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#61

POST CAMPAIGN DEBATE POLL

30 September 1980

The Presidential election campaign -- five weeks before the voting -- remains a very close contest between an unpopular incumbent Democratic President and a Republican candidate about whom substantial numbers of potential voters have substantial doubts. Those are among the findings of the latest public opinion survey conducted by NBC News and The Associated Press. A total of 2,393 adult Americans were interviewed in the three days immediately following the televised debate between Ronald Reagan and John Anderson. Of that total, 1,512 persons were judged to be "likely voters."

The Presidential Campaign

Who's Worst?

As the two major candidates wage vigorous negative media campaigns against each other, our sample of potential voters views both candidates in fairly negative terms. For example, by a margin of almost three to one, they agree that while Ronald Reagan's answers to major national problems may sound good, it takes more than his kind of simple answers to solve problems. In fact, by a narrow margin, even those who told us they support Reagan expressed this doubt about his proposals to solve national problems.

On the other hand, our sample was evenly divided about whether or not Mr. Carter has done such a bad job as President that he doesn't deserve to be re-elected. That's hardly a strong endorsement for an incumbent. And, by the way, among all the adults we talked too -- those who are judged likely to vote and those who are not, President Carter's job rating remains very low. As has been the case since late Spring, less than one in four think he is doing an excellent or good job as President. Slightly more think he is doing a poor job, and about half think his performance is only fair.

✓ The President does show some signs of potential campaign strength in the field of foreign affairs, but on the problems that most people feel are more important -- domestic issues -- it appears that Reagan is successfully getting the better of the argument.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Even in the field of foreign affairs, however, the news is not all good for Mr. Carter. He is seen, by a clear margin, as the candidate most likely to keep the United States out of war. By a somewhat less convincing margin he is perceived by our sample of potential voters as the candidate who would do the best job of negotiating on behalf of this country with foreign leaders. On the other hand Reagan is seen as the candidate who would do the best job of strengthening America's position in the world.

On the specific foreign issue of Iran, the public -- not only likely voters -- disapprove strongly of the way the President is dealing with the continuing plight of U.S. hostages there. Nonetheless, in the face of the fighting between Iran and Iraq, there was a noticeable improvement in the foreign affairs job rating given to the President. Despite the improvement, however, the rating remains extremely low -- with only about one in five adults saying he is doing an excellent or good job, while about twice as many say he is doing a poor job.

THE ECONOMY

There is less ambiguity in our findings about the potential voters' views of the candidates with regard to the economy. Nearly two thirds of our respondents told us they think about their concern for the economy (and other domestic issues) when they think about which candidate to vote for, while only about one potential voter in four cited foreign policy concern.

By a margin of more than two-to-one our sample said that Reagan, not Carter, is the candidate who would do the best job of solving the nation's economic problems. By a similar wide margin, would be voters picked Republican Reagan, not Democrat Carter, as the candidate most likely to do something about inflation. Even regarding unemployment, finding jobs for workers -- an issue the Democratic Party has called its own since the days of the New Deal -- Ronald Reagan, not Jimmy Carter, is viewed as the candidate most likely to solve the problem. While it is true that the margin in favor of Reagan on this issue is more narrow than the margin on the inflation issue, it may be slightly astounding that a conservative Republican has been able to bring as many people as he has to his position.

There are several possible explanations for this turn of events.

First, Reagan has been making a determined effort to move toward the center, to stake out moderate positions on issues. Reagan has backed away from many conservative economic positions he had earlier taken.

Second, Carter is still suffering from the wounds inflicted by Senator Edward Kennedy. This is not to say that Kennedy backers have turned into Reagan supporters; rather it is to say that the repeated attacks Kennedy made on Carter's economic policies -- attacks that culminated in Kennedy's speech at the Democratic National Convention -- have left many people either convinced Carter is incompetent or persuaded that there is little difference between Carter and Reagan on economic issues. Nearly as many potential voters in our survey took the latter position as supported Reagan on the question of unemployment.

A third point to be made about this seeming reversal of attitudes held for nearly fifty years is that on none of these questions did Reagan receive the support of more than forty percent of our sample, and on the question of unemployment he was backed by only a third. That is, there remains a very sizeable group that is not anchored to either Carter or Reagan on these economic issues. While that must be distressing news to the Carter campaign organization, it is possible that with the aid of labor union leaders they can move these indifferent and undecided voters back toward Mr. Carter. It is also possible that Reagan is succeeding in his effort to disconnect some worker support from Carter.

There is one other small ray of hope for the President in the responses we got from potential voters in this survey. There is some evidence that the public thinks the economy is getting better, and among the likely voters in our sample the evidence is even stronger than it is among the public in general. A month ago, somewhat less than a third of the likely voters we polled thought the economy would get better in the next year; in our latest survey, somewhat more than a third said they think so -- an increase of five points. And when asked about their own families the gain was eight points, from less than one in five to more than one in four.

So, on the issues that voters told us matter most, Reagan is showing impressive strength and Carter is showing considerable weakness.

Who's Where?

The contest itself appears to remain very close. More than a third of the voters told us they have not yet made up their minds which Presidential candidate they'll vote for in November. Although the election is less than six weeks away, 37% of the likely voters said they have not made up their minds -- virtually no change since the last survey five weeks ago.

Among this large group of undecided voters, there is bad news for President Carter. In the last survey, Carter and Ronald Reagan were in a virtual tie among these undecided voters; now, Reagan has a clear margin over Carter. What's worse for Carter, this group contains proportionately more Democrats than does the group which has decided on a Presidential choice. Reagan also led (as of the dates of the poll) among those voters who said they have already made up their minds. Those voters gave Reagan a lead of nine points over Carter.

Among the entire group of likely voters -- both those who have made up their minds and those who say they have not -- Reagan led Carter by nine points, with John Anderson far behind. Those numbers show almost no change at all since the previous NBC News/AP survey in mid-August.

THE DEBATE

The current poll was conducted in the three days immediately following the debate between Reagan and Anderson, and it appears the debate had very little effect on voters. It particularly seems not to have helped Anderson much at all. More than forty percent of the voters still said they had not heard of John Anderson, and by a margin of more than four to one they said they think Anderson has no chance of winning the election.

One reason the debate had relatively little effect may be that a very sizeable number of potential voters didn't watch or listen. Nearly six out of ten of those in our sample said they had not seen the program. Although that may explain part of the lack of impact, however, it's clear that there is more to it. Even among those who did watch, a very high proportion told us that what they saw would have no effect on how they vote for President.

Thus, while Anderson outscored Reagan in our sample on the presentation of the issues, the voters we talked to said, by a decisive margin, that they thought Reagan did a better job of explaining what kind of President he would be. President Carter, who declined to take part, seems to have broken even on the transaction. The debate did nothing to help John Anderson, and presumably that result was a principal goal of the Carter campaign. On the other hand, our sample of likely voters disapproved of Carter's absence by a margin of more than two to one.

(Roy Wetzel)

Information about this survey or any other conducted by NBC News and The Associated Press may be obtained by contacting:

Patricia McGann
NBC News
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020
(212) 664-2593

September National Poll

REAGAN TOO SIMPLISTIC

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Ronald Reagan's answers to our nation's problems may sound good, but these days it takes more than his kind of simple answers to solve problems." (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Agree	50%	89%	89%	70%
Disagree	43%	8%	9%	24%
Not sure	7%	3%	2%	6%

CARTER HAS DONE A POOR JOB

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Jimmy Carter has done such a poor job in his first term as President that he does not deserve to be re-elected." (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Agree	75%	6%	64%	46%
Disagree	20%	91%	34%	49%
Not sure	5%	3%	2%	5%

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTERCARTER OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Jimmy Carter is doing as President...do you think he is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or do you think he is doing a poor job?

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>7/80a</u>	<u>5/80</u>	<u>4/80</u>	<u>3/80</u>	<u>1/80</u>	<u>12/79</u>	<u>10/79</u>	<u>9/79</u>
Excellent	3%	4%	3%	3%	4%	6%	4%	7%	9%	4%	2%
Good	21%	19%	18%	20%	24%	28%	27%	31%	36%	20%	17%
Only fair	47%	43%	43%	45%	42%	38%	42%	44%	41%	50%	49%
Poor	27%	31%	34%	30%	28%	25%	25%	16%	12%	24%	30%
Not sure	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%

CARTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS RATING

What kind of a job do you think Jimmy Carter is doing in handling our foreign affairs...do you think he is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or do you think he is doing a poor job?

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>7/80a</u>	<u>5/80</u>	<u>4/80</u>	<u>3/80</u>	<u>1/80</u>	<u>12/79</u>	<u>10/79</u>	<u>9/79</u>
Excellent	3%	2%	2%	3%	5%	4%	6%	12%	3%	3%
Good	18%	13%	14%	17%	21%	21%	29%	36%	21%	19%
Only fair	37%	36%	40%	37%	36%	37%	37%	33%	43%	42%
Poor	39%	46%	41%	40%	35%	35%	25%	15%	28%	32%
Not sure	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	5%	4%

CARTER ECONOMIC RATING

What kind of a job do you think Jimmy Carter is doing in handling the economy...do you think he is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or do you think he is doing a poor job?

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>7/80a</u>	<u>5/80</u>	<u>4/80</u>	<u>3/80</u>	<u>1/80</u>	<u>12/79</u>	<u>10/79</u>	<u>9/79</u>
Excellent	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Good	14%	12%	11%	13%	14%	12%	15%	17%	11%	9%
Only fair	37%	34%	36%	35%	34%	35%	41%	42%	39%	40%
Poor	46%	50%	49%	46%	47%	48%	39%	35%	44%	47%
Not sure	2%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%	4%	4%	3%

CANDIDATE WHO COULD BEST KEEP U.S. OUT OF WAR

Which candidate--Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter or John Anderson--do you think would do the best job in keeping the United States out of war, or don't you see much difference between the candidates on this? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	32%	1%	5%	16%
Carter	20%	74%	31%	41%
Anderson	3%	2%	29%	7%
No difference	36%	19%	29%	29%
Not sure	9%	4%	6%	7%

CANDIDATE WHO COULD BEST STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD

Which candidate--Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter or John Anderson--do you think would do the best job in strengthening America's position in the world, or don't you see much difference between the candidates on this? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	74%	7%	18%	38%
Carter	3%	61%	9%	25%
Anderson	1%	3%	38%	7%
No difference	16%	23%	27%	23%
Not sure	6%	6%	8%	7%

CANDIDATE WHO COULD BEST NEGOTIATE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS

Which candidate--Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter or John Anderson--do you think would do the best job negotiating with foreign leaders, or don't you see much difference between the candidates on this? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	53%	4%	7%	26%
Carter	11%	75%	22%	35%
Anderson	3%	3%	35%	8%
No difference	24%	14%	28%	23%
Not sure	9%	4%	8%	8%

September National Poll

IRAN

CARTER HANDLING OF SITUATION IN IRAN

Have you heard or read anything about Americans being held hostage in Iran?
(IF YES) Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Carter is
handling this situation? (AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS)

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>7/80</u>	<u>5/80</u>	<u>4/80</u>	<u>3/80</u>	<u>1/80</u>	<u>12/79</u>	<u>11/79</u>
Haven't heard	3%	2%	5%	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%	2%
Approve	32%	33%	31%	35%	42%	47%	56%	69%	66%
Disapprove	55%	54%	54%	53%	46%	40%	38%	21%	22%
Not sure	10%	11%	10%	9%	10%	11%	5%	9%	10%

September National Poll

IMPORTANCE OF CANDIDATES' POSITIONS ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In thinking about your choice for president, are you more concerned about the candidates' positions on the nation's economy and other domestic problems or about America's position abroad and foreign policy in general? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Domestic problems	61%	61%	72%	63%
Foreign policy	26%	26%	20%	24%
Not sure	13%	13%	8%	13%

CANDIDATE WHO COULD BEST SOLVE NATION'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Which candidate--Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter or John Anderson--do you think would do the best job solving the nation's economic problems, or don't you see much difference between the candidates on this? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	80%	7%	11%	40%
Carter	1%	49%	3%	18%
Anderson	3%	4%	52%	10%
No difference	13%	35%	29%	26%
Not sure	3%	5%	5%	6%

CANDIDATE WHO COULD BEST SOLVE NATION'S INFLATION PROBLEMS

Which candidate--Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter or John Anderson--do you think would do the best job solving the nation's inflation problems, or don't you see much difference between the candidates on this? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	79%	6%	12%	39%
Carter	1%	44%	3%	16%
Anderson	1%	5%	54%	10%
No difference	15%	39%	26%	28%
Not sure	4%	6%	5%	7%

CANDIDATE WHO COULD BEST SOLVE NATION'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

Which candidate--Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter or John Anderson--do you think would do the best job solving the nation's unemployment problems, or don't you see much difference between the candidates on this? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	67%	5%	12%	33%
Carter	4%	50%	5%	20%
Anderson	2%	3%	45%	9%
No difference	20%	36%	30%	30%
Not sure	7%	6%	8%	8%

THE ECONOMY

FUTURE OF THE ECONOMY

During the next year, do you think the economy will get better, get worse or stay about the same?

	<u>ALL LIKELY VOTERS</u>		<u>ALL RESPONDENTS</u>	
	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80a</u>
Get better	36%	31%	33%	30%
Get worse	23%	28%	26%	30%
Stay about the same	31%	34%	32%	33%
Not sure	10%	7%	9%	7%

FUTURE FAMILY FINANCES

During the next year, do you think your family will be financially better off than it is today, worse off, or about the same?

	<u>ALL LIKELY VOTERS</u>		<u>ALL RESPONDENTS</u>	
	<u>9/80</u>	<u>7/80a</u>	<u>9/80</u>	<u>7/80a</u>
Get better	27%	19%	25%	20%
Get worse	16%	27%	16%	29%
Stay about the same	53%	50%	55%	46%
Not sure	4%	4%	4%	5%

September National Poll

FINDING JOBS VS. HOLDING DOWN INFLATION

Which do you think is the more important problem facing this country today-
finding jobs for people who are unemployed or holding down inflation?

Among All Likely Voters:

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>7/80a</u>
Finding jobs for the unemployed	26%	27%	32%	30%
Holding down inflation	53%	52%	51%	53%
Both equally important (VOL.)	20%	19%	15%	15%
Not sure	1%	2%	2%	2%

Among All Respondents:

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>8/80a</u>	<u>7/80a</u>
Finding jobs for the unemployed	28%	28%	35%	31%
Holding down inflation	51%	51%	48%	52%
Both equally important (VOL.)	19%	18%	14%	14%
Not sure	2%	3%	3%	3%

September National Poll

DECIDED FOR WHOM TO VOTE IN NOVEMBER

Have you made up your mind for whom you will vote in the presidential election in November or are you not planning to vote?

Among All Likely Voters:

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>8/80a</u>
Made up mind	61%	57%	47%
Haven't made up mind/not sure	37%	40%	51%
Not planning to vote	2%	3%	2%

Among All Likely Voters by Party:

	<u>REPUBLICANS</u>	<u>INDEPENDENTS</u>	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>
Made up mind	68%	55%	59%
Haven't made up mind/not sure	32%	43%	39%
Not planning to vote	-	2%	2%

September National Poll

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT

If the 1980 Presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Ronald Reagan, the Republican; Jimmy Carter, the Democrat; John Anderson, an Independent; Barry Commoner of the Citizens Party or Ed Clark of the Libertarian Party?

Among All Likely Voters:

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>8/80a</u>
Ronald Reagan	42%	39%	47%
Jimmy Carter	33%	32%	22%
John Anderson	13%	13%	15%
Barry Commoner	-	1%	1%
Ed Clark	1%	-	-
Other (VOLUNTEERED)	-	2%	2%
Not sure	11%	13%	13%

	<u>DECIDEDS</u>		<u>UNDECIDEDS</u>	
	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>
Ronald Reagan	48%	50%	32%	24%
Jimmy Carter	39%	37%	25%	26%
John Anderson	11%	8%	17%	18%
Barry Commoner	-	1%	-	1%
Ed Clark	-	-	1%	1%
Other (VOLUNTEERED)	-	1%	1%	2%
Not sure	2%	3%	24%	28%

Among Likely Voters by Sex:

	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Ronald Reagan	45%	39%
Jimmy Carter	31%	36%
John Anderson	13%	13%
Barry Commoner	1%	-
Ed Clark	1%	-
Other (VOLUNTEERED)	-	-
Not sure	9%	12%

September National Poll

JOHN ANDERSON

ANDERSON HAS GOOD CHANCE TO WIN

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "John Anderson has a good chance to win the Presidency as an Independent candidate."

Among All Likely Voters:

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>8/80b</u>	<u>8/80a</u>
Agree	18%	18%	19%
Disagree	77%	76%	74%
Not sure	5%	6%	7%

HARD TO KNOW WHAT ANDERSON STANDS FOR

Have you heard or read enough about John Anderson to have an opinion about him? (IF YES) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It's hard to know what John Anderson really stands for because what he says now seems so different from what he said and did in Congress for years." (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Haven't heard of Anderson	42%	51%	16%	43%
Agree	30%	24%	23%	26%
Disagree	9%	10%	40%	13%
Not sure	19%	15%	21%	18%

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

HEARD DEBATE

Did you watch or hear the debate Sunday night between presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and John Anderson? (IF YES) Do you think this debate will be a major factor in helping you decide for whom to vote in November? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Didn't watch or hear debate	50%	67%	56%	58%
No, debate not a deciding factor	36%	24%	27%	30%
Yes, debate a deciding factor	12%	7%	15%	10%
Not sure debate a deciding factor	2%	2%	2%	2%

CANDIDATE WHO DID BEST OVERALL IN DEBATE

In general, which candidate do you think did the better job in the debate-- Ronald Reagan or John Anderson? (AMONG LIKELY VOTERS WHO WATCHED OR HEARD DEBATE)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	52%	20%	8%	35%
Anderson	19%	54%	73%	38%
Both did equally well/ no difference (VOLUNTEERED)	27%	18%	18%	23%
Not sure	2%	8%	1%	4%

September National Poll

CANDIDATE WHO BEST PRESENTED POSITION ON ISSUES

In specific, which candidate do you think did a better job in the debate of presenting his position on issues? (AMONG LIKELY VOTERS WHO WATCHED OR HEARD DEBATE)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	44%	17%	7%	30%
Anderson	30%	61%	75%	45%
Both did equally well/ no difference (VOLUNTEERED)	23%	16%	13%	20%
Not sure	3%	6%	5%	5%

CANDIDATE WHO BEST EXPLAINED WHAT KIND OF PRESIDENT HE WOULD BE

In specific, which candidate do you think did a better job in the debate of explaining what kind of president he would be? (AMONG LIKELY VOTERS WHO WATCHED OR HEARD DEBATE)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Reagan	62%	26%	22%	44%
Anderson	12%	46%	54%	28%
Both did equally well/ no difference (VOLUNTEERED)	22%	14%	13%	19%
Not sure	4%	14%	11%	9%

September National Poll

EFFECT OF DEBATE ON LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR REAGAN

Did what you see or hear in the debate make you more likely to vote for Ronald Reagan in November, less likely to vote for Reagan, or didn't the debate make any difference? (AMONG LIKELY VOTERS WHO WATCHED OR HEARD DEBATE)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
More likely to vote for Reagan	35%	8%	5%	21%
Less likely to vote for Reagan	6%	28%	40%	18%
No difference	58%	62%	55%	59%
Not sure	1%	2%	-	2%

EFFECT OF DEBATE ON LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR ANDERSON

Did what you see or hear in the debate make you more likely to vote for John Anderson in November, less likely to vote for Anderson, or didn't the debate make any difference? (AMONG LIKELY VOTERS WHO WATCHED OR HEARD DEBATE)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
More likely to vote for Anderson	14%	24%	49%	22%
Less likely to vote for Anderson	22%	11%	5%	16%
No difference	63%	63%	44%	60%
Not sure	1%	2%	2%	2%

September National Poll

CARTER'S REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN DEBATE

Have you heard or read about Jimmy Carter's decision not to participate in the first presidential debate this fall? (IF YES) Do you approve or disapprove of Carter's refusal to participate in the first debate, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, which included John Anderson? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Haven't heard of Carter's refusal	11%	17%	9%	14%
Approve of Carter's refusal	10%	48%	9%	24%
Disapprove of Carter's refusal	74%	26%	79%	55%
Not sure	5%	9%	3%	7%

EFFECT OF CARTER'S REFUSAL ON LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR HIM

Does Carter's refusal to participate in the debate make you more likely to vote for Carter in November, less likely to vote for Carter, or doesn't it make any difference? (AMONG LIKELY VOTERS WHO HAVE HEARD OR READ ABOUT CARTER'S REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN DEBATE)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
More likely to vote for Carter	2%	11%	2%	5%
Less likely to vote for Carter	42%	6%	56%	30%
No difference	55%	82%	39%	63%
Not sure	1%	1%	3%	2%

ABORTION

ABORTION

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The decision to have an abortion should be left to the woman and her physician." (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Agree	64%	77%	83%	72%
Disagree	30%	19%	16%	24%
Not sure	6%	4%	1%	4%

Among Likely Voters by Sex:

	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Agree	73%	72%
Disagree	23%	23%
Not sure	4%	5%

September National Poll

CANDIDATES' POSITIONS ON ABORTION

In thinking about your presidential vote choice, how important to you are the candidates' stands on abortion...very important, somewhat important, or not at all important? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Very important	28%	33%	34%	30%
Somewhat important	39%	35%	42%	38%
Not at all important	31%	29%	23%	29%
Not sure	2%	3%	1%	3%

	<u>FAVOR ABORTION</u>	<u>OPPOSE ABORTION</u>
	(72%)	(24%)
Very important	23%	53%
Somewhat important	41%	31%
Not at all important	34%	14%
Not sure	2%	2%

	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Very important	27%	35%
Somewhat important	38%	37%
Not at all important	32%	26%
Not sure	3%	2%

September National Poll

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

SUPPORT FOR ERA

Have you heard or read enough about the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, often referred to as the ERA, to have an opinion? (IF YES) Do you favor or oppose the ERA? (AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
Haven't heard	18%	20%	11%	18%
Favor ERA	28%	46%	66%	41%
Oppose ERA	41%	21%	15%	28%
Not sure	13%	13%	8%	13%

Among Likely Voters by Sex:

	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Haven't heard	18%	19%
Favor ERA	43%	38%
Oppose ERA	27%	29%
Not sure	12%	14%

September National Poll

CANDIDATES' POSITIONS ON ERA

Ronald Reagan opposes adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment while Jimmy Carter and John Anderson favor adoption of the ERA. Do these positions on the ERA make you more likely to vote for Reagan, less likely to vote for Reagan or won't the candidates' positions on the ERA make a difference in your vote for President?
(AMONG ALL LIKELY VOTERS)

	<u>REAGAN SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>CARTER SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ANDERSON SUPPORTERS</u>	<u>ALL</u>
More likely	29%	6%	3%	16%
Less likely	9%	38%	48%	26%
No difference	59%	51%	46%	54%
Not sure	3%	5%	3%	4%

	<u>FAVOR ERA</u> (41%)	<u>OPPOSE ERA</u> (28%)
More likely	4%	40%
Less likely	48%	4%
No difference	44%	54%
Not sure	4%	2%

	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
More likely	13%	19%
Less likely	24%	27%
No difference	59%	49%
Not sure	4%	5%

September National Poll

CONGRESS

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

If the election were being held today and you had to decide right now, would you vote for the Republican or the Democratic candidate for Congress?

Among All Likely Voters:

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>7/80a</u>
Republican candidate	39%	44%
Democratic candidate	42%	40%
Other (VOLUNTEERED)	2%	2%
Not sure	17%	14%

Among Likely Voters by Region, September National Poll:

	<u>EAST</u>	<u>MIDWEST</u>	<u>SOUTH</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Republican candidate	32%	42%	39%	43%
Democratic candidate	44%	40%	45%	37%
Other (VOLUNTEERED)	3%	3%	1%	3%
Not sure	21%	15%	15%	17%

NBC News and The Associated Press conducted the September National poll by telephone on September 22, 23 and 24, 1980, across the country. 400 points were selected proportionate to the population of each subregion, and, within subregion, the size of place. Individuals were selected in accordance with a probability sample design that gives all telephone numbers (both listed and unlisted) a properly proportionate chance to be included. One adult 18 years or over from each household was included, selected by a systematic procedure to provide a balance of respondents by sex.

The estimated average sample tolerance, at the 95% confidence level, of data from this poll, is plus or minus 3 percentage points for the entire sample of 2,393 adults. The actual numbers and the estimated average sample tolerances for subgroups are as follows:

<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Sample Error</u>
<u>All Likely Voters:</u>	1,512	± 4
Reagan Supporters	629	+ 5
Carter Supporters	499	+ 6
Anderson Supporters	196	+ 9
Republicans	523	+ 6
Independents	183	+ 9
Democrats	727	+ 5
Men	800	+ 5
Women	712	+ 5
East	372	+ 7
Midwest	402	+ 6
South	467	+ 6
West	271	+ 8

Note: 8/80b refers to the national poll conducted August 15-16, 1980
8/80a refers to the national poll conducted August 5-7, 1980
7/80a refers to the national poll conducted July 8-9, 1980

#60

NEW YORK STATE PRIMARY POLL 29 September 1980

Heavy support from Jewish voters helped Representative Elizabeth Holtzman defeat her three opponents in the Democratic fight for the U.S. Senate nomination. That was among the principal findings in a survey of nearly 1700 voters as they left polling places all over the state on primary election day. The survey was conducted by NBC News and The Associated Press at 59 locations in the state.

Representative Holtzman piled up more than a two-to-one margin among the large bloc of Jewish voters. Although she received only a plurality of the total vote, her support from Jews, liberals and upper-income voters was sufficient to help her defeat three opponents. Her weak support in upstate New York, where she lost to consumer advocate Bess Myerson, was offset by her stronger vote in New York City and its suburbs.

While Holtzman's major opponent, Myerson, made defense spending a significant issue in her campaign, voters seemed more persuaded by Holtzman's position on defense than by Myerson's. Holtzman won 66% of the votes of those who want defense spending cut, but she also got the votes of 57% of those who favor current levels of defense appropriations. Though Myerson did better than Holtzman among those who favor increased defense outlays, the Myerson margin among this group was not large. And interestingly enough, approximately one-fifth of the voters for both Holtzman and Myerson cited defense spending as one of the major issues leading to candidate support.

John Lindsay, the third place candidate in the Senate race, won the votes of only two groups -- blacks and Hispanics. John Santucci, who trailed with 12% of the vote, received a plurality among no group of voters, although his strongest showing was among Catholics and conservatives.

New York Democratic primary voters were no more favorably disposed to President Carter in early September than they were in late March at the time of the New York Presidential primaries. In March, the President received a 26% excellent/good rating from New York Democratic primary voters; on September 9, his favorable rating was virtually identical at 27%. And a three-way trial heat for the November presidential contest showed only 40% of those Democrats voting in the senatorial primary favoring the re-election of Jimmy Carter.

Governor Hugh Carey's favorable rating was about the same as President Carter's -- 28%. However, Mayor Ed Koch, Republican Senator Jacob Javits and Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan all received far higher ratings. Mayor Koch received a 56% excellent/good rating from Democratic primary voters, Senator Moynihan received a 62% favorable rating and Senator Javits was rated excellent/good by 58% of the Democrats, although he lost the GOP primary.

Information about this survey or any other conducted by NBC News and The Associated Press may be obtained by contacting:

Patricia McGann
NBC News
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020
(212) 664-2593

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

RELIGION

In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant	19%
Catholic	45%
Jewish	31%
Other	3%
None	2%

	<u>PROTESTANT</u>	<u>CATHOLIC</u>	<u>JEWISH</u>
Voted for:			
Elizabeth Holtzman	43%	29%	63%
John V. Lindsay	23%	16%	5%
Bess Myerson	27%	31%	30%
John Santucci	6%	22%	2%
Didn't vote/not sure	1%	2%	-

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

As of today in politics, do you consider yourself...

Liberal	35%
Moderate	35%
Conservative	19%
Haven't thought much about it	8%
Not sure	3%

	<u>LIBERAL</u>	<u>MODERATE</u>	<u>CONSERVATIVE</u>
Voted for:			
Elizabeth Holtzman	60%	41%	31%
John V. Lindsay	14%	13%	12%
Bess Myerson	21%	33%	34%
John Santucci	4%	12%	21%
Didn't vote/not sure	1%	1%	2%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

INCOME

If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family living at home last year, would the total be...

-\$8,000	10%
\$8,000-\$14,999	18%
\$15,000-\$24,999	26%
\$25,000-\$34,999	20%
\$35,000+	22%
Not sure	4%

	<u>-\$8,000</u>	<u>\$8,000-\$14,999</u>	<u>\$15,000-\$24,999</u>	<u>\$25,000-\$34,999</u>	<u>\$35,000+</u>
Voted for:					
Elizabeth Holtzman	37%	34%	40%	49%	55%
John V. Lindsay	18%	15%	13%	15%	11%
Bess Myerson	28%	35%	33%	25%	27%
John Santucci	14%	14%	13%	11%	7%
Didn't vote/not sure	3%	2%	1%	-	-

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

RACE

Are you Black, White, Hispanic, Oriental or something else?

Black	9%
White	83%
Hispanic	6%
Oriental	-
Something else	2%

	<u>BLACK</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>HISPANIC</u>
Voted for:			
Elizabeth Holtzman	32%	46%	19%
John V. Lindsay	40%	9%	49%
Bess Myerson	22%	31%	22%
John Santucci	5%	13%	7%
Didn't vote/not sure	1%	1%	3%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

DEFENSE BUDGET

Do you think the federal government's defense budget for next year should be...

Increased	45%
Decreased	21%
Kept the same as it is now	17%
Not sure	17%

	<u>INCREASED</u>	<u>DECREASED</u>	<u>KEPT THE SAME</u>
Voted for:			
Elizabeth Holtzman	28%	66%	57%
John V. Lindsay	15%	11%	8%
Bess Myerson	39%	14%	23%
John Santucci	17%	8%	11%
Didn't vote/not sure	1%	1%	1%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

ISSUES WHICH HELPED DECIDED VOTE

Which one or two of the following issues were most important in helping you decide for whom you would vote in the New York Democratic senatorial primary election? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ACCEPTED. RESULTS DO NOT EQUAL 100%)

Defense spending	18%
Inflation	33%
Unemployment	24%
Relations with Israel	10%
General government spending	17%
New York's share of federal funding	23%
Tax cuts	10%

	<u>HOLTZMAN</u>	<u>LINDSAY</u>	<u>MYERSON</u>	<u>SANTUCCI</u>
Reasons for vote:				
Defense spending	20%	9%	21%	16%
Inflation	35%	35%	30%	34%
Unemployment	21%	37%	22%	20%
Relations with Israel	11%	4%	13%	5%
Government spending	24%	10%	14%	13%
Federal funding	24%	20%	26%	23%
Tax cuts	5%	14%	10%	15%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CANDIDATES

HOLTZMAN EFFECTIVE

Do you think Elizabeth Holtzman is an effective member of the U.S. House of Representatives, or don't you think so?

Yes, Holtzman is effective	60%
No, Holtzman is not effective	14%
Not sure	26%

HOLTZMAN TOO LIBERAL

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Elizabeth Holtzman is too liberal."

Agree	22%
Disagree	53%
Not sure	25%

MYERSON HAS NO REAL EXPERIENCE

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Bess Myerson has no real experience in government."

Agree	39%
Disagree	46%
Not sure	15%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS WHICH HELPED DECIDE VOTE

Which one or two of the following personal characteristics of the candidates helped you decide for whom you would vote in the New York Democratic senatorial primary election? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ACCEPTED. RESULTS DO NOT EQUAL 100%.)

Honesty and integrity	42%
Intelligence	28%
Experience in Washington	20%
Experience in business	8%
Ability to get things done	24%
Cares about people like me	17%

	<u>HOLTZMAN</u>	<u>LINDSAY</u>	<u>MYERSON</u>	<u>SANTUCCI</u>
Reasons for vote:				
Honesty and integrity	49%	31%	35%	49%
Intelligence	37%	20%	29%	8%
Experience in Washington	34%	25%	5%	3%
Experience in business	3%	10%	17%	3%
Ability to get things done	18%	18%	36%	21%
Cares about people like me	9%	26%	16%	38%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Jimmy Carter is doing as President...

	<u>N.Y. DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL PRIMARY</u>	<u>N.Y. DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY</u>
An excellent job	7%	6%
A good job	20%	20%
Only a fair job	36%	29%
A poor job	35%	42%
Not sure	2%	3%

HANDLING ARAB-ISRAELI SITUATION

What kind of a job do you think Jimmy Carter has done in handling the Arab-Israeli situation...

An excellent job	11%
A good job	32%
Only a fair job	30%
A poor job	21%
Not sure	6%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT

If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for...

Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate	16%
Jimmy Carter, the Democratic candidate	40%
John Anderson, an Independent candidate	20%
Someone else	8%
Don't intend to vote in November	1%
Not sure	15%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

JAVITS OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Jacob Javits is doing as Senator...

An excellent job	20%
A good job	38%
Only a fair job	26%
A poor job	12%
Not sure	4%

MOYNIHAN OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Daniel Patrick Moynihan is doing as Senator...

An excellent job	21%
A good job	41%
Only a fair job	20%
A poor job	8%
Not sure	10%

CAREY OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Hugh Carey is doing as Governor of New York...

An excellent job	3%
A good job	25%
Only a fair job	39%
A poor job	29%
Not sure	4%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

JAVITS OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Jacob Javits is doing as Senator...

An excellent job	20%
A good job	38%
Only a fair job	26%
A poor job	12%
Not sure	4%

	<u>EXCELLENT</u>	<u>GOOD</u>	<u>FAIR</u>	<u>POOR</u>
Voted for:				
Elizabeth Holtzman	51%	49%	41%	26%
John V. Lindsay	13%	14%	14%	15%
Bess Myerson	29%	26%	31%	33%
John Santucci	6%	10%	13%	25%
Didn't vote/not sure	1%	1%	1%	1%

New York Democratic Senatorial Primary

MAYOR ED KOCH

OVERALL JOB RATING

What kind of a job do you think Ed Koch is doing as Mayor of New York City...

An excellent job	20%
A good job	36%
Only a fair job	20%
A poor job	15%
Not sure	9%

KOCH RUN FOR RE-ELECTION

Would you like to see Ed Koch run for re-election as Mayor of New York City...

Yes	51%
No	29%
Not sure	20%

The New York State Democratic Senatorial Primary Street Poll was conducted on election day, September 9, 1980, at 59 randomly selected precincts in New York. Sample precincts were drawn in accordance with a probability sample design that gives all voters a properly proportionate chance to be included.

Voters were approached only after they cast their ballots and according to a systematic selection procedure throughout the entire day. A total of 1,664 Democratic primary voters were interviewed. The questionnaire was self-administered.

The estimated average sample tolerance of data for the New York State Democratic Senatorial Primary Street Poll is plus or minus 3 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. That is, the chances are about 19 out of 20 that if the whole voting population of the state had been surveyed with the same questionnaire, the results of the complete census would not be found to deviate from the poll findings by more than 3 percentage points.

#

FROM: HAL BRUNO

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN REPORT

Sept. 12, 1980

Amelia
Bent

Opinion polls may show President Carter closing the gap on Ronald Reagan in terms of nation-wide popular vote, but he still lags far behind in electoral votes and remains in grave danger of losing the election.

At this time, Reagan is reported ahead in 31 states with 325 electoral votes. Carter is leading in only 10 states (80 votes), while the race is seen as "even" in 10 states (133 votes). A total of 270 is needed to win.

It will take a combination of smart presidential politics, Reagan blunders and Jimmy Carter luck to scare enough Democrats and pull it out. Despite reports of John Anderson's decline, Carter is still being pecked to death by Anderson in the eastern and midwestern industrial states that are supposed to deliver huge majorities for the Democratic candidate. Meanwhile, Reagan is hurting him badly in the not-so-solid south.

The key to Carter's survival lies in eight northern states, plus Florida and/or Texas. Several other southern states could become crucial in a close election.

The "Big 8" are Illinois, Michigan, Missouri and Ohio in the midwest; Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania in the east. They have a combined total of 183 electoral votes. Reagan is leading in Michigan, Ohio and possibly New York, while the rest are rated "even" at this point. Half were won by Carter in 1976, but all are places where Anderson is averaging 10%-15% and as high as 20% in New Jersey and New York. Anderson does not appear able to do much better, but he's killing Carter.

If a Democrat cannot win most of these big states, then he must make up for it with other combinations in the south and far west. Unfortunately for Carter, those alternatives do not seem available to him.

While Anderson's eating into his liberal support in the north, Reagan is eroding his conservative southern base. Reagan now leads in Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia (total of 70 votes). Virginia and Oklahoma both went for Ford in '76 and it's doubtful Carter can save the other three. Worse yet, four southern states won by Carter in '76 -- Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana and West Virginia (70 votes) -- are reported "even" .. today. Only Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee and South Carolina are holding firm for Carter in the south. That's a total of 140 endangered southern electoral votes.

= more =

If he fails to get an almost solid south behind him, Carter then must win the "Big 8", plus Florida or Texas and hang on to a few scattered remnants of his 1976 victory. Reagan at this time has a stranglehold on the agricultural midwest and western states Ford won in '76.

At this point, the elements of Carter's '76 victory have not been pulled together and the state-by-state outlook appears grim. Of the 24 states Carter carried to narrowly win with 297 electoral votes, he currently is leading only in the five southern states plus the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Maryland and Minnesota. (He also is ahead in Maine, which Ford took four years ago.)

Reagan, however, now leads in seven states Carter won in '76 and eight others that Carter carried are rated as "even." That's a threatened loss of 131 electoral votes, 90 in jeopardy and only 76 staying loyal.

Following is a summary of the 24 states Carter won in 1976 and where they are today:

<u>Reagan ahead (131)</u>	<u>Even (90)</u>	<u>Carter ahead (76)</u>
Florida	Alabama	Arkansas
Mississippi	Delaware	District of Columbia
New York	Kentucky	Georgia
Ohio	Louisiana	Hawaii
Rhode Island	Massachusetts	Maryland
Texas	Missouri	Minnesota
Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	North Carolina
	West Virginia	South Carolina
		Tennessee

In contrast, Reagan is leading in 24 of the 27 states Ford won in 1976, while only two -- Illinois and New Jersey -- are called "even" and only Maine is being lost to Carter. Many are in the west and have comparatively few electoral votes, but it includes California and adds up to 193. (Ford got a total of 240.)

That is the base Reagan started from and it looks solid, especially when compared to what's happening in Carter's southern base and the Democratic homeland in the northeast.

Nothing is locked in cement and there still are eight weeks to go. There's bound to be some Reagan deterioration and Carter can still pull it out. But he must break free of the Anderson drag in the north and cut off Reagan's invasion of the south. He needs to get more Democrats scared stiff of Reagan, which hasn't happened -- yet.

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(Attached are state-by-state and regional charts of the presidential race. It's a consensus of information put together from all available sources in the states and the campaigns. It's all subject to drastic change as more information comes in.)

	<u>1976</u>	<u>current</u> <u>status</u>	<u>Anderson</u> <u>percentage</u>	<u>R</u> <u>≤</u> <u>A</u>
ALA 9	C	<u>even</u>	5-7%	right wing very strong this year
AKA 3		REAGAN	5%	
ARIZ 6		REAG	5%	
ARK 6	C	Carter	5-10%	Carter not secure here 37-43-6
CAL 45		REAGAN	17%	44-30-7
COL 7		REAGAN	15%	40-33-10
CONN 8		Reagan	13 - 15%	35-30-22
DEL 3	C	<u>even</u>	?	may be tilting to Reagan
D.C. 3	C	CARTER	12%	20-45-15
FLA. 17	C	Reagan	1 (?)	Carter can save it 46-34-10
GA 12	C	CARTER	8%	35-45-4
HAW 4	C	Carter	20	One of Anderson's best 38-36-18
IDA 4		REAGAN	5	55-25-8
ILL 26		<u>even</u>	5 - 10%	major battleground, could go either way; best cross-section
IND 13		REAGAN	5 - 12%	39-33-15
IOWA 8		Reagan	5 - 15%	39-35-13
KAN 7		REAGAN	5 - 10%	42-30-10
KY 9	C	<u>even</u>	8 - 10%	Carter showing weakness 36-38-12
LA 10	C	<u>even</u>	3 - 6%	up for grabs, very close 39-37-2
MAI 4		Carter	10 - 15%	35-38-6
MD 10	C	Carter	18%	Anderson strong in D.C. suburbs
MASS 14	C	<u>even</u>	25%	Anderson hurting Carter 20-30-30
MICH 21		Reagan	5 (?)	could get much closer 36-34-15
MINN 10	C	Carter	15%	Carter-Mondale should be stronger 35-38-17
MISS 7	C	Reagan	5%	black turnout could save Carter 36-38-8
MO 12	C	<u>even</u>	10 (?)	Carter weak with farmers 38-35-12
MONT 4		Reagan	10	
NEB 5		REAGAN	10 - 15%	

	<u>1976</u>	<u>Current status</u>	<u>estimated Anderson percentage</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>A</u>
NEV 3		REAGAN	10-15%			
N.H. 4		REAGAN	8-10			
N.J. 17		<u>even</u>	20	Anderson strong in battleground state Carter lost in '76		
N.M. 4		Reagan	7-14	38 - 32 - 18		
N.Y. 41	C	Reagan	20	36 - 38 - 16 Dem leaders say Reagan ahead because of Anderson pull; but can still save it for Carter		
N.C. 13	C	Carter	5			
N.D. 3		REAGAN	10-13			
OHIO 25	C	Reagan	10 (?)	battleground Carter must save		
OKLA 8		Reagan	5	38 - 33 - 13 48 - 30 - 6		
ORE 6		Reagan	10-13	Carter would have chance without Anderson in this state		
PENN 27	C	<u>even</u>	15 (?)	could go either way, crucial state		
R.I. 4	C	Reagan	15-20	35 - 33 - 15		
S.C. 8	C	Carter	(?)	another where Anderson ruins Carter in state he won in '76		
S.D. 4		REAGAN	5-12	40 - 40 - 4		
TENN 10	C	Carter	5-13	Carter not as strong as should be		
TEX 26	C	Reagan	5 (?)	42 - 38 - 10 biggest blow to Carter's southern base; Reagan-Bush look strong		
UTAH 4		REAGAN	8			
VT 3		REAGAN	30	Anderson's best state		
VA 12		Reagan	5			
WASH 9		Reagan	5	40 - 37 - 20		
W.VA. 6	C	<u>even</u>	10 (?)	Carter has trouble in what should be strong Democratic state		
WIS 11	C	REAGAN	10-15	33 - 38 - 8		
WYO 3		REAGAN	3-5	Anderson-Lucey and Reagan strengthen Wis. difficult this time		

125 = REAGAN STRONG
200 = Reagan ahead
325 =

25 = CARTER STRONG
55 = Carter ahead
80

133 = even

September 12, 1980

Strong
Reagan

Reagan
Ahead

Even

Carter
Ahead

Strong
Carter

EAST - 138

N.H. 4
Vt. 3

Conn. 8
N.Y. 41 (C)
R.I. 4 (C)

Del. 3 (C)
Mass. 14 (C)
N.J. 17
Penn. 27 (C)

Mai. 4

D.C. 3 (C)
Md. 10 (C)

SOUTH - 153

Fla. 17 (C)
Miss. 7 (C)
Okla. 8
Tex. 26 (C)
Va. 12

Ala. 9 (C)
Ky. 9 (C)
La. 10 (C)
W.Va. 6 (C)

Ark. 6 (C)
N.C. 13 (C)
Tenn. 10 (C)
S.C. 8 (C)

Ga. 12 (C)

MIDWEST - 145

Ind. 13
Kan. 7
Neb. 5
N.D. 3
S.D. 4
Wis. 11 (C)

Iowa 8
Mich 21
Ohio 25 (C)

Ill. 26
Mo. 12 (C)

Minn. 10 (C)

WEST - 102

Aka. 3
Ariz. 6
Cal. 45
Col. 7
Ida. 4
Nev. 3
Utah 4
Wyo. 3

Mont. 4
N.M. 4
Ore. 8
Wash. 9

Haw. 4 (C)

125 + 200

325

REAGAN

133

133

even

55 + 25

80

CARTER

538 total
270 to be elected

(C) = state went for Carter in 1976

TO: POLITICAL LIST

FROM: HAL BRUNO

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN REPORT #2

Sept. 25, 1980

Ronald Reagan continues to lead President Carter in electoral votes, but Carter has made a slight gain in the past two weeks and several states where Reagan had been ahead now appear to be even.

According to an ABC News analysis, Reagan is leading in 27 states worth 255 electoral votes; Carter is ahead in 10 with 82 votes, while 14 states with 201 votes are rated even at this time. (270 needed for election.)

Two weeks ago, Reagan was ahead in 30 states (284 votes), Carter in 10 (80 votes) and 11 (174 votes) were even.

Carter's problem continues to be John Anderson's appeal to liberals in the north and Reagan's conservative appeal in the south. While some political sources report that Anderson is losing support, he still has enough to deprive Carter of the midwestern and northeast industrial states a Democrat must carry to win the presidency. Carter's danger is increased by the threatened loss of several key southern states to Reagan.

Anderson is doing the most damage in Massachusetts, Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania -- all states Carter won in 1976. He also is hurting him badly in Illinois, Michigan and New Jersey, which Carter lost to Ford but may have to win this year to make up for possible losses in the south.

At this time, there does not appear to be a state that Anderson can win for himself. Despite his appearance in the Baltimore debate, political sources say he did not gain much support and some insist that it's declining. They estimate the Anderson strength at 20% to 25% in Massachusetts, 15% to 20% in New York and New Jersey, about 15% in the rest of the east and roughly 10% in the midwest.

According to a Democratic pollster, a small part of the Anderson decline is moderate Republicans switching to Reagan. But the major shift is independents and Democrats going from Anderson to Carter or "undecided" or "won't vote." Democrats are hopeful that "undecided" is a way-station on the road back to Carter.

As a result, Carter now leads in some New York polls -- though it's still rated a "toss up" state -- while Connecticut and Rhode Island have changed from Reagan ahead to even. Maine is the only state that moved from Carter ahead to even. Summing up the east: New Hampshire and Vermont (7 votes total) are for Reagan, Maryland and the District of Columbia (13) for Carter, while the rest (118) are rated even.

= more =

In the south, Florida has moved from Reagan ahead to even and Carter has taken the lead in West Virginia, which had been considered even. Reagan continues to lead in Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia (53 votes); Carter is ahead in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and West Virginia (55); while Alabama, Florida, Kentucky and Louisiana (45) are even.

Many of these southern states are reported to be shaky for both candidates. Carter's lead in Tennessee is slim and Mississippi is uncertain for Reagan. Carter is reported to have gained strength in all four of the states that are now rated even and all four could go either way.

In the midwest, Reagan has 97 electoral votes in the plains states, Michigan and Ohio. However, his Michigan lead is not as strong as it was two weeks ago and Carter may be close to pulling even there. Illinois and Missouri (38 total), are still toss-ups and shape up as absolutely crucial battlegrounds that will stay close all the way to November 4. Minnesota (10) is the only midwestern state where Carter is ahead.

With the exception of Hawaii (4), where Carter leads, all of the west's 98 electoral votes are with Reagan. Carter is reported to have picked up some support in California and might have a chance at taking Oregon and/or Washington if it were not for a 10% to 15% Anderson factor in those states.

While Reagan is still far ahead in electoral votes, the outlook for Carter has improved because of the number of states that are now even. Only four of the states that Carter carried in 1976 now show Reagan leading and 11 of the 1976 Carter states (worth 146 electoral votes) are now seen as even.

Following is a summary of the 24 states Carter won four years ago and where they stand today:

<u>Reagan ahead (69)</u>	<u>Even (146)</u>	<u>Carter ahead (82)</u>
Mississippi	Alabama	Arkansas
Ohio	Delaware	District of Columbia
Texas	Florida	Georgia
Wisconsin	Kentucky	Hawaii
	Louisiana	Maryland
	Massachusetts	Minnesota
	Missouri	North Carolina
	Pennsylvania	South Carolina
	Rhode Island	Tennessee
	New York	West Virginia

Attached are state-by-state and regional charts of the presidential race at this time. It is a consensus of information from all available sources in the states and the campaigns and subject to day-to-day change.

more

	<u>1976</u>	<u>Current status</u>	<u>estimated Anderson percent</u>	
ALA 9	C	<u>even</u>	5%	Carter improving, could be ahead
AKA 3		REAGAN	5	
ARIZ 6		REAGAN		
ARK 6	C	Carter	?	
CAL 45		Reagan	15	some Carter gain, making effort
COL 7		REAGAN	15+	
CONN 8		<u>even</u>	15	Reagan was ahead two weeks ago
DEL 3	C	<u>even</u>	?	
D.C. 3	C	CARTER	10-15	
FLA 17	C	<u>even</u>	5-10	Reagan was ahead, very close
GA 12	C	CARTER	5	
HAW 4	C	Carter	20?	
IDA 4		REAGAN	5	
ILL 26		<u>even</u>	10-15	some polls put Carter slightly ahead; but both camps say even
IND 13		REAGAN	10	
IOWA 8		Reagan	10	
KAN 7		REAGAN	5-10	
KY 9	C	<u>even</u>	5-10	Carter people think they're ahead
LA 10	C	<u>even</u>	5	
MAI 4		<u>even</u>	10-15	Carter was ahead but slipped
MD 10	C	Carter	15+	
MASS 14	C	<u>even</u>	25	everyone thinks will go Carter
MICH 21		Reagan	10	Carter picking up, almost even
MINN 10	C	Carter	15	should be strong with Mondale
MISS 7	C	Reagan	5	getting closer, almost even
MO 12	C	<u>even</u>	10?	

<u>1976</u>	<u>status</u>	<u>est. pct.</u>	
MONT 4	Reagan	10	
NEB 5	REAGAN	10	
NEV 3	REAGAN	10	
N.H. 4	REAGAN	10	
N.J. 17	<u>even</u>	20	
N.M. 4	Reagan	10	
N.Y. 41 C	<u>even</u>	15-20	some polls put Carter ahead
N.C. 13 C	Carter	10?	
N.D. 3	REAGAN	10-15	
OHIO 25 C	Reagan	10+	No signs of Reagan slipping - yet
OKLA 8	REAGAN	5-10	Reagan has gotten stronger
ORE 6	Reagan	15+	Anderson hurting Carter here
PA 27 C	<u>even</u>	15?	must win for Carter
R.I. 4 C	<u>even</u>	15-20	Reagan was ahead two weeks ago
S.C. 8 C	Carter	5?	
S.D. 4	REAGAN	10	
TENN 10 C	Carter	10	Reagan gaining, almost even
TEX 26 C	Reagan	5+	getting closer, Reagan still ahead
UTAH 4	REAGAN	5-10	
VT 3	REAGAN	20+	May be Anderson's best state
VA 12	Reagan	5-10	
WASH 9	Reagan	?	
W.VA. 6 C	Carter	?	was even, Carter now ahead
WIS 11 C	REAGAN	15+	Anderson-Lucey add to Reagan lead
WYO 3	REAGAN	5	

88 = REAGAN STRONG
 167 = Reagan ahead
 255 = REAGAN total

67 = CARTER STRONG
 15 = Carter ahead
 82 = CARTER total

201 = Even

538 total

270 for election

REGIONAL CHART -- PRESIDENTIAL RACE

September 12, 1980

<u>Strong Reagan</u>	<u>Reagan Ahead</u>	<u>Even</u>	<u>Carter Ahead</u>	<u>Strong Carter</u>
<u>EAST - 138</u>				
N. H. 4 Vt. 3		Conn. 8 Del. 3 (C) Mai. 4 Mass. 14 (C) N.J. 17 N.Y. 41(C) Pa. 27 (C) R.I. 4 (C)	Md. 10(C)	D.C. 3 (C)
<u>SOUTH - 153</u>				
Okla. 8	Miss. 7 (C) Tex. 26 (C) Va. 12	Ala. 9 (C) Fla. 17 (C) Ky. 9 (C) La. 10 (C)	Ark. 6 (C) N.C. 13 (C) S.C. 8 (C) Tenn. 10 (C) W.Va. 6 (C)	Ga. 12 (C)
<u>MIDWEST - 145</u>				
Ind. 13 Kan. 7 Neb. 5 N.D. 3 S.D. 4 Wis. 11(C)	Iowa 8 Mich. 21 Ohio 25 (C)	Ill. 26 Mo. 12 (C)	Minn. 10 (C)	
<u>WEST - 102</u>				
Aka. 3 Ariz. 6 Col. 7 Ida. 4 Nev. 3 Utah 4 Wyo 3	Cal. 45 Mont. 4 N.Mex. 4 Ore. 6 Wash. 9		Haw. 4 (C)	
88	167	201	67	15
TOTALS:	REAGAN 255	even 201	CARTER 82	

538 total
270 to be elected

(C) = state went for Carter in 1976

Reagan Bush Committee

memorandum

October 7, 1980

TO: Paul Laxalt
Bill Casey
Bill Timmons ✓
Ed Meese
Lyn Nofziger
Dick Wirthlin
Jim Baker
Clif White
Drew Lewis
Andy Carter
Elizabeth Dole
Max Hugel
Jerry Carmen
Lorelei Kinder

FROM: Buz Lukens

For your information, the attached is a copy
of the ABC News—Harris Survey.

THE ABC NEWS - HARRIS SURVEY

For Release:

Thurs 10/2 after 3PM

Not before

By Louis Harris

The issues in this election are beginning to cut incisively. Each of the three candidates has issues working for him, and it is entirely likely that voters will be choosing as much on the basis of these issues as on the candidates' personalities.

Working for Ronald Reagan are essentially two key issues, according to this latest ABC News - Harris Survey of 1,060 likely voters nationwide:

--By a substantial 45 to 27 percent, with John Anderson at 16 percent, likely voters feel that Reagan would do a better job than Carter "on handling the economy." This is a central problem, mentioned by voters as the most important on their minds. The Reagan lead on this dimension has been consistent and unabating since last April, when the GOP nominee held an 18 point edge over Carter on this dimension.

The fact that Reagan is ahead on this basic bread-and-butter question is unusual. It marks the first time in modern politics that a Republican has moved ahead of a Democrat on how he would handle the economy. This current reading of the pivotal economic issue suggests that President Carter has a weaker rating on the economy than

most Democrats do and that the issue of sustained inflation will tend to help the Republicans politically over the long term.

--Reagan also is well ahead of Carter by 43-29 percent on the question of which candidate "would inspire more confidence in the White House." John Anderson trails with 17 percent on this dimension. Back in April, Reagan was ahead by 10 points on this issue, and, in August, he led by 15 points. Despite the gaffes he has made since then, he has not slipped on the key confidence question.

President Carter is ahead on one issue and could be the beneficiary of a major Reagan weakness on another:

--On which candidate "would give more help to the elderly, the poor, minorities, and the handicapped," Carter is preferred to Reagan by a 44-25 percent margin, with Anderson at 16 percent. Again, this is an area where Carter has consistently run ahead of his opponents, holding a 22 point lead in August and a 15 point edge over Reagan back in April.

This is an important issue for a Democratic candidate. It is central to the Democratic platform which pledged help to the poor, the minorities, and the unemployed. It is the issue on which Carter might well firm up the vote of blacks, union members, and the other groups which have made up the old New Deal coalition.

C O N T I N U E D

--By 47-20 percent, voters think that Reagan rather than Carter is the candidate "who might be most likely to get the U.S. into another war." Only a small 7 percent worry about John Anderson on this key dimension. There is clearly a widespread feeling that Reagan might be a real risk if he were sitting in the Oval Office. This latest ABC News - Harris Survey does not reflect the possible backlash that Carter might have evoked with his suggestion that Reagan might get the country into a war. But it is a safe bet that the President will continue to stress this negative about Reagan in his TV commercials and in other references, perhaps less heavy-handed, for the rest of the campaign.

John Anderson does not lead on any key issue, but he comes close enough to winning on one that could put him well up in the race:

--When asked which candidate "would most tell the people the tough facts and the sacrifices people have to make to solve inflation and the energy problem," Reagan is ahead with 34 percent of the preference vote, followed by Anderson at 28 percent and Carter with an identical 28 percent. Significantly, among the 62 percent who saw the first Anderson-Reagan debate, a higher 34 percent say Anderson would tell it the way it is as president, 32 percent singled out Reagan, and a smaller 26 percent mentioned President Carter. With the momentum he has gathered as a result of the debate, it is entirely possible that this issue will be working even more for Anderson in the days ahead.

Obviously, the three candidates will be dealing with all of these issues from now until election day. But, with television commercials playing such an important role in campaigning now, it is more likely that the candidates will be stressing their strengths, hoping that they will outweigh the weaknesses they might manifest on other issues.

TABLES TO FOLLOW

T A B L E S

On September 22nd, the ABC News - Harris Survey asked a cross section of 1,060 likely voters* nationwide by telephone:

(*Likely voters are defined in terms of registration, past voting record and probability of voting this fall)

"Now if you had to choose between Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, or John Anderson, which one do you feel (READ EACH ITEM)?"

REAGAN/CARTER/ANDERSON ON THE ISSUES

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Anderson</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Might be most likely to get the U.S. into another war					
September 22	47	20	7	6	20
Would do a better job of handling the economy					
September 22	45	27	16	3	9
August 14-18	42	28	20	2	8
April 26-30	43	25	22	3	7
Would inspire more confidence in the White House					
September 22	43	29	17	2	9
August 14-18	42	27	22	1	8
April 26-30	38	28	23	2	9
Would most tell the people the tough facts and the sacrifices people have to make to solve inflation and the energy problem					
September 22	34	28	28	2	8
August 14-18	29	30	33	1	7
April 26-30	35	33	22	2	8

REAGAN/CARTER/ANDERSON ON THE ISSUES CONT'D.

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Anderson</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Would give more help to the elderly, the poor, minorities, and the handicapped					
September 22	25	44	16	2	13
August 14-18	25	47	18	1	9
April 26-30	27	42	19	2	10

VOTING PREFERENCE OF DEBATE VIEWERS AND NON-VIEWERS BY
WHO WOULD MOST TELL PEOPLE THE TOUGH FACTS

Who would most tell people the tough
facts and the sacrifices people have
to make to solve inflation and the
energy problem

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Anderson</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Those who saw/ heard debate between Reagan and Anderson (652)	32	26	34	2	6
Didn't see/hear the debate (385)	36	30	18	4	12
