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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NUMBER #22

TO: SENIOR STAFF
FROM: Richard S. Beal 
SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest
DATE: December 21, 1981

Enclosed are some of the significant recent public opinion survey results, plus an update on the Reagan coalition in the House of Representatives, and an analysis of the President's constituency.

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST
#22 December 18, 1981

HARRIS: 1,249 12/9-13

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 47
Disapprove: 52

Analysis: This is the first time the President has received a negative rating from Harris. This is a turnaround from the 51-47 positive rating a month ago. The first negative rating came from the NBC/AP poll a few weeks ago. Both polls have been in the lower ranks of support for the President.

Q. The President's rating on Inspiring Confidence in the White House?

Approve: 48
Disapprove: 49

Analysis: This is a sharp drop over the previous rating of 57-41. The Confidence rating has always been one of the President's better ratings.

GALLUP: 1,508 11/20-23

Q. Your confidence in Reaganomics after the Stockman article?

More: 9
Less: 34
No Change: 53

Q. Should Stockman's resignation have been accepted?

Yes: 41
No: 44

Analysis: Republicans say no by a 55-31 margin, while Democrats say yes by a 51-35 margin. The Independents say no by 48-38, a bigger margin than by GOP.

Q. Would you approve if Reagan made a proposal to the USSR for both countries to reduce their stock of nuclear weapons by 50%?

Approve: 75
Disapprove: 19

Q. Do you think the USSR is doing all it can to keep world peace?

Yes: 7
No: 84

Q. Do you think the US is doing all it can to keep world peace?

Yes: 54
No: 39

GALLUP: 1,610 11/13-16

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 51
Disapprove: 39

Analysis: This is a drop of 2 points over the previous rating of 53-35 at the beginning of the month. It is similar to the mid-September rating of 52-37.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 43
Disapprove: 48

Analysis: This is a slight turn-around from the previous rating of 45-43 (Nov 2), but similar to the early October rating of 44-47.

Q. Apart from his handling of his job as president, what do you think of Reagan as a person?

Approve: 74
Disapprove: 16

Analysis: This is practically unchanged from the July finding of 78-13.

ABC/POST: 1,516 11/17-22

(Presidential popularity previous reported at 53-38)

Q. Party Affiliation?

Republican: 23
Democratic: 39

Analysis: The theme of the release is that the Democrats have regained their big lead over the GOP. Questions on party affiliation are the least reliable measure of party strength and should generally be discounted. The only fact which is evident is that there is movement away from the GOP, whereas previously the movement was toward the GOP.

Q. Which party can bring about the kind of change the country needs?

Republican: 53
Democratic: 44

Analysis: The results of this key question closely reflect the outcome of the November election with most of the Anderson voters factored back into the two parties.

ABC Cont.

Q. Which party can better control government spending? Republican: 60
Democratic:

25Analysis: Despite projected deficits this perception is rather obvious to the man-on-the-street.

Q. Which party can better control inflation? Republican: 48
Democratic: 27

Q. Which party is better at holding down taxes? Republican: 53
Democratic: 31

Q. Which party is better at keeping us out of war? Republican: 34
Democratic: 43

Analysis: Perhaps some groups have forgotten about WWI, WWII, Korea, and Viet Nam.

Q. Which party is better at protecting the environment? Republican: 22
Democratic: 56

Q. Which party is better at protecting the poor? Republican: 17
Democratic: 68

HARRIS: 1,249 10/28-11/3

Q. All in all is the Federal Reserve Board right or wrong in its approach toward the economy? Right: 40
Wrong: 49
Both: 1

Q. Is the country in a recession today? Yes: 80
No: 13

Analysis: This is virtually the same perception Harris found in December 1974 (80-11).

Q. Will the country be in a recession a year from now? Yes: 53
No: 29

Q. Is the country in a depression today? Yes: 26
No: 69

Q. Is the President's economic program a success? Success: 42
Failure: 41
Too Early: 10

Analysis: This is a relatively positive finding given the fact that the President was given a negative economic rating in this same survey (46-53).

HARRIS Cont.

Q. The job approval rating of Congress?

Approve: 42
Disapprove: 56

Analysis: There has been a dramatic change since the July rating of 20-79.

Q. The job approval rating of your own congressman?

Approve: 53
Disapprove: 40

Q. Who is responsible in Congress for cutting federal taxes?

Republicans: 58
Democrats: 21

Q. Who is responsible in Congress for cutting federal spending?

Republicans: 59
Democrats: 20

Q. Who is responsible in Congress for renewing the Voting Rights Act?

Republicans: 29
Democrats: 39

Q. Who is responsible for making major cuts in farm subsidies for dairy products, peanuts, and sugar?

Republicans: 41
Democrats: 28

Q. Who is responsible for approving the sale of AWACS?

Republicans: 68
Democrats: 14

Q. It's good to have a President who knows how to make Congress back him up on what he wants?

Agree: 80
Disagree: 18

Q. He has the personality and the leadership qualities that a President should have?

Agree: 76
Disagree: 21

Q. In his ability to communicate with the people and to persuade members of Congress and world leaders, he is turning out to be a very effective President?

Agree: 74
Disagree: 23

Q. He's no ordinary politician because he really wants to cut federal spending and cut back the federal bureaucracy?

Agree: 68
Disagree: 29

Q. He tends to rely too much on and delegate too much power to his advisors and those he appoints to key positions?

Agree: 40
Disagree: 54

Q. While it's good to have someone as President who is firm with the Russians, I worry that he might get us into another war?

Agree: 52
Disagree: 45

HARRIS Cont.

Q. He's not being an effective leader on spending cuts when he cuts the federal budget, and then comes back a few months later and asks Congress to cut another 13 billion?

Agree: 45
Disagree: 52

Q. He's not being an effective leader on Social Security when he first says changes have to be made to save the system, but then he backs away when people object to his changes?

Agree: 56
Disagree: 38

NEWSWEEK (GALLUP) 510 12/4-6

Q. Do you approve of the way Nancy Reagan is handling her responsibilities as First Lady?

Approve: 57
Disapprove: 26

REAGAN CONSTITUENCY SUPPORT

This is an analysis of the Reagan constituency identifying which demographic groups support the President and the magnitude of each group's support. Survey data for this analysis is from the following four DMI studies:

1. June 1980 Campaign Plan
2. September 15, 1980, Report to Reagan and Bush
3. January 1981, RNC Study
4. Eagle Tracking IV (November 1981)

The basic picture of the President's constituency that emerged from this data follows:

1. Strong Support Group
35-54 years old
College Educated
\$20,000+ income earners
White, Anglo-Saxon (Teutonic and Scandinavian) Protestants
Non-union workers, particularly professionals, managers, owners, farmers and white collar (clerical/sales) workers.

It should be noted that men are more likely than women to be part of this group. This issue will be discussed in more detail later. Also, if we combine age and income into one variable, those over 65 who are also affluent should be classified as strong supporters.

This group represents the core of American society, and, as we will note below, support for the President weakens as one moves away from this core.

2. Mixed Support Group
55-64 years old
25-34 years old
Post Graduates
High School Graduates
\$10,000 - \$20,000 income earners
Blue Collar workers
Some Ethnics:
Hispanic
Anglo Catholics

Those in the \$10,000 - \$15,000 income range can easily slip into the low support group.

Note that these people are on the immediate edge of the core group. The two age groupings bracket the core group, the education levels bracket the core group, and, in a sense, so do the blue collar workers and the specific ethnics listed.

3. Low Support Group

65+ and non-affluent

24 and under

Union members

Less than high school graduates

Less than \$10,000 income earners

Ethnics:

Southern/Eastern European

Jews

Non-Anglo Catholics

Blacks

Women generally are low supporters in comparison to men.

The low support group consists of members clearly on the extremities of the core group. This includes the very young and very old (if not affluent), the poorly educated, the non-affluent, the minorities, and the union members.

The data indicates that as support for the President ebbs and flows there is an ebb or flow within these groups that maintains the basic difference between them. There is little evidence that any particular sub-group moves independent of a movement of the whole constituency. Part of this may be due to the fact that the groups are likely to be fairly homogeneous on the income-education variables which have such a strong influence.

All of this underscores the idea that it is the "visionary" Reagan - the President who deals with the broad picture - who influences the public. It appears that the "shotgun" approach to Reagan's constituency strategy is best - aim at the core, but make sure your shot spread hits all areas. The "rifle shot" approach would be self-defeating - especially if aimed away from the core.

The difference between male and female support for the President was carefully examined. In the June data there was little difference between the two (male vote = 37% Reagan; female vote = 35.0%). It was only as Reagan's vote began to build that females began lagging (August male vote = 43.5%; female vote = 38.5%) and the lag has been consistent ever since. DMI divided women into two groups (working and non-working), but there was no real difference between these groups at the aggregate level. It is possible that education and/or age, rather than employment, is the decisive factor in determining female support for the President and this will have to be determined through further analysis.

COALITION STATUS

There have been a number of important roll call votes in the House in recent weeks. On the whole the Reagan coalition has held firm, but some votes resulted in a temporary defeat. Here is a brief summary of 9 important roll call votes, followed by an analysis of the changing aspects of the Reagan coalition. The descriptions of the legislative actions are from a layman's point of view as opposed to one deeply engaged in the legislative process.

11/12 Interior Appropriations: A Republican motion to recommit the appropriations bill failed on a 199 to 199 tie. In the vote 28 Democrats, 21 of them southerners, came across to support the Republican position, while 8 GOP defected to the other side. While the vote was a defeat, it demonstrated the continued operation of the Boll Weevil-GOP coalition. It also demonstrated that we cannot afford the defection of more than 2 or 3 Republicans.

11/16 Continuing Resolution, GOP Motion To Recommit: KEY VOTE The GOP offered a motion to recommit the Democrats' version of the continuing resolution with instructions to cut another 5% from certain categories. The motion failed by a 189 to 201 margin. Again, 28 Democrats came across, but this time 18 Republicans, mostly Gypsy Moths, voted with the Democrats. It is obvious that we cannot stand the defection of the bulk of that group. Virtually all defecting Democrats were southerners.

11/16 Final Passage of the Democratic Version of the Continuing Resolution: Despite the victory of a few minutes ago, the Democrats nearly lost this vote, winning only 195 to 187. The vote was very different from the previous vote and reflected many members desire to cast a vote on both sides of the issue. It can be regarded as a "cheap" vote. 42 Democrats voted against their own resolution, while 32 Republicans supported it. A number of liberal Democrats voted against final passage, while a few conservative Republicans voted for passage.

11/22 GOP Motion To Recommit Conference Report On Continuing Resolution: KEY VOTE: The GOP motion to recommit was defeated 184 to 215 on a near party line vote. Only 8 extremely loyal Boll Weevils defected to the GOP, while no Republicans crossed over to the opposite side. If one is looking for possible defections to the Republican Party, one should look in this group of 8 Boll Weevils who voted with the GOP. In all of these recent roll call votes absenteeism was high, but, except for the Interior Appropriations Bill vote, it is not likely that a lesser degree of absenteeism would have changed the result.

11/22 Final Passage of the Conference Report On the Continuing Resolution: While this vote was a "cheap" vote, the outcome was extremely tight. The Democrats won it by a 205 to 194 tally. 10 Republicans supported the Democratic position, while 27 Democrats voted with the GOP. Most of the defecting Republicans were of the moderate stripe (7 out of 10), while most of the defecting Democrats were southerners (20 of 27). A few liberal Democrats cast a protest vote against the Resolution.

11/23 GOP Motion To Recommit Democratic Version Of the Conference Report On the Continuing Resolution: (Is that clear?)

KEY VOTE: The day the government shut down because of the President's veto was the day the President started to win again in the House. The GOP motion carried 221 to 176, as 42 Democrats came across and no Republicans defected. While the usual number of Boll Weevils supported the President, a significant number of northern liberals jumped on the bandwagon, some out of fear of voter reprisals. This vote indicated that budget cutting was still popular and that the spirit of Gramm-Latta I still lives.

11/23 Final Passage of Conference Report On the Continuing Resolution: This was the cheapest vote of all, as all but 26 members supported final passage. The vote was 367 to 26. 6 of the negative votes were from conservative Republicans.

12/10 GOP Motion To Recommit Democratic Version of the Extension of the Continuing Resolution: KEY VOTE: This vote was a great victory for the President. The tally was 222 to 194. 34 Democrats supported the President, while only 3 Republicans defected. When the usual number of between 25 and 30 Democrats defect to the GOP and GOP defections are held to 2 or 3, the result is always a Presidential victory. In the 34 defecting Democrats there are a number of "scared" Democrats who usually do not support the President.

12/10 Final Passage of the Extension of the Continuing Resolution: This was a "cheap" vote in which a number of members switched sides. The tally for passage was 218 to 197. This time 53 Democrats came across, while 24 Republicans went the other way. There was a significant number of liberal Democrats (perhaps a dozen) who took both sides of this issue. Likewise, there were a number of Republicans who did the same. Almost all Republicans were ultra-conservative.

Here some observations on the health and well being of the Reagan coalition in the House:

>On the whole, the Reagan coalition is still intact. It remains, however, as precarious as ever, with the outcome of many votes usually in doubt.

>We can usually count on about 30 Democrats voting with us.

>There are approximately 11 Democrats who vote with us practically all of the time, plus another 7 or 8 who vote with us most of the time. Thus, there is a hard core of support of almost 20 votes.

>The rest of the coalition gives varying degrees of support. At least another dozen are supportive half of the time.

- >The coalition has seen some shifts. 9 Democrats are less supportive than last summer, while 7 have increased their support. Several strong supporters from last summer are now quite lukewarm with their support. Still others are afraid of their reelection prospects and have fallen more in line.
- >On many roll calls there are a handful of northern liberal Democrats representing GOP districts, who are afraid to oppose the President.
- >There are still about two dozen liberal Democrats representing GOP districts who have consistently opposed the President. They should be a major focus for 1982.
- >There are a significant number of southern Democrats who have generally opposed the President. They should receive attention in 1982.
- >The Gypsy Moths are an important factor in the coalition. Without their general support we cannot win roll calls.
- >The loss of 2 or 3 Gypsy Moths, such as Bill Green or Harold Hollenbeck, does not seriously impair the coalition. It is only when the number of defections swells to 10 or more that victory becomes impossible.
- >Some of the Gypsy Moths are philosophically moderate or liberal. The rest represent essentially Democratic districts and may not be able to win reelection in 1982. Thus, a number of the Gypsy Moths are in opposition to the President as a matter of self preservation.
- >The gain of 15 to 20 seats in the House will put it beyond the control of Tip O'Neill and the liberal Democrats.
- >The loss of 20 seats means the loss of our philosophical majority in the House. Such a loss also means that we will be unable to pass most of the President's legislative program.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NUMBER #21

TO: SENIOR STAFF
FROM: Richard S. Beal
SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest
DATE: December 3, 1981

Enclosed are some of the significant recent public opinion survey results, plus an update on reapportionment in the States.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS:

ABC, NBC, HARRIS, GALLUP

PERCENTAGE

60

APPROVAL



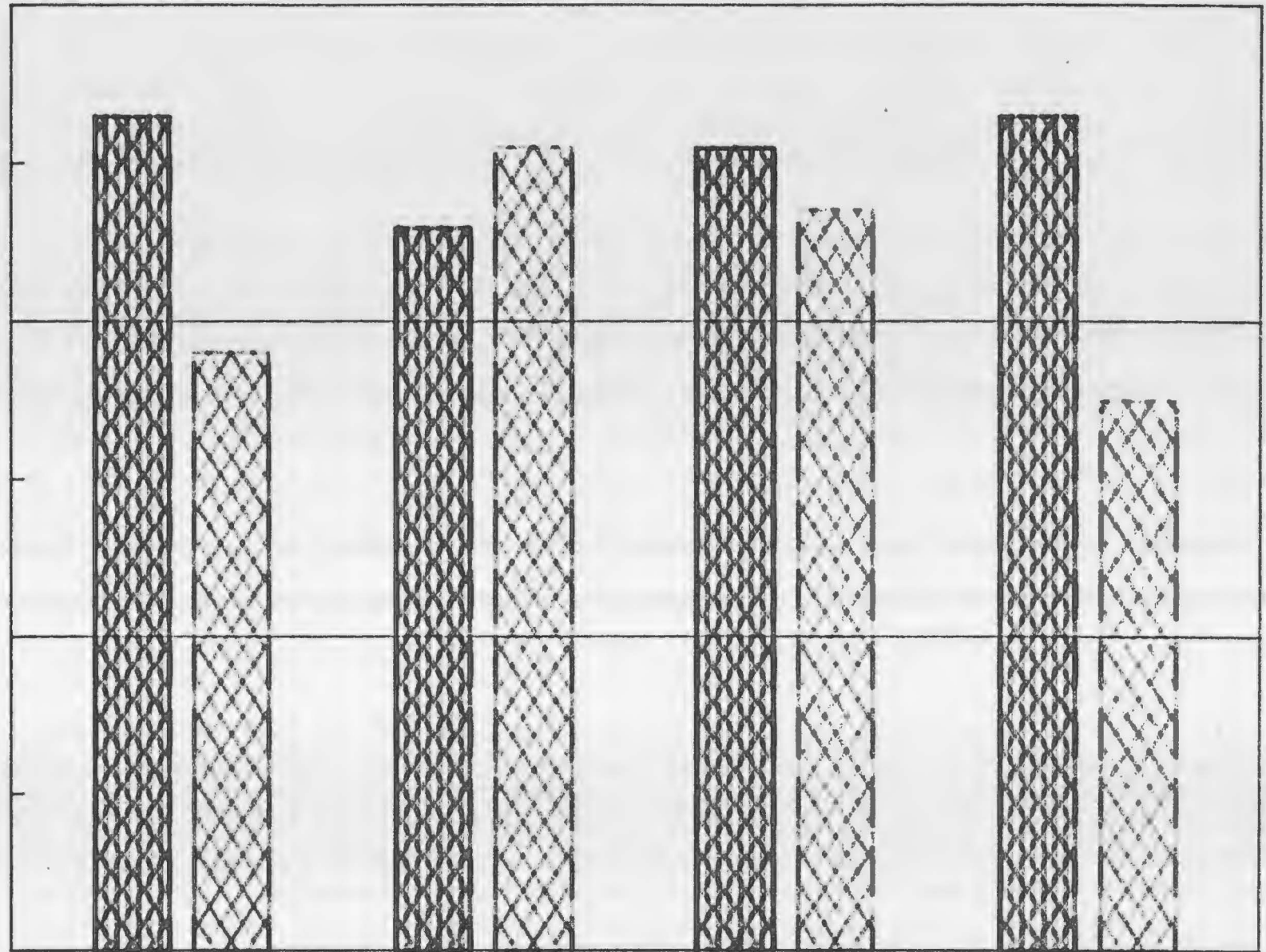
DISAPPROVAL



40

20

0



ABC: 11/22

NBC: 11/18

HARRIS: 11/3

GALLUP: 11/2

VENDOR

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST
#21 December 3, 1981

ABC/POST: 1,516 11/17-22

Q. The President's job
approval rating?

Approve: 53
Disapprove: 38

Analysis: This represents
a drop of 6 points over the
previous survey. The ABC
approval rating had been
hovering around 60 for several
months, but has now followed
the other polls downward.

Q. The President's handling
of the economy?

Approve: 45
Disapprove: 49

Analysis: The previous rating
was 54-39.

Q. The President's handling
of unemployment?

Approve: 34
Disapprove: 57

Q. Is the economy getting
better or worse?

Better: 11
Worse: 55
Same: 33

Q. Will the tax and budget
cuts help the economy?

Yes: 47
No: 41

Q. Will the new cuts damage
needed programs?

Yes: 54
No: 29

Q. Should David Stockman be
fired?

Yes: 21
No: 72

Q. After hearing about or
reading the Stockman interview
do you have a more or less
favorable impression of the
Reagan economic program?

More: 7
Less: 54
No Difference: 32

NBC/AP: 1,602 11/17-18

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 46
Disapprove: 51

Analysis: This is the lowest rating yet received and the first negative rating. The previous NBC rating in October was 51-46 positive. The only thing that can be said is that the NBC rating has been one of the lowest ratings of all national polls.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 35
Disapprove: 62

Analysis: This is a slight deterioration over the October rating of 39-57. The economic rating has been on the negative side since september.

Q. The President's handling of foreign affairs?

Approve: 42
Disapprove: 52

Analysis: Again this is a slight deterioration over the October rating of 45-49. The worst foreign affairs rating (40-51) was received in July. The rating has been on the negative side since May.

Q. Do you blame the President for saying that the budget will probably not be balanced by 1984?

Haven't heard/read: 19
Blame Reagan: 17
Do Not Blame Reagan: 61

Q. Have Stockman's comments made you less optimistic about the success of President Reagan's economic program?

Haven't heard/read: 31
Less Optimistic: 22
No difference: 45

Q. Do you think David Stockman should be replaced?

Should be replaced: 29
Stay on job: 58

Q. Would you like to see Ronald Reagan run for reelection as President in 1984?

Yes: 43
No: 37
Too soon to know: 13

Q. Do you favor building the B-1 bomber?

Favor: 39
Oppose: 24
No Opinion/Not Sure: 37

Q. Do you favor the President's plans to deploy MX missiles?

Favor: 23
Oppose: 19
No Opinion/Not Sure: 58

Q. Do you approve of the President's handling of the air traffic controllers' strike?

Approve: 66
Disapprove: 26

Analysis: The August survey showed a 64-27 approval rating.

Q. Should the fired air traffic controllers be rehired?

Yes: 40
No: 47
Rehire Some: 6

NBC/AP 1,598 10/25-26

Here are a few questions just released from the previous NBC survey.

Q. Should public schools teach only the scientific theory of evolution, only the Biblical theory of creation, or both?

Only Scientific Theory: 8
Both Theories: 76
Only Biblical Theory: 10

Q. Do you think parents who send their children to elementary and secondary private schools should get a tax break?

Yes: 44
No: 52

Q. If tuition tax credits were available would you be more likely to enroll your children in private schools?

More Likely: 26
No Difference: 56
Less Likely: 6
No School Age Children: 9

HARRIS: 1,249 10/28-11/3

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 51
Disapprove: 47

Analysis: This is a drop of 3 points over the September results of 54-44. This is the lowest Harris results yet. Harris, like NBC, has usually been on the low side.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 41
Disapprove: 56

Analysis: This is a massive 8-point drop over the September rating of 49-49.

Q. The President's handling of foreign policy?

Approve: 50
Disapprove: 46

Analysis: Basically unchanged from the previous sample of 51-43.

Q. Inspiring Confidence in the White House? Approve: 57
Disapprove: 41

Analysis: This key Harris measure has remained fairly stable despite the economic difficulties. The September rating was 58-39, while the August rating was 62-34.

Q. The President's handling of inflation? Approve: 33
Disapprove: 65

Analysis: Another big 8-point decline over the previous survey results of 41-57.

Q. Getting the country out of the recession? Approve: 28
Disapprove: 68

Q. The President's handling of relations with Congress? Approve: 65
Disapprove: 32

Analysis: This remains one of the strongest perceptions of the Administration. The previous rating was 62-36.

Q. The President's going back to Congress for even more spending cuts? Approve: 42
Disapprove: 53

Analysis: This is a 5 point drop over the previous finding of 47-50.

Q. The President's handling of Social Security? Approve: 28
Disapprove: 68

Q. The President's going back to Congress for tax increases? Approve: 27
Disapprove: 63

Q. The President's handling of the defense budget? Approve: 48
Disapprove: 47

GALLUP: 1,500 10/30-11/2

Q. The President's job approval rating? Approve: 53
Disapprove: 35

Analysis: This is a 3 point drop since the last survey a month ago. Carter's rating at the same time was 51-31.

Q. The President's job approval rating among various sub-groups?

Per Cent Approval

Men: 60
Women: 47

Whites: 61
Blacks: 13

GOP: 88
DEM: 31
IND: 58

18-29: 36
30-49: 56
50+: 51

East: 51
South: 49
Midwest: 60
West: 55

Q. The effect of Reaganomics on personal finances?
Analysis: The previous rating in October was positive 42-39.

Better: 34
Worse: 45

Q. The effect of Reaganomics on the nation's economy?
Analysis: Last month's finding was positive by 53-37. Thus the perception has deteriorated considerably.

Better: 44
Worse: 42

GALLUP: 1,508 10/2-5

Q. Presidential preference for 1984?
Analysis: Go Ted Go!

Reagan: 56
Kennedy: 35
Other: 3

Q. Presidential preference for 1984?
Analysis: Fritz will probably be able to carry Minnesota.

Reagan: 54
Mondale: 37
Other: 1

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Q. The President's job approval rating?
Analysis: This is a drop of 11 points over the previous survey in September.

Satisfied: 42.8
Dissatisfied: 42.8

STRAIGHT TALK ABOUT REAPPORTIONMENT

Much has been said and written about the effects of reapportionment on the 1982 congressional elections. Early on it was thought that the Republicans would gain significantly from the process. Now it is being said that the effect may be a "wash".

We have always stated that the reapportionment process would net the GOP from 8 to 10 seats. Because of two states, and two states only, we have had to lower the estimate to 5. The two states are California and Illinois. Everything else is essentially on schedule.

There never was any real chance of gaining 15 seats because of reapportionment. The reason for this is that the Democrats have too much control in the various state legislatures to achieve such results. If California or Illinois is overturned, however, the estimate will be raised back up. It is also extremely important that the Party be able to work its will in Pennsylvania, Colorado, and Washington.

In analyzing reapportionment, one must realize that there are four basic categories of seats to monitor. First, there are the 17 "disappearing" seats, that is the seats from the East and Midwest which will have to be eliminated. Secondly, there are the 17 "new" seats which will appear in the Sunbelt. Then there are a number of seats which will be essentially "destroyed" or substantially altered. One cannot overlook this category in calculating the effects of reapportionment even though they have nothing to do with the 17 shifting seats.

Finally, there are a large number of seats (it is not possible to tell how many yet) which will be slightly altered but which could very well change parties because of the boundary changes. One cannot accurately assess this category since the greatest determinant will be the local political situation. Examples of this would be the changes in Stan Parris's 8th district in northern Virginia which weakened him, but which are not likely to be the main factor in whether or not he returns to Congress.

Here is the current outlook on the 17 "disappearing" seats:

Mass:	-1D	
NY:	-3D	-2R
NJ:		-1R
Pa:	-2D	
Ohio:	-1D	-1R
Ind:	-1D	
Ill:		-2R
Mich:	-1D	
S.D.:		-1R
Mo:	-1D	
	<u>-10D</u>	-7R

This is, of course, an estimate. If things go well the split could be -12D and -5R. Naturally, this would raise the net GOP gain by 2 seats. It could also be worse if there are more surprises like Illinois. We could be looking at a -6D and -11R split. This would mean a possible "wash" or even a net loss.

Here is the outlook on the 17 "new" seats in the Sunbelt.

Fla:	+2D	+2R
Tenn:		+1R
Tex:	+2D	+1R
NM:	+1D	
Ariz:		+1R
Nev:		+1R
Utah:		+1R
Colo:		+1R
Wash:		+1R
Ore:		+1R
Cal:	+2D	
	+7D	+10R

It is in the category of new seats that the GOP has its greatest opportunity to offset setbacks such as Illinois. Many of these seats will be predetermined for each party, but others will be up for grabs. It is possible that the GOP could take 13 of these seats to the Democrats 4. It is also possible that the Democrats could edge us 9 to 8.

Here is the current outlook on the third category (the destroyed or substantially altered seats). This group of seats is the result of partisan gerrymanders attempting to eliminate sitting congressmen. Examples of this type would be Floyd Fithian of Indiana and Jim Mattox of Texas.

NJ:	-1R
Pa:	+2R
WVa:	-1R
Tex:	+2R
Ind:	+2R
Ill:	-1R
Colo:	+1R
Wash:	+1R
Cal:	-3R
	+2R Net Effect

The total net effect we see at this time is a +5 Republican seats. We have not attempted to evaluate the fourth category of seats because of the necessity of making a political call on future races. If California or Illinois were overturned the number would be higher.

A best case scenario would give the GOP a net gain of at least 10 seats. A worst case scenario would be a break even situation. Many key states such as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida, Ohio, and Michigan have yet to draw new districts.

		APPROVAL FAVORABLE	DISAPPROVAL UNFAVORABLE	NO OPINION
=====				
21-23 January	CBS/NYT	46	11	43
30 Jan - 2 Feb	GALLUP	51	13	36
1 February	DMI	65	14	22
13-16 February	GALLUP	55	18	27
19-20 February	ABC/POST	68	17	15
19-22 February	HARRIS	62	30	8
20 February	DMI	70	14	16
23-24 February	NBC/AP	56	26	18
7 March	DMI	72	16	13
13-16 March	GALLUP	60	24	16
15 March	LA TIMES*	73	18	9
25 March	DMI	71	20	9
25-29 March	ABC/POST	63	22	15
-----POST SHOOTING-----				
31 March	ABC/POST	63	22	15
3-6 April	GALLUP	67	18	15
10-13 April	GALLUP	67	19	14
12-16 April	LA TIMES*	83	13	4
13-14 April	NBC/AP	66	27	7
14 April	DMI	76	17	7
20-21 April	ABC/POST	73	19	8
22-26 April	CBS/NYT	67	18	15
29-30 April	HARRIS	67	29	4
8-11 May	GALLUP	68	21	11
14 May	ABC/POST	66	24	10
12-17 May	DMI	75	20	5
18-19 May	NBC/AP	62	33	5
18-20 May	ABC/POST	66	26	8
18-26 May	NEWSDAY	68	30	4
3-7 June	HARRIS	60	39	1
5-8 June	GALLUP	59	28	13
Mid-June	MOR	67	22	11
13-15 June	DMI	69	25	5
19-22 June	GALLUP	59	29	12
22-27 June	CBS/NYT	59	23	18
26-29 June	GALLUP	58	30	12
9 July	ABC/POST	57	25	18
8-12 July	HARRIS	55	43	2
13-14 July	NBC/AP	55	42	3
18 July	DMI	69	27	4
17-19 July	GALLUP	61	28	11
24-27 July	GALLUP	56	30	14
31 July-3 Aug	GALLUP	60	28	12

		APPROVAL FAVORABLE	DISAPPROVAL UNFAVORABLE	NO OPINION
=====				
8-10 August	NBC/AP	63	35	2
11-16 August	HARRIS	57	?	?
16 August	DMI	73	24	3
14-17 August	GALLUP	60	29	11
Mid-September	DMI	73	24	3
19-24 September	HARRIS	54	44	2
14-20 September	ABC/POST	61	34	5
25-26 September	ABC/POST	63	34	3
22-27 September	CBS/NYT	53	33	14
28-29 September	NBC/AP	53	43	4
1 October	DMI	61	32	7
2-4 October	GALLUP	56	35	9
4 October	LA TIMES*	72	26	2
4-5 October	ABC/POST	58	35	7
5-10 October	DMI	67	25	8
9-12 October	ABC/POST	61	33	6
17-18 October	ABC/POST	59	33	8
24 October	NEWSDAY	60	38	2
25-26 October	NBC/AP	51	46	3
17-27 October	DMI	65	29	6
30 Oct - 2 Nov	GALLUP	53	35	12
28 Oct - 3 Nov	HARRIS	51	47	2
9-18 November	DMI	62	33	5
16-17 November	NBC/AP	46	51	3
17-22 November	ABC/POST	53	38	9

* Favorability Rating

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Senior Staff
FROM: Richard S. Beale 
SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest #20
DATE: November 2, 1981

This digest includes the latest public opinion data, status of the Virginia and New Jersey gubernatorial races, and an analysis of the AWACS Senate vote.

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST: #20 NOVEMBER 2, 1981

AP/NBC 10/25-26

Q. President's Handling of Economy?	Excellent/Good: 39%
	Only Fair: 34
	Poor: 23
Q. Most Important Problem for the Government to Control:	Inflation: 34%
	Unemployment: 32
	Interest Rates: 30
Q. During the next year, will the economy get:	Better: 20%
	Worse: 26
	Same: 52
Q. President's Handling of Foreign Affairs?	Excellent/Good: 45%
	Only Fair: 34
	Poor: 15
Q. Do you favor or oppose a new agreement between the U.S. and the Soviets which would limit nuclear weapons?	Favor: 70%
	Oppose: 21
Q. Some people worry that as President, Ronald Reagan might get this country involved in a war. Are you:	Worried: 37%
	Not Worried: 60

ABC: 10/18

Q. The President's job approval	Approve: 59%
	Disapprove: 33
<u>Analysis:</u> This is a drop of two points over the week before but the disapproval also dropped two points. The rating has remained incredibly stable over the past month: 61, 63, 58, 61, and now 59.	
Q. President's Handling of the Economy?	Approve: 54%
	Disapprove: 39
Q. Do you think the nation's economy is getting	Better: 17%
	Worse: 40
	Staying the Same: 41

Q. Do you think that a year from now, you will be better off financially, worse off, or about the same?

Better: 28%
Worse: 26
Same: 44

Q. President's Handling of Foreign Policy?

Approve: 61%
Disapprove: 26

Q. Should U.S. Cooperate with the Arabs and lessen ties with Israel to get oil?

Yes: 39%
No: 43

Q. Should the U.S. enter into a new round of arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union at this time or not?

Should: 57%
Should not: 29

Q. What would you say is the biggest problem the U.S. faces overseas?

Middle East: 31%
Soviets: 15
War/Peace: 15
Loss of Oil: 9

GALLUP: 1,255 10/2-4

Q. The most important problem facing the nation?

Analysis: Fear of inflation is diminishing, while concern over unemployment is on the increase. In May, inflation led unemployment 59 to 15, while in Feb. it led 73 to 8. Unemployment was the #1 concern of 20% of the people in the East and Midwest, but only 12% of the people in the South and 16% in the West.

Inflation: 52
Unemployment: 17
Budget cuts: 6
Gov't spending: 4
Fear of war: 4
Crime: 4
Moral decline: 4

Q. Do you favor giving the President the power of an item veto?

Analysis: Even Democrats favor the idea by a big margin: 57-29.

Favor: 64
Oppose: 24

LOS ANGELES TIMES: 2,115 9/27-10/4

Q. What is your impression of Alexander Haig?

Favorable: 44
Unfavorable: 27
Not heard: 22

Q. What is your impression of Caspar Weinberger?

Favorable: 38
Unfavorable: 13
Not heard: 37

LOS ANGELES TIMES cont.:

Q. What is your impression of James Watt?

Favorable: 22
Unfavorable: 18
Not heard: 49

Q. What is your impression of David Stockman?

Favorable: 31
Unfavorable: 18
Not heard: 39

HARRIS: 1,249 9/19-24

The following Harris results are more than a month old, but were not released until mid-October.

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 54
Disapprove: 44

Analysis: As previously reported, the Harris rating has remained stable in recent months: 57 in August and 55 in July.

Approval by region:

East: 49-49
Midwest: 52-47
South: 57-41
West: 61-37

Q. The President's handling of relations with Congress?

Approve: 62
Disapprove: 36

Analysis: Although very high, the rating is down 5 points from the August sampling.

Q. Inspiring confidence in the White House?

Approve: 58
Disapprove: 39

Analysis: This is a drop of 4 points over the previous rating and represents continued deterioration.

Q. The President's handling of the Libyan plane incident?

Approve: 58
Disapprove: 35

Q. The President's handling of foreign policy?

Approve: 51
Disapprove: 43

Analysis: This is a 6 point jump in approval from a negative rating of 45-48 in August.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 49
Disapprove: 49

Analysis: This is only a 3 point drop over the August rating of 52-45.

HARRIS cont.:

Q. The President's handling of the defense budget? Approve: 47
Disapprove: 49

Q. Going to Congress for more spending cuts? Approve: 47
Disapprove: 50

Q. The President's handling of inflation? Approve: 41
Disapprove: 57

Analysis: While down 2 points since the last survey, this rating has remained rather stable even back to the pre-shooting days.

Q. The President criticizing Wall Street? Approve: 40
Disapprove: 52

Q. The President's handling of Social Security? Approve: 31
Disapprove: 63

Analysis: Although highly negative, this rating is 4 points better than the August rating of 27-69.

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH: 909 10/12-19 VIRGINIA ONLY

Q. The President's job approval rating? Approve: 67

Q. The President's program of tax cuts and spending cuts? Confident: 50
Skeptical: 45

BALTIMORE SUN: 800 9/25-10/4 MARYLAND ONLY

Q. The President's job approval rating? Approve: 47
Disapprove: 39

Analysis: While this is not a very high rating, one must be aware of the fact that Maryland was one of only 6 states to vote for Jimmy Carter in 1980.

Q. Governor Harry Hughes' (Dem) job approval rating? Approve: 42
Disapprove: 31

Analysis: Hughes was elected in 1978 with 71% of the vote, but seems to have slipped a great deal in popularity. It remains to be seen whether the GOP can pick up this statehouse.

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

There are three possibilities which may occur in Tuesday's elections. The worst case is losing both the New Jersey and Virginia races. If this happens the press will play it up as a significant repudiation of the Reagan Administration. The media will cite the massive intrusion of the national Administration into the state elections. There will be no denying it.

The second possibility is a split of the two governorships. It could be a retention of the status quo or the parties could switch statehouses. Either way there will be no clear national trend. In this scenario, the media may say that local conditions determined the outcome.

The third situation, winning both governorships, would have to be interpreted as another stunning come-from-behind victory for the President.

THE OUTLOOK

It appears that, while both races are extremely close, the Democrats have the edge in both states. In New Jersey the race is almost too close to call, but we believe that Florio will win by anywhere from 1 to 3 points. This would translate into a margin of between 25,000 to 65,000 votes. We look for a race similar to the 1961 contest between GOP Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and Democrat Richard J. Hughes win which the Hughes won by 35,000 votes out of over 2 million cast. While we continue to predict a Democratic victory, signs are extremely encouraging.

In Virginia the race has not been as close, but at the end Coleman has practically closed the gap. He still trails and will probably lose by 2 or 3 points, a margin of 25,000 to 40,000 votes. The momentum is clearly with the GOP at this time, with party loyalty now the major factor. We look for a race similar to the John Warner-Andrew Miller contest in 1978, which Warner won 513,000 to 508,000 or the Howell-Godwin contest in 1973, which was nearly as close.

We must emphasize that both races could still be won, and neither should be conceded. There remains a very good chance that at least one of the races will end up in the GOP column.

Despite all of the campaign rhetoric concerning both local and national issues, geography remains the key factor in both races. Let us examine both races in detail.

VIRGINIA

The latest Richmond Times-Dispatch Poll gives the Democrat Charles Robb a whopping 9 point lead: 47-38. However, when the most likely to vote are identified, the result is a little closer with Robb leading Coleman only 48-41. The final Washington Post Poll gives Robb a 51 to 44 lead, down from the previous lead of 11 points. There are reports of a Roanoke TV station poll showing Robb ahead by only 5 statewide, but we have no specifics.

The most significant poll so far is the one done by the University of Virginia for the Norfolk Virginian Pilot. It has the race dead even at 44 apiece. This is the first public poll to indicate a serious chance of Coleman winning. GOP polls in recent days have shown Coleman ahead with the trend running his way. Local polls by the Arundel Newspapers in northern Virginia also seem to indicate that Coleman is closing the gap.

Everything seems to indicate that Coleman has pulled nearly even with Robb. The closeness of the election notwithstanding, however, Robb still appears to have the advantage, due in large part to the better geographic balance on the Democratic ticket. An analysis of the race on a district by district basis also indicates an edge to Robb:

- 1st Dist. (Tidewater): Robb is way ahead here.
- 2nd Dist. (Norfolk-Va. Beach) Robb leading, but GOP strength in Virginia Beach is beginning to show.
- 3rd Dist. (Richmond) Coleman not doing well here but the overwhelming GOP vote in Henrico and Chesterfield counties should prevail on election day. If not, look out. Indications are that Coleman is picking up here.
- 4th Dist. (Southside-Prtsmth.) Robb way ahead, heavy support from Blacks who will probably turn out in large numbers.
- 5th Dist. (Lynchburg-Danville) Coleman ahead in this GOP district. He must do well here as well as in Richmond to offset the big Democratic lead in the Tidewater districts.
- 6th Dist. (Roanoke) Coleman way ahead in his home district. Again the margin is important.
- 7th Dist. (Valley-Staunton) Coleman ahead in this Republican stronghold.
- 8th Dist. (Wash. suburbs-Alex.) Robb ahead here and likely to stay ahead. For Coleman to win he will have to hold Robb to a modest margin in both suburban districts. If Coleman carries either suburban district he could win statewide.
- 9th Dist. (Southwest-Bristol) Close district, not much margin, Robb probably leads here.
- 10th Dist. (Wash. suburbs-Arl.) Same as 8th district, Robb ahead.

While we believe that Robb has the advantage, due especially to geography, we do not concede the race. The endorsements by the President and Governor Godwin, as well as the Richmond paper, makes the race more of a test of party loyalty. Also, the Republican effort to turn out the vote will have a decided impact on the outcome. Thus it may be possible for Coleman to pull it out by election day.

There is also the possibility that Robb will win it by a large margin. If that happens, say by 10 points, that could spell defeat for the entire GOP ticket. The likelihood of this occurring appears less and less likely.

For Coleman to win he will have to come out of the mountains with a large margin. Then he will have to do well in the Richmond suburbs. Finally, he will have to hold Robb's margins in northern Virginia down to insignificant levels. If Coleman fails to achieve any one of these three necessary objectives, he will not win. Undoubtedly the press will say the Black vote cost Coleman the Governorship.

With the governor's race questionable, the Administration should turn its election night focus on the rest of the ticket in the Old Dominion. It now appears that Republican Wyatt Durette will win the attorney general's race, thus retaining that post for the Party.

There is also a possibility that the much-maligned Nathan Miller will win the Lt. Governor's race, although he now appears to be fading. For most of the campaign he appeared to be doing better than Coleman. Much of his strength seems to be coming from partisan Republicans who regard the allegations of scandal against him as a call to arms for Republicans. Thus if the Governor's race is within 3 or 4 points, it is conceivable that Miller could win while Coleman loses. This is less and less likely as Coleman picks up strength and the full implications of Miller's problems sink in with the voters.

In the races for the state legislature, the GOP appears on the verge of making Virginia a two-party state. With only 25 out of 100 in the Assembly currently, the Party is likely to push that total up over 30. Gains are likely to come from Fairfax County, Virginia Beach, Loudon County, and the Richmond suburbs. Of course, a Robb landslide would prevent these gains. It is entirely possible that we could push the number of Republican seats in the Assembly as high as 32 or 33, a third of the total. The only other Confederate states where the GOP has ever elected such a high percentage of the legislature are Florida and Tennessee.

NEW JERSEY

The race in the Garden State is too close to call. It could go either way. We have a much better chance of winning in New Jersey than in Virginia as it stands right now. GOP polls have shown Tom Kean with a narrow, but consistent lead. Public newspaper polls have shown Florio with a comfortable but diminishing lead. The Democratic National Committee is deeply concerned over New Jersey.

The latest New York Times poll gave Florio a 48 to 40 lead among all voters, but among likely voters his lead was a mere 2 points. The Eagleton Poll put Florio's lead at 6 points as of a few days ago, but it is reported that further polling by that organization shows the contest a dead heat because the undecided are breaking heavily for Kean. Another statewide poll has Florio leading by 5 points. It is also reported that one of the networks will release a poll showing Kean up by 1 point.

The problem with New Jersey is that the demographics favor the Democrats. Florio is from South Jersey, which is frequently a swing area. He is way ahead there. Florio also has considerable strength among Italian voters, who make up 20% of the state. Over 40% of New Jersey is Catholic, one of the highest percentages in the nation.

Given the facts, we feel that Florio will win a narrow 1 or 2 point victory over Kean. THERE SHOULD BE CONCERN OVER OBTAINING AN HONEST COUNT. Again the press will attempt to label the election as a repudiation of the Administration. They will cite the fact the President Reagan won the state in a landslide in 1980 and that President Ford carried it in 1976 also.

WE MUST POINT OUT THAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE DOMINATED THE GOVERNOR'S RACE FOR NEARLY THREE DECADES IN NEW JERSEY. William Cahill, a popular South Jersey congressman, was the only Republican elected governor since Alfred Driscoll was reelected in 1949. Some of the Democratic victories have been by significant landslides:

<u>Year</u>	<u>GOP%</u>	<u>DEM%</u>
1953	44.7	53.2
1957	44.5	54.6
1961	48.7	50.4 (a close election)
1965	41.1	57.4
1969	59.7	38.5 (our only win in the last 32 years)
1973	32.1	66.4
1977	42	56

Thus, if Kean loses by a couple of points we must demonstrate that his showing was quite good for a Republican in a New Jersey Governor's race. You cannot compare the Governor's races to presidential or congressional.

In analyzing the state on a district by district basis, it is clear that the Democratic cities in northern Jersey are key. Such cities as Jersey City, Passaic, Paterson, Elizabeth and Perth Amboy will determine the winner. Florio will run well in South Jersey, while Kean will run well in traditionally Republican suburbs and rural areas. Florio will also carry the previously mentioned cities. The question is by how much.

The district by district breakdown:

- 1st Dist.: (Camden) This is Florio's home district. He may win better than 2 to 1 here.
- 2nd Dist.: (Atlantic City) Not really a Democratic district but Florio is way ahead here because he is from South Jersey.
- 3rd Dist.: (Monmouth Cty) Kean ahead in this Republican stronghold.
- 4th Dist.: (Trenton) Another bad news Democratic city. Florio ahead.
- 5th Dist.: (Morristown) The heartland of Yankee Republicanism. Kean all the way.
- 6th Dist.: (sub. Cam.-Phil) A Republican district but local boy Florio way ahead.
- 7th Dist.: (Bergen County) Heartland of New York suburbs. Kean country.
- 8th Dist.: (Passaic-Ptrsn) An urban swing district with lots of Italian Catholics. Kean must hold Florio to a small margin.
- 9th Dist.: (Bergen County) Another suburban GOP district, lots of Catholics. Kean needs a big margin here to win statewide.
- 10th Dist.: (Newark) Look out!! Heavy Black population. Press will say turnout in Newark cost GOP the Governorship.
- 11th Dist.: (Oranges) Swing district, many working class suburbs plus Italians. Kean's home is in the adjacent district, which could be a positive factor. Kean needs to win here. Too close to call.
- 12th Dist.: (Union County) Leans Republican. Kean should do well here, but needs a good margin.
- 13th Dist.: (rural northwest) Strong GOP district, Kean strong here.
- 14th Dist.: (Jersey City) Heavily Democratic, but the margin is the important thing. Democrats cast more votes in the gubernatorial primary than Carter received for president in 1980. Lots of Italians.
- 15th Dist.: (Perth Amboy) Working class Democratic area which Reagan easily carried. If Florio carries the traditional Democratic vote here, he will win statewide.

It looks like a Democratic victory based on tradition. The one thing Kean has going for him is the fact that voters are tired of the Democratic dominance in Trenton and are on the verge of throwing the rascals out. On the other hand, the economy is not good and President Reagan may get the blame. AWACS might hurt instead of help in New Jersey since there is a very large Jewish population particularly near Kean's home base. The reverse is true

The legislature has been gerrymandered Democratic, but the GOP has staged an all-out effort to win control of at least one of the houses. Traditionally, the legislative races are tied to the Governor's race. A victory of 200,000 votes gives control over both houses. A victory of 100,000 guarantees only one house.

Given the facts of reapportionment and the closeness of the Governor's race, control of the legislature is in doubt. While we expect the Democrats to maintain control, there is a good possibility that the GOP might capture the Assembly. This is crucial to avoiding an expected Democratic gerrymander of the state's congressional districts in 1982. Such a remap could cost the GOP anywhere from 2 to 4 of its 7 congressmen.

AWACS

Some interesting voting patterns emerged from last Wednesday's AWACS vote in the Senate. While the President's lobbying effort was obviously the key factor in the victory, there were some discernible demographic patterns in the roll call vote.

The most obvious aspect of the vote was the breakdown by party. What began as a non-partisan issue became more and more a test of party loyalty at the end. 77.4% of Republicans supported the sale, while an almost identical percentage of Democrats (76.6%) was opposed. The numerical superiority of the GOP prevailed.

The vote by party:	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
GOP:	41	12
DEM:	11	36
	<u>52</u>	<u>48</u>

The most interesting breakdown was by region. The East was strongly opposed to the sale, while the Midwest, due mainly to the industrial Great Lakes states, split evenly. Both the South and West supported the sale by a large margin.

The vote by region:	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
East:	7	17
South:	17	9
Midwest:	12	12
West:	16	10
	<u>52</u>	<u>48</u>

The opposition in the East can be explained by the presence of significant concentrations of Jewish voters in the urban areas. The same is true of Florida. Conversely, the absence of Jewish voters further south and west account for support of the sale. Outside of the East, the only other significant opposition to the sale came from the Great Lakes states which have fairly significant Jewish populations. Another stark comparison is the difference between the vote east of the Mississippi and west of the Mississippi.

East vs. West:	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
East of Miss. R.:	22	30
West of Miss. R.:	30	18
	<u>52</u>	<u>48</u>

Another aspect of the vote is the party breakdown by region. Republicans were in favor of the sale everywhere except in the East where they split. Democrats were opposed to the sale everywhere except in the South where they split.

Regional by party:		GOP		DEM	
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	
East:	6	5	1	12	
South:	10	1	7	8	
Midwest:	10	4	2	8	
West:	15	2	1	8	
	41	12	11	36	

The vote was not ideological in character, although ideology played a role in the outcome. Of the 36 Democrats opposed to the sale, at least 30 were liberals. Of the 12 Republicans in opposition, about half were conservatives and half moderates. For the GOP, geography seemed to play a more important role. For the Democrats, ideology was also important.

Of the 41 Republicans in favor, all but a handful were conservatives. There were some notable exceptions such as Percy, Chaffee, Stafford, and Mathias. Of the 11 Democrats in favor, 7 can be described as conservative.

Of the 12 Republicans up for reelection in 1982, 7 voted for the sale and 5 against. Of the 21 Democrats up for reelection 4 voted for the sale and 17 against. In some cases reelection fears caused the member to vote against the sale, while in others it caused him to vote for the sale. Geography and demographics played a role in the decision of such senators.

One final observation. It is interesting to note that the greatest movement toward the President's position occurred in the Great Plains states. This area was long known for its isolationism as well as its dislike of "eastern" interests.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NUMBER 18

TO: SENIOR STAFF
FROM: Richard S. Beal 
SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest
DATE: October 5, 1981

Enclosed are some of the significant recent public opinion survey results, selected economic indicators, and State reapportionment information.

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST
#18 October 2, 1981

NBC/AP: 1,600 9/28-29

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 53
Disapprove: 43

Analysis: While this represents a ten-point drop since August, it is only two points below July. It is one of the lowest ratings yet received.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 45
Disapprove: 50

Analysis: This is a 7 point drop over August and is equal to July.

Q. The latest round of budget cuts (\$13 billion)?

Approve: 54
Disapprove: 35

Q. The most important economic problem?

Inflation: 42
Unemployment: 27
Interest rates: 27

Analysis: Fewer people picked inflation and unemployment and more people picked interest rates than in August.

CBS/NYT: 1,479 9/22-27

Q. The President's approval rating?

Approve: 53
Disapprove: 33

Analysis: This represents a 6 point drop over the June quarterly poll.

Q. The President's handling of the economy:

Approve: 49

Analysis: This represents only a slight change from the 51 in June and the 54 in April.

Q. The President's handling of foreign affairs?

Approve: 52

Analysis: This is a 4 point increase over June.

CBS/NYT cont.

Q. Has federal spending on domestic programs been cut enough?

Too much: 23
About right: 36
More cuts: 27

ABC/Post: 9/25-26

Q. The President's approval rating?

Approve: 63
Disapprove: 34

Analysis: This measurement was taken right after the President's speech and is a 2 point improvement over the week before.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 59
Disapprove: 34

Analysis: The previous week the approval rating was only 46. Obviously the speech did have an effect on the perception.

Q. The President's proposal to cut non-defense spending by 12%?

Approve: 68
Disapprove: 29

Time (Yankelovich) 1,222 9/15-17

Q. The % who have confidence in Reagan's ability to handle the economy?

77

Analysis: This high figure is similar to the 82% figure in May and the 80% figure in January.

Q. The % who have confidence in Reagan's ability to manage foreign policy?

70

Q. How important is it to have a balanced budget by 1984 if it means more cutbacks?

Very: 41
Fairly: 29
Not: 26

Q. Where should further budget cuts be made?

Social programs: 31
Military: 43
Both: 13

NEWSWEEK (GALLUP) 671 9/22-24

Q. Presidential approval rating?

Approve: 51

Analysis: This is a 9 point drop over a Newsweek Poll in early August.

One should note that the size of the sample is about half of a normal national sample.

Q. Are you more concerned about the US becoming involved in a limited or a major war with the Soviet Union?

Limited: 25
Major: 47
Neither: 18

WEST VIRGINIA POLL: DAILY MAIL/WSAZ 502 9/8-12

Q. The President's approval rating:

Approve: 53.8
Disapprove: 37.8

Analysis: This is a 10 point drop over May, but is virtually the same rating received by Governor Jay Rockefeller. Also, the President did not carry West Virginia in 1980.

REAPPORTIONMENT SCOREBOARD

<u>STATE</u>	<u>GAIN OR LOSS</u>	<u>PARTY OUTLOOK</u>
Arkansas	0	No change
Indiana	-1	+2 REP, -3 DEM
Nevada	+1	+1 REP
Tennessee	+1	+1 DEM
Virginia	0	No Change
Nebraska	0	No Change
North Carolina	0	No Change
Texas	+3	+3 REP
Idaho	0	No Change
Oklahoma	0	No Change
Mississippi	0	No Change
Alabama	0	No Change
Iowa	0	No Change
Georgia	0	No Change
Oregon	+1	+1 REP
California	+2	-3 REP, +5 DEM
TOTAL: (net effect)		+4 REP, +3 DEM

At this stage of reapportionment, with 16 states complete, the process would appear to be a standoff. This, however is misleading and is due entirely to the California remap. Without California, the total net effect would be +7 REP and -2 DEM. Thus, the importance of fighting the California gerrymander or offsetting it with Pennsylvania cannot be overstated.

While the GOP has done well so far with the exception of California and one or two others, many key states have yet to complete or even start the process. Among these are Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Florida.

Pennsylvania, Washington, and Colorado represent the best chances of inflicting a California-style map on the Democrats. New York is the most important state because the remap will have to be so drastic. The Empire State loses 5 seats and every remaining seat will be substantially altered.

In our assessment of the results, state by state, it has been necessary to make a few close calls in individual districts. Thus, the potential for change may be even greater in certain states.

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

Outside of the few widely scattered special congressional elections, the only significant elections this year are those for governor in New Jersey and Virginia. Thus, there is no way we can avoid those two elections being viewed as a referendum on the Administration. Unfortunately, we are faced with the prospect of losing both contests.

Conventional wisdom has the Republicans retaining Virginia and the Democrats New Jersey with the net result a standoff. Instead we are approaching the final month trailing badly in Virginia, but running a better than expected race in New Jersey. The question now becomes "will we win either race?". The answer will be determined more by specific turnout levels in the various sections of the respective states than overall candidate popularity. A brief look at each state follows.

NEW JERSEY

With the exception of the Cahill victory in 1969, the Republicans have not won the governorship of New Jersey since 1949. This, coupled with the fact that the Democratic nominee, James Florio, is an Italian Catholic from South Jersey, would make it appear as if there is little hope of avoiding another landslide.

Surprisingly the race is much tighter than one would anticipate. A poll taken by MOR for the GOP nominee has Kean ahead of Florio 45 to 43. While it is not likely that this is the case, it does portend a much closer race. Perhaps one reason for this is the fact that the Republicans have correctly identified and targeted that large group of ethnic Catholics who normally vote Republican for President, but Democratic for state offices. New Jersey has not voted Democratic for president since 1964.

An Eagleton Poll, released on October 1, gave Florio an 8 point lead among all voters. Among likely voters we can expect a much closer race. Rumor has it that another statewide poll will show Florio with a 6 point lead.

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VIRGINIA

Two recent statewide polls in the Old Dominion place Republican Marshall Coleman far behind his Democratic opponent Charles Robb:

Washington Post:	Robb:	51
	Coleman:	40
	Undecided:	9

Richmond Times:	Robb:	37
	Coleman:	27
	Undecided:	36

The most recent poll was done by the Virginia Pilot of Norfolk which showed Robb ahead by only 5 points (38-33?). Unfortunately, the lead jumps to 8 with the leaners thrown-in. There is little real comfort to be taken from this poll, even though the margin is less than the other two polls.

The situation is particularly discouraging since the Republicans have won the last three governor's races in a row. It is also one of the most conservative and pro-Reagan states anywhere. Thus, the prospect of losing Virginia is grim. Originally, it appeared as though Coleman would come from behind and overtake Lyndon Johnson's son-in-law, but this has not happened for a number of reasons.

This does not mean that the race is lost. On the contrary it is still very much winnable. This is due to the fact that few people bother to vote in Virginia, which gives the better-organized GOP a distinct advantage. The Richmond Times poll gives Robb a mere 5 point lead when probable voters are determined. Also, concerning the Washington Post poll, it is obvious that Coleman will score better in the Mountains and in the Richmond area than is indicated in the regional breakdown.

Another interesting finding of the Post poll is that the Republican candidate for Lt. Governor trails by only 37 to 33 and the GOP Attorney General nominee leads 27 to 26. This demonstrates the strong base of the Republican Party in the state, which could pull Coleman out on election day.

Our best estimate is that Robb holds a 5 to 7 point lead which would translate to a 60 to 70 thousand vote lead. The lead is not insurmountable, but it is significant. A get-out-the-vote effort by the Coleman camp is probably the only chance to overcome it. Black turnout could be key, especially in the Tidewater and Southside. It is too early to concede Virginia, but we had better be prepared for a double loss in November.

SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS

UNEMPLOYMENT	9/80	11/80	1/81	9/81
Total	7.4%	7.5%	7.4%	7.5%
Married Men	4.7	4.4	4.2	n/a
Fulltime Workers	7.3	7.4	7.1	n/a
Blacks and Others	14.1	14.0	12.9	n/a
CPI	251.7	256.2	260.5	n/a
PRIME RATE	13.0%	17.75	20.0	19.5
GOLD (London)	\$675.76	623.66	557.39	444.10
GASOLINE (Leaded Regular)	\$1.1197	1.188	1.238	1.310

Average Weekly Earnings (1977 Dollars)

1972	\$198.41
1976	186.85
9/80	172.05
11/80	171.89
1/81	171.12
8/81	170.69

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings

APPROVAL
FAVORABLE

DISAPPROVAL
UNFAVORABLE

NO OPINION

21-23 Jan	CBS/NYT	46	11	43
30 Jan - 2 Feb	GALLUP	51	13	36
1 Feb	DMI	65	14	22
13-16 Feb	GALLUP	55	18	27
19-20 Feb	ABC/POST	68	17	15
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20 Feb	DMI	70	14	16
23-24 Feb	NBC/AP	56	26	18
7 Mar	DMI	72	16	13
13-16 Mar	GALLUP	60	24	16
15 Mar	LA TIMES	73	18	9
25 Mar	DMI	71	20	9
25-29 Mar	ABC/POST	63	22	15
POST SHOOTING				
31 Mar	ABC/POST	73	16	11
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10-13 Apr	GALLUP	67	19	14
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- more -

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings (Continued)

APPROVAL
FAVORABLE

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UNFAVORABLE

NO OPINION

Mid-September	DMI	73	24	3
Mid-September	HARRIS*	54	?	?
14-20 September	ABC/POST	61	34	5
25-26 September	ABC/POST	63	34	3
22-27 September	CBS/NYT	53	33	14
28-29 September	NBC	53	43	4
1 October	DMI	61	32	7

* Unpublished Data

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NUMBER 18

TO: SENIOR STAFF
FROM: Richard S. Beal
SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest
DATE: October 2, 1981

Enclosed are some of the significant recent public opinion survey results, selected economic indicators, and State reapportionment information.

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST
#18 October 2, 1981

NBC/AP: 1,600 9/28-29

Q. The President's job approval rating?

Approve: 53
Disapprove: 43

Analysis: While this represents a ten-point drop since August, it is only two points below July. It is one of the lowest ratings yet received.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 45
Disapprove: 50

Analysis: This is a 7 point drop over August and is equal to July.

Q. The latest round of budget cuts (\$13 billion)?

Approve: 54
Disapprove: 35

Q. The most important economic problem?

Inflation: 42
Unemployment: 27
Interest rates: 27

Analysis: Fewer people picked inflation and unemployment and more people picked interest rates than in August.

CBS/NYT: 1,479 9/22-27

Q. The President's approval rating?

Approve: 53
Disapprove: 33

Analysis: This represents a 6 point drop over the June quarterly poll.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 49

Analysis: This represents only a slight change from the 51 in June and the 54 in April.

Q. The President's handling of foreign affairs?

Approve: 52

Analysis: This is a 4 point increase over June.

CBS/NYT cont.

Q. Has federal spending on domestic programs been cut enough?

Too much: 23
About right: 36
More cuts: 27

ABC/Post: 9/25-26

Q. The President's approval rating:

Approve: 63
Disapprove: 34

Analysis: This measurement was taken right after the President's speech and is a 2 point improvement over the week before.

Q. The President's handling of the economy?

Approve: 59
Disapprove: 34

Analysis: The previous week the approval rating was only 46. Obviously the speech did have an effect on the perception.

Q. The President's proposal to cut non-defense spending by 12%?

Approve: 68
Disapprove: 29

Time (Yankelovich) 1,222 9/15-17

Q. The % who have confidence in Reagan's ability to handle the economy?

77

Analysis: This high figure is similar to the 82% figure in May and the 80% figure in January.

Q. The % who have confidence in Reagan's ability to manage foreign policy?

70

Q. How important is it to have a balanced budget by 1984 if it means more cutbacks?

Very: 41
Fairly: 29
Not: 26

Q. Where should further budget cuts be made?

Social programs: 31
Military: 43
Both: 13

NEWSWEEK (GALLUP) 671 9/22-24

Q. Presidential approval rating?

Approve: 51

Analysis: This is a 9 point drop over a Newsweek Poll in early August. One should note that the size of the sample is about half of a normal national sample.

Q. Are you more concerned about the US becoming involved in a limited or a major war with the Soviet Union?

Limited: 25
Major: 47
Neither: 18

WEST VIRGINIA POLL: DAILY MAIL/WSAZ 502 9/8-12

Q. The President's approval rating?

Approve: 53.8
Disapprove: 37.8

Analysis: This is a 10 point drop over May, but is virtually the same rating received by Governor Jay Rockefeller. Also, the President did not carry West Virginia in 1980.

REAPPORTIONMENT SCOREBOARD

<u>STATE</u>	<u>GAIN OR LOSS</u>	<u>PARTY OUTLOOK</u>
Arkansas	0	No Change
Indiana	-1	+2 REP, -3 DEM
Nevada	+1	+1 REP
Tennessee	+1	+1 DEM
Virginia	0	No Change
Nebraska	0	No Change
North Carolina	0	No Change
Texas	+3	+3 REP
Idaho	0	No Change
Oklahoma	0	No Change
Mississippi	0	No Change
Alabama	0	No Change
Iowa	0	No Change
Georgia	0	No Change
Oregon	+1	+1 REP
California	+2	-3 REP, +5 DEM
TOTAL:(net effect)		+4 REP, +3 DEM

At this stage of reapportionment, with 16 states complete, the process would appear to be a standoff. This, however is misleading and is due entirely to the California remap. Without California, the total net effect would be +7 REP and -2 DEM. Thus, the importance of fighting the California gerrymander or offsetting it with Pennsylvania cannot be overstated.

While the GOP has done well so far with the exception of California and one or two others, many key states have yet to complete or even start the process. Among these are Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Florida.

Pennsylvania, Washington, and Colorado represent the best chances of inflicting a California-style map on the Democrats. New York is the most important state because the remap will have to be so drastic. The Empire State loses 5 seats and every remaining seat will be substantially altered.

In our assessment of the results, state by state, it has been necessary to make a few close calls in individual districts. Thus, the potential for change may be even greater in certain states.

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

Outside of the few widely scattered special congressional elections, the only significant elections this year are those for governor in New Jersey and Virginia. Thus, there is no way we can avoid those two elections being viewed as a referendum on the Administration. Unfortunately, we are faced with the prospect of losing both contests.

Conventional wisdom has the Republicans retaining Virginia and the Democrats New Jersey with the net result a standoff. Instead we are approaching the final month trailing badly in Virginia, but running a better than expected race in New Jersey. The question now becomes "will we win either race?". The answer will be determined more by specific turnout levels in the various sections of the respective states than overall candidate popularity. A brief look at each state follows.

NEW JERSEY

With the exception of the Cahill victory in 1969, the Republicans have not won the governorship of New Jersey since 1949. This, coupled with the fact that the Democratic nominee, James Florio, is an Italian Catholic from South Jersey, would make it appear as if there is little hope of avoiding another landslide.

Surprisingly the race is much tighter than one would anticipate. A poll taken by MOR for the GOP nominee has Kean ahead of Florio 45 to 43. While it is not likely that this is the case, it does portend a much closer race. Perhaps one reason for this is the fact that the Republicans have correctly identified and targeted that large group of ethnic Catholics who normally vote Republican for President, but Democratic for state offices. New Jersey has not voted Democratic for president since 1964.

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This does not mean that the race is lost. On the contrary it is still very much winnable. This is due to the fact that few people bother to vote in Virginia, which gives the better-organized GOP a distinct advantage. The Richmond Times poll gives Robb a mere 5 point lead when probable voters are determined. Also, concerning the Washington Post poll, it is obvious that Coleman will score better in the Mountains and in the Richmond area than is indicated in the regional breakdown.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NUMBER 17

TO: SENIOR STAFF
FROM: Richard S. Beall *RSB*
SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest (formerly the Weekly Poll Summary)
DATE: September 14, 1981

Enclosed are some of the significant recent public opinion survey results.

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST
#17 Sept. 14, 1981

This edition of the Public Opinion Digest is concerned exclusively with the level of support for the Administration. In view of the contention by the national print and electronic media that the Reagan Administration is in serious trouble, it appears necessary to evaluate whether the public holds such a view.

The latest press offensive against the Administration is the fourth in a series. First there was the contention that El Salvador would become another Viet Nam. After that failed, the line was taken that the Administration has no foreign policy. The third initiative was the Administration was then in serious trouble over the tax cut. If you count how often they were wrong during the campaign, the list could be expanded. The elite press has trouble reading Ronald Reagan.

While there is no guarantee that the President's popularity and specific approval ratings will not slip this fall, the fact remains that they have not this summer. If anything, the polling data has shown improvement over the early summer.

The latest polls show no decline in the President's approval rating. The Gallup has remained remarkably steady all summer, while the NBC/AP registered an 8 point increase. Clearly the handling of the PATCO strike was a major factor but there are other positive signs.

GALLUP: 1,534 August 14-17

Q. President Reagan's handling of
his job as President?

Approve: 60
Disapprove: 29

RECENT GALLUP SAMPLINGS

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
July 31-Aug. 3	60	29	11
July 24-27	56	30	14
July 17-20	60	29	11
June 26-29	58	30	12
June 19-22	59	29	12
June 5-8	59	28	13

Analysis: It is clear that the President's job approval rating

has not suffered at all this summer. The only time the approval rating was higher was in the first 50 days after the assassination attempt. It should also be remembered that the Gallup rating has consistently been one of the lower ratings.

For all practical purposes we have "caught up" with Carter. Carter's ratings hung in the low sixties throughout most of the summer, taking a late July jump to 67 and a mid-August jump to 66. Both of these higher ratings can be viewed as anomalies. In September Carter dropped into the fifties, never to return to the sixties. Throughout the rest of the year he fluctuated from the high to the low fifties. Seven months into office, President Ford was in the high thirties.

<u>Q.</u> President Reagan's handling of domestic policy?	Approve:	55
	Disapprove:	34

<u>Q.</u> President Reagan's handling of foreign policy?	Approve:	52
	Disapprove:	26

Analysis: These are hardly the ratings of a President in trouble.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of inflation?	Approve:	53
	Disapprove:	35

Analysis: This is the exact same rating received in the previous survey June 26-29.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of economic conditions?	Approve:	53
	Disapprove:	35

Analysis: This is a small but definitely significant improvement over the previous June rating of 51 to 40.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of unemployment?	Approve:	39
	Disapprove:	38

Analysis: While this is not one of the better ratings, it is a slight improvement over the previous June rating which was negative 39 to 40.

<u>Q.</u> Will there be a change in your personal financial situation as a result of Reagan policies?	Better:	48
	Worse:	36

Analysis: This represents no change

in the outlook since the previous survey in May which was 48 to 37.

CONCLUSION: On the basis of the latest Gallup Poll, there is absolutely no evidence of deterioration in either the President's approval rating or his handling of specific issue areas. If anything, there has been a slight improvement this summer in the President's overall standing.

NBC/AP: 1,601 AUGUST 10-11

Q. President Reagan's job rating? Excellent/Good: 63
Fair/Poor: 35

Analysis: This sampling represents a huge jump in approval over the previous July rating of 55-42. It is even higher than the May rating of 62-35. This is significant in that, like the Gallup Poll, the NBC/AP rating has always been one of the lower ratings. The current rating is only 3 points lower than the rating taken right after the shooting.

Q. The President's handling of the economy? Excellent/Good: 52
Fair/Poor: 43

Analysis: This is a dramatic turn-around from the July negative rating of 45-49. It is even slightly better than the May rating of 50-43.

Q. The President's handling of foreign affairs? Excellent/Good: 46
Fair/Poor: 47

Analysis: While this is still a negative rating, it shows marked improvement over the July rating of 40-51.

Q. The President's relations with Congress? Excellent/Good: 69
Fair/Poor: 27

Analysis: This is up 7 points from the July rating of 62-34. The April rating stood at 62-29. This is particularly significant in light of the negative rating which Congress receives in the same poll: 35-52

WARNING: An alarming statistic

is the finding that 69% did not know whether their congressman voted for the Reagan economic program. Since this issue could and should be the key issue in the 1982 election, it will be necessary to implement an educational step in the campaign process.

CONCLUSION: Clearly the NBC/AP Poll indicates an improvement in the President's standing with the American people this summer. Unless the news media has unusual or secret information about the last two weeks before Labor Day there is no statistical basis for their dire claims and predictions.

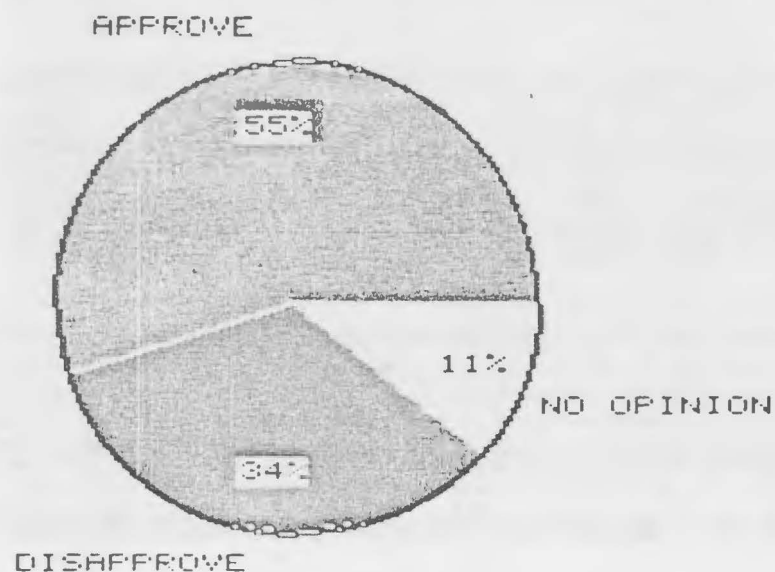
NEW YORK DAILY NEWS POLL 400 August 17-18 NYC METRO only

<u>Q.</u> The President's job approval rating?	Very Good/Good:	54
	Fair/Poor:	43

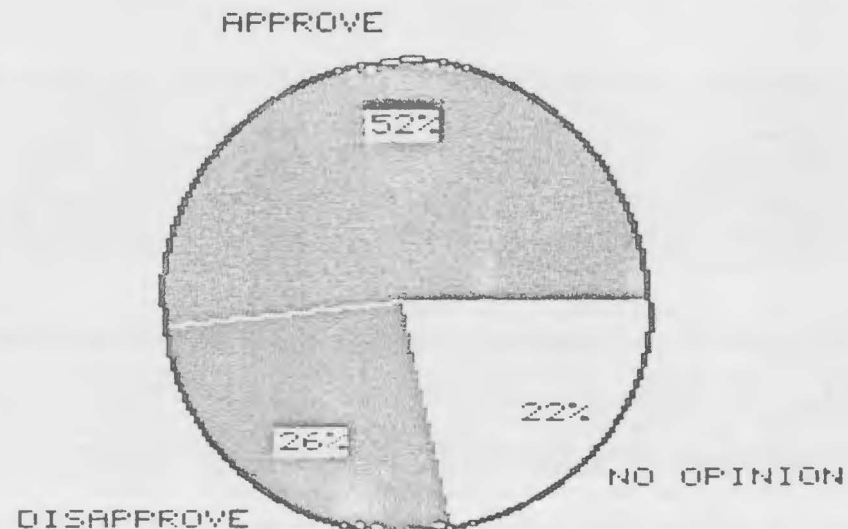
Analysis: The sampling taken in May yielded a rating of 51-42. Thus, even in the New York area there is no evidence of slippage. In the most recent poll Mayor Koch received a 60-36 rating, while Governor Carey received a terrible rating of 21-74.

CONCLUSION: There is just no hard evidence of a deterioration in the President's overall standing in any of the polls. DMI polling results indicate a slight increase in Presidential approval in August over July. President Reagan's approval ratings have exhibited a degree of stability not usually seen in presidential popularity. Democratic Congressmen may have picked up growing discontent over the President's policies, but the pollsters have not.

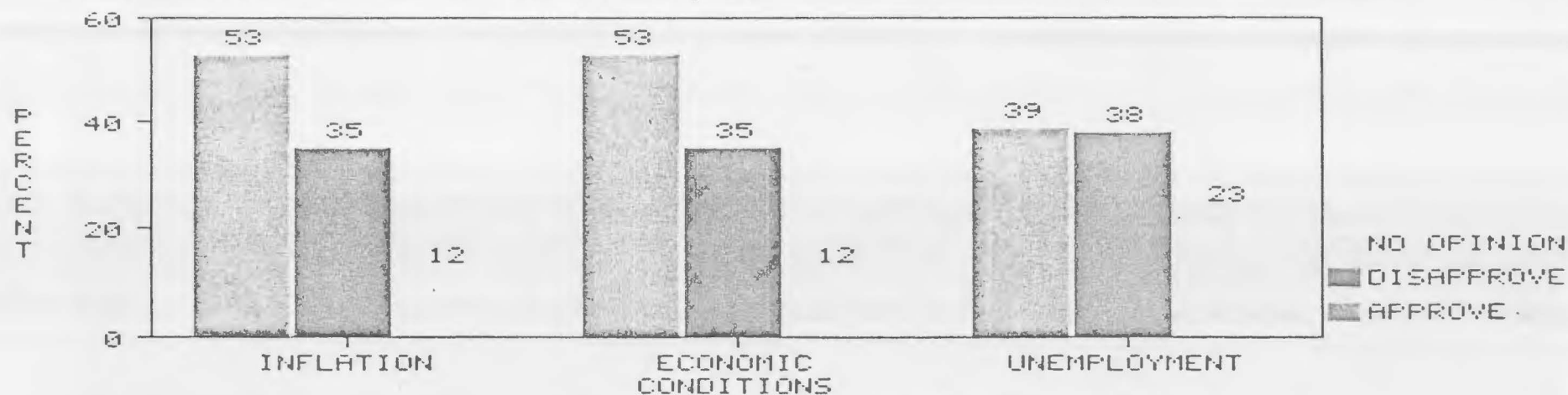
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: DOMESTIC POLICY



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: FOREIGN POLICY

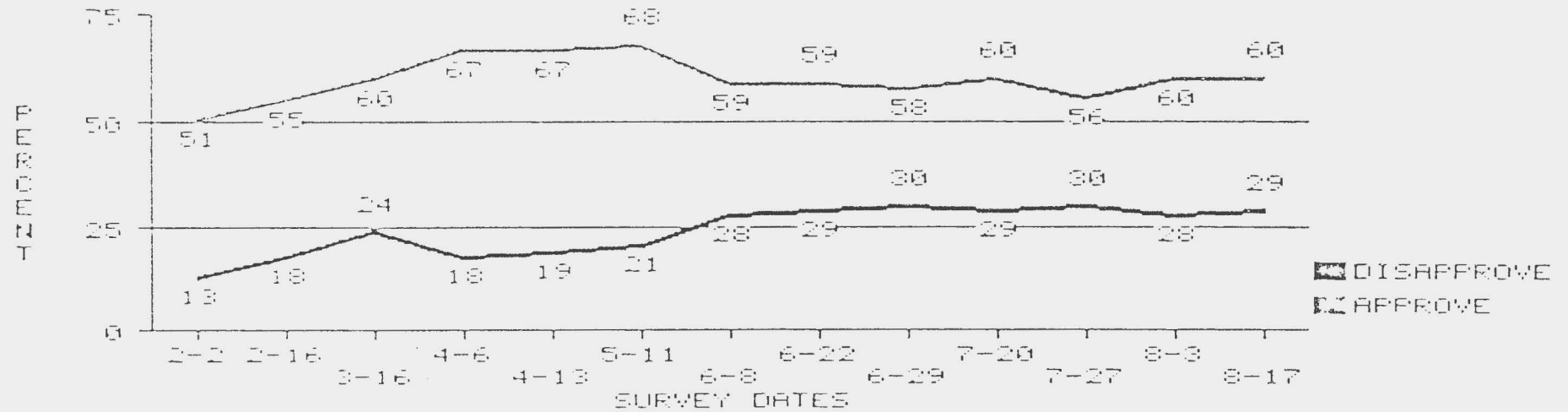


PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: INFLATION, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, & UNEMPLOYMENT

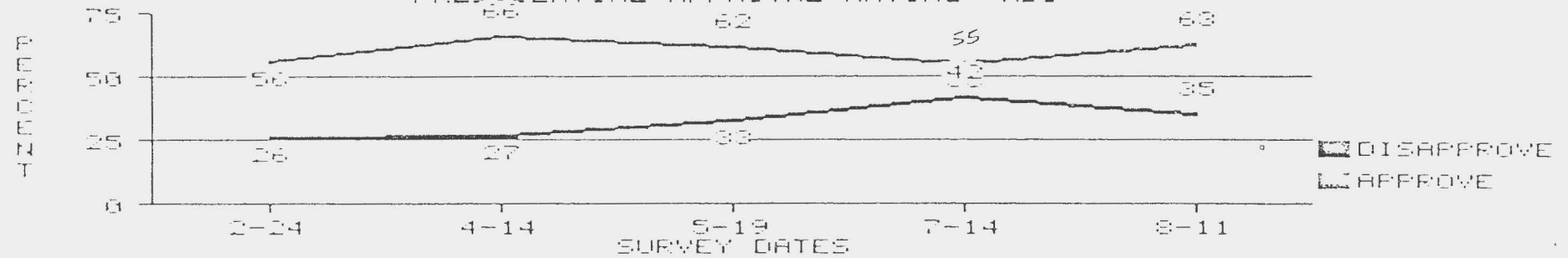


GALLUP SURVEY TAKEN AUGUST 17 WITH SAMPLE SIZE OF 1534

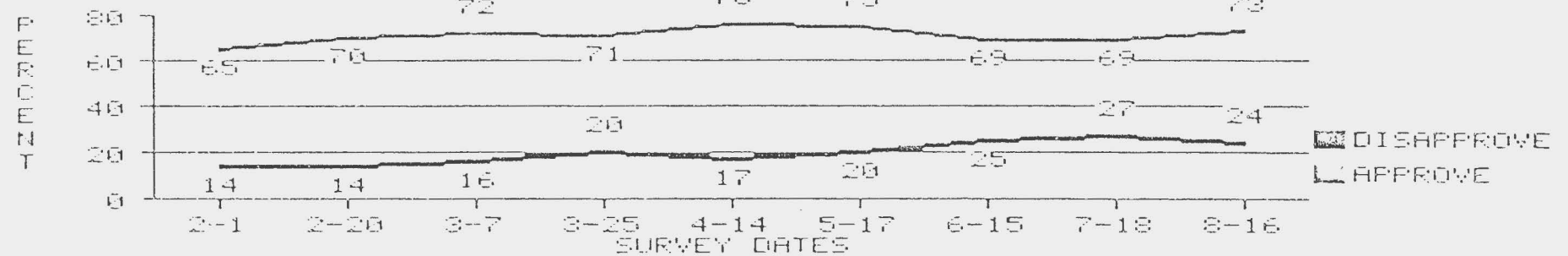
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: GALLUP



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: NBC



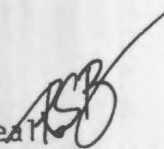
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: OMI



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Disapprove: 29

RECENT GALLUP SAMPLINGS

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
July 31-Aug. 3	60	28	11
July 24-27	56	30	14
July 17-20	60	29	11
June 26-29	58	30	12
June 19-22	59	29	12
June 5-8	59	28	13

Analysis: It is clear that the President's job approval rating

has not suffered at all this summer. The only time the approval rating was higher was in the first 50 days after the assassination attempt. It should also be remembered that the Gallup rating has consistently been one of the lower ratings.

For all practical purposes we have "caught up" with Carter. Carter's ratings hung in the low sixties throughout most of the summer, taking a late July jump to 67 and a mid-August jump to 66. Both of these higher ratings can be viewed as anomalies. In September Carter dropped into the fifties, never to return to the sixties. Throughout the rest of the year he fluctuated from the high to the low fifties. Seven months into office, President Ford was in the high thirties.

<u>Q.</u> President Reagan's handling of domestic policy?	Approve:	55
	Disapprove:	34

<u>Q.</u> President Reagan's handling of foreign policy?	Approve:	52
	Disapprove:	26

Analysis: These are hardly the ratings of a President in trouble.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of inflation?	Approve:	53
	Disapprove:	35

Analysis: This is the exact same rating received in the previous survey June 26-29.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of economic conditions?	Approve:	53
	Disapprove:	35

Analysis: This is a small but definitely significant improvement over the previous June rating of 51 to 40.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of unemployment?	Approve:	39
	Disapprove:	38

Analysis: While this is not one of the better ratings, it is a slight improvement over the previous June rating which was negative 39 to 40.

<u>Q.</u> Will there be a change in your personal financial situation as a result of Reagan policies?	Better:	48
	Worse:	36

Analysis: This represents no change

in the outlook since the previous survey in May which was 48 to 37.

CONCLUSION: On the basis of the latest Gallup Poll, there is absolutely no evidence of deterioration in either the President's approval rating or his handling of specific issue areas. If anything, there has been a slight improvement this summer in the President's overall standing.

NBC/AP: 1,601 AUGUST 10-11

<u>Q.</u> President Reagan's job rating?	Excellent/Good:	63
	Fair/Poor:	35

Analysis: This sampling represents a huge jump in approval over the previous July rating of 55-42. It is even higher than the May rating of 62-35. This is significant in that, like the Gallup Poll, the NBC/AP rating has always been one of the lower ratings. The current rating is only 3 points lower than the rating taken right after the shooting.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of the economy?	Excellent/Good:	52
	Fair/Poor:	43

Analysis: This is a dramatic turnaround from the July negative rating of 45-49. It is even slightly better than the May rating of 50-43.

<u>Q.</u> The President's handling of foreign affairs?	Excellent/Good:	46
	Fair/Poor:	47

Analysis: While this is still a negative rating, it shows marked improvement over the July rating of 40-51.

<u>Q.</u> The President's relations with Congress?	Excellent/Good:	69
	Fair/Poor:	27

Analysis: This is up 7 points from the July rating of 62-34. The April rating stood at 62-29. This is particularly significant in light of the negative rating which Congress receives in the same poll: 35-52

WARNING: An alarming statistic

is the finding that 69% did not know whether their congressman voted for the Reagan economic program. Since this issue could and should be the key issue in the 1982 election, it will be necessary to implement an educational step in the campaign process.

CONCLUSION: Clearly the NBC/AP Poll indicates an improvement in the President's standing with the American people this summer. Unless the news media has unusual or secret information about the last two weeks before Labor Day there is no statistical basis for their dire claims and predictions.

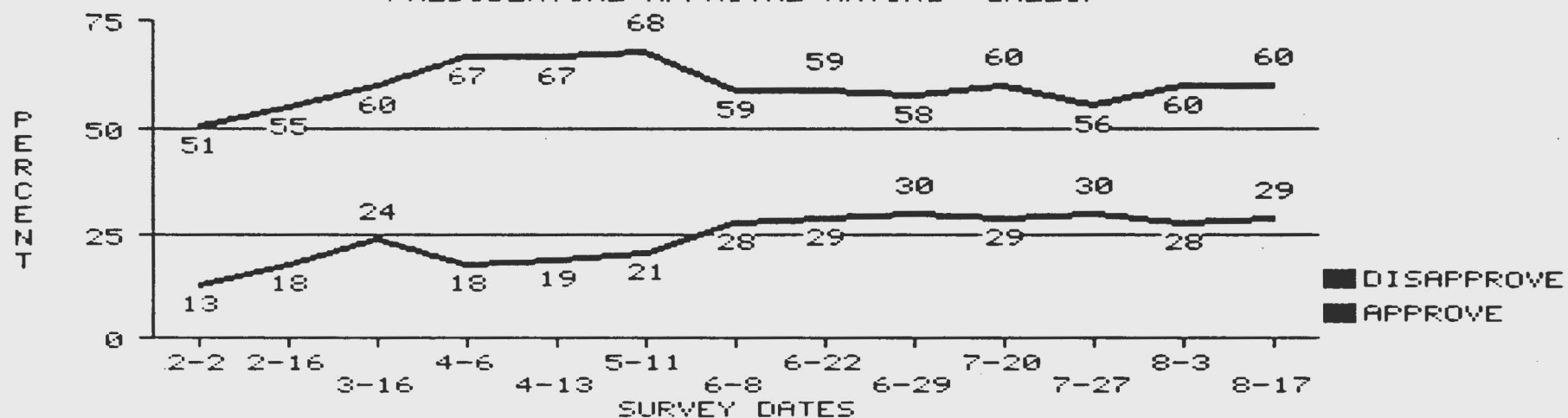
NEW YORK DAILY NEWS POLL 400 August 17-18 NYC METRO only

<u>Q.</u> The President's job approval rating?	Very Good/Good:	54
	Fair/Poor:	43

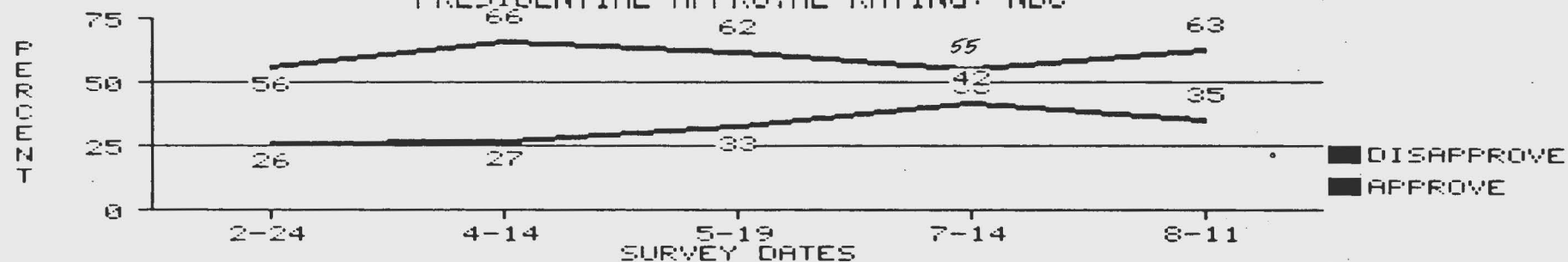
Analysis: The sampling taken in May yielded a rating of 51-42. Thus, even in the New York area there is no evidence of slippage. In the most recent poll Mayor Koch received a 60-36 rating, while Governor Carey received a terrible rating of 21-74.

CONCLUSION: There is just no hard evidence of a deterioration in the President's overall standing in any of the polls. DMI polling results indicate a slight increase in Presidential approval in August over July. President Reagan's approval ratings have exhibited a degree of stability not usually seen in presidential popularity. Democratic Congressmen may have picked up growing discontent over the President's policies, but the pollsters have not.

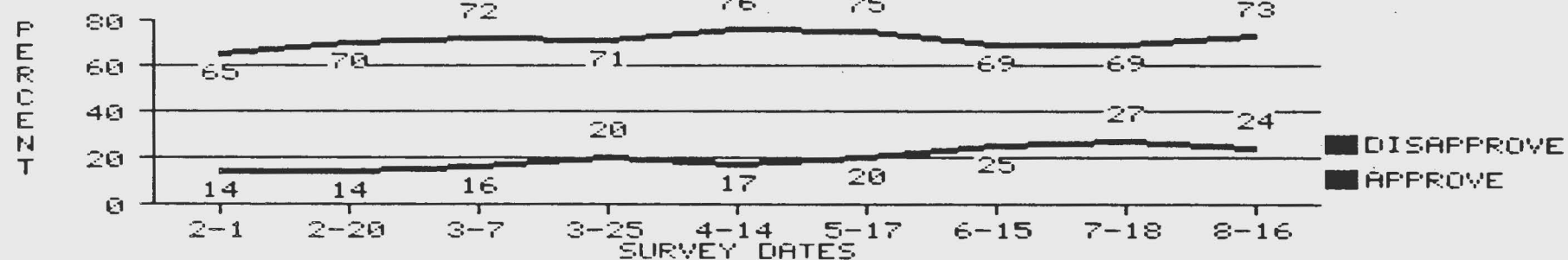
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: GALLUP



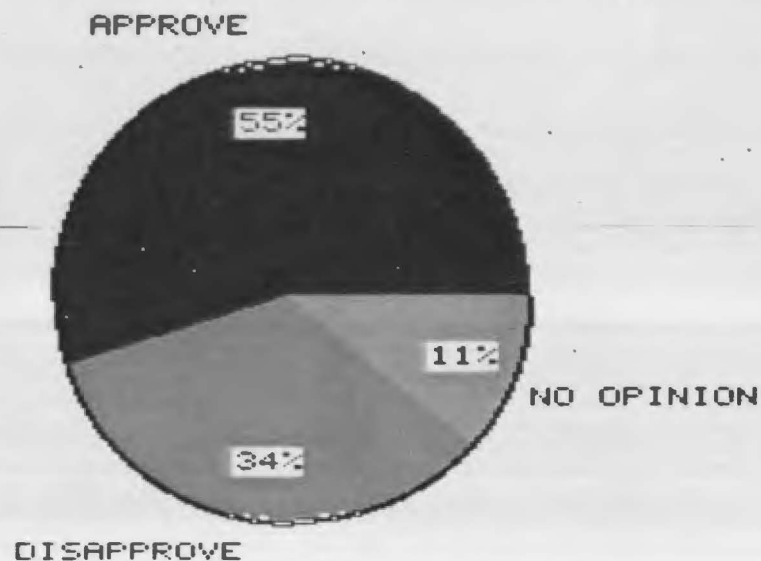
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: NBC



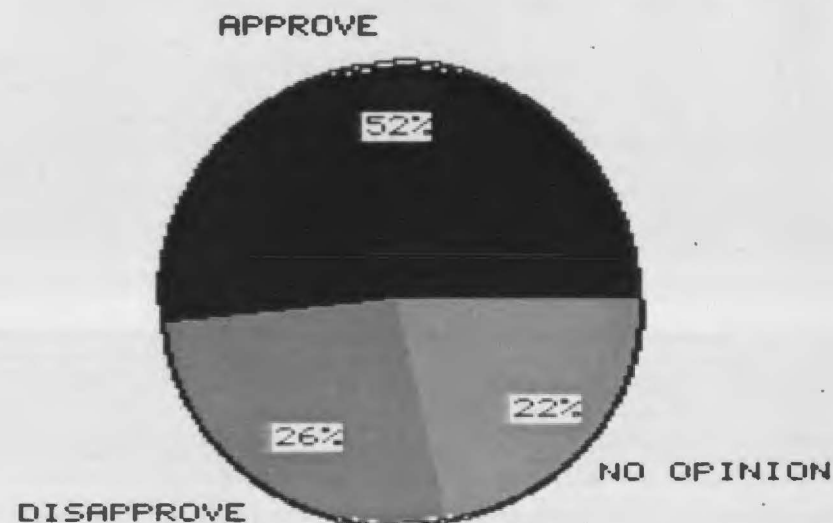
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: OMI



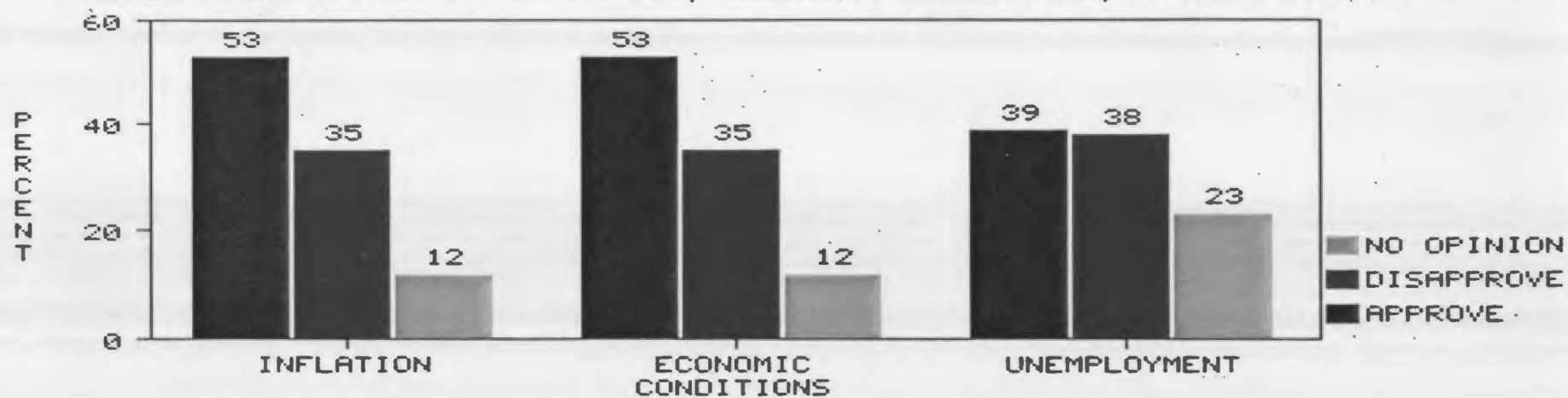
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: DOMESTIC POLICY



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: FOREIGN POLICY



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: INFLATION, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, & UNEMPLOYMENT



GALLUP SURVEY TAKEN AUGUST 17 WITH SAMPLE SIZE OF 1534