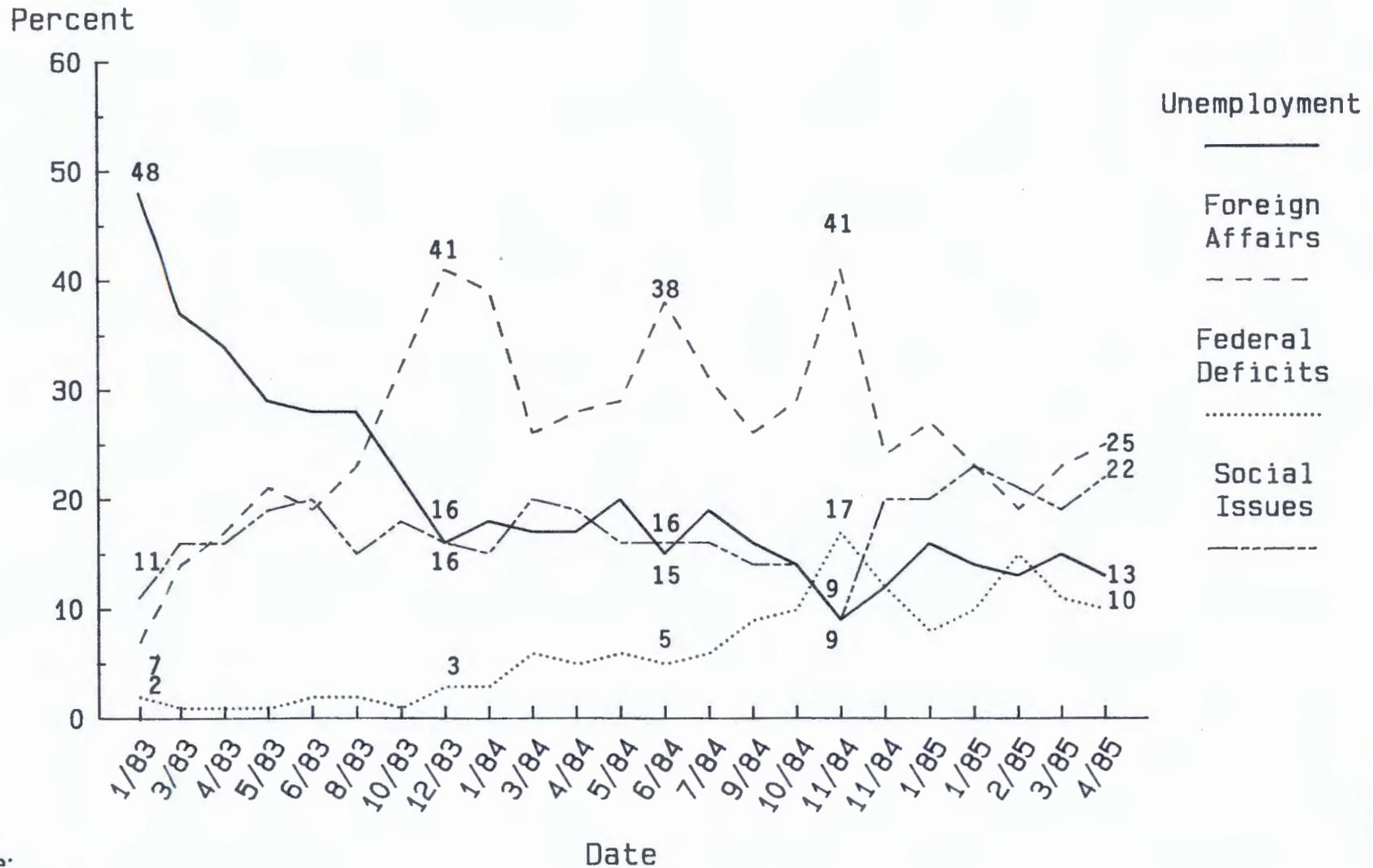
NUMBER ONE PROBLEM NATIONAL



Source:
D/M/I Polls

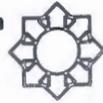


NUMBER ONE NATIONAL PROBLEM Salient Issues



Source:
D/M/I Polls



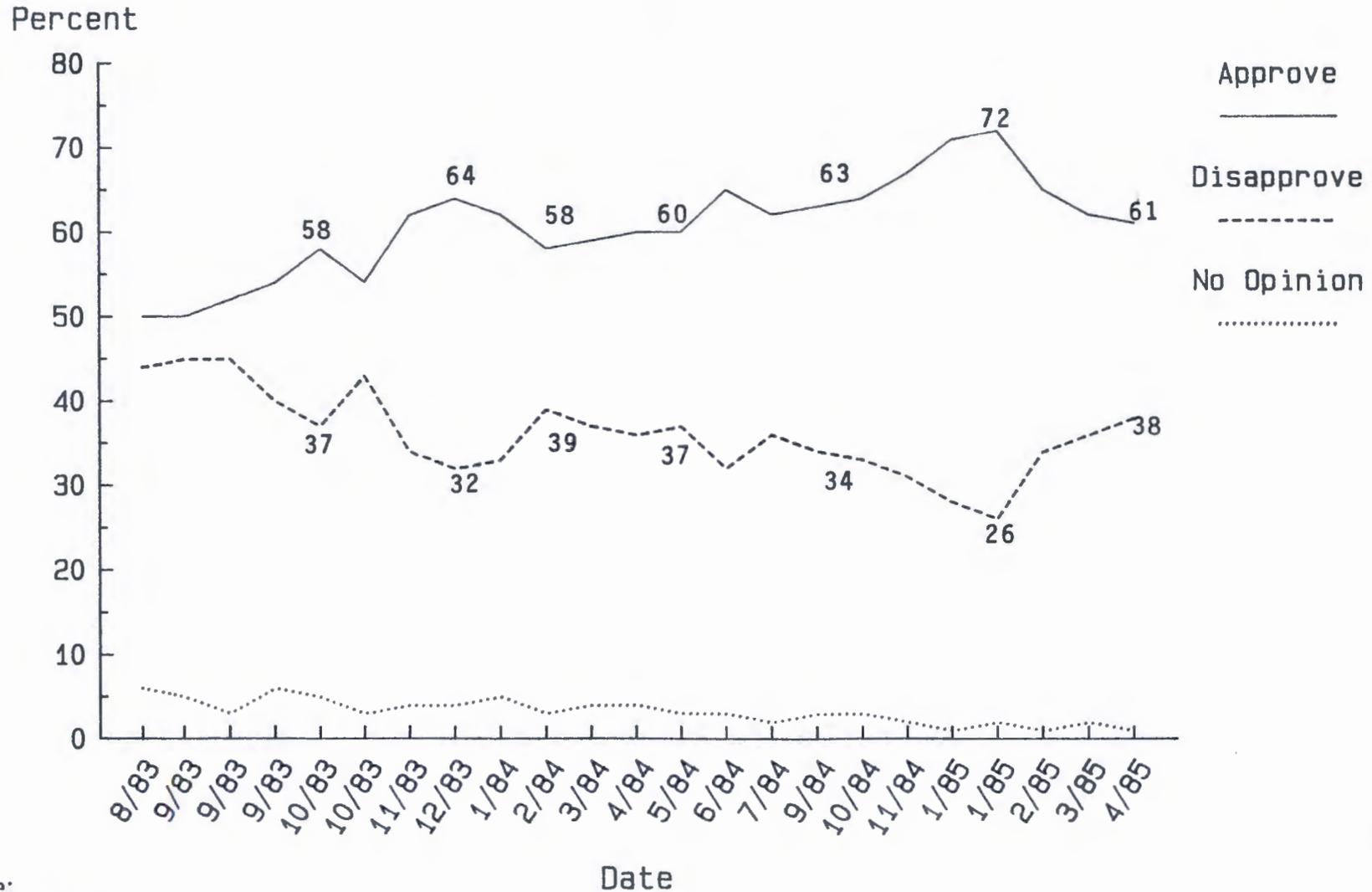


Reagan Job Rating -- General

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 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?"

	<u>Feb 20-22 1981</u>	<u>Jun 12-14 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>
Approve	70	67	60	60	52	51	46
Disapprove	14	27	33	33	40	43	49
No opinion	16	6	7	7	8	6	5
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>	<u>Aug 17-22 1983</u>	<u>Sep 6-9 1983</u>	<u>Sep 13-19 1983</u>	<u>Sep 23-25 1983</u>	<u>Oct 18-21 1983</u>
Approve	53	52	50	50	52	54	58
Disapprove	41	43	44	45	45	40	37
No opinion	6	5	6	5	3	6	5
	<u>Pre- Speech Oct 26-27 1983</u>	<u>Post- Speech Oct 27-28 1983</u>	<u>Nov 25-29 1983</u>	<u>Dec 14-17 1983</u>	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>
Approve	49	60	62	64	62	58	59
Disapprove	49	37	34	32	33	39	37
No opinion	2	3	4	4	5	3	4
	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>	<u>Jul 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>	<u>Oct Track 1984</u>	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>
Approve	60	60	64	62	63	64	67
Disapprove	36	37	33	36	34	33	31
No opinion	4	3	3	2	3	2	2
	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>		
Approve	71	72	65	62	61		
Disapprove	28	26	34	36	38		
No opinion	1	2	1	2	1		

REAGAN JOB RATING General

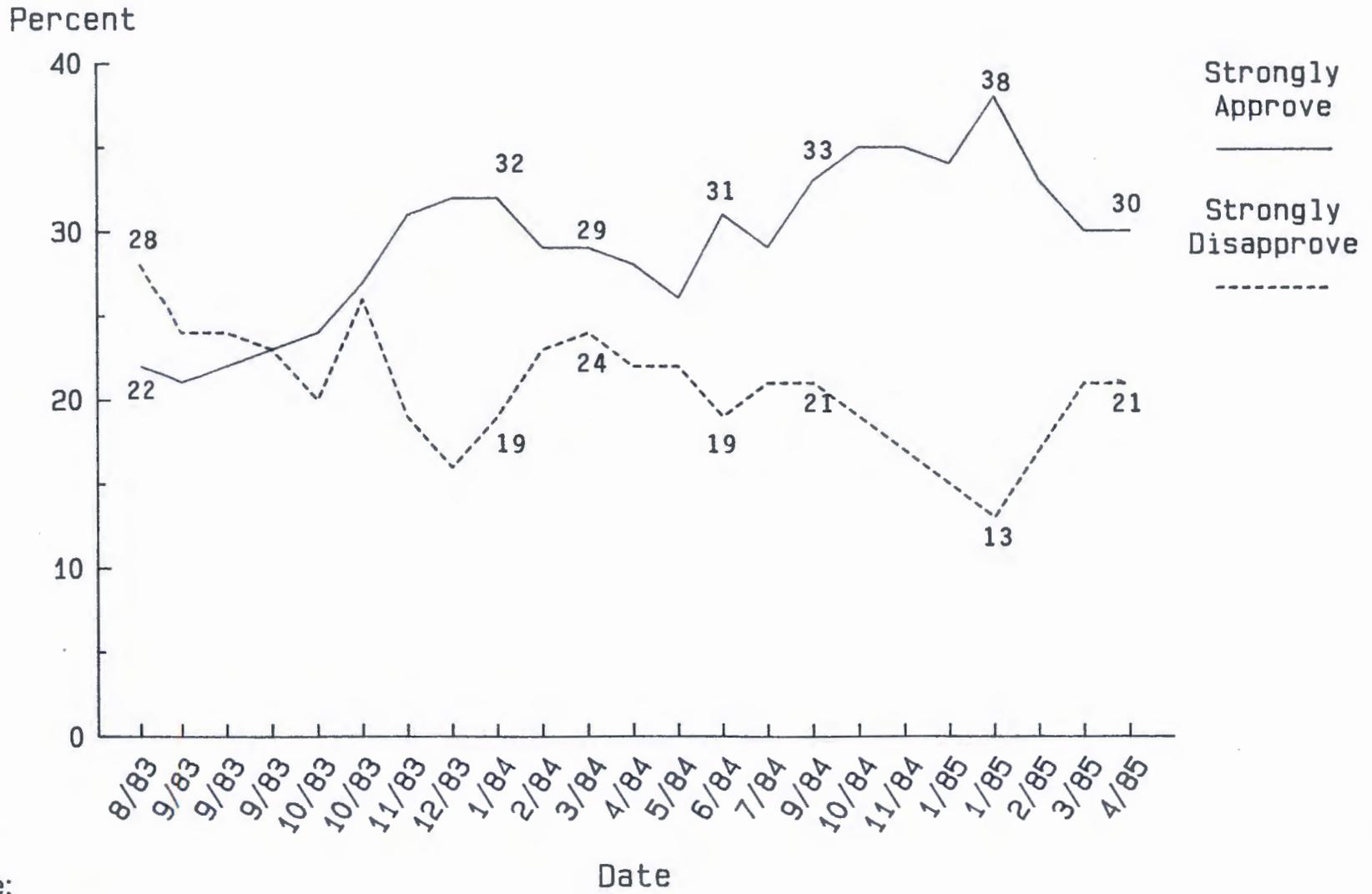


Source:
D/M/I Polls



REAGAN JOB RATING

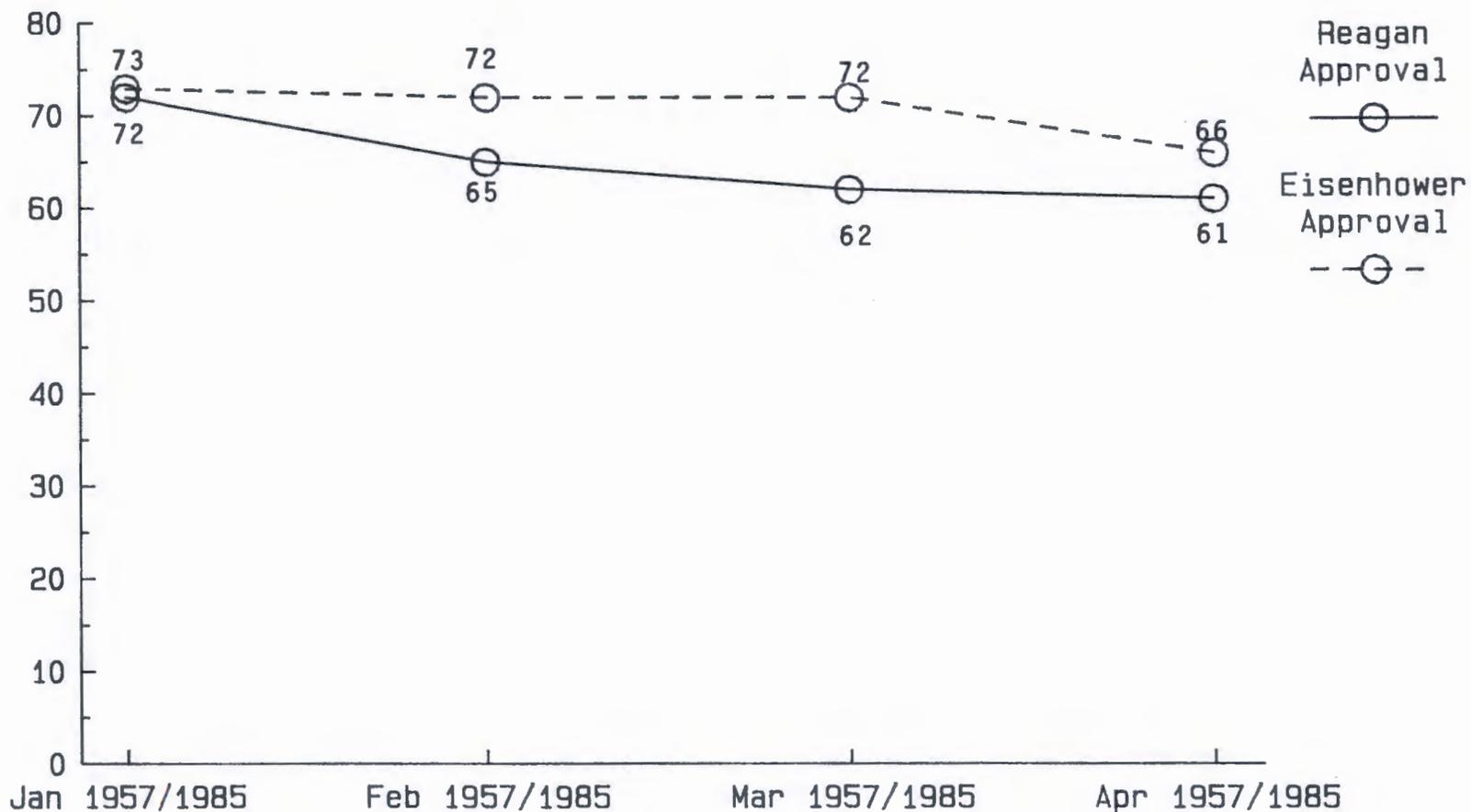
Intensity of Response



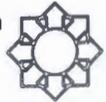
Source:
D/M/I Polls



COMPARATIVE JOB RATINGS Eisenhower and Reagan First Year of Second Term



Source Reagan: D/M/I Polls, 1985
Source Eisenhower: Gallup Polls, 1957



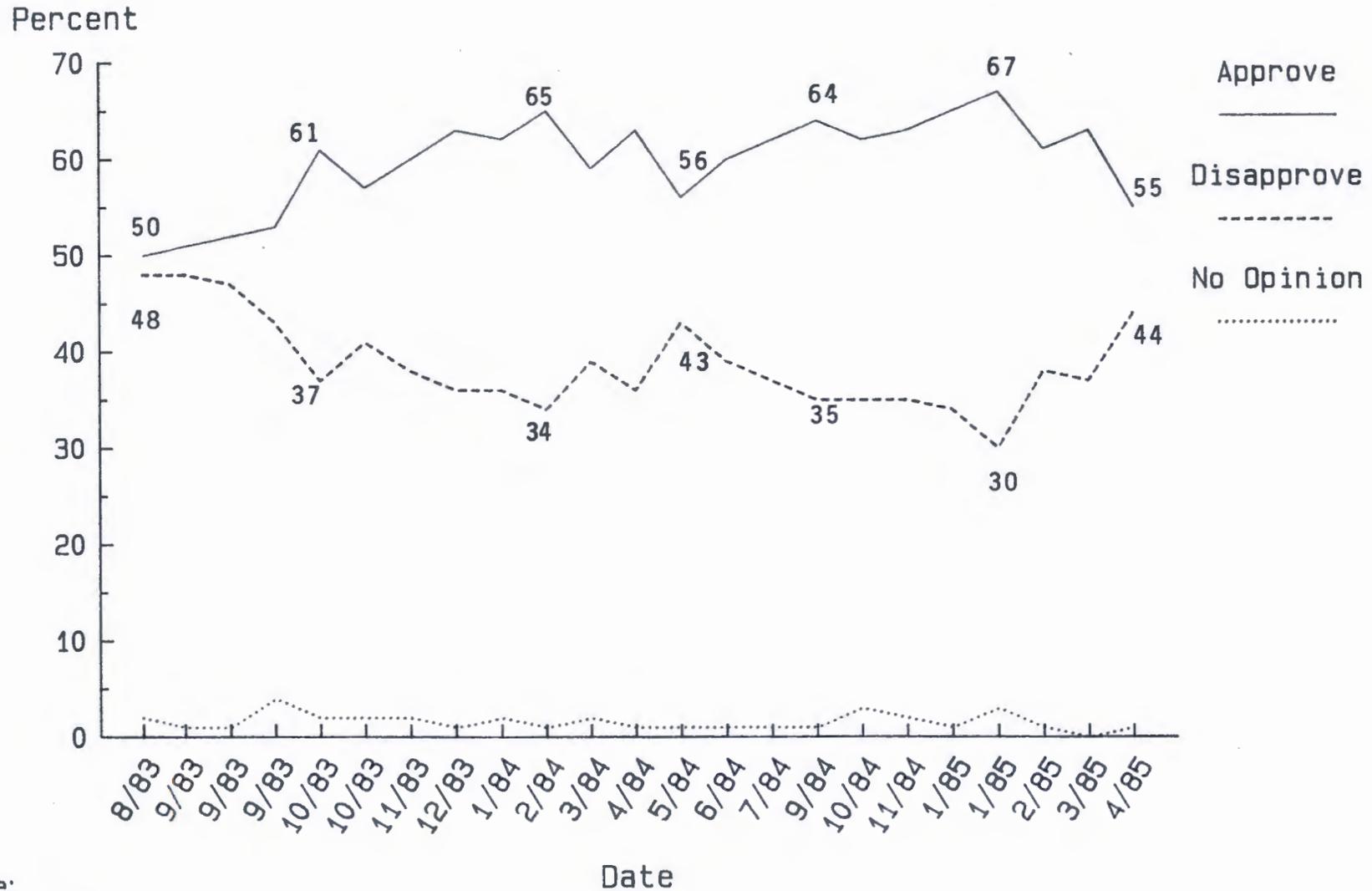
Reagan Job Rating -- Economy

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 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?"

	<u>Mar 6-9 1981</u>	<u>Jul 16-18 1981</u>	<u>Oct 5-14 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Approve	63	61	66	57	45	44
Disapprove	23	33	28	40	51	52
No opinion	14	6	5	3	4	4
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Aug 17-22 1983</u>	<u>Sep 6-9 1983</u>	<u>Sep 23-25 1983</u>
Approve	38	49	50	50	51	53
Disapprove	58	49	48	48	48	43
No opinion	4	2	2	2	1	4
	<u>Oct 18-21 1983</u>	<u>Nov 25-29 1983</u>	<u>Dec 14-17 1983</u>	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>
Approve	61	60	63	62	65	59
Disapprove	37	38	36	36	34	39
No opinion	2	2	1	2	1	2
	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>	<u>Jul 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>	<u>Oct Track 1984</u>
Approve	62	56	60	62	64	62
Disapprove	36	43	39	37	35	35
No opinion	2	1	1	1	1	3
	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>
Approve	63	65	67	61	63	55
Disapprove	35	34	30	38	37	44
No opinion	2	1	3	1	0	1

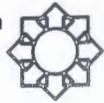
REAGAN JOB RATING

The Economy



Source:
D/M/I Polls





Reagan Job Rating -- Foreign Affairs

=====
 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling foreign affairs?"

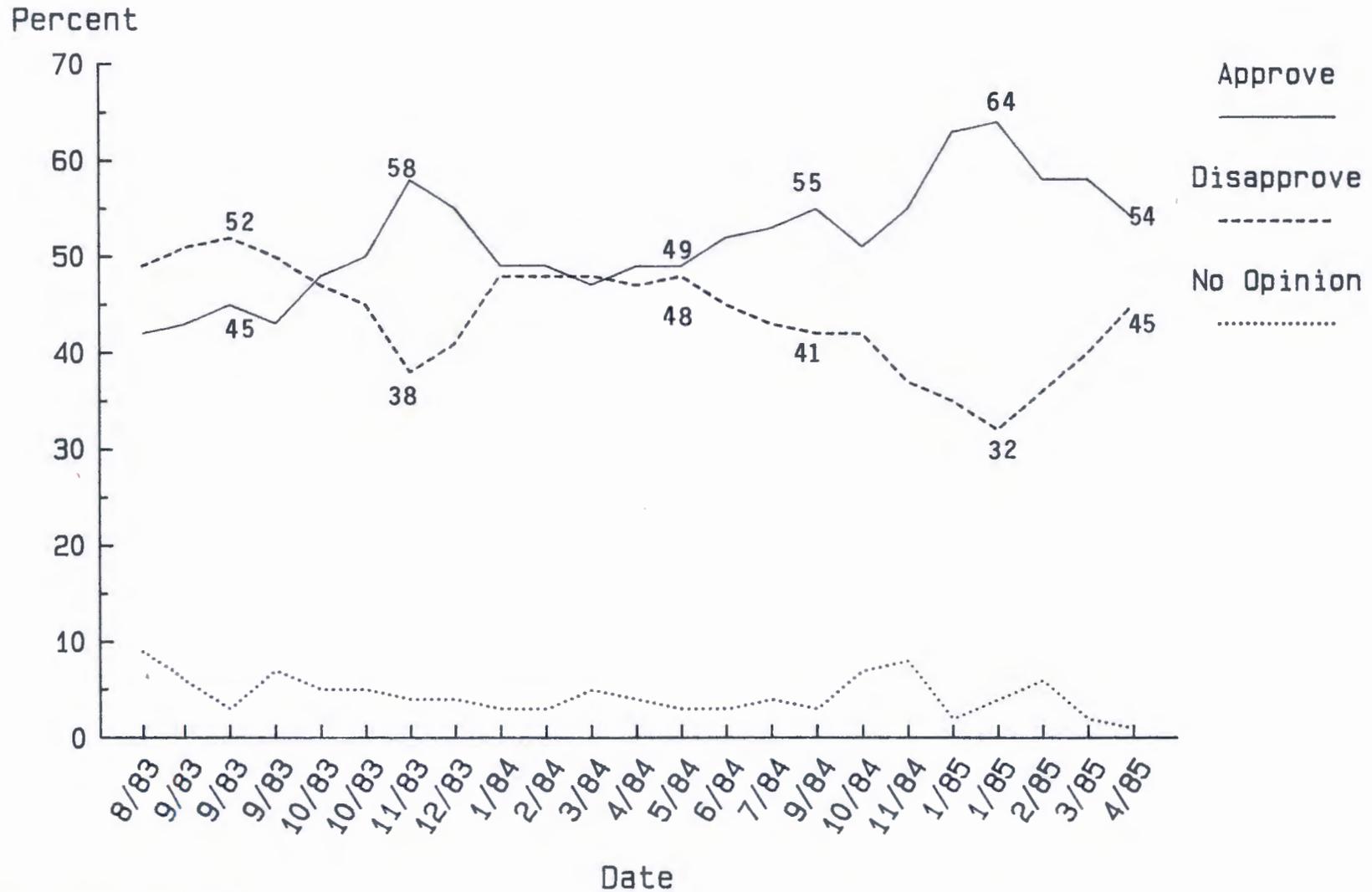
	<u>Mar 6-9 1981</u>	<u>Jul 16-18 1981</u>	<u>Oct 5-14 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>
Approve	60	56	65	59	56	46	46
Disapprove	19	27	23	33	34	43	44
No opinion	21	16	12	8	10	11	10

	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>	<u>Sep 6-9 1983</u>	<u>Oct 18-21 1983</u>	<u>Nov 25-29 1983</u>	<u>Dec 14-17 1983</u>	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>
Approve	48	43	48	58	55	49	49
Disapprove	43	51	47	38	41	48	48
No opinion	9	6	5	4	4	3	3

	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>	<u>Jul 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>	<u>Oct Track 1984</u>
Approve	47	49	49	52	53	55	51
Disapprove	48	47	48	45	43	41	42
No opinion	5	4	3	3	4	3	7

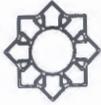
	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>
Approve	55	63	64	58	58	54
Disapprove	37	35	32	36	40	45
No Opinion	8	2	4	6	2	1

REAGAN JOB RATING Foreign Affairs



Source: D/M/I Polls

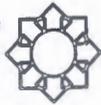




Reagan Job Rating -- Tax Simplification

=====
"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling tax simplification?"

	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
Approve	53	54
Disapprove	42	42
No opinion	5	4



Reagan Job Rating -- Arms Control Discussions

=====
"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling arms control discussions?"

	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
Approve	57	56
Disapprove	40	41
No opinion	3	3



Reagan Job Rating -- Central America

=====
 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the situation in Central America?"

	<u>Apr</u> <u>4-7</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>May</u> <u>5-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>2-5</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Ju1</u> <u>5-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>3-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
Approve	38	37	38	39	41	41	43
Disapprove	50	51	49	48	47	50	50
No opinion	12	12	13	13	13	9	7



Thermometer Ratings -- White House and Cabinet People

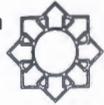
	<u>Jan 30- Feb 3 1981</u>	<u>May 12-17 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Ronald Reagan	72	77	64	63	58	57
George Bush	56	66	*	*	*	54
Bill Brock	*	55	*	*	*	*
James Watt	*	53	39	*	40	*
Al Haig	*	59	*	*	*	*
Caspar Weinberger	*	61	*	*	*	*

	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Ronald Reagan	55	54	54	55
George Bush	*	*	55	*
James Watt	*	35	*	*
Caspar Weinberger	*	*	50	*
Raymond Donovan	*	*	42	*
Donald Regan	*	*	49	*



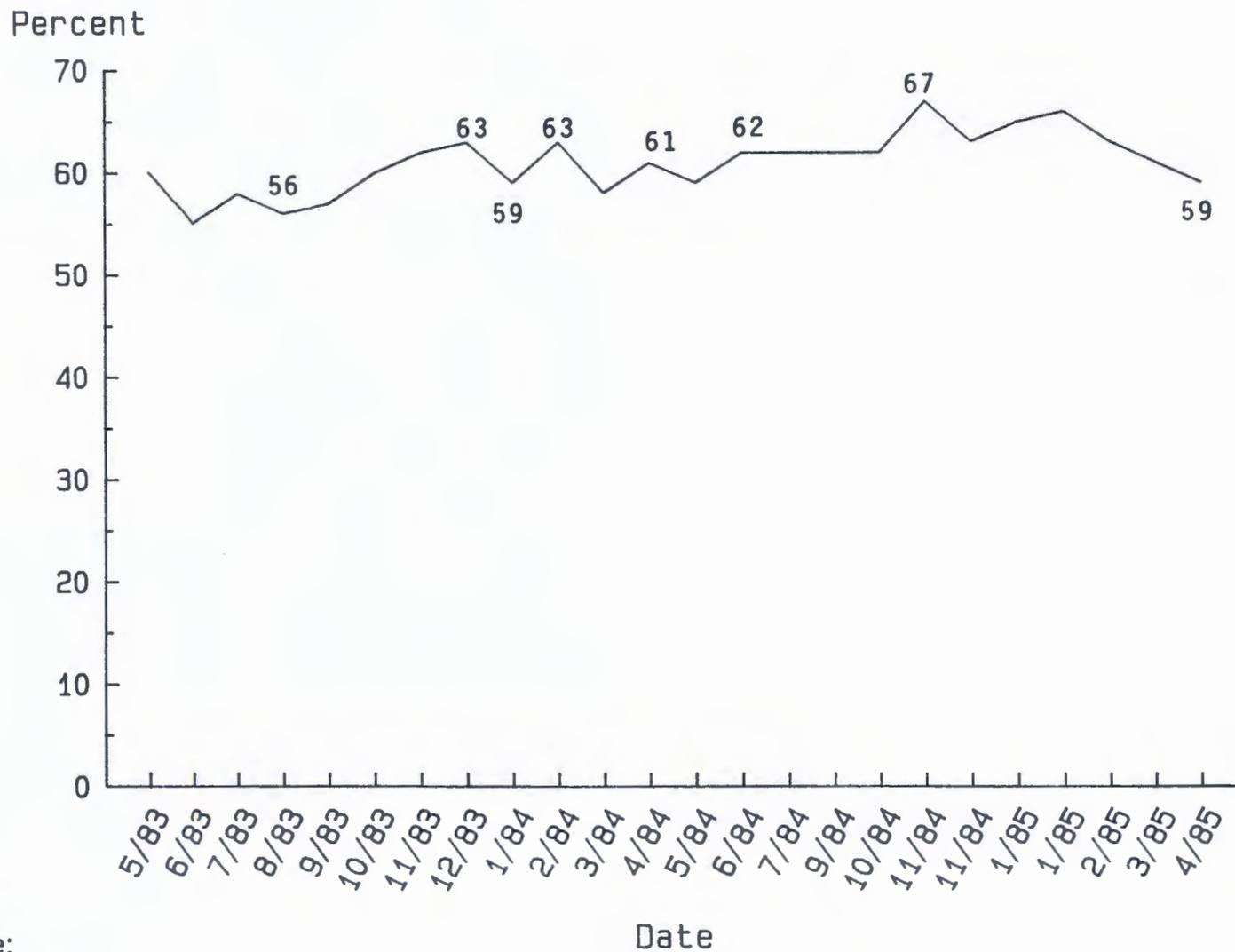
Thermometer Ratings -- White House and Cabinet People
(Continued)

	<u>Jul</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>17-22</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>6-9</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>25-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>14-17</u> <u>1983</u>
Ronald Reagan	58	56	57	60	62	63
George Bush	*	54	*	*	56	*
Caspar Weinberger	51	*	*	*	*	*
Donald Regan	*	*	*	54	*	*
George Shultz	58	*	*	*	*	*
Henry Kissinger	51	*	*	*	*	*
Elizabeth Dole	*	*	*	52	*	*
Terrell Bell	*	*	*	47	*	*
William Clark	*	*	*	53	*	*
Malcolm Baldrige	*	*	*	49	*	*
Margaret Heckler	*	*	*	52	*	*
Katherine Ortega	*	*	*	49	*	*
John Block	*	*	*	52	*	*
Raymond Donovan	*	*	*	*	44	*
Bill Brock	*	*	*	*	47	*
Samuel Pierce	*	*	*	*	52	*
David Stockman	*	*	*	*	46	*
Donald Hodel	*	*	*	*	42	*
Al Haig	*	*	*	*	51	*
Jeanne Kirkpatrick	*	*	*	*	57	*


 Thermometer Ratings -- White House and Cabinet People

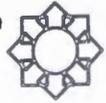
	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>						
Ronald Reagan	59	63	58	61	59	62						
George Bush	*	*	*	52	49	53						
David Stockman	*	50	*	*	*	*						
William Ruckelshaus	*	53	*	*	*	*						
Martin Feldstein	*	50	*	*	*	*						
	<u>Ju1 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>	<u>Oct Track 1984</u>	<u>Nov 7-10 1984</u>	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>					
Ronald Reagan	62	62	62	67	63	65	66					
George Bush	55	56	56	57	*	57	57					
George Schultz	*	*	*	*	*	62	*					
Donald Regan	*	*	*	*	*	56	*					
Raymond Donovan	*	*	*	*	*	*	45					
Margaret Heckler	*	*	*	*	*	*	53					
Samuel Pierce	*	*	*	*	*	*	47					
	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>									
Ronald Reagan	63	61	59									
Donald Regan	*	*	48									

REAGAN THERMOMETER



Source:
D/M/I Polls





Status of the National Economy

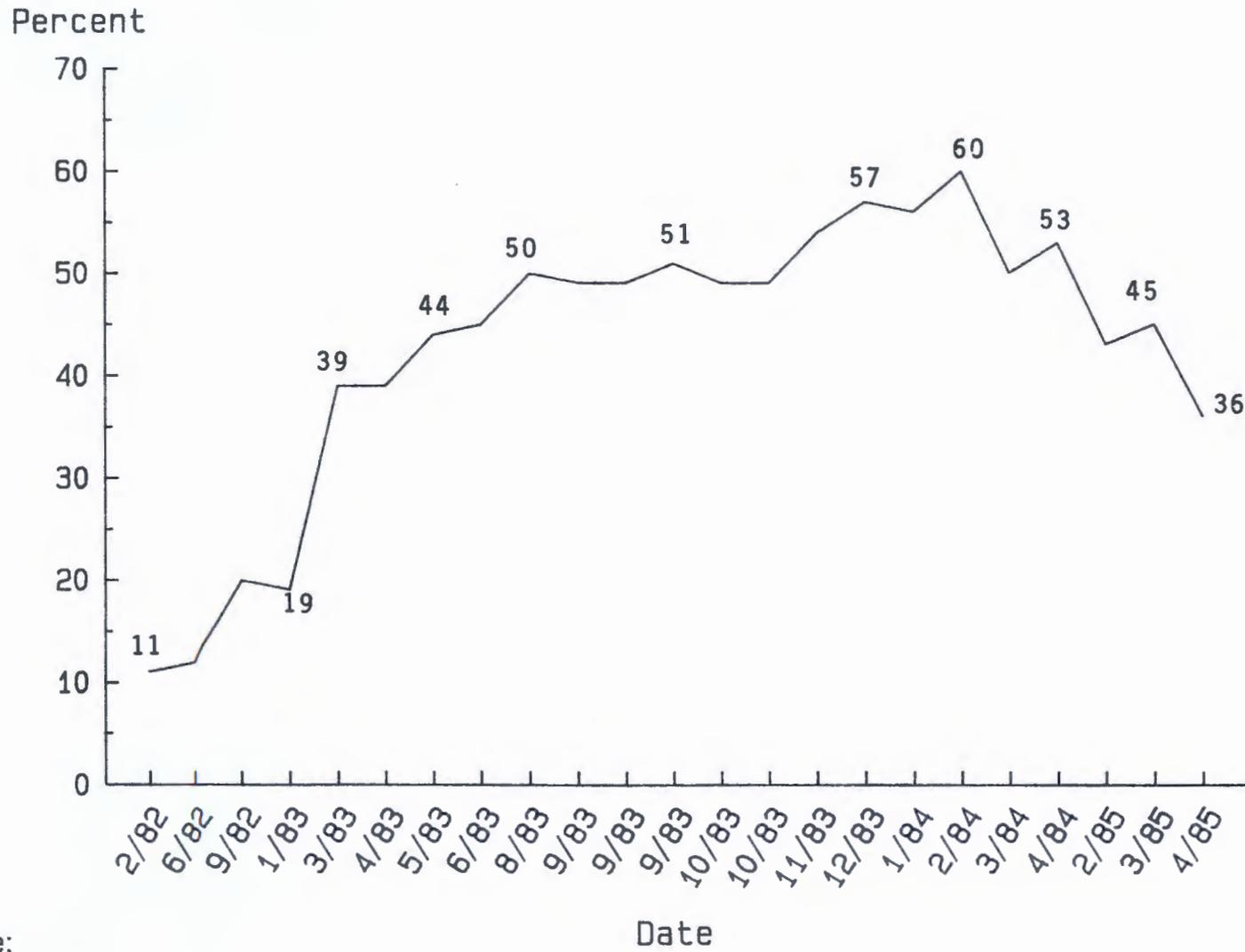
=====
 "Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?"

	<u>Feb</u> <u>13-14</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>						
Gotten better	11	12	20	19	39	44
Gotten worse	56	51	51	54	30	28
Stayed the same	31	33	28	26	30	27
No opinion	2	4	1	1	1	1

	<u>Aug</u> <u>17-22</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>6-9</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>14-17</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>2-4</u> <u>1984</u>
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>						
Gotten better	50	49	49	57	56	60
Gotten worse	21	19	19	16	19	14
Stayed the same	29	32	32	26	24	26
No opinion	0	0	0	0	1	0

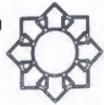
	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-11</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>4-7</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>5-10</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1985</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>					
Gotten better	50	53	43	45	36
Gotten worse	19	18	21	19	25
Stayed the same	30	28	35	36	39
No opinion	1	1	1	0	0

STATUS OF NATIONAL ECONOMY Gotten Better



Source:
D/M/I Polls





Status of the National Economy

=====
 "Thinking about a year from now, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?"

<u>Feb</u> 13-14 1982	<u>Jun</u> 15-22 1982	<u>Sep</u> 23-27 1982	<u>Jan</u> 27-29 1983	<u>Mar</u> 17-21 1983	<u>May</u> 27-30 1983
-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------

Now/Future

Get better	48	43	46	47	56	56
Get worse	25	20	22	20	15	14
Stay the same	23	34	29	31	26	28
No opinion	4	3	3	2	3	2

<u>Aug</u> 17-22 1983	<u>Sep</u> 6-9 1983	<u>Apr</u> 4-7 1984	<u>Ju1</u> 5-8 1984	<u>Sep</u> 3-8 1984	<u>Feb</u> 5-10 1985
-----------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	----------------------------

Now/Future

Get better	48	42	39	35	38	37
Get worse	17	21	17	20	17	25
Stay the same	33	34	39	42	42	36
No opinion	2	3	5	3	3	2

<u>Mar</u> 7-10 1985	<u>Apr</u> 9-11 1985
----------------------------	----------------------------

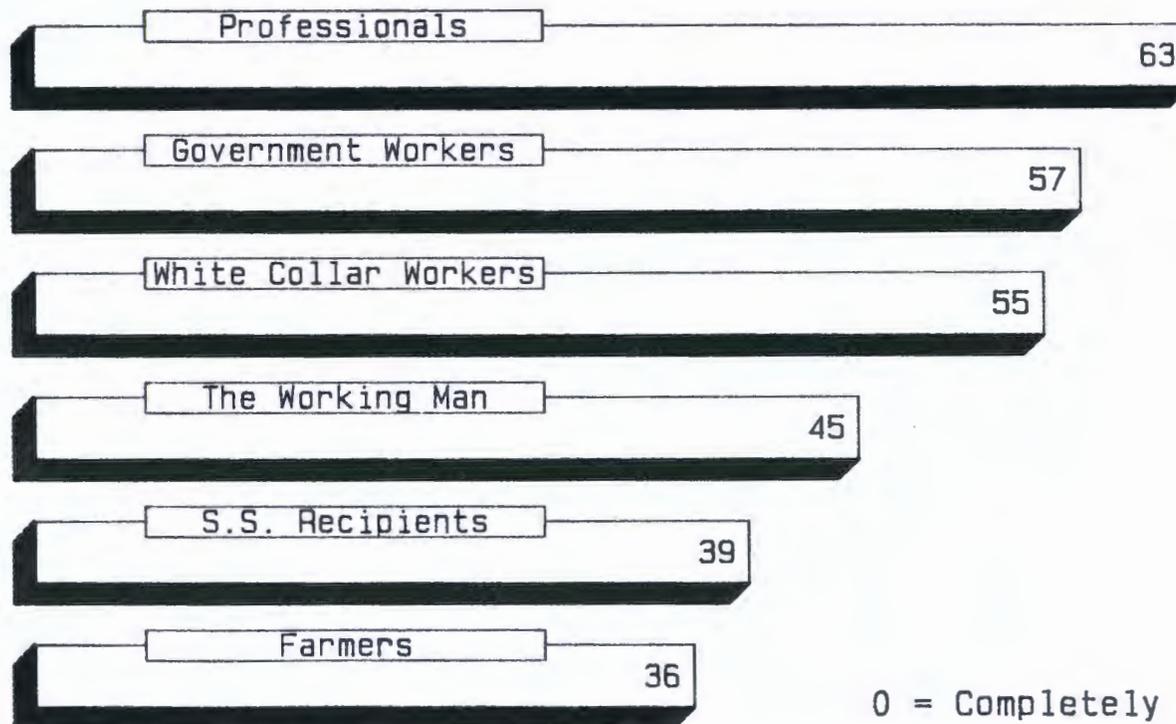
Now/Future

Get better	37	30
Get worse	27	28
Stay the same	36	41
No opinion	*	1

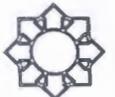
* Less than 0.5%

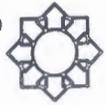
REAGAN'S ECONOMIC POLICIES

Fairness Toward Key Groups



0 = Completely Unfair
100 = Completely Fair



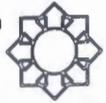


Methods to Reduce Budget Deficit

=====

"As you may know, there has been a lot of discussion about ways to reduce the federal budget deficit. I'm going to read you several proposed solutions to reduce the federal deficit. For each one I read you, please tell me whether you favor or oppose that solution."

	<u>Strongly Favor</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Favor</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Oppose</u> (%)	<u>Strongly Oppose</u> (%)
Freeze the pay of federal employees for one year.	41	21	18	19
Cut the real increase in defense spending from seven percent to three percent a year for each of the next three years.	38	22	16	24
Limit the cost-of-living increase for federal pensions to two percent a year regardless of the rate of inflation.	25	22	24	27
Eliminate spending programs like subsidies for Amtrak passenger service, the Small Business Administration, and revenue sharing with local governments.	17	25	29	25
Make cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, farm supports, student aid, and other domestic spending programs.	8	14	15	62

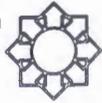


Social Security Proposals

=====

"As you may know, there has been a lot of discussion recently about ways to reduce the federal deficit. I am going to read you several proposed solutions to reduce the federal deficit. For each one I read you, please tell me whether you favor or oppose that solution."

	<u>Favor</u> (%)	<u>Oppose</u> (%)
Cut the cost-of-living increases for Social Security benefits from matching the 4% inflation rate to a guarantee of a two percent increase for each of the next three years regardless of the inflation rate.	33	66
And if you knew that under the <u>current law</u> , Social Security benefits increase <u>only</u> when inflation grows by more than three percent a year, would you then favor or oppose this proposal?	59	40
If you knew that in addition to the automatic two percent cost-of-living increase, those receiving Social Security benefits would also get a cost-of-living increase equal to the inflation rate less 2% if it is above four percent, would you then favor or oppose this proposal?	70	27



Social Security Proposals (Continued)

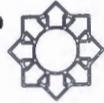
=====
 "Let's talk about the cost-of-living adjustments for those on Social Security. I'm going to read you two plans. I'd like you to tell me which one you would most prefer.

Plan 1 guarantees Social Security recipients a two percent cost-of-living increase for each of the next three years regardless of the rate of inflation, unless, the rate of inflation exceeds four percent; in which case, they would get an increase equal to the rate of inflation less two percent.

... or ...

Plan 2 guarantees Social Security recipients a cost-of-living increase equal to the increase in the rate of inflation above three percent, but give them no increase at all if inflation falls below three percent."

Plan 1	64%
Plan 2	33
No opinion	3



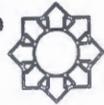
Defense Contractors Cheat Defense Department

=====
 "There has been a lot of discussion recently about what contractors charge the defense department for the work they do. I'd like to read you the opinions of two imaginary people, let's call them Smith and Jones. After I read you both opinions, please tell me whether you feel ... just like Smith ... somewhat like Smith ... somewhat like Jones ... or just like Jones.

Smith feels that a lot of companies cheat the defense department by charging high prices and doing poor workmanship.

Jones feels that only a very few companies cheat the defense department by charging high prices and doing poor workmanship; they just receive a lot of publicity when they are caught."

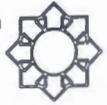
Just like Smith	44%
Somewhat like Smith	24
Somewhat like Jones	17
Just like Jones	14
No Opinion	1



Aid to Contras: Humanitarian or Military

=====
 "Now I'd like to read you a couple of statements that people have made to us. For each one I read, please tell me if you ... agree strongly ... agree somewhat ... disagree somewhat ... or ... disagree strongly."

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Agree</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Disagree</u> (%)	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
March 7-10, 1985					
It is absolutely necessary that we provide 14 million dollars in military aid to those who are fighting the regime in Nicaragua.	9	19	29	41	2
April 9-11, 1985					
It is absolutely necessary that we provide 14 million dollars in humanitarian aid to those fighting the regime in Nicaragua.	10	19	28	40	3



Resistance Fighters or Contras

=====

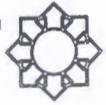
(VERSION I N=536)

Have you heard or read anything recently about President Reagan's proposal to use aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance Fighters only for humanitarian purposes if the Sandinistas agree to move toward dialogue and peace? (IF "YES", ASK:) And from what you have heard and read, do you approve or disapprove of President Reagan's proposal?

(VERSION II N=524)

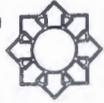
Have you heard or read anything recently about President Reagan's proposal to use aid to the Nicaraguan Contras only for humanitarian purposes if the Sandinistas agree to move toward dialogue and peace? (IF "YES", ASK:) And from what you have heard and read, do you approve or disapprove of President Reagan's proposal?

	Version I Resistance Fighters	Version II Contras
Yes/Approve	24	21
Yes/Disapprove	19	21
No/Not Heard	57	58



Thermometer Ratings -- Countries

	<u>Jun</u> <u>16-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>6-9</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>4-7</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
England	65	*	66	61
Japan	54	54	*	50
France	*	*	*	50

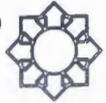


Import Restrictions

=====

As you may know, the United States has a sizeable trade deficit with Japan. Some people say that high imports of Japanese goods are creating unemployment in the U.S., particularly in the auto industry, so we should restrict the number of imports from Japan. Others say that if you believe in free enterprise, there should be no trade restrictions so consumers can get the benefits of foreign products and lower prices. How about you? Do you think the U.S. should restrict the level of imported goods from foreign countries, or not? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) Do you feel strongly like this, or just somewhat like this?

	Apr 12-18 <u>1982</u>	Apr 9-11 <u>1985</u>
Strongly/restrict imports	47	48
Somewhat/restrict imports	18	22
Somewhat/no restrictions	11	12
Strongly/no restrictions	21	17
No opinion	3	1



1984 Generic Congressional Ballot

=====
 "Thinking about the 1984 elections for a moment ... if the 1984 elections for U.S. Congress were being held today, would you be voting for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?"

(If "don't know" or "refused":)

"Which way do you lean as of today -- toward the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?"

	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-11</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>June</u> <u>24-27</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>17-22</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>25-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>7-11</u> <u>1984</u>
Republican candidate	34	38	37	37	36	39	40
Democratic candidate	54	50	49	52	50	48	49
Neither/Undecided	12	12	14	11	14	13	11

	<u>Apr</u> <u>4-7</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>May</u> <u>5-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>2-5</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Ju1</u> <u>5-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>3-8</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>9-11</u> <u>1985</u>
Republican candidate	41	42	44	41	46	44
Democratic candidate	49	51	49	50	46	47
Neither/Undecided	10	7	7	9	8	9



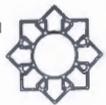
Presidential Vote: November and April

=====

Did you vote in the 1984 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) Did you vote for (ROTATE) ... Ronald Reagan, Republican ... or ... Walter Mondale, Democrat?

Just for a moment, let's assume the presidential election were being held again today. Would you vote for (ROTATE) ... Ronald Reagan, Republican ... or ... Walter Mondale, Democrat?

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Mondale</u>
Actual November Vote	56	43
Hypothetical April Vote	59	40

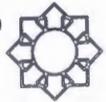


Thermometer Ratings -- Political and Others

	<u>Jan</u> <u>9-12</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>May</u> <u>12-17</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>
Jimmy Carter	50	*	*	*	*	*
Ted Kennedy	49	56	50	49	51	51
Walter Mondale	51	58	55	52	50	51
Tip O'Neill	*	*	53	*	50	*

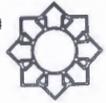
	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>17-22</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>6-9</u> <u>1983</u>
John Glenn	61	61	59	60	61	61
Walter Mondale	52	54	52	51	57	52
Tip O'Neill	53	58	56	*	58	*
Paul Volcker	*	51	*	*	*	*
Gary Hart	*	*	50	*	*	*
John Anderson	*	*	*	*	*	46

	<u>Oct</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>25-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>14-17</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>18-21</u> <u>1984</u>
John Glenn	60	61	54	54
Walter Mondale	55	55	51	56
Tip O'Neill	*	*	*	*
John Anderson	*	49	*	*
Alan Cranston	47	*	*	*
Jesse Jackson	*	38	*	41
Richard Nixon	*	36	*	*
Jerry Falwell	*	44	*	*



Thermometer Ratings -- Political and Others
(Continued)

	<u>Feb</u> 2-4 1984	<u>Mar</u> 7-11 1984	<u>Apr</u> 4-7 1984	<u>May</u> 5-8 1984	<u>Jun</u> 2-5 1984	<u>Jul</u> 5-8 1984	<u>Sep</u> 3-8 1984
John Glenn	56	*	*	*	*	*	*
Walter Mondale	62	49	51	58	55	58	55
Tip O'Neill	57	*	*	*	53	55	*
Robert Dole	56	*	*	*	*	*	*
Howard Baker	60	*	*	*	*	*	*
Jack Kemp	55	*	*	*	*	*	*
Gerald Ford	56	*	*	*	*	*	*
Barry Goldwater	50	*	*	*	*	*	*
Paul Laxalt	48	*	*	*	*	*	*
Maureen Reagan	43	*	*	*	*	*	*
Gary Hart	51	62	55	53	54	56	*
John Connally	48	*	*	*	*	*	*
Reubin Askew	46	*	*	*	*	*	*
George McGovern	*	39	*	*	*	*	*
Jimmy Carter	*	47	*	*	*	51	*
Hubert Humphrey	*	57	*	*	*	*	*
Franklin D. Roosevelt	*	76	*	*	*	*	*
Harry Truman	*	72	*	*	*	*	*
John F. Kennedy	*	81	*	*	*	*	*
Jesse Jackson	*	*	46	40	40	42	*
Tom Bradley	*	*	*	*	*	57	*
Richard Nixon	*	*	*	*	*	38	*
Lloyd Bentsen	*	*	*	*	*	50	*
A woman Vice President	*	*	*	*	*	54	*
Dale Bumpers	*	*	*	*	*	46	*
Mario Cuomo	*	*	*	*	*	51	*
Geraldine Ferraro	*	*	*	*	*	*	55
	<u>Nov</u> 27-29 1984	<u>Jan</u> 12-14 1985	<u>Jan</u> 22-28 1985	<u>Mar</u> 7-10 1985	<u>Apr</u> 9-11 1985		
Tip O'Neill	50	52	51	51	53		
Ted Kennedy	*	*	*	53	*		


 Thermometer Ratings -- Party

	<u>Jan 30- Feb 3 1981</u>	<u>Jul 16-18 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>
Republicans	64	62	56	54	52	49
Democrats	57	56	59	60	60	61
	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>Aug 17-22 1983</u>
Republicans	52	50	50	54	53	53
Democrats	63	63	61	61	59	66
	<u>Sept 6-9 1983</u>	<u>Oct 18-21 1983</u>	<u>Nov 25-29 1983</u>	<u>Dec 14-17 1983</u>	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>
Republicans	51	53	55	54	53	56
Democrats	63	59	*	60	60	63
	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>	<u>Jul 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>
Republicans	55	56	53	54	55	56
Democrats	60	60	60	59	62	59
	<u>Nov 7-10 1984</u>	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>
Republicans	62	58	60	60	57	56
Democrats	54	54	55	55	56	56
	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>					
Republicans	56					
Democrats	55					

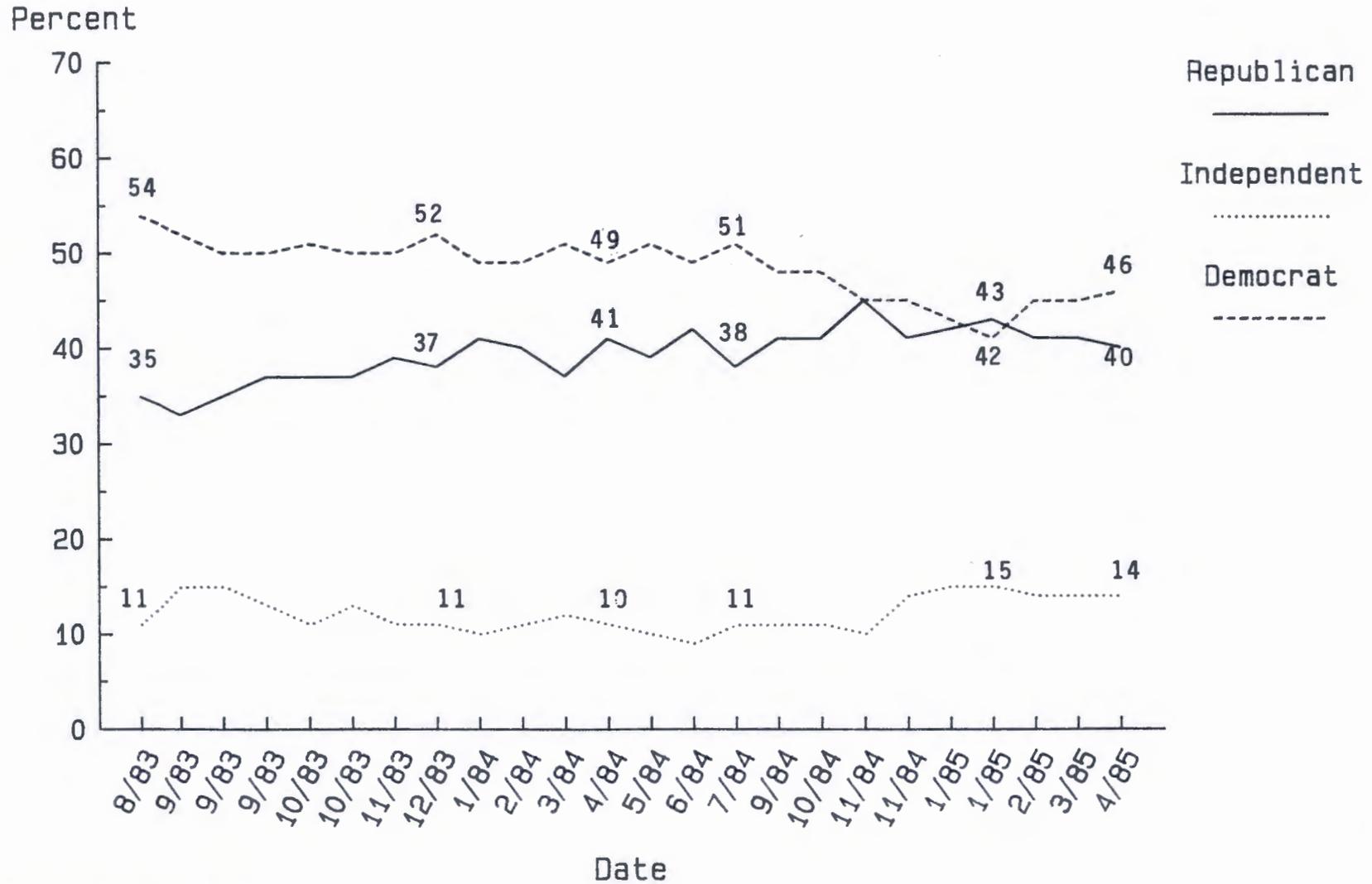


Party Identification With Lean

=====
 "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? (IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or a not-so-strong (Republican/Democrat)? (IF INDEPENDENT/OTHER/NO PREFERENCE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic party?"

	<u>Feb 20-22 1981</u>	<u>Jun 12-14 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Republican	37	38	34	37	35	35
Independent	27	19	16	18	14	14
Democrat	37	43	49	45	51	51
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>	<u>Sept 8-9 1983</u>	<u>Sept 23-25 1983</u>
Republican	36	32	37	36	33	37
Independent	12	14	15	14	15	13
Democrat	52	54	48	50	52	50
	<u>Nov 25-29 1983</u>	<u>Dec 14-17 1983</u>	<u>Jan 18-21 1984</u>	<u>Feb 2-4 1984</u>	<u>Mar 7-11 1984</u>	<u>Apr 4-7 1984</u>
Republican	39	37	41	40	37	41
Independent	11	11	10	11	12	11
Democrat	50	52	49	49	51	49
	<u>May 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Jun 2-5 1984</u>	<u>Jul 5-8 1984</u>	<u>Sep 3-8 1984</u>	<u>Oct Track 1984</u>	<u>Nov 7-10 1984</u>
Republican	39	42	39	41	41	46
Independent	10	9	11	11	11	9
Democrat	51	49	50	48	48	45
	<u>Nov 27-29 1984</u>	<u>Jan 12-14 1985</u>	<u>Jan 22-28 1985</u>	<u>Feb 5-10 1985</u>	<u>Mar 7-10 1985</u>	<u>Apr 9-11 1985</u>
Republican	41	42	43	41	41	40
Independent	14	15	15	14	14	14
Democrat	45	43	42	45	45	46

PARTY IDENTIFICATION With Lean



Source: D/M/I Polls



JESSE HELMS
NORTH CAROLINA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 6, 1985

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PRO15

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The Honorable Patrick J. Buchanan
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Pat:

While I'm sure you've had a report
on Pat Robertson's poll on aid to the Freedom
Fighters, I don't want to take a chance on
your having missed seeing it.

Very interesting!

And isn't it great to have Pat doing
what he's doing!

Hang in there, you're doing fine.

Sincerely,

JESSE HELMS:pd

JV 1

JV

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1984

PY

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PL

Dear Dick:

This is a brief note to let you know how much I appreciated your sharing with me the array of statistics regarding evidence that the 1984 election represents a fundamental realignment. I was able to use them with considerable success yesterday evening when I shared the platform with Mo Udall. Fortunately, he had preceded me and made the claim that the 1984 elections were simply a personal vote of thanks for the President and did not involve a realignment of any type. What a softball down the center of the plate.

The audience, which included a large number of corporate executives, focused their questions on the deficit and what plans the President and the Congress had to deal with it. They are terribly concerned about its potential effects on the economy, and seemed ready and willing to do whatever was necessary to substantially reduce it. It is, of course, easy to favor reducing deficits in general without specifying the specific measures that would be required. But I was impressed by the depth of their concerns and the almost universal expressions of a willingness to do whatever was necessary.

Thanks once again for sharing your data with me.

Warmest regards,

Roger B. Porter
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Policy Development

✓

Mr. Richard Wirthlin
President
Decision-Making Information
6803 Poplar Place
McLean, VA 22101

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director



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April 29, 1985

PRO15

JV

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable
Robert McFarlane
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House

FROM: Charles Z. Wick
Director

SUBJECT: Highlights of Public Opinion on Arms Control
and SDI

C0009

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The attached Australian attitude survey results, compiled by the Agency's Research Office, are the latest in a series of reports to keep the public diplomacy community informed of timely findings regarding foreign opinion on arms control and SDI.

Results from a March survey show that:

- o Australians are not sanguine about the Geneva negotiations: a two-to-one majority think that the Geneva talks are not likely to result in an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons; and two-thirds think it will take more than two years to reach an accord.
- o They tend to blame both sides for failing to reach an arms control agreement and do not distinguish sharply between the sincerity of U.S. and Soviet efforts.
- o Most Australians believe that an arms control agreement must have adequate verification.
- o A small majority think SDI is a "good" idea. However, opinion is split on its likely impact on efforts to reach an arms control agreement.
- o Support for SDI appears to be most affected by perceptions of its likely effect on reaching a nuclear arms control agreement and on the risk of nuclear war.

NSC 8503609

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April 19, 1985

AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC OPINION ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES

This report on Australian public opinion toward SDI and other arms control issues is based on a national survey of 1,032 Australians age 14 and older on the weekend of March 2-3, 1985.

Begin Summary

Australians are not sanguine about the Geneva negotiations: a two-to-one majority think that the Geneva talks are not likely to result in an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons; two-thirds think it will take more than two years to reach an accord.

They tend to blame both sides for failing to reach an arms control agreement and do not distinguish sharply between the sincerity of U.S. and Soviet efforts. In fact, a small majority do not believe the U.S. is making a real effort to reach an agreement.

Most believe that an arms control agreement must have adequate verification. However, opinion is split as to whether it is possible to work out a verifiable accord, and about half of those who think it isn't believe the U.S. should be willing to accept an accord even if it can't be "completely checked."

A small majority think SDI is a "good" idea. However, opinion is split on its likely impact on efforts to reach an arms control agreement, and there is no consensus on SDI's alleged destabilizing effects. Half the public think SDI is important primarily as a chip to be bargained for an arms control agreement.

Support for SDI appears to be most affected by perceptions of its likely effect on reaching a nuclear arms control agreement and on the risk of nuclear war.

A small majority are confident in the ability of the U.S. to deal responsibly with world problems; a large majority lack such confidence in the Soviet Union. However, confidence in the U.S. has dropped since last fall. In part, this may be linked to adverse perceptions of U.S. efforts to reach an arms control agreement.

End Summary

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Introduction

Arms control issues have received extensive media coverage in Australia in recent months. Particular attention has been paid to Australia's role in joint defense arrangements with the U.S. and its membership in ANZUS, the effect on ANZUS of the ban on nuclear ship visits by New Zealand, and Australia's membership in the UN Disarmament Committee.

Limited Expectations Of Geneva Arms Control Talks

There is little doubt of the public's desire for fruitful arms control talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In a September 1984 national survey, more stress was put on arms limitation talks than on keeping a balance of power as the best way to protect the security of Australia and the West.¹

The public, however, is not sanguine about the current Geneva negotiations. Among the eight-in-ten were at least somewhat aware² of the Shultz-Gromyko talks in early January (Table 2), opinion predominates by a majority of more than two-to-one that the resumption of arms control negotiations is not likely to result in an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons. (Table 2) Moreover, two-thirds (64%) of the public think it will take more than two years to reach an arms reduction accord, and 17 percent volunteer that an agreement will never be reached. (Table 3)

Tendency To Blame Both Sides Equally For Failing To Reach An Arms Control Agreement

When asked who will be mainly to blame if no agreement is reached "in the near future," twice as many say the Soviet Union (26%) as say the U.S. (13%). However, considerably more (49%) say that both sides will be to blame. (Table 4)

In keeping with these findings, Australians do not sharply distinguish between the sincerity of U.S. and Soviet efforts to reach "a serious arms reduction agreement." A large majority (68% to 19%) do not believe that the Soviet Union is making a genuine effort to reach an agreement. A smaller majority (55% to 36%) believe that the U.S. is also not making a real effort to reach an accord. (Table 5)

¹See R-28-84, "Australian Public Opinion on ANZUS and Nuclear Arms Control," pp. 8-9.

²In early March, only 25 percent had heard at least a "fair amount" about the Shultz-Gromyko talks.

Widespread Backing For A Verifiable Agreement But Doubts That It Can Be Achieved

There is widespread support for the U.S. position that an arms control agreement must have adequate means of verification: three-fourths (76%) approve of the U.S. insistence "on adequate means of checking that the other side is keeping the agreement;" only 13 percent disapprove. (Table 6)

Opinion is about equally split, however, on the feasibility of reaching an agreement which can be completely verified: 45 percent think it is possible to work out such an agreement, 43 percent do not. (Table 7) Half of those who think a verifiable agreement is impossible believe that the U.S. should be willing to accept an agreement "even if it could not be completely checked;" some four-in-ten do not think the U.S. should accept such an agreement. (Table 7A)

Majority Say SDI Is A "Good" Idea

Slightly less than half (45%) the public have heard at least a "fair amount" about "the U.S. decision to try to develop a new defense system, the so-called 'Star Wars,' that could destroy enemy missiles." Most of the rest have heard little or nothing about SDI. (Table 8)

Despite generally negative coverage of SDI in Australian media, this early reading shows a two-to-one majority thinking the U.S. decision is a "good" (58%) rather than a "bad" (28%) idea. (Table 9) However, opinion is divided on the effect that SDI might have on reaching an arms control agreement: 45 percent think it would increase the chances of reaching an agreement, 44 percent think it "would only upset the balance of power and accelerate the arms race." (Table 10)

In keeping with this division of views, there is no public consensus on the alleged destabilizing effect of SDI. Three-in-ten (31%) say it would increase the risk of nuclear war, while somewhat fewer (24%) say it would decrease the risk; a third (35%) believe that developing SDI would make no difference to the risk of nuclear war. (Table 11)

Some support for SDI appears to be linked to the belief that it would help facilitate a nuclear arms control accord. Half (51%) agree that developing an anti-missile system "is important primarily as a bargaining chip which could be given up in return for a nuclear arms control agreement," while 37 percent see SDI as being of sufficient importance "to deter a Soviet attack that the West should continue research on it even if that means not getting a nuclear arms control agreement with the Soviet Union." (Table 12)

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However, analysis of the opinions expressed in this survey suggests that judgments of the value of SDI are most affected by perceptions of its likely effect on reaching an arms control agreement and on the risk of nuclear war: (Table 12A)

- o Eight-in-ten or more of those who think SDI will decrease the risk of nuclear war and those who think it increase the odds of getting an arms control agreement think SDI is a "good" idea.
- o Those who think it will increase the risk of nuclear war and those who think it will decrease the chances of reaching an arms control agreement predominantly believe SDI is a "bad" idea.

Declining Confidence In U.S. Foreign Policy

Confidence in the U.S. as a responsible world power has dropped since late 1984. Although a clear majority (57% to 41%) continue to have at least a "fair amount" of confidence in the ability of the U.S. "to deal responsibly with world problems," in late 1984 there was a two-to-one balance of favorable opinion for the U.S. (64% to 32%). Favorable views were even more prevalent in 1978. (Table 13)

Compared to the U.S., the Soviet Union does much worse. A two-thirds majority (68% to 27%) now lack confidence in the Soviet Union "to deal responsibly with world problems," a much less favorable reading than in late 1984 (55% to 38%), and worse still than in 1978 when a favorable balance of opinion actually prevailed. (Table 13)

Negative Impact Of Nuclear Arms Race On Confidence In The U.S.

Many factors, including the U.S. handling of New Zealand's ban on port visits by nuclear ships, undoubtedly affect Australian views of the U.S. as a responsible world power. Among the factors examined in this survey, however, perceptions of U.S. efforts to achieve nuclear arms control appeared to be linked most closely with views of U.S. leadership: (Table 13A)

- o Those who think the U.S. is making a genuine effort to reach a nuclear arms control agreement and who think the USSR (rather than the U.S.) would be mainly to blame for failing to reach an accord tend to have high levels of confidence in U.S. leadership.
- o Sizable majorities of those who doubt the sincerity of the U.S. effort to reach an agreement and who see the the U.S. as the main cause of not reaching an accord have low levels of confidence in U.S. leadership.

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Demographic Differences In Attitudes Toward The U.S.

As in previous studies, those who are most critical of the U.S. and U.S. policies tend to be among the younger generation (under 40) and supporters of the Australian Labor Party (ALP). In most cases, they differ more in degree than in being diametrically opposed to the opinions of the older generation (over 40) and Liberal/NCP supporters. However, they do differ sharply in holding much more negative views of the sincerity of U.S. arms control efforts, in seeing SDI as more likely to accelerate the arms race rather than facilitate an arms control agreement, and in having lower levels of confidence in U.S. leadership. (Table 14)

Prepared by:
Gordon A. Tubbs (P/REA)
485-2982

M-4/19/85

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TABLE 1

"How much have you heard or read about the early January talks between U.S. Secretary of State Schultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko -- a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?"

	March 1985 (1032)
A great deal	3%)
A fair amount	22) 25%
Not very much	55)
Nothing at all	18) 73
Don't know	2
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE 2

"How likely do you think it is that the U.S.-Soviet decision to resume arms control negotiations will result in an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons -- very likely, fairly likely, fairly unlikely, or very unlikely?"

	Total (1032)	Heard of talks (849)
Very likely	2%)	3%)
Fairly likely	22) 24%	26) 29%
Fairly unlikely	32)	39)
Very unlikely	22) 54	26) 65
Don't know	5	6
Not asked ^a	18	-
	<u>101%</u>	<u>100%</u>

^aHad heard nothing about the early January talks in Geneva.

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TABLE 3

"How long do you think it will take for the U.S. and the USSR to reach an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons -- one year, two years, or longer than that?" (ACCEPT "NEVER" AS VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE).

	March 1985 (1032)
One year	38
Two years	7
More than two years	64
Never (VOLUNTEERED)	17
Don't know	10
	<u>1018</u>

TABLE 4

"If no agreement is reached in the near future, who in your opinion will be mainly to blame: the U.S. or the USSR?"

	March 1985 (1032)
U.S.	138
USSR	26
Both (VOL.)	49
Neither (VOL.)	3
Don't know	9
	<u>1008</u>

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TABLE 5

"Do you believe that the U.S. is making a genuine effort to reach a serious arms reduction agreement with the Soviet Union or not? And the Soviet Union. Do you believe the Soviet Union is making a genuine effort to reach a serious arms reduction agreement with the United States or not?"

	<u>United States</u> (1032)	<u>Soviet Union</u> (1032)
Making a genuine effort	36%	19%
Not making a genuine effort	55	68
Don't know	10	13
	<u>101%</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE 6

"Lack of trust is one reason why the superpowers have not been able to reach an arms control agreement in recent years. The United States insists that any arms control agreement with the Soviet Union must include provisions for means of checking that the other side is keeping the agreement. That is, provisions which will permit each side to check that the other side is keeping the agreement. Do you approve or disapprove of this U.S. insistence on adequate means of checking that the other side is keeping the agreement?"

	<u>March 1985</u> (1032)
Approve of U.S. insis- tence on means of checking	76%
Disapprove of U.S. insis- tence on means of checking	13
Don't know	11
	<u>100%</u>

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TABLE 7

"Do you think that it is possible or not possible to work out a nuclear arms control agreement which can be completely checked?"

	March 1985 (1032)
Possible to work out an agreement that can be completely checked	45%
Not possible to work out an agreement that can be completely checked	43
Don't know	<u>12</u> 100%

TABLE 7A

(IF NOT POSSIBLE): "Do you think the U.S. should or should not be willing to accept an arms control agreement even if it could not be completely checked?"

	<u>Total</u> (1032)	<u>Believe impossible</u> (432)
Should be willing to accept agreement even if it could not be completely checked	22%	51%
Should not be willing to accept agreement even if it could not be completely checked	17	38
Don't know	4	11
Not Asked ^a	<u>57</u> 100%	<u>-</u> 100%

^aThought a verifiable agreement was possible or expressed no opinion on the issue.

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TABLE 8

"How much have you heard or read about the U.S. decision to try to develop a new defense system, the so-called 'Star Wars', that could destroy attacking enemy missiles -- a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?"

	March 1985 <u>(1032)</u>
A great deal	10%)
A fair amount	35) 45%
Not very much	39)
Nothing at all	13) 52
Don't know	<u>3</u>
	100%

TABLE 9

"As you may know, the United States is considering the development of a defense system which could destroy attacking enemy missiles. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"

	March 1985 <u>(1032)</u>
A good idea	58%
A bad idea	28
Neither good nor bad (VOL.)	5
Don't know	<u>9</u>
	100%

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TABLE 10

"Some people say that U.S. development of a defense against nuclear missiles would increase the chance of reaching an arms control agreement between the superpowers. Others say that development of such an anti-missile defense system would only upset the balance of power and accelerate the arms race. Which statement is closer to your own opinion?"

	March 1985 (1032)
Increases chance of arms control agreement	45%
Accelerates the arms race	44
Don't know	11
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE 11

"On balance, do you think the development of an anti-missile defense system will increase the risk of nuclear war, decrease the risk of nuclear war, or make no difference?"

	March 1985 (1032)
Increase risk of nuclear war	31%
Decrease risk of nuclear war	24
Make no difference	35
Don't know	11
	<u>101%</u>

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TABLE 12

"Which of the two statements on this card (HAND CARD) is closer to your own view:

A says: The development of an anti-missile defense system is so important to deter a Soviet attack that the West should continue research on it even if that means not getting a nuclear arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

B says: The development of an anti-missile defense system is important primarily as a bargaining chip which could be given up in return for a nuclear arms control agreement.

	March 1985 (1032)
A. Should not be given up	37%
B. Important primarily as bargaining chip	51
Don't know	<u>12</u> 100%

TABLE 12A. FACTORS AFFECTING SUPPORT FOR SDI

Opinion of SDI	Effect of SDI on Chance of Nuclear War			Effect of SDI on Arms Control Agreement		Importance of SDI	
	Decrease chances (24%)	Makes no difference (35%)	Increases chances (31%)	Increase chances (45%)	Decrease chances (44%)	Important in itself (51%)	Important as bargaining chip (37%)
Good idea	88%	67%	30%	80%	41%	74%	55%
Bad idea	7	19	61	11	49	18	34

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TABLE 13

"How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States to deal responsibly with world problems -- a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all? And how much confidence do you have in the ability of the Soviet Union to deal responsibly with world problems -- a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?"

	United States			Soviet Union		
	March-April ^a 1978 (1055)	Sept. 1984 (1141)	March 1985 (1032)	March-April ^a 1978 (1055)	Sept. 1984 (1141)	March 1985 (1032)
Great deal	26%)	15%)	18%)	11%)	8%)	4%)
Fair amount	52) 78%	49) 64%	39) 57%	38) 49%	30) 38%	23) 27%
Not very much	15)	27)	30)	30)	39)	42)
None at all	3) 18	5) 32	11) 41	12) 42	16) 55	26) 68
Don't know	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 101%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

^aThe question wording was slightly different: "...to deal wisely with world problems..."

TABLE 13A. FACTORS AFFECTING CONFIDENCE IN U.S.

	<u>Blame for Failing to Reach Nuclear Arms Control Agreement</u>			<u>Genuineness of U.S. Effort to Reach Arms Control Agreement</u>	
	<u>USSR</u> (26%)	<u>Both</u> (49%)	<u>U.S.</u> (13%)	<u>Not genuine effort</u> (55%)	<u>Genuine effort</u> (36%)
<u>Confidence in U.S.</u>					
Higher levels	80%	53%	27%	41%	80%
Lower levels	19	47	72	58	18

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	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Age</u>		<u>Party Support</u>	
	<u>Women</u> (531)	<u>Men</u> (501)	<u>-40</u> (577)	<u>40+</u> (455)	<u>ALP</u> (508)	<u>Liberal/NCP</u> (399)
<u>U.S. acceptance of an agreement without adequate verification</u>						
U.S. should be willing	21%	23%	25%	18%	22%	23%
U.S. should not be willing	18	16	16	18	17	19
<u>Heard of SDI</u>	34	56	46	44	47	41
<u>Judgement of SDI</u>						
Good idea	52	64	54	63	55	66
Bad idea	30	25	33	21	32	21
<u>Effect of SDI on chances for arms control agreement</u>						
Increases chances	43	47	38	54	38	56
Accelerates arms race	44	44	54	31	51	34
<u>Effect of SDI on risk of nuclear war</u>						
Increases risk	32	29	37	23	34	26
Decreases risk	21	28	20	29	20	31
Makes no difference	34	35	35	35	36	33
<u>Value of SDI</u>						
Should not be given up	36	38	34	42	34	43
Important mainly as bargaining chip	48	53	57	42	53	47
<u>Confidence in leadership</u>						
<u>U.S.</u>						
Confident	52	60	39	65	51	68
Not confident	44	38	46	32	46	31
<u>Soviet Union</u>						
Confident	23	31	30	23	31	24
Not confident	71	65	66	70	63	73

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TABLE 14. SUBGROUP ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES

	Sex		Age		Party Support	
	Women (531)	Men (501)	-40 (577)	40+ (455)	ALP (508)	Liberal/NCP (399)
<u>Heard of January talks</u>	21%	29%	25%	25%	24%	26%
<u>Likelihood of an agreement</u>						
Likely	24%	24%	26%	33%	24%	24%
Unlikely	48	59	69	60	52	54
<u>Time needed to reach an agreement</u>						
1-2 years	11	8	11	8	10	10
Longer than 2 years	60	68	65	62	63	65
Never [VOL.]	17	17	15	19	16	16
<u>Blame for not reaching an agreement</u>						
U.S.	12	15	17	8	16	9
Soviet Union	26	26	18	35	21	34
Both [VOL.]	50	48	55	43	50	47
<u>Sincerity of efforts to reach an agreement</u>						
<u>U.S.</u>						
Genuine effort	35	36	29	44	31	45
Not genuine effort	53	56	63	44	60	46
<u>Soviet Union</u>						
Genuine effort	19	19	19	19	19	19
Not genuine effort	65	72	69	67	69	68
<u>U.S. insistence on verification</u>						
Approve	74	78	74	77	74	82
Disapprove	14	13	16	10	15	10
<u>Possibility of verifiable agreement</u>						
Possible	40	50	47	43	45	45
Not possible	44	42	44	42	42	46

NSC/S PROFILE

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KEYWORDS: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

AUSTRALIA

SDI

ARMS CONTROL

SUBJECT: PUBLIC OPINION ON SDI IN AUSTRALIA

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

STEINER

LAUX

KRAEMER

LINHARD

COMMENTS

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JULY 9, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DON REGAN

FROM: ED ROLLINS

SUBJECT: SURVEY RESEARCH UPDATE

Comment

Here's a compilation of spring survey research on the President's job rating, party ID and the tax program.

REAGAN JOB RATING

- o President Reagan's job approval rating is clearly on the rise again:

June 19	ABC/Washington Post	62%
June 5	CBS/NYT	59%
June 5	DMI	65%
June 2	Harris	58%

- o Even those who consider themselves liberal approve of the job the President is doing:

June 5	CBS/NYT	47%
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- o On specific issues the public's approval varies:

Handling the hostage crisis

July 2	Washington Post	Approve 75%	Disapprove 25%
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Handling the economy

		Positive	Negative
June 2	Harris	58%	41%
May 27	Harris	50%	49%
March 5	Harris	57%	41%

Relations with Russia

June 2	Harris	44%	54%
May 27	Harris	42%	55%
March 5	Harris	51%	46%

Relations with Congress

June 2	Washington Post	54%	41%
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Handling the deficit

Republicans are better able to handle the deficit:

		Agree	Disagree
June 5	CBS/NYT	45%	25%

President Reagan's ability to handle the deficit:

		Positive	Negative
June 2	Harris	36%	62%
May 27	Harris	32%	65%
March 5	Harris	34%	62%

- o The amount of Americans expressing considerable or increased confidence in U.S. ability to deal with world problems has risen since the Carter administration:

1980	Gallup	53%
June 16 1985	Gallup	68%

- o A vast majority of Americans believe that President Reagan is handling foreign affairs as well or better than did Jimmy Carter:

Is doing better	41%
Is doing as well	40%
Is doing worse	17%

Source: June 17 ABC/Washington Post

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

- o GOP party affiliation continues to be roughly equal to that of the Democrats. When independents "leaning" toward one party are counted the results are:

		Republicans	Democrats
June 5	CBS/NYT	44%	45%

- o Among the 18-29 age group the GOP holds a clear edge:

		Republican	Democrat
June 5	CBS/NYT	51%	42%

THE TAX PROGRAM

- o The President's May 28 tax speech was well received:

		Approve	Disapprove
June 1	DMI	71%	26%

- o A majority approve of the President's tax reform package:

June 7	Gallup	50%
June 2	ABC	65%

- o Interestingly, most Americans are willing to give up deductions to make the system more simple; however, they do not believe that Reagan's plan will reduce their taxes:

33%	Increase Taxes
42%	Remain the Same
19%	Reduce Taxes

Source: June 7 Media General/Associated Press

- o Most Americans think the current tax system is unfair and support reform:

It is important to make the system fairer	84%
It is important to simplify the system	51%

Source: June 2 ABC News

	Yes	No
Do you favor tax reform?	60%	22%
Do you think the plan will make the system fairer?	56%	31%
Do you think the plan will simplify tax reform?	69%	17%

Source: June 3 USA Today

- o A majority of Americans believe that the President's plan is fair:

		Fair	Unfair
June 5	CBS/NYT	60%	29%

- o Concerning the elimination of certain deductions, though, a USA Today poll on June 3 indicates:

	More Fair	Less Fair
Property taxes	35%	53%
Sales tax	41%	45%
State, local income taxes	37%	52%
Mortgage on second homes	49%	39%
Employer paid benefits	30%	59%

- o On specifics of the tax plan a June 10 Newsweek poll shows:

	Approve	Disapprove
Removing state and local tax deduction	37%	54%
Limiting federal deduction for mortgage interest on second homes	54%	38%
Removing deductions for business expenses such as sports, theatre, and other	59%	36%
Taxing some portion of fringe benefits i.e. health insurance and pension benefits	20%	75%

- o The following Business Week/Harris poll taken June 17 shows how the public stands on certain provisions of the plan:

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
Raise maximum IRA for married couples to \$4000	81%	15%	4%
Raise personal exemptions to \$2000 and index for inflation	76%	17%	7%
Retain mortgage-interest deduction, with limit on second homes	66%	29%	5%
Limit deductions for corporate expense accounts	65%	31%	4%
Cut capital-gains tax to 17.5% maximum	54%	32%	14%
Cut top individual tax bracket to 35%	50%	43%	7%
Impose 20% minimum corporate tax rate	49%	42%	9%
Limit consumer interest deduction to \$5000 above investment income	48%	38%	14%

Phase down top corporate income tax rate to 33%	44%	46%	10%
Let corporations deduct 10% of dividends paid	41%	50%	9%
Repeal investment tax credit	40%	50%	9%
Repeal deduction of state and local income taxes	32%	63%	5%
Repeal deduction of local property tax	27%	69%	4%
Tax employees on first \$10 per month of employer paid health insurance	26%	69%	5%

THE ECONOMY

- o The "misery index"--a combination of the public's estimates of inflation and unemployment for the coming year--is at the lowest level since measurement began:

		Inflation	Unemployment	Index
June 13, 1985	Gallup	5.4%	7.8%	13.2%
November 1980	Gallup	13.6%	7.1%	20.7%

Handwritten notes: "NO" above Inflation, "7.3 or 7.2" above Unemployment, "12.7 or 12.6" next to Index.

- o A majority of Americans favor a subminimum wage:

Favor	51%
Oppose	45%

Source: May 23 Gallup