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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: RICHARD WIRTHLIN

SUBJECT: Announcement Speech

1. The Announcement Speech should have strong Presidential tone -- compassion, hope and opportunity in the future. The speech should also reflect Presidential strength and his accomplishments.
2. The President should review briefly the problems and challenges he faced when he took the oath of office in January of 1981.
  - inflation
  - government waste and fraud
  - stagnant economy
  - loss of confidence in government institutions
  - weak defense
  - social security facing bankruptcy
3. Review problems and challenges that have been resolved in the past three years.
  - inflation
  - economic stagnation
  - confidence in government institutions
  - defense
  - social security
4. Problems and challenges yet to be resolved.
  - budget deficits
  - 1984/1985 budget
  - needed structural changes (line-item veto)
  - two year budget cycle
5. Commitments to simplify and make more fair the tax system (Secretary Regan mandate.)
6. Promise of future.
  - Orwell's 1984 was one in which technology crushed the opportunity and spirit of the individual. That has not happened. The decade of the 80's and the 90's have learned to use technology to free the spirit and give every American the opportunity through established,

wiser, sensitive and more responsive government.

Mike, one of the themes that should be woven through the announcement is that this President believes that government exists to serve the people not as welfare states avers that the people exist to serve the government.

7. I am concerned that we are not putting in place the kind of support we need ADI's. We must have key spokesmen that will applaud and expand the significance of the President's announcement. These people must be quickly organized and provided with our message (see above) but given by those spokesmen in a more partisan way.
8. It might be a great idea to have the President's direct appeal to the Soviet people as now drafted in the State of the Union placed in the Announcement Speech. It is a very powerful and emotional statement and very appropriate for the 29th.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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✓  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
Jan. 6, 1984

FYI:

DICK WIRTHLIN brought this by  
today. Thinks this may become  
an issue.

JAB READ  
1/9/84  
MOT  
7:30 P.M.

JAB  
221

1

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

## TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

## -----QUESTION-----

Some people say the re-organization will be a good thing because it will mean lower long-distance rates and more competition in making telephones. Other people say it will be bad because local charges will go up and the system was working well and didn't need to be changed. What do you think, is the re-organization a good idea, or not?

## -----ANSWER-----

|                 |     |
|-----------------|-----|
| GOOD IDEA       | 31% |
| NOT A GOOD IDEA | 45  |
| NO OPINION      | 24  |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE      --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                                 ADULTS

-----NOTES-----  
-

1

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- ----PUBLISHED IN---- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

----QUESTION-----

Not counting long-distance calls, if your basic  
charge for local telephone service was twice as  
much as it is now, could you afford to keep a  
telephone?

----ANSWER-----

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| YES        | 54% |
| NO         | 42  |
| NO OPINION | 4   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE      --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

----NOTES-----  
-

B

1

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONES IN GENERAL

| -----POLLSTER----- | -POLL NO-- | -----PUBLISHED IN---- | DATE PUBL  |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| HARRIS             | 66         | HARRIS SURVEY         | 1982-08-17 |

-----QUESTION-----

CONGRESS IS IN THE PROCESS OF PASSING A NEW BILL  
TO RAISE TAXES. LET ME READ YOU SOME OF THE  
MAJOR TAX PROVISIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED.  
FOR EACH, TELL ME IF YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE THAT TAX.  
RAISING THE TAX ON PHONE SERVICE FROM 1% TO 2% IN  
1983 AND FROM 2% TO 3% IN 1984

-----ANSWER-----

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| FAVOR    | 18% |
| OPPOSE   | 81% |
| NOT SURE | 1%  |

| -----SURVEY DATES----- | -SAMPLE POPULATION-- | SAMPLE SIZE | --INTERVIEW MODE---- |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1982-08-05 1982-08-10  | ADULTS<br>NATIONAL   | 1254        | TELEPHONE            |

-----NOTES-----

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January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

## TELEPHONES IN GENERAL

| -----POLLSTER-----        | -POLL NO-- | -----PUBLISHED IN---- | DATE PUBL  |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| NBC NEWS/ASSOCIATED PRESS | 83         | NBC NEWS POLL         | 1982-08-23 |

## -----QUESTION-----

Have you heard or read about the new tax law being debated by Congress -- a proposal designed to lower federal deficits by increasing some taxes on businesses and also increasing taxes on things like cigarettes, telephone calls, and airline tickets? (IF YES, ASK) Do you generally approve or disapprove of this new tax proposal?

## -----ANSWER-----

|                       |     |
|-----------------------|-----|
| HAVEN'T HEARD OR READ | 25% |
| APPROVE               | 37  |
| DISAPPROVE            | 32  |
| NOT SURE              | 6   |

| -----SURVEY DATES----- | -SAMPLE POPULATION-- | SAMPLE SIZE | --INTERVIEW MODE---- |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1982-08-09 1982-08-10  | NATIONAL<br>ADULTS   | 1594        | TELEPHONE            |

-----NOTES-----

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONE SERVICE

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- ----PUBLISHED IN---- DATE PUBL  
TRENDX NA PUBLIC OPINION MAGAZ 1983-07

-----QUESTION-----

Now let's talk about your feelings toward some of the things you pay for. As I read each item to you, would you please tell me whether you feel you are getting good, moderate, or poor value for the money you might pay ...

Telephone

-----ANSWER-----

|            | 1965 | 1982 |
|------------|------|------|
| GOOD VALUE | 69%  | 38%  |
| POOR VALUE | 9    | 27   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION-- SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1982-01-29 1982-02-16 NATIONAL 2000 NA

-----NOTES-----

1

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

## TELEPHONES IN GENERAL

| -----POLLSTER----- | -POLL NO-- | -----PUBLISHED IN---- | DATE PUBL  |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| HARRIS             | 1978-24    | HARRIS SURVEY         | 1978-03-23 |

## -----QUESTION-----

President Carter has recommended a series of tax changes to the Congress. Let me read you some of the things he is recommending. For each, tell me if you favor or oppose that tax proposal.

Eliminate the excise tax on telephone calls.

## -----ANSWER-----

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| Favor    | 75% |
| Oppose   | 10  |
| Not sure | 15  |

| -----SURVEY DATES----- | -SAMPLE POPULATION-- | SAMPLE SIZE | --INTERVIEW MODE---- |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1978-02-11 1978-02-18  | NATIONAL<br>ADULTS   | 1510        | NA                   |

-----NOTES-----

1

January 06, 1984

## DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

## TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

## -----QUESTION-----

Now, I want to ask you some questions about  
telephones and telephone service. Generally  
speaking, are you satisfied or not satisfied with  
your telephone and the service you get from your  
telephone company? (If satisfied or not  
satisfied) Would you say you're very  
(satisfied/dissatisfied) or only somewhat  
(satisfied/dissatisfied).

## -----ANSWER-----

|                       |     |
|-----------------------|-----|
| VERY SATISFIED        | 44% |
| SOMEWHAT SATISFIED    | 39  |
| SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED | 9   |
| VERY DISSATISFIED     | 6   |
| NO OPINION            | 2   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24    1983-09-28    NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

-----NOTES-----

1

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

-----QUESTION-----

Do you think local telephone service is so  
necessary that it should be provided to people who  
cannot afford to pay for it, even if that means  
higher phone charges or higher taxes for other  
people?

-----ANSWER-----

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| YES        | 34% |
| NO         | 55  |
| NO OPINION | 11  |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE      --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

-----NOTES-----

1

January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

## TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- ----PUBLISHED IN---- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

## -----QUESTION-----

One of the changes in telephone service in recent years is that many people now own their telephone -- that is, the instrument itself -- while others rent them from the telephone company the way everyone used to. Do you own or rent your phone?

## -----ANSWER-----

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| OWN        | 26% |
| RENT       | 62  |
| BOTH (VOL) | 10  |
| NO OPINION | 2   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24    1983-09-28    NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

-----NOTES-----

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## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

-----QUESTION-----

How much did you spend last month for  
long-distance calls. Was it under ten dollars,  
between ten dollars and forty dollars, or was it  
more than forty dollars?

-----ANSWER-----

|                       |     |
|-----------------------|-----|
| \$0 - \$10            | 34% |
| BETWEEN \$10 AND \$40 | 39  |
| MORE THAN \$40        | 25  |
| NO OPINION            | 2   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

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## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

## TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

## -----QUESTION-----

(IF YES AWARE OF THE BREAK-UP OF AT&amp;T (29%) ASK:)

Generally, do you think this means service will  
get better, or get worse?

## -----ANSWER-----

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| GET BETTER          | 25% |
| GET WORSE           | 41  |
| STAY THE SAME (VOL) | 16  |
| NO OPINION          | 18  |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24    1983-09-28    NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

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January 06, 1984

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## SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

-----QUESTION-----

A Federal court order a major re-organization of  
the telephone company, American Telephone and  
Telegraph, that will take effect over the next  
several months. Have you heard or read enough to  
understand what's going to happen?

-----ANSWER-----

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| YES        | 29% |
| NO         | 66  |
| NO OPINION | 5   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24    1983-09-28    NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                         ADULTS

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TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- ----PUBLISHED IN---- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

-----QUESTION-----

How hard would it be for you to get along without  
a telephone in your home? Would it be easy,  
somewhat difficult, or a real hardship?

-----ANSWER-----

|                    |     |
|--------------------|-----|
| EASY               | 11% |
| SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT | 37  |
| REAL HARDSHIP      | 51  |
| NO OPINION         | 1   |

-----SURVEY DATES----- -SAMPLE POPULATION--      SAMPLE SIZE --INTERVIEW MODE-----  
1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
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January 06, 1984

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## -----ANSWER-----

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| YES        | 29% |
| NO         | 66  |
| NO OPINION | 5   |

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1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
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January 06, 1984

DECISION / MAKING / INFORMATION

SURVEY DATABANK SYSTEM

TELEPHONES, RATES, AND SERVICES

-----POLLSTER----- -POLL NO-- -----PUBLISHED IN----- DATE PUBL  
CBS NEWS / NEW YORK TIMES      SEPTEMBER      CBS / NEW YORK TIMES      1983-10-04

-----QUESTION-----

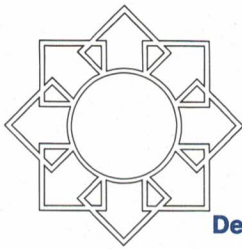
(IF YES AWARE OF THE BREAK-UP OF AT&T (29%) ASK:)  
Generally, do you think this means service will  
get better, or get worse?

-----ANSWER-----

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| GET BETTER          | 25% |
| GET WORSE           | 41  |
| STAY THE SAME (VOL) | 16  |
| NO OPINION          | 18  |

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1983-09-24      1983-09-28      NATIONAL      1587      TELEPHONE  
                                 ADULTS

-----NOTES-----  
-



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*See Answer*

TO: Edwin Meese III  
James A. Baker, III  
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: September 2, 1983 (RNC83-9: August 17-22, 1983)

SUBJECT: 1984 Presidential Vote

There is a mixed message for the President in this month's ballot tests. On the positive side, at this time, more people would vote to reelect Reagan regardless of his opponent. Additionally, he is running stronger against Glenn among registered voters. On the negative side, Mondale gained some ground between June and August.

Regarding the future, Americans' expectations for a successful Reagan second term are based upon continued economic improvement. His handling of foreign policy and the fear of a possible unwanted war underlie apprehension towards his reelection.

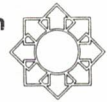
#### Reelect Ronald Reagan

Three per cent (3%) more Americans state this month that they would vote to reelect the President regardless of his opponent. (The responses are similar to the year's high registered in May.)

Respondents were specifically asked:

Thinking ahead to the 1984 presidential election, do you think Ronald Reagan has performed well enough as President to deserve reelection, or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better?

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| Reelect             | 43% |
| New person          | 50  |
| Depends on who runs | 7   |



1984 Presidential Vote  
September 2, 1983  
Page Two

Overall, Reagans' support groups have remained constant. Swings in support over the past few months are greatest among white Baptists (+8% this month) and blue-collar workers (+7% this month). Declines have occurred among Farm Belt residents, although their support rose 4% in August. The only group evidencing less support in August are senior citizens (-3%).

Nevertheless, only among his Republican base does the President receive a solid majority willing to reelect him regardless of his opponent. On the other hand, 52% of blue-collar voters and 55% of women are ready for a new president. (There is a 14% gap between men and women on the reelect issue.)

#### Reagan versus Mondale

In the August survey, Mondale receives his highest vote percentage since January. The President's share of the vote is down 3% from June to 47%, while Mondale garners an improved 45%. Aggregate scores among registered voters are:

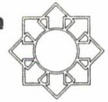
Whom would you prefer as President of the United States  
if the candidates were Ronald Reagan, Republican; and  
Walter Mondale, Democrat?

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan  | 47% |
| Walter Mondale | 45  |
| Undecided      | 8   |

The President's strongest support continues to come from upper-income voters (71%), Republicans (88%), self-identified conservatives (58%), professionals (58%), the better educated, and westerners (54%).

Reagan retains 81% of those who voted for him in 1980, as well as 84% of those who voted for a GOP congressional candidate in 1982. Reagan also receives a higher percentage (50%) of the vote among "more likely voters." This holds true for all three different questions used to measure likelihood of voting.

In the key constituencies, Reagan picks up 10% among Farm Belt residents (53%), 4% among Catholics (48%), and 2% among Independents/Learners (54%). Consistent with his losses on the



1984 Presidential Vote  
September 2, 1983  
Page Three

generic reelect results, he drops 7% among senior citizens (47%) and 5% among white Baptists (50%). In a Reagan-Mondale contest, 13% more women than men favor Mondale.

#### Reagan versus Glenn

Although the President's share of the vote in a Reagan-Glenn contest is unchanged, Glenn's share is down 3 points to 42% among registered voters.

When asked specifically:

Whom would you prefer as president of the United States if the candidates were Ronald Reagan, Republican; and John Glenn, Democrat?

|               |     |
|---------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan | 46% |
| John Glenn    | 42  |
| Undecided     | 12  |

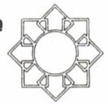
Against Glenn, Reagan's strongest support groups are basically the same as they are against Mondale: base Republicans (82%), upper-income voters (65%), conservatives (56%), small business owners/managers (55%), and westerners (52%).

Against Glenn, Reagan retains less of his 1980 vote (72%), and of those who voted for a Republican Congressman in 1982, Reagan benefits, however, from switching by former Carter supporters when he is pitted against Glenn.

Erosion of Reagan's support among senior citizens is most acute when he is pitted against Glenn (-9%). Among other constituencies, Reagan's support remains either stable or increases, as much as 5% among white Baptists and Farm Belt residents. In a Reagan-Glenn contest, women (39%) are much less likely than men (53%) to support Reagan.

#### Three-way Ballots

Adding Jesse Jackson to the list of candidates in either a Reagan-Mondale or a Reagan-Glenn contest tends to drain support



1984 Presidential Vote  
September 2, 1983  
Page Four

from the Democratic candidate. Glenn particularly loses support, however in this case, more voters voice indecision when Jackson is included.

Whom would you vote for if there was a three-way race between ...?

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan  | 43% |
| Walter Mondale | 39  |
| Jesse Jackson  | 8   |
| Undecided      | 10  |

|               |     |
|---------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan | 48% |
| John Glenn    | 33  |
| Jesse Jackson | 6   |
| Undecided     | 13  |

In a Reagan-Mondale race, Reagan maintains 95% of his base vote; Mondale retains only 79% of his vote.

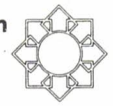
Jackson's presence in the race is quite damaging to some of Mondale's greatest strength constituencies: blacks and women. In a two-way race, Mondale receives 88% of the registered black vote. Jackson would draw off 56% of Mondale's black vote in two ways: blacks switching from Mondale to Jackson, and blacks switching to undecided. Additionally, Jackson draws off 13% of the base Democratic vote and damages Mondale among blue-collar workers.

With Glenn and Jackson as opponents, Reagan again manages to retain 95% of his vote, while Glenn's total slips to only 73% of his vote projected in a two-way race. Glenn does less well among blacks than Mondale, but he still garners an overwhelming 74% of their vote when running against Reagan.

Jackson's presence in the race destroys Glenn's support among black voters. He retains only 19% of the black vote -- a net loss of 55%. Thirty-two percent (32%) of blacks vote for Jackson with a large percentage (41%) undecided. Interestingly, women support Reagan over Glenn (41% and 36%, respectively) when Jackson is in the race.

#### Four-Way Ballots

Adding Anderson's name to the ballot as an Independent candidate yields interesting results: both Democrats are hurt more by an



1984 Presidential Vote  
September 3, 1983  
Page Five

additional Anderson candidacy than by a Jackson candidacy alone.

Respondents were asked specifically:

And whom would you vote for if there was a four-way race  
between ...?

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan  | 41% |
| Walter Mondale | 34  |
| Jesse Jackson  | 6   |
| John Anderson  | 9   |
| Undecided      | 10  |
|                |     |
| Ronald Reagan  | 45% |
| John Glenn     | 29  |
| Jesse Jackson  | 5   |
| John Anderson  | 9   |
| Undecided      | 12  |

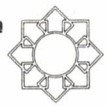
Anderson retains 58% of his 1980 support when pitted against Mondale, and 45% against Glenn -- support that would normally lean toward the Democrats. He also draws extremely well among women, enough to place Reagan ahead of Glenn in women's support and only one point behind Mondale.

Anderson drains support from Glenn also among Independents/Leaners, white Baptists, Catholics, and small business owners/managers.

Against Mondale, an Anderson candidacy results in erosions basically among the same groups. Anderson's entry in the race, however, combined with a Jackson candidacy, would be more damaging to Glenn.

At this point, while either combination of three- or four-way races would result in defections from both Republican and Democratic camps, the greatest damage would be done to the Democratic challenger.

Against Mondale in a four-way race Reagan retains 90% of his vote; Mondale drops to only 68% of his original support. Again, with Glenn as the challenger on a four-man ballot, Reagan consistently holds 89% of his vote. As with Mondale, Glenn fairs less well, retaining only 66% of the vote he receives in a two-way contest.



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### Good Things if Reagan Reelected

Respondents were asked to name the positive changes they think would occur if President Reagan were to be reelected in 1984. Six out of ten could mention something "good" that would happen. Interestingly, the most frequent mentions center around his economic policies (41%); specifically: he will improve the economy (21%), he will reduce unemployment (12%), he will reduce inflation (12%), and he will reduce the deficit (5%). Other mentions include: he will continue to do a good job (21%), like his policies on war and defense (16%), social policies will improve (10%), and like his projection for the role of government (1%). Negative and neutral responses are comprised of 29% who said nothing good will happen if Reagan is reelected, and 11% who have no opinion on the subject.

Men are more likely to mention economic policies (46%) than women (36%). The difference is even more apparent between non-married men (52%) and non-married women (32%).

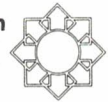
Other high mentions of economic policies occur among upper-income respondents (62%), the better educated (59%), base Republicans (59%), professionals (56%), and younger respondents (51%).

Conversely, lower than average mentions of economic policies can be found among senior citizens (32%), Democrats (25%), the less educated (24%), blacks (22%), and lower-income respondents (18%).

As expected, negative responses -- those who say that nothing good will come of Reagan's being reelected -- come mainly from those making less than \$5,000 a year (61%), blacks (50%), the less educated (46%), and Democrats (45%).

### Bad Thing if Reagan Reelected

Respondents were also asked to list the bad things they believe will happen if Ronald Reagan is reelected. Over half (51%) of all the negative responses focused on foreign policy. The highest mention is war and defense policies, specifically: the fear of the United States getting involved in a war (38%), poor foreign policy (7%), an increase in the arms race (3%), and an increase in defense spending (3%). Economic policies received the second highest number of mentions (29%), including: Reagan will increase unemployment (15%), he will increase inflation (6%), and the economy will get worse (7%). Other bad things mentioned include:



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social policies (15%), poor job performance and insensitivity (13%), age and other personal characteristics (5%), his difficulty in working with Congress (3%), and the role of the government (1%). Positive and neutral responses are comprised of 11% believing nothing bad would happen if Reagan is reelected, and 12% no opinion.

"War and defense policies" receives its most frequent mention from Hispanics (70%), non-married men (60%), 18-24 year-olds (60%), professionals (51%), postgraduates (50%), and blacks (50%).

Blacks (47%), Democrats (38%), low-income households (37%), non-married women (35%), families with children (34%), and 18-24 year-olds (33%) mention economic problems more often than other respondents do.

Highest positive responses -- nothing bad will happen if Reagan is reelected -- tend to come from senior citizens (18%), residents of the Mountain States (20%), and base Republicans (22%).

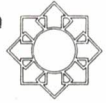
#### Single Issue Change Vote

Slightly more than a third of the respondents say they feel strongly enough about a particular issue to prevent them from voting for a political candidate who takes a different position on that issue. Respondents were asked:

There are some issues about which people feel so strongly that they would not vote for a candidate who disagreed with them on that issue. Is there any one issue that is so important to you that you would not vote for a candidate who had a position different from yours?

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| No         | 62% |
| Yes        | 36  |
| No opinion | 2   |

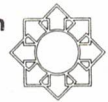
Those who are most likely to switch a vote on a candidate because of a single issue include the less educated (71%), 55 to 64 year-olds (71%), moderates (71%), low-income respondents (70%), residents of the Deep South (70%), and blacks (69%).



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The single issues that have the sharpest cutting political edge in rank order are:

|                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| Against arms race                   | 5% |
| Pro-life                            | 3  |
| Against high unemployment           | 2  |
| Oppose foreign involvement          | 2  |
| Favor social security increases     | 2  |
| Oppose increases in social security | 1  |
| Oppose welfare                      | 1  |
| Oppose nuclear freeze               | 1  |
| Oppose ERA/Gay rights               | 1  |
| Favor ERA/Gay rights                | 1  |
| Anti-gun control                    | 1  |
| Against higher taxes                | 1  |
| Against high defense spending       | 1  |
| Against funding of social programs  | 1  |
| Pro-abortion                        | 1  |
| Improve education                   | 1  |
| Strong national defense             | 1  |



# Reelect Reagan

=====

"One last question ... thinking ahead to the 1984 Presidential election ... do you think Ronald Reagan has performed well enough as President to deserve reelection or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better?"

|                    | May<br>20-26<br>1982 | Sep<br>23-27<br>1982 | Jan<br>7-10<br>1983 | Jan<br>27-29<br>1983 | Mar<br>17-21<br>1983 | Apr<br>7-10<br>1983 |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Reelect            | 37                   | 37                   | *                   | *                    | 38                   | 39                  |
| New person         | 49                   | 52                   | *                   | *                    | 54                   | 53                  |
| Depends/No opinion | 14                   | 11                   | *                   | *                    | 8                    | 7                   |

|                    | Apr<br>27-28<br>1983 | May<br>27-30<br>1983 | Jun<br>25-27<br>1983 | Jul<br>30-31<br>1983 | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983 |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Reelect            | *                    | 44                   | 40                   | *                    | 43                   |
| New person         | *                    | 49                   | 53                   | *                    | 50                   |
| Depends/No opinion | *                    | 7                    | 7                    | *                    | 7                    |



## Reelect Reagan

=====

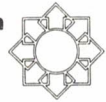
"Thinking ahead to the 1984 presidential election ... do you think Ronald Reagan has performed well enough as President to deserve reelection, or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better?"

## Reelect

|                      | Apr<br>7-11<br>1983<br>(%) | May<br>27-30<br>1983<br>(%) | June<br>25-27<br>1983<br>(%) | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983<br>(%) |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aggregate            | 39                         | 45                          | 40                           | 43                          |
| Base Republican      | 75                         | 80                          | 76                           | 78                          |
| Small business       | 49                         | 52                          | 44                           | 49                          |
| Farm Belt states     | 50                         | 57                          | 39                           | 43                          |
| Blue-collar workers  | 35                         | 42                          | 37                           | 44                          |
| Senior citizens      | 43                         | 37                          | 49                           | 46                          |
| Women                | 35                         | 37                          | 33                           | 37                          |
| Catholics            | 40                         | 40                          | 37                           | 44                          |
| Independents/Leaners | 42                         | 45                          | 42                           | 48                          |
| White Baptists       | *                          | 52                          | 40                           | 48                          |

## New Person

|                      | Apr<br>7-11<br>1983<br>(%) | May<br>27-30<br>1983<br>(%) | June<br>25-27<br>1983<br>(%) | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983<br>(%) |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aggregate            | 53                         | 48                          | 53                           | 50                          |
| Base Republican      | 20                         | 16                          | 22                           | 16                          |
| Small business       | 40                         | 41                          | 50                           | 43                          |
| Farm Belt states     | 45                         | 37                          | 56                           | 49                          |
| Blue-collar workers  | 56                         | 51                          | 56                           | 52                          |
| Senior citizens      | 49                         | 57                          | 44                           | 47                          |
| Women                | 58                         | 56                          | 59                           | 55                          |
| Catholics            | 54                         | 53                          | 57                           | 48                          |
| Independents/Leaners | 50                         | 45                          | 47                           | 43                          |
| White Baptists       | *                          | 44                          | 52                           | 49                          |



# Presidential Ballot -- Registered Voters

=====

"Just one last question ... whom would you prefer as President of the United States if the candidates were ... Ronald Reagan, Republican ... and Walter Mondale, Democrat ... or ... John Glenn, Democrat ... and Ronald Reagan, Republican?"

|         | Jan<br>7-10<br>1983  | Jan<br>27-29<br>1983 | Mar<br>17-21<br>1983 | Apr<br>7-10<br>1983 | Apr<br>27-28<br>1983 | May<br>27-30<br>1983 |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Reagan  | 46                   | 42                   | 45                   | 48                  | 43                   | 54                   |
| Mondale | 46                   | 45                   | 45                   | 44                  | 41                   | 38                   |
| Reagan  | 42                   | *                    | *                    | 46                  | 40                   | 50                   |
| Glenn   | 48                   | *                    | *                    | 44                  | 43                   | 41                   |
|         | Jun<br>25-27<br>1983 | Jul<br>30-31<br>1983 | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983 |                     |                      |                      |
| Reagan  | 50                   | *                    | 47                   |                     |                      |                      |
| Mondale | 42                   | *                    | 45                   |                     |                      |                      |
| Reagan  | 46                   | *                    | 46                   |                     |                      |                      |
| Glenn   | 45                   | *                    | 42                   |                     |                      |                      |



## Registered Voters: Reagan versus Mondale

=====

"Just suppose the election for President were held today, whom would you prefer as President of the United States if the candidates were ... Ronald Reagan, Republican ... and Walter Mondale, Democrat?"

## Reagan

|                      | Apr<br>7-11<br>1983<br>(%) | May<br>27-30<br>1983<br>(%) | June<br>25-27<br>1983<br>(%) | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983<br>(%) |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aggregate            | 48                         | 55                          | 50                           | 47                          |
| Base Republican      | 88                         | 91                          | 88                           | 88                          |
| Small business       | 62                         | 59                          | 59                           | 56                          |
| Farm Belt states     | 52                         | 51                          | 43                           | 53                          |
| Blue-collar workers  | 47                         | 60                          | 53                           | 48                          |
| Senior citizens      | 52                         | 44                          | 54                           | 47                          |
| Women                | 45                         | 47                          | 44                           | 41                          |
| Catholics            | 41                         | 51                          | 44                           | 48                          |
| Independents/Leaners | 56                         | 57                          | 52                           | 54                          |
| White Baptists       | *                          | 54                          | 56                           | 50                          |

## Mondale

|                      | Apr<br>7-11<br>1983<br>(%) | May<br>27-30<br>1983<br>(%) | June<br>25-27<br>1983<br>(%) | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983<br>(%) |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aggregate            | 44                         | 37                          | 42                           | 45                          |
| Base Republican      | 9                          | 5                           | 8                            | 10                          |
| Small business       | 30                         | 32                          | 34                           | 36                          |
| Farm Belt states     | 41                         | 39                          | 41                           | 40                          |
| Blue-collar workers  | 47                         | 35                          | 41                           | 45                          |
| Senior citizens      | 41                         | 47                          | 39                           | 45                          |
| Women                | 47                         | 44                          | 48                           | 50                          |
| Catholics            | 48                         | 43                          | 48                           | 43                          |
| Independents/Leaners | 35                         | 31                          | 35                           | 35                          |
| White Baptists       | *                          | 39                          | 35                           | 44                          |



## Registered Voters: Reagan versus Glenn

=====

"Whom would you prefer as President of the United States if the candidates were ... Ronald Reagan, Republican ... and ... John Glenn, Democrat?"

## Reagan

|                      | Apr<br>7-11<br>1983<br>(%) | May<br>27-30<br>1983<br>(%) | June<br>25-27<br>1983<br>(%) | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983<br>(%) |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aggregate            | 46                         | 51                          | 46                           | 46                          |
| Base Republican      | 79                         | 83                          | 79                           | 82                          |
| Small business       | 53                         | 54                          | 56                           | 55                          |
| Farm Belt states     | 54                         | 40                          | 41                           | 46                          |
| Blue-collar workers  | 43                         | 55                          | 46                           | 46                          |
| Senior citizens      | 48                         | 44                          | 53                           | 44                          |
| Women                | 43                         | 42                          | 40                           | 39                          |
| Catholics            | 41                         | 47                          | 43                           | 45                          |
| Independents/Leaners | 53                         | 52                          | 48                           | 51                          |
| White Baptists       | *                          | 57                          | 42                           | 47                          |

## Glenn

|                      | Apr<br>7-11<br>1983<br>(%) | May<br>27-30<br>1983<br>(%) | June<br>25-27<br>1983<br>(%) | Aug<br>17-22<br>1983<br>(%) |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aggregate            | 44                         | 41                          | 45                           | 42                          |
| Base Republican      | 14                         | 11                          | 17                           | 12                          |
| Small business       | 33                         | 36                          | 37                           | 32                          |
| Farm Belt states     | 37                         | 45                          | 47                           | 37                          |
| Blue-collar workers  | 47                         | 39                          | 47                           | 43                          |
| Senior citizens      | 39                         | 52                          | 45                           | 47                          |
| Women                | 48                         | 50                          | 49                           | 50                          |
| Catholics            | 47                         | 48                          | 49                           | 41                          |
| Independents/Leaners | 34                         | 36                          | 41                           | 33                          |
| White Baptists       | *                          | 30                          | 38                           | 42                          |



## Presidential Ballot: Three Candidates

=====

"Whom would you vote for if there was a three-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; Walter Mondale, Democrat; and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat?" (N=787-794)

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan  | 43% |
| Walter Mondale | 39  |
| Jesse Jackson  | 8   |

"Whom would you vote for if there was a three-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; John Glenn, Democrat; and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat?"

|               |     |
|---------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan | 48% |
| John Glenn    | 33  |
| Jesse Jackson | 6   |

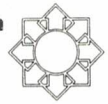


# Three-Way Ballot: Reagan vs. Mondale vs. Jackson

=====

"Whom would you vote for if there was a three-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; Walter Mondale, Democrat; and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat?"

|                                | Ronald<br>Reagan<br>(%) | Walter<br>Mondale<br>(%) | Jesse<br>Jackson<br>(%) | Undecided<br>(%) |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Aggregate                      | 43                      | 39                       | 8                       | 10               |
| <u>Strength Constituencies</u> |                         |                          |                         |                  |
| Base Republican                | 79                      | 13                       | 3                       | 4                |
| Small business                 | 50                      | 36                       | 4                       | 10               |
| Farm Belt states               | 37                      | 58                       | 1                       | 4                |
| <u>Swing Constituencies</u>    |                         |                          |                         |                  |
| Blue-collar workers            | 42                      | 38                       | 12                      | 8                |
| Senior citizens                | 40                      | 43                       | 4                       | 13               |
| Women                          | 37                      | 42                       | 10                      | 10               |
| Catholics                      | 46                      | 40                       | 6                       | 8                |
| Independents/Leaners           | 49                      | 35                       | 7                       | 10               |
| White Baptists                 | 46                      | 43                       | 3                       | 7                |



# Three-Way Ballot: Reagan vs. Glenn vs. Jackson

=====

"Whom would you vote for if there was a three-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; John Glenn, Democrat; and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat?"

|                                | Ronald<br>Reagan<br>(%) | John<br>Glenn<br>(%) | Jesse<br>Jackson<br>(%) | Undecided<br>(%) |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Aggregate                      | 48                      | 33                   | 6                       | 13               |
| <u>Strength Constituencies</u> |                         |                      |                         |                  |
| Base Republican                | 89                      | 8                    | 1                       | 2                |
| Small business                 | 57                      | 26                   | 5                       | 12               |
| Farm Belt states               | 54                      | 26                   | 7                       | 13               |
| <u>Swing Constituencies</u>    |                         |                      |                         |                  |
| Blue-collar workers            | 52                      | 29                   | 7                       | 11               |
| Senior citizens                | 49                      | 31                   | 5                       | 15               |
| Women                          | 41                      | 36                   | 8                       | 15               |
| Catholics                      | 51                      | 38                   | 4                       | 8                |
| Independents/Leaners           | 51                      | 26                   | 6                       | 16               |
| White Baptists                 | 46                      | 40                   | 4                       | 10               |



## Presidential Ballot: Four Candidates

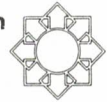
=====

"And whom would you vote for if there was a four-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican, Walter Mondale, Democrat; the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat; and John Anderson, Independent?" (N=787-794)

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan  | 41% |
| Walter Mondale | 34  |
| Jesse Jackson  | 6   |
| John Anderson  | 9   |

"And whom would you vote for if there was a four-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; John Glenn, Democrat; the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat; and John Anderson, Independent?"

|               |     |
|---------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan | 45% |
| John Glenn    | 29  |
| Jesse Jackson | 5   |
| John Anderson | 9   |



# Four-Way Ballot: Reagan vs. Mondale vs. Jackson vs. Anderson

=====  
 "And whom would you vote for if there was a four-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; Walter Mondale, Democrat; the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat; and John Anderson, Independent?"

|                                | Ronald<br>Reagan<br>(%) | Walter<br>Mondale<br>(%) | Jesse<br>Jackson<br>(%) | John<br>Anderson<br>(%) | Undecided<br>(%) |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Aggregate                      | 41                      | 34                       | 6                       | 9                       | 10               |
| <u>Strength Constituencies</u> |                         |                          |                         |                         |                  |
| Base Republican                | 77                      | 11                       | 3                       | 4                       | 6                |
| Small business                 | 46                      | 31                       | 3                       | 10                      | 9                |
| Farm Belt states               | 38                      | 53                       | 1                       | 5                       | 2                |
| <u>Swing Constituencies</u>    |                         |                          |                         |                         |                  |
| Blue-collar workers            | 41                      | 34                       | 10                      | 8                       | 6                |
| Senior citizens                | 40                      | 33                       | 2                       | 8                       | 17               |
| Women                          | 35                      | 36                       | 9                       | 8                       | 13               |
| Catholics                      | 43                      | 37                       | 1                       | 10                      | 8                |
| Independents/Leaners           | 44                      | 25                       | 4                       | 18                      | 10               |
| White Baptists                 | 46                      | 33                       | 3                       | 10                      | 8                |



# Four-Way Ballot: Reagan vs. Glenn vs. Jackson vs. Anderson

=====

"And whom would you vote for if there was a four-way race between Ronald Reagan, Republican; John Glenn, Democrat; the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Democrat; and John Anderson, Independent?"

|                                | Ronald<br>Reagan<br>(%) | John<br>Glenn<br>(%) | Jesse<br>Jackson<br>(%) | John<br>Anderson<br>(%) | Undecided<br>(%) |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Aggregate                      | 45                      | 29                   | 5                       | 9                       | 12               |
| <u>Strength Constituencies</u> |                         |                      |                         |                         |                  |
| Base Republican                | 86                      | 7                    | 1                       | 2                       | 4                |
| Small business                 | 50                      | 21                   | 5                       | 12                      | 13               |
| Farm Belt states               | 50                      | 24                   | 7                       | 7                       | 13               |
| <u>Swing Constituencies</u>    |                         |                      |                         |                         |                  |
| Blue-collar workers            | 46                      | 29                   | 7                       | 5                       | 12               |
| Senior citizens                | 50                      | 25                   | 4                       | 8                       | 12               |
| Women                          | 39                      | 32                   | 6                       | 7                       | 16               |
| Catholics                      | 47                      | 33                   | 2                       | 11                      | 7                |
| Independents/Leaners           | 44                      | 21                   | 4                       | 17                      | 14               |
| White Baptists                 | 42                      | 29                   | 5                       | 13                      | 10               |



### Good Thing Happen: Reagan Reelection

=====

"Suppose Ronald Reagan is reelected President of the United States. Think for a moment and tell me a good thing that might happen if Ronald Reagan is President?"

|                                             | <u>Percent</u> |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Improve the economy                         | 21%            |
| Reduce inflation                            | 12             |
| Reduce unemployment                         | 12             |
| Continue his policies                       | 8              |
| Would do a good job                         | 8              |
| Improved foreign policy/U.S. respect abroad | 7              |
| Stability in government                     | 5              |
| Reduce deficit                              | 5              |
| Strong military                             | 5              |
| Will avoid war                              | 5              |
| Will improve education                      | 4              |
| Experienced                                 | 3              |
| Will help the people                        | 3              |
| Reduce interest rates                       | 3              |
| Reduce welfare                              | 3              |
| Improve social security                     | 3              |
| Other                                       | 16             |
| Nothing-general negative                    | 29             |
| No opinion                                  | 11             |

Note: Those able to mention one good thing = 889 (60%).



# Bad Thing Happen: Reagan Reelection

=====

"Now tell me a bad thing you are afraid might happen if Ronald Reagan is reelected President."

|                              | <u>Percent</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| War/Nuclear war              | 38%            |
| Increase unemployment        | 15             |
| Eliminate social security    | 9              |
| Won't help the people        | 8              |
| Poor economy                 | 7              |
| Poor foreign policy          | 7              |
| Increase inflation           | 6              |
| Favors the rich              | 4              |
| Education will suffer        | 4              |
| Too old                      | 4              |
| Increase defense spending    | 3              |
| Depression/recession         | 3              |
| Increase arms race           | 3              |
| No cooperation from Congress | 2              |
| Increase government spending | 2              |
| Will not do a good job       | 2              |
| Raise taxes                  | 2              |
| Increase interest rates      | 2              |
| Will be assassinated         | 2              |
| Other                        | 12             |
| Nothing-general positive     | 11             |
| No opinion                   | 12             |

Note: Those able to mention one bad thing = 1158 (77%).



## Single Issue Affect Vote

=====  
 "There are some issues about which people feel so strongly that they would not vote for a candidate who disagreed with them on that issue. Is there any one issue that is so important to you that you would not vote for a candidate who had a position different from yours?"

|     | D/M/I<br>Aug 17-22<br>1983* | CBS News/<br>New York Times<br>Sept 13-18<br>1982 |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Yes | 63%                         | 51%                                               |
| No  | 37                          | 49                                                |

(IF "YES," ASK:) And what is that issue?

Favor Issue (N=161)

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Social security               | 16% |
| Arms buildup/Defense spending | 14  |
| Social programs               | 11  |
| ERA/Gay rights                | 10  |
| Abortion                      | 8   |
| Economic issues               | 6   |
| Foreign policy/Isolationism   | 4   |
| Other                         | 22  |
| No opinion                    | 9   |

Oppose Issue (N=382)

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| War/Arms race            | 25% |
| Economic issues          | 18  |
| Abortion                 | 11  |
| Social programs          | 8   |
| Foreign policy/aid       | 8   |
| Social security          | 6   |
| Defense/Defense spending | 4   |
| ERA/Gay rights           | 4   |
| Gun control              | 4   |
| Nuclear freeze           | 2   |
| Other                    | 9   |
| No opinion               | 1   |

\*Percentages were calculated excluding no opinions to conform to CBS data.



## Single Issue Affect Vote

=====  
 "There are some issues about which people feel so strongly that they would not vote for a candidate who disagreed with them on that issue. Is there any one issue that is so important to you that you would not vote for a candidate who had a position different from yours?"

|                                | <u>No</u><br>(%) | <u>Yes</u><br>(%) | <u>No Opinion</u><br>(%) |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Aggregate                      | 62               | 36                | 2                        |
| <u>Strength Constituencies</u> |                  |                   |                          |
| Base Republican                | 58               | 40                | 2                        |
| Small business                 | 58               | 39                | 3                        |
| Farm Belt states               | 66               | 34                | 0                        |
| <u>Swing Constituencies</u>    |                  |                   |                          |
| Blue-collar workers            | 62               | 36                | 2                        |
| Senior citizens                | 65               | 29                | 6                        |
| Women                          | 60               | 36                | 4                        |
| Catholics                      | 56               | 41                | 3                        |
| Independents/Leaners           | 60               | 38                | 2                        |
| White Baptists                 | 65               | 33                | 2                        |