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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy
Richard Allen
Craig Fuller
Martin Anderson
Richard Darman

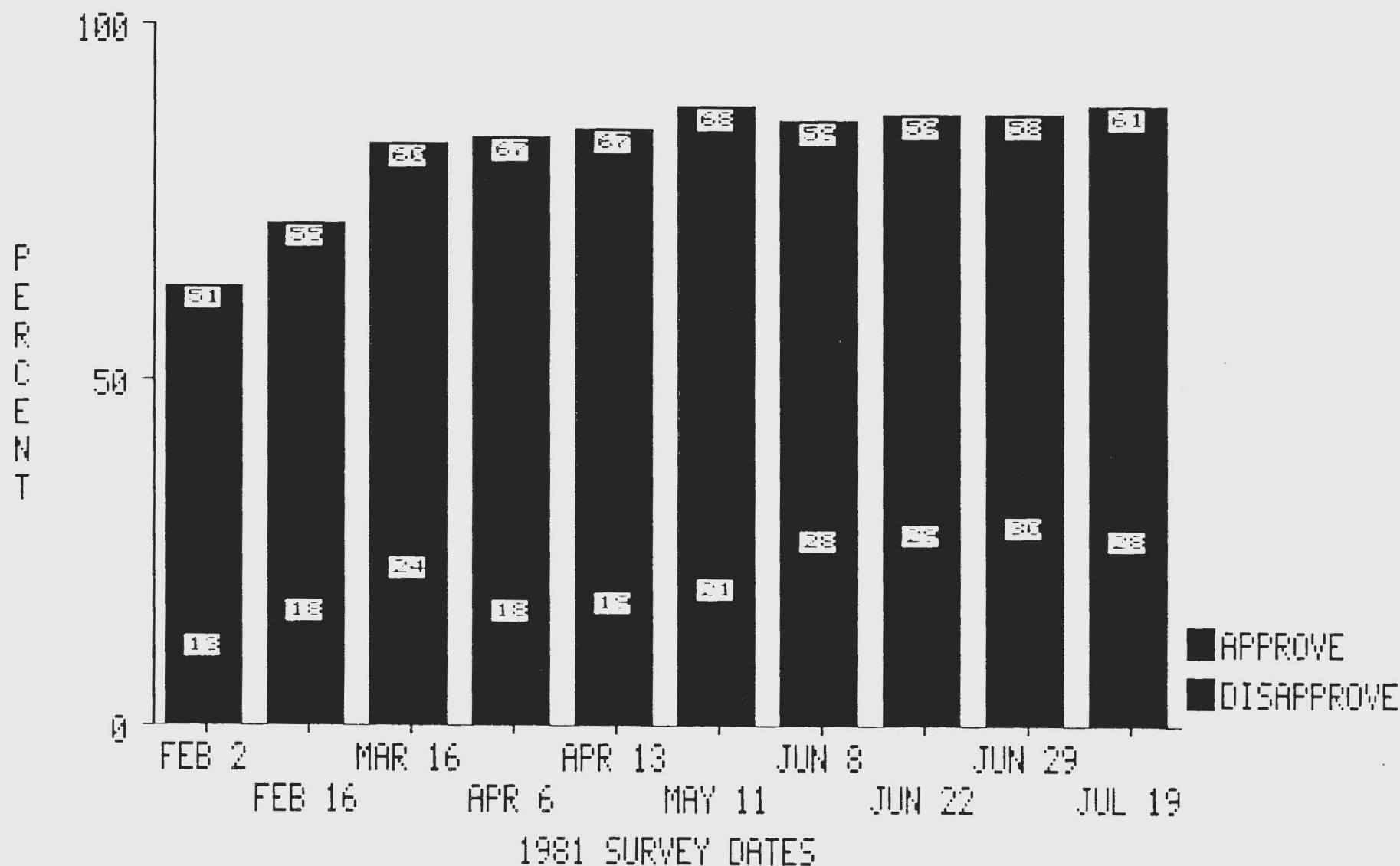
FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Public Opinion Digest (formerly the Weekly Poll Summary)

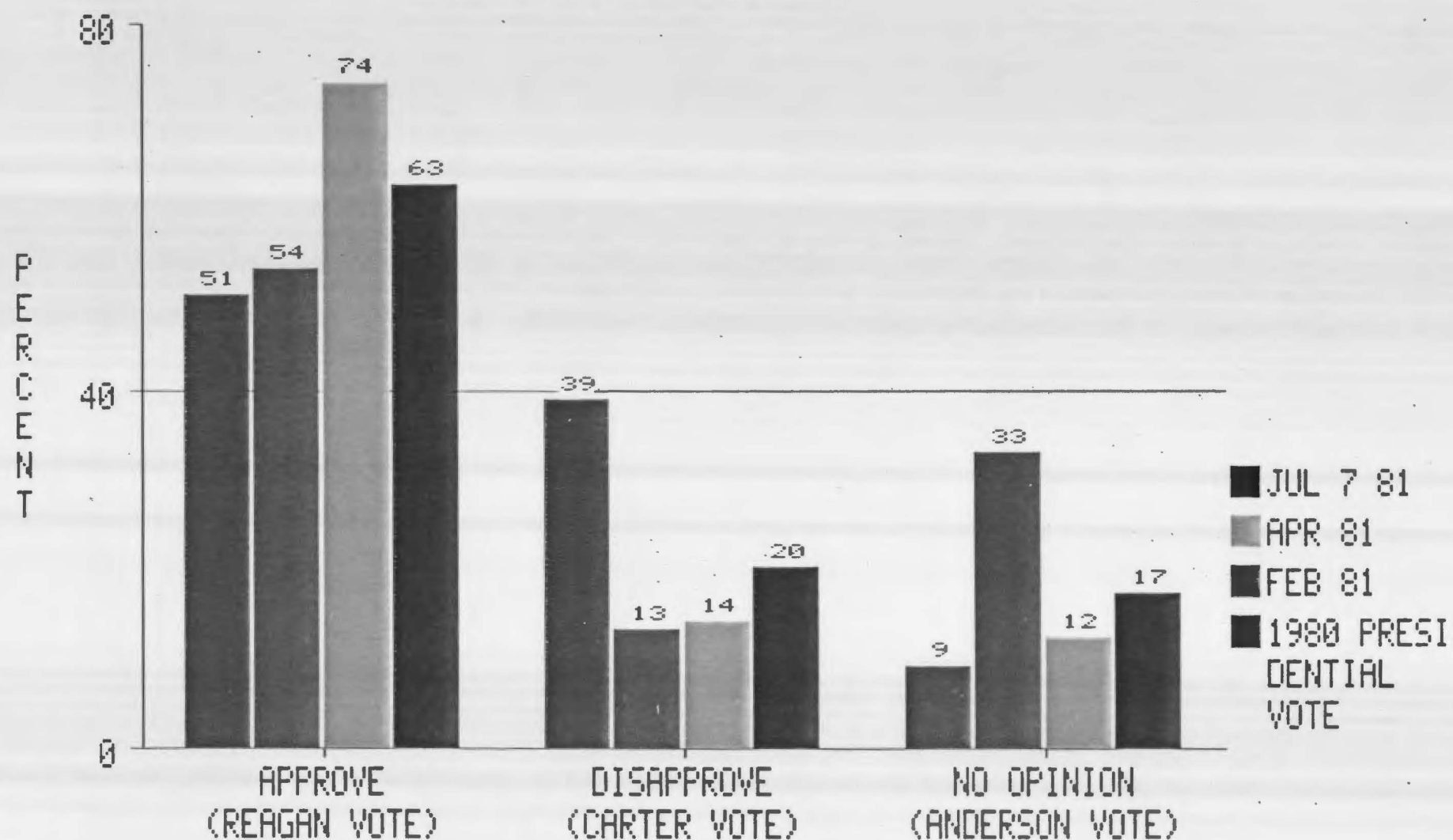
DATE: July 31, 1981

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

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: GALLUP



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS: IOWA POLL*



JULY 81 SAMPLE SIZE: 1015

PUBLIC OPINION DIGEST
#15 July 31, 1981

GALLUP 1,281 In Person July 17-19

Q. Reagan job approval rating: Approve: 61
Disapprove: 28

Analysis: This represents a three point jump over the last approval rating of 58-30 in late June. It may be due to the O'Connor nomination.

Q. Four-part breakdown of approval: Very Strongly: 34
Not So Strongly: 27
Mild Disapproval: 11
Strong Disapproval: 17

Q. Approval rating by race: Whites: 66
Black: 13

Q. Approval by education: College: 69
High: 61
Grade: 44

Q. Approval by age: Under 30: 58
30-49: 64
Over 50: 60

Q. Approval by sex: Men: 67
Women: 55

Q. Reagan popularity as a person: Approve: 79

Analysis: While the President's job rating is fairly high, the approval of him as a person is astronomical. Only among Blacks is there less than majority personal approval (41).

GALLUP 1,526 June 19-22

Q. "Would you approve of having the UN pass a resolution that would request all nations not to give or sell arms to other countries?" Approve: 52
Disapprove: 37

HARRIS 1,252 July 8-12

Q. Should Sandra O'Connor be confirmed
as Supreme Court Justice?:

Should: 79
Should not: 14

Analysis: There is little difference
in the degree of support by region,
ideology, or sex. Even 70% of the
Moral Majority say she should be
confirmed.

Q. "It is good to finally have a woman
sitting on the highest court of the land":

Agree: 81
Disagree: 15

Q. "If a woman is to serve on the
Supreme Court, it is only right that
she should have a record of supporting
the advancement of women's rights":

Agree: 45
Disagree: 52

Q. "By appointing someone who in the past
supported the ERA, President Reagan has
gone back on the stands he took during
his campaign for election":

Agree: 40
Disagree: 49

Q. As a former supporter of legalized
abortion, she does not fit the Repub-
lican Party platform that called for
Supreme Court justices who are dedicated
to preserving the sanctity of the
American family":

Agree: 26
Disagree: 66

DES MOINES REGISTER 1,015 June 22 - July 7 Iowa Only

Q. Reagan job approval rating:

Approve: 63
Disapprove: 20

Analysis: The previous rating in April
right after the shooting was 74-14. The
first rating in February was 54-13. Thus
the approval rating remains rather high
in Iowa. This is significant in that Iowa
was not one of the President's better
states in the 1980 election. The popular
vote in November was: Reagan 51.3 to
Carter's 38.6, with 8.8 for Anderson.

Curb:	34
Deukmejian:	23
Wilson:	18
Others or ?:	25

Goldwater:	31
Hayakawa:	21
McCloskey:	16
M. Reagan:	15
Others or?:	17

Bradley:	37
Tunney:	16
Cory:	11
Unrush:	9
Others or?:	27

Brown:	43
McCarthy:	20
Whitehurst:	5
Vidal:	4
Others or ?:	27

Brown (D): 46
Hayakawa (R): 31

Brown (D): 37
Goldwater (R): 43

Brown (D): 37
McCloskey (R): 42

Analysis: Things are looking up in the California Senate race. What was once a sure loss may no longer be. In the Governor's race, Mayor Bradley leads Lt. Governor Mike Curb 4 to 3 and Attorney General Deukmejian 3 to 2. No precise figures available at this time.

Excellent:	6
Good:	28
Average:	44
Poor:	21

Thompson (R): 49
Stevenson (D): 42

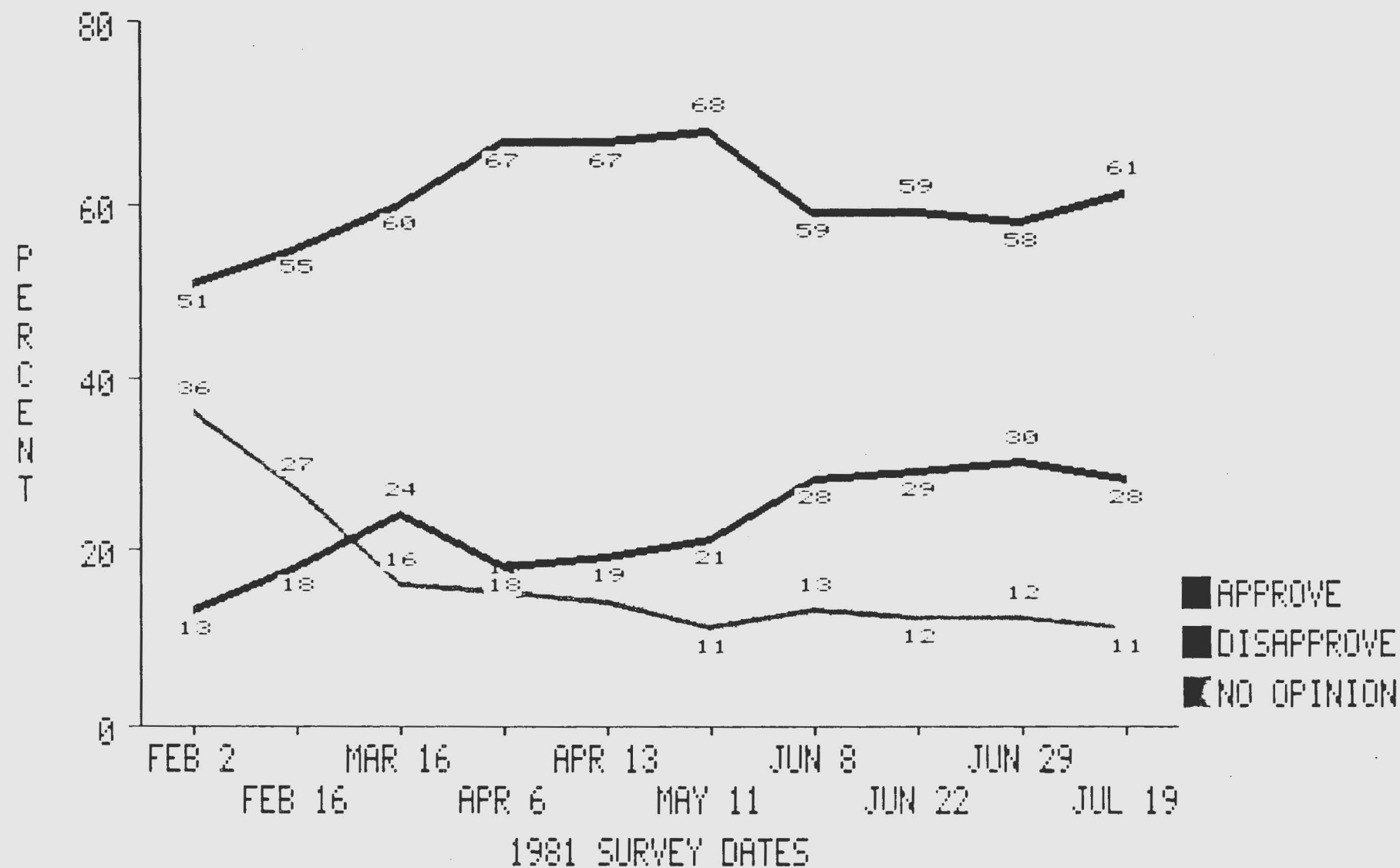
Thompson (R): 58
Walker (D): 29

Thompson (R): 64
Rock (D): 19

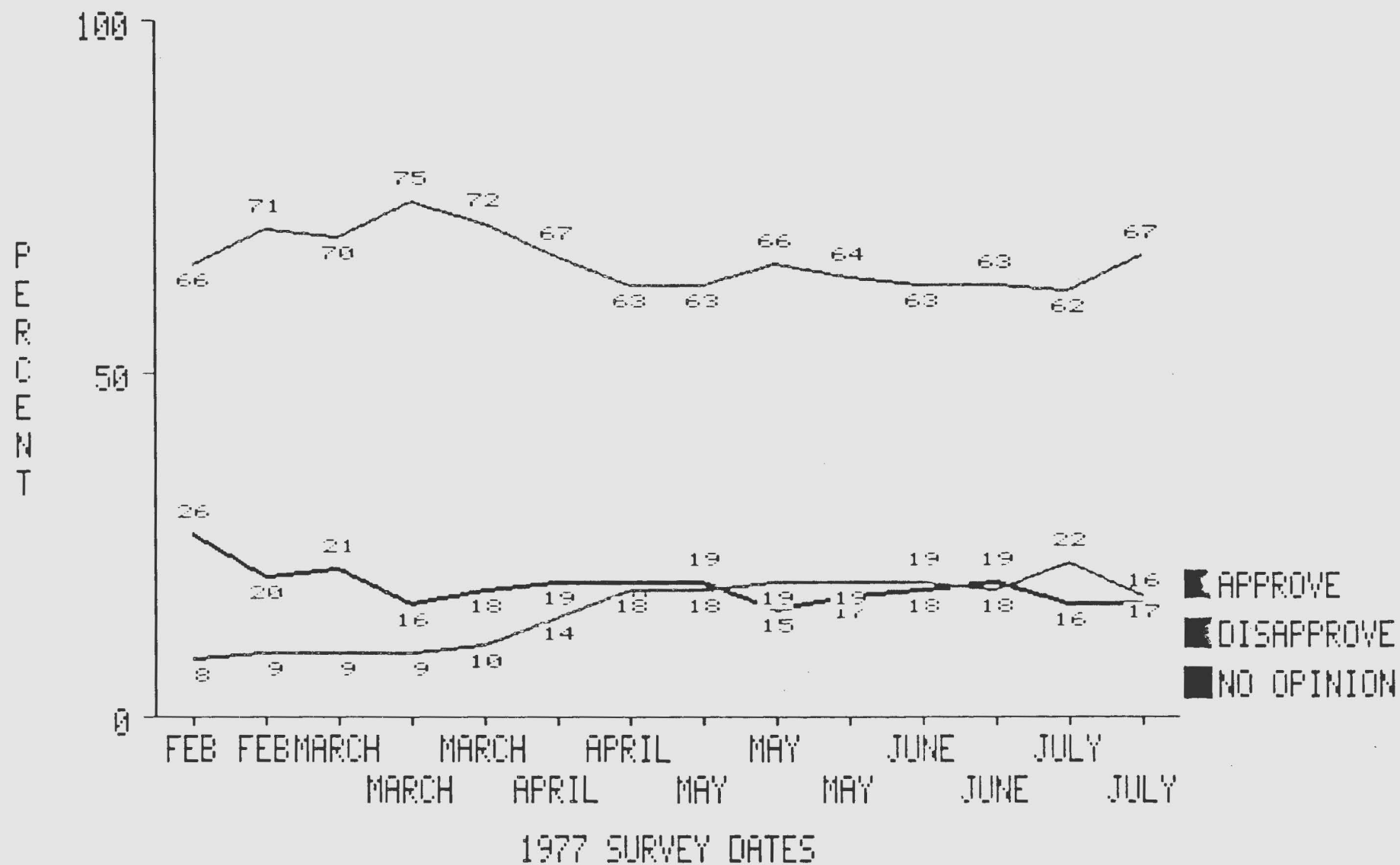
President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings - July 31, 1981

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13-16 Mar	GALLUP	60	24	16
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25 Mar	DMI	71	20	9
25-29 Mar	ABC/POST	63	22	15
POST SHOOTING				
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19-22 June	GALLUP	59	29	12
22-27 June	CBS/NYT	59	23	18
26-29 June	GALLUP	58	30	12
8-12 July	HARRIS	55	43	2
13-14 July	NBC/AP	55	42	3
17-19 July	GALLUP	61	28	11

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATING: GALLUP



CARTER APPROVAL RATINGS: GALLUP 1977



(13)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy
Richard Allen
Craig Fuller
Martin Anderson

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: July 17, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY
NUMBER 13

CBS/NYT 1,433 June 22-27

SOCIAL SECURITY:

How much confidence do you have in the system?

Complete:	9
Great deal:	13
Only a little:	49
None:	24

Is the talk of not enough money in the system true or not?

True:	63
Not True:	27

Solution:

Increase taxes:	21
Limiting benefits:	34
Raising retirement age:	23
None of these:	11
More than one:	2

EXPECTATIONS:

President Reagan will be able to balance the budget?

Yes:	35
No:	59

Could any President balance the budget or is it beyond control?

Possible:	11
Beyond control:	80

President Reagan can keep prices from rising as fast?

Yes:	42
No:	50

Could any President?

Possible:	25
Not possible:	60

President Reagan will see to it that the U.S. is respected by other nations?

Yes:	76
No:	15

Will President Reagan be able to cut taxes to any real extent?

Yes:	46
No:	45

Could any President?

Possible:	27
Not possible:	60

CBS/NYT (continued)

MISCELLANEOUS:

If the Russians invade Poland what should our response be?

Diplomatic/Economic pressure:	39
Supply arms to Poles:	9
Military force:	6
Stay out:	38

Was Israel justified in its attack on Iraq?

Yes:	39
No:	39

Should we punish Israel for the attack?

Yes:	18
Take no action:	68

Should we sell weapons to China?

Yes:	20
No:	39
?:	36

Is the U.S. superior in military strength to Russia?

Superior:	11
About equal:	39
Not as strong:	42

Are you in favor of busing?

Yes:	16
No:	77

GALLUP 1,526 June 19-22

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL:

59-29 (Previous 59-28)

By area: East: 56-29
South: 62-26
Midwest: 58-30
West: 60-29

By race: White: 65-23
Non White: 19-66
By sex: Men: 66-23
Women: 52-34

By party: GOP: 85-8
Dem: 41-43
Ind: 62-26

By age: 18-29: 59-29
30-49: 64-26
50+ : 54-30

Preference for Congress: Republican: 45
Democrat: 49

Congressional Approval: 38-40
June 1979: 19-61
Sept. 1978: 29-49

GALLUP (Continued)

NEIGHBORHOODS:

There are two ways to help urban areas, which would you prefer?

Help people directly: 36

Help neighborhoods: 52

Are you in favor of the concept of Enterprise Zones?

Yes: 71

No: 18

Is it fair that taxes for business in an Enterprise Zone should be lower?

Yes: 57

No: 31

Would the concept of an Enterprise Zone apply to your city?

Yes: 56

No: 31

Do you live in a neighborhood that might be good for an Enterprise Zone?

Yes: 28

No: 64

GUN CONTROL:

Are you in favor of a 21 day waiting period to obtain a handgun?

Yes: 91

No: 6

Would you favor a ban on the importation of handgun parts?

Yes: 49

No: 37

Do you think it should be illegal to possess a handgun?

Yes: 41

No: 54

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH (TEETER) Mid-June

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL: 67

President Reagan's tax cut favored: 68-23

Which tax cut do you prefer?

3 yr. RR tax cut: 56

2 yr. Demo tax cut: 33

Party identification:

GOP: 27

Dem: 34

Ind: 39

Congressional Preference:

GOP: 51

Dem: 49

SOCIAL SECURITY SOLUTION:

Income tax increase: 60.3
Cut benefits: 21.0
Varied or no opinion: 18.6

METROPOLL, CHICAGO SUN TIMES/CHANNEL 2/MARKET SHARES CORP. Chicago Area

BASEBALL: After strike: Just as interested: 50
Lost interest: 47

Do you miss baseball?

A lot: 37
A little: 41
Not at all: 22

If the strike is not settled until mid-August should the season be resumed?

Resumed: 24
Cancelled: 73

Who is at fault?

Owners: 29
Players: 42
No opinion: 29

CBS/NYT REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE SURVEY 324 of 369 June

Why are there fewer Democrats now?

Ronald Reagan's popularity: 25
The Economy: 13
Time for a Change: 10
Turn to the right: 9
Internal Party problems: 8
Carter/Party leadership: 8
Trend away from both parties: 8

Who is to blame for the 1980 Congressional losses?

Jimmy Carter: 25
Poor Organization: 12
Economy: 12
Change in Country's mood: 7
Reagan's landslide: 6
Republican campaign spending: 6
Turn to the right: 5
PAC's/Moral Majority: 4

1984 Presidential Preference:

	<u>First answer</u>	<u>After probe</u>
Mondale:	20	32
Kennedy:	10	14
Other:	10	17
No pref.:	60	37

Will the GOP gain the House in 1982?

Yes: 67
No: 12

Factors in 1982 in the states:

	<u>Help</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>No Effect</u>
Ronald Reagan:	91	0	3
Cons. PACs:	56	8	29
Moral Majority:	21	14	48
Redistricting:	39	19	28

Do you think the activities of the conservative PAC's strengthen or hurt the Party?

Strengthen: 43
Hurt: 20

Do you think the Moral Majority should be more or less active in GOP activities?

More: 11
Less: 34

Will Ronald Reagan run for President in 1984?

Yes: 80
No: 6
Too soon: 6

Should he?

Yes: 76
No: 4
Too soon: 14

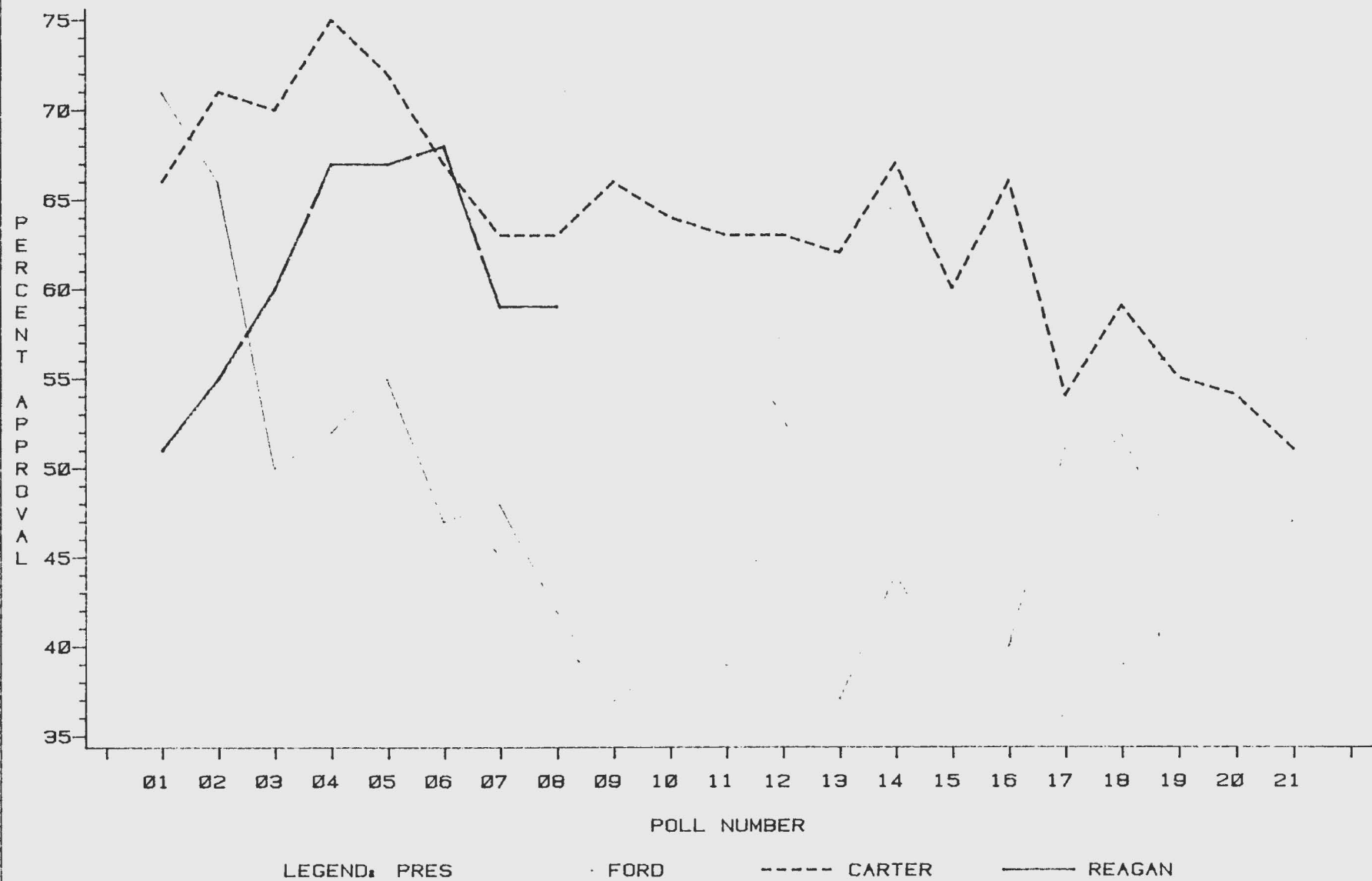
If not Reagan, then who?

Bush: 41
Kemp: 8
Laxalt: 4
Baker: 2
Connally: 1
Dole: 1
Lugar: 1
Thompson: 1
Durenburger: 1
Don't know: 39

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings - June 26, 1981

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GALLUP RATINGS OF RECENT PRESIDENTS



FORD - 8/74 TO 9/75
 CARTER - 2/77 TO 10/77
 REAGAN - 2/81 TO 7/81

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy

FROM: Richard S. Beal *RSB*

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: July 10, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

Number 12

June 22-27

APPROVAL RATINGS:

Latest: Overall: 59-23
April: 67-18
Jan: 46-11

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Latest: Economy: 51-35
        Foreign: 48-26
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"Cares more about the needs and problems of people like yourself"

Ronald Reagan: 39
Democrats in Congress: 41

ECONOMIC:

Budget Cuts: 31-16 (Previous 35-14)
Tax Cut: 38-15 (Previous 37-11)

Significant increase in take-home pay: 41 (Previous 35)
Expect to save or invest the gains: 57 (Previous 52)

EXPECTATIONS:

Country better off in 5 years: Better: 46 (1979: 24)
Worse: 29 (1979: 43)

Own life better in 5 years: Better: 40 (1979: 31)
Worse: 29 (1979: 25)

Family finances better off in a year: Better: 39
Worse: 13

PARTY AFFILIATION:

	<u>June</u>	<u>April</u>
GOP:	38	41
DEM:	50	49

NEW ENGLAND INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH: 1,009 May 18-22 N.E. Only

APPROVAL RATINGS:

President Reagan:	62.4	-	32.7
Bush:	71.4	-	12.9
Haig:	39.1	-	35.1
Stockman:	27.1	-	16.5

REAGAN PROGRAM:

10%, 3 yr. tax cut: 65.8 - 25.2
Increase defense spending: 52.5 - 41.1

NEW ENGLAND INSTITUTE (continued)

Which is more important:
Budget cuts: 70.3
Tax cut: 14.6
Other: 4.8
Neither: 4.2

Budget cuts have gone:
Too far: 35.0
Not far enough: 13.1
About right: 43.4

Social Security solution:
decrease benefits: 19.8
Increases taxes: 45.7
Both: 4.1
Neither: 22.0

MISCELLANEOUS:

SALTS talks with Russia: 64.6 - 23.1
Normalizing relations with Cuba: 42.8 - 42.7
Moral Majority: 26.3 - 42.0
Tuition Tax Credits: 47.7 - 44.1

HARRIS: 1,245 June 3-7

SOCIAL SECURITY:

Reagan committment to Social Security:
Very much: 43
Only some: 36
Hardly at all: 18

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Indexing Social Security benefits by <u>prices or wages</u> , whichever is lower:	66	29
Abolishing earnings limit:	60	37
Reduction of benefits between 62 & 65:	32	66
Reduction of average benefits of 65+ recipients from \$719 to \$692:	32	65
Solvency of system:		
Close to Bankruptcy:	53	
Claims are scare tactics:	40	
Not sure:	7	

HARRIS (Continued)

NEWS REPORTING:

Fraudulent news reporting?
Is very common: 29
Happens only now and then: 42
Only in a few cases: 26

"How much do you tend to trust (READ EACH ITEM) than you read in your newspaper-- very much, somewhat, or not very much?"

TRUST IN NEWSPAPER NEWS:

	<u>Very much</u> %	<u>Somewhat</u> %	<u>Not very much</u> %	<u>Not sure</u> %
Local news				
1981	37	46	16	1
1969	40	43	12	5
State news				
1981	24	54	20	2
1969	31	51	14	4
National news				
1981	20	59	20	1
1969	26	54	14	6
World news				
1981	19	56	24	1
1969	25	53	17	5
Washington news				
1981	13	56	29	2
1969	21	53	19	7

TRUST IN TELEVISION NEWS:

Local news				
1981	43	44	11	2
1969	44	45	6	5
State news				
1981	30	55	14	1
1969	38	51	8	3
World news				
1981	28	54	17	1
1969	35	52	10	3
National news				
1981	27	58	14	1
1969	34	55	9	2
Washington news				
1981	21	58	20	1
1969	30	53	13	4

GALLUP: 1,515 June 5-8

Are you satisfied with the way things are going in th U.S. at this time?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>
Latest:	33	61
January:	17	78
Nov. 1979:	19	26
Feb. 1979:	26	69

Breakdown subgroups (Latest)

Whites:	35	59
Non-Whites:	20	74
Rep.:	47	48
Dem.:	23	69
Ind.:	33	62
East:	31	61
South:	39	54
Midwest:	31	64
West:	28	67
18-29:	36	58
30-49:	32	62
50+:	31	63

Outlook toward personal life:	81	16
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Wage and price controls:	
Favor:	50
Oppose:	38

Compulsory national service for all young men (military and non-military):

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Latest:	71	24
1979:	60	33

For Young women:

Latest:	54	40
1979	40	53

Military versus non-military for young men:

	<u>Military</u>	<u>Non-military</u>
Latest:	50	36
1979:	42	42
1976:	47	38

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS/RICHARD F. LINK 400 June 22-23 NYC Metro Only.

BASEBALL STRIKE:

Who is to blame in baseball strike?

Owners:	17
Players:	17
Equally:	43
DK:	23

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS (Continued)

Are Players overpaid?

Overpaid:	68
Underpaid:	3
About right:	21
Don't know:	8

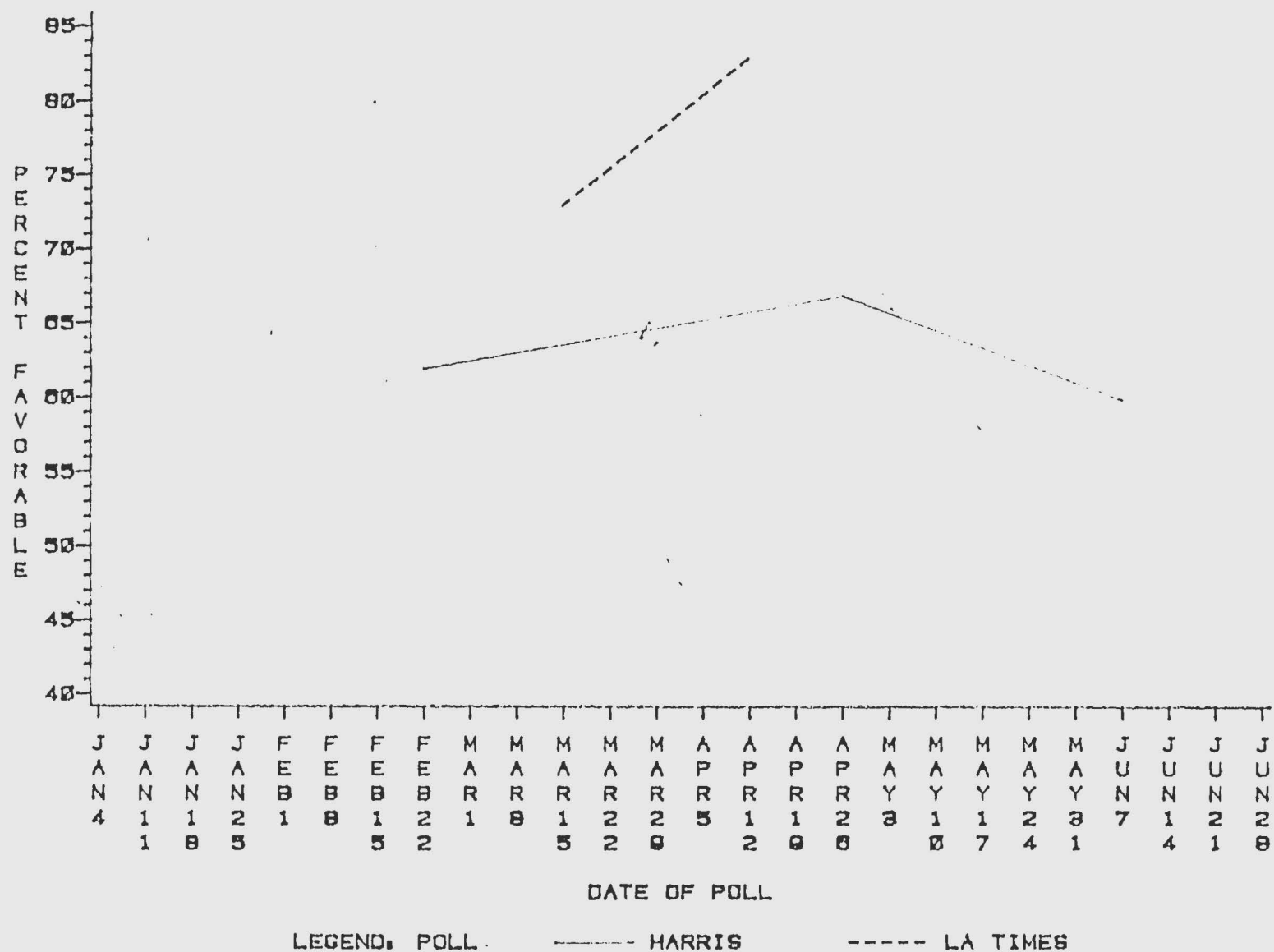
Are you anxious for the strike to end?

Anxious:	48
Don't care:	49
Don't know:	3

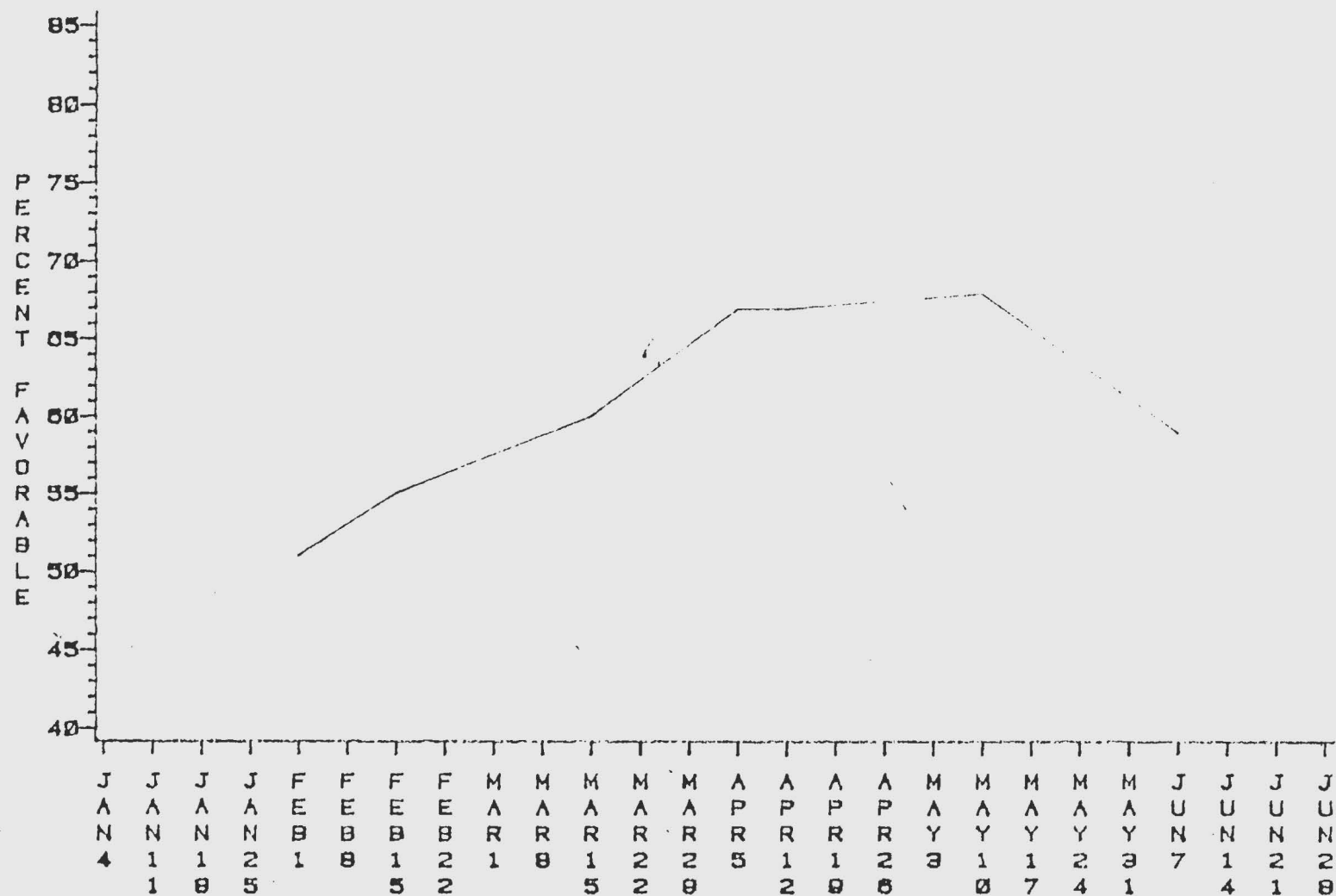
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27-7 June	HARRIS	60	39	1
28 June	GALLUP	59	28	13
13-15 June	DMI	69	25	6
22-27 June	CBS/NYT	59	23	18

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS

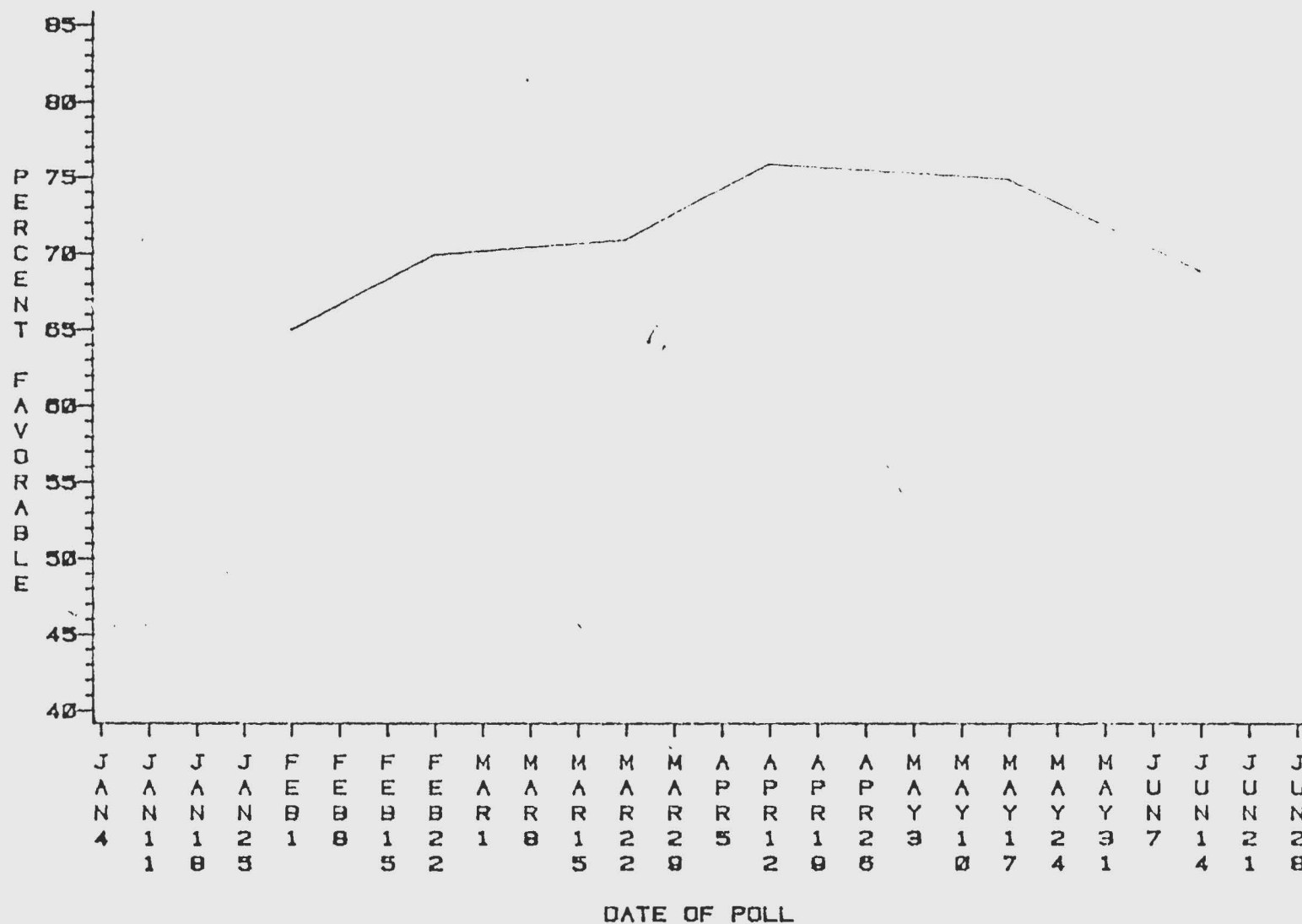


DATE OF POLL

LEGEND: POLL

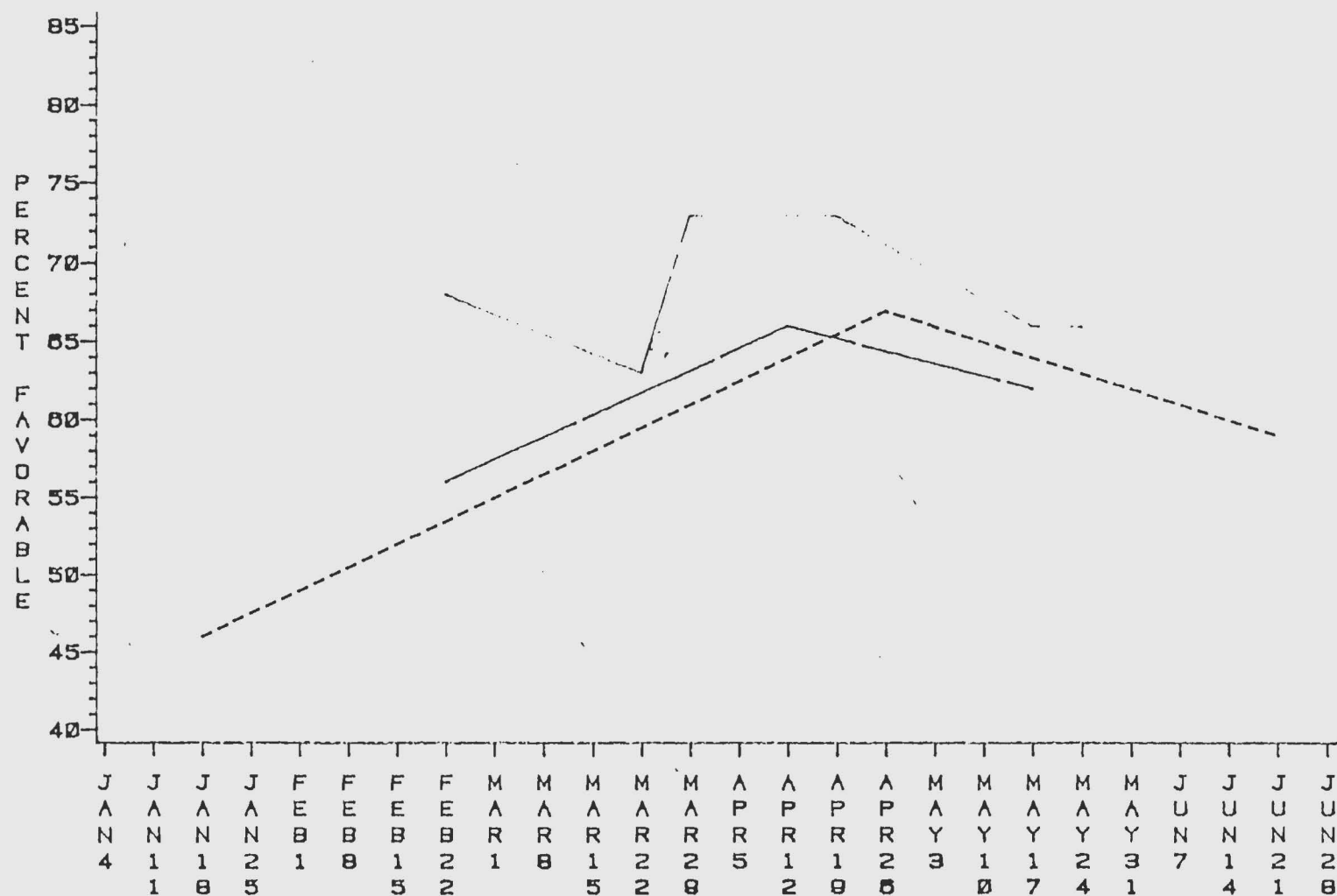
—— GALLUP

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



LEGEND: POLL ——— DMI

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: June 26, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

HARRIS 1,245 June 3-7

Presidential Approval rating: 60-39

Late April: 67-29
Late February: 62-30

Issue Ratings: Economy: 51-47
Inflation: 41-56
Poor: 30-68
Congress: 66-31

Inspiring Confidence in the White House: 68-30 (A major Harris indicator)

GALLUP 1,515 June 5-8

Presidential Approval rating: 59-28

Four-part breakdown: Approve very strongly: 31
Not so strongly: 28
Disapprove not so strongly: 11
Very strongly: 17

Reasons for Approval/Disapproval:

Approval:

Deserved credit for trying: 26
Approve of economic plan, cuts: 19
Leadership qualities, like him: 16
Needed a change of leadership: 11
Reducing government size, waste: 6

Disapproval:

Dislike economic policy, program, cuts: 44
Social Security cuts: 25
Helps business, rich people: 22
Has not done anything positive: 8
Hawkish military posture: 7

Previous President's ratings four
months into office:

Carter: 63
Ford: 42
Nixon: 63
Johnson: 75
Kennedy: 71
Eisenhower: 74
Truman: 82 (6 months)

GALLUP

1,519

May 8-11

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT:

Would you favor a UN worldwide referendum on nuclear disarmament?

Favor: 68

Oppose: 19

How would you vote in the referendum on nuclear disarmament?

For: 59

Against: 29

Should the US meet with the Soviet Union on nuclear disarmament?

Should: 80

Should not: 13

Would you favor an agreement with the Russians not to build any more nuclear weapons in the future?

Favor: 72

Oppose: 20

Are the Russians likely to comply?

Very likely: 6

Fairly likely: 27

Not at all: 60

Would you favor an agreement to destroy all present nuclear weapons?

Favor: 47

Oppose: 44

Are the Russians likely to comply?

Very likely: 4

Fairly likely: 16

Not at all: 73

GALLUP

9,416

January 30-May 11 (Six surveys)

PARTY AFFILIATION:	GOP	DEM	IND	DEMO MARGIN
1981:	28	41	31	13
1980				
Fall:	26	44	30	18
Summer:	25	48	27	23
Spring:	23	47	30	24
Winter:	21	47	32	26
1979:	22	45	33	23
1975:	22	45	33	23
1972:	28	43	29	15
1968:	27	46	27	19
1964:	25	53	22	28
1960:	30	47	23	17
1954:	34	46	20	13
1950:	33	45	22	12
1946:	40	39	21	-1

GALLUP (Continued)

Party Affiliation:		GOP	DEM	IND
By Region:	East:	28	41	31
	South:	25	47	28
	Midwest:	26	36	36
	West:	30	42	28
By religion:	Protestant:	32	40	28
	Catholic:	22	45	33
	Jews:	17	57	26
By race:	Whites:	30	37	33
	Non-White:	8	74	18
By sex:	Men:	27	38	35
	Women:	28	44	28
By education:	College:	34	32	34
	High School:	26	42	32
	Grade:	20	58	22

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS/Richard F. Link 400 May 18-19

ABORTION: Constitutional amendment to ban abortions?

Favor: 29

Oppose: 61

Approve of Medicaid funds to pay for abortions?

Approve: 42

Disapprove: 51

Do you favor parental notification in teenage abortions?

Favor: 69

Oppose: 27

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS INSTANT POLL 3,327 June 19

Should Reagan name a woman to the U. S. Supreme Court?

Yes: 1,954 58.7%

No: 1,373 41.3%

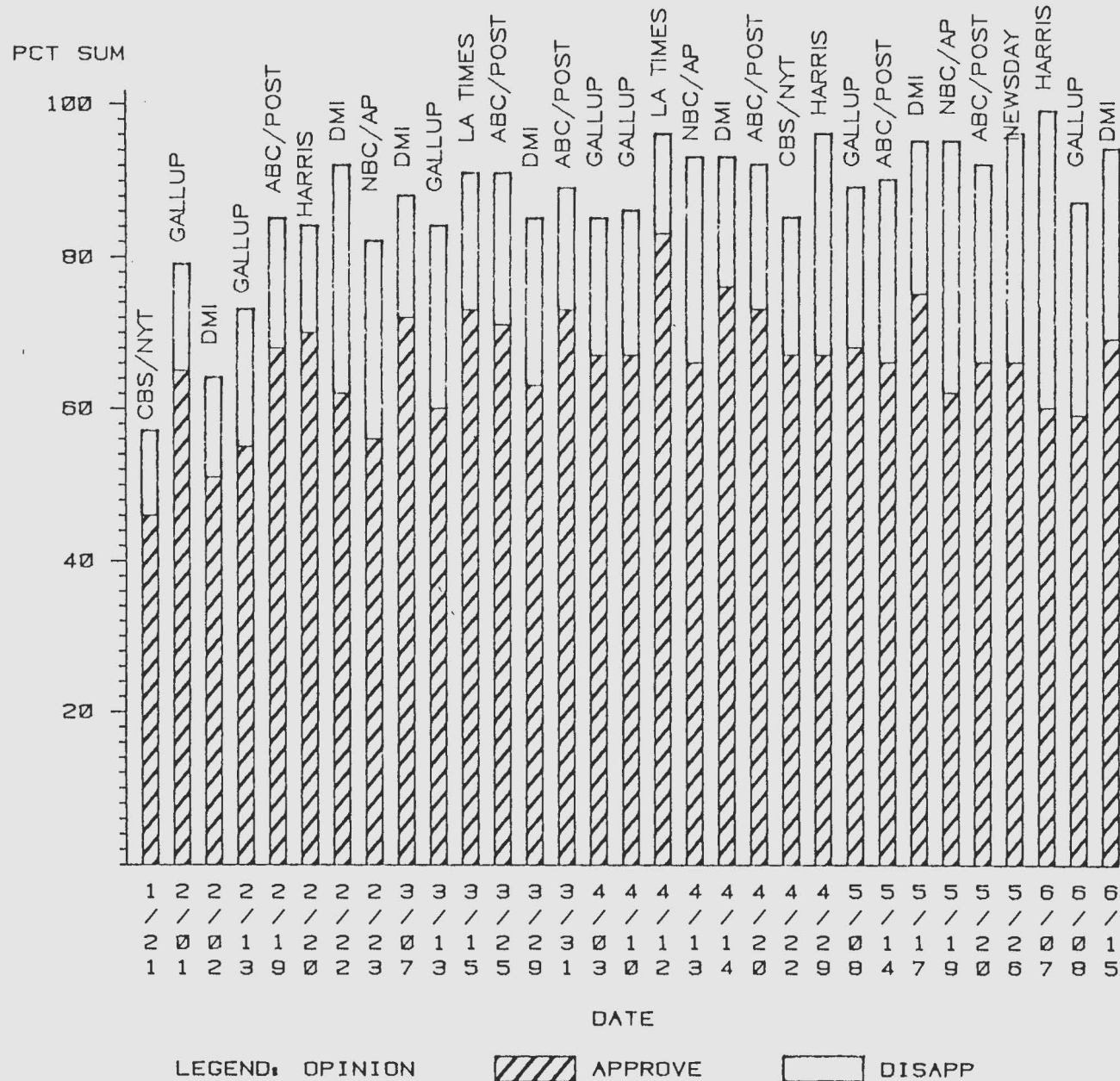
NEWSWEEK/GALLUP 745 June 17-18

ENVIRONMENT:		Favor	Oppose
Easing restrictions on strip-mining:		48	39
Reducing auto-exhaust standards:		42	53
Increasing oil exploration on Federal land:		76	19
Improving existing national parks:		73	20
(As opposed to expanding the system)			
Relax clean-air requirements on coal burning:		55	36
Increasing offshore oil drilling:		70	22
Force oil companies to pay for coastal damage:		85	9

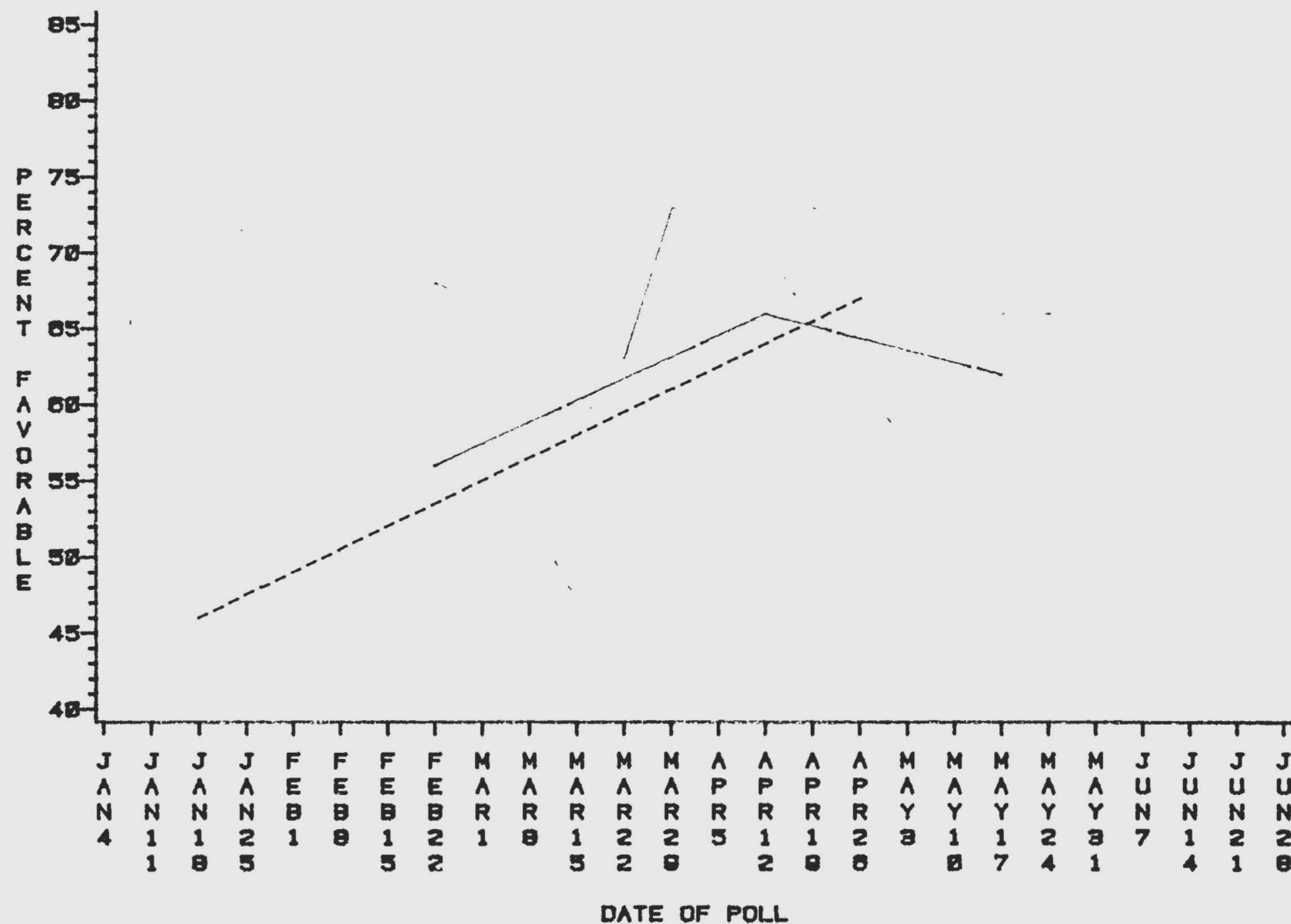
President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings - June 26, 1981

		APPROVAL FAVORABLE	DISAPPROVAL UNFAVORABLE	NO OPINION
30 Jan - 2 Feb	GALLUP	51	13	36
1 Feb	DMI	65	14	22
13-16 Feb	GALLUP	55	18	27
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POST SHOOTING				
31 Mar	ABC/POST	73	16	11
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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	66	30	4
3-7 June	HARRIS	60	39	1
5-8 June	GALLUP	59	28	13
13-15 June	DMI	69	25	6

PRESIDENTIAL RATINGS



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



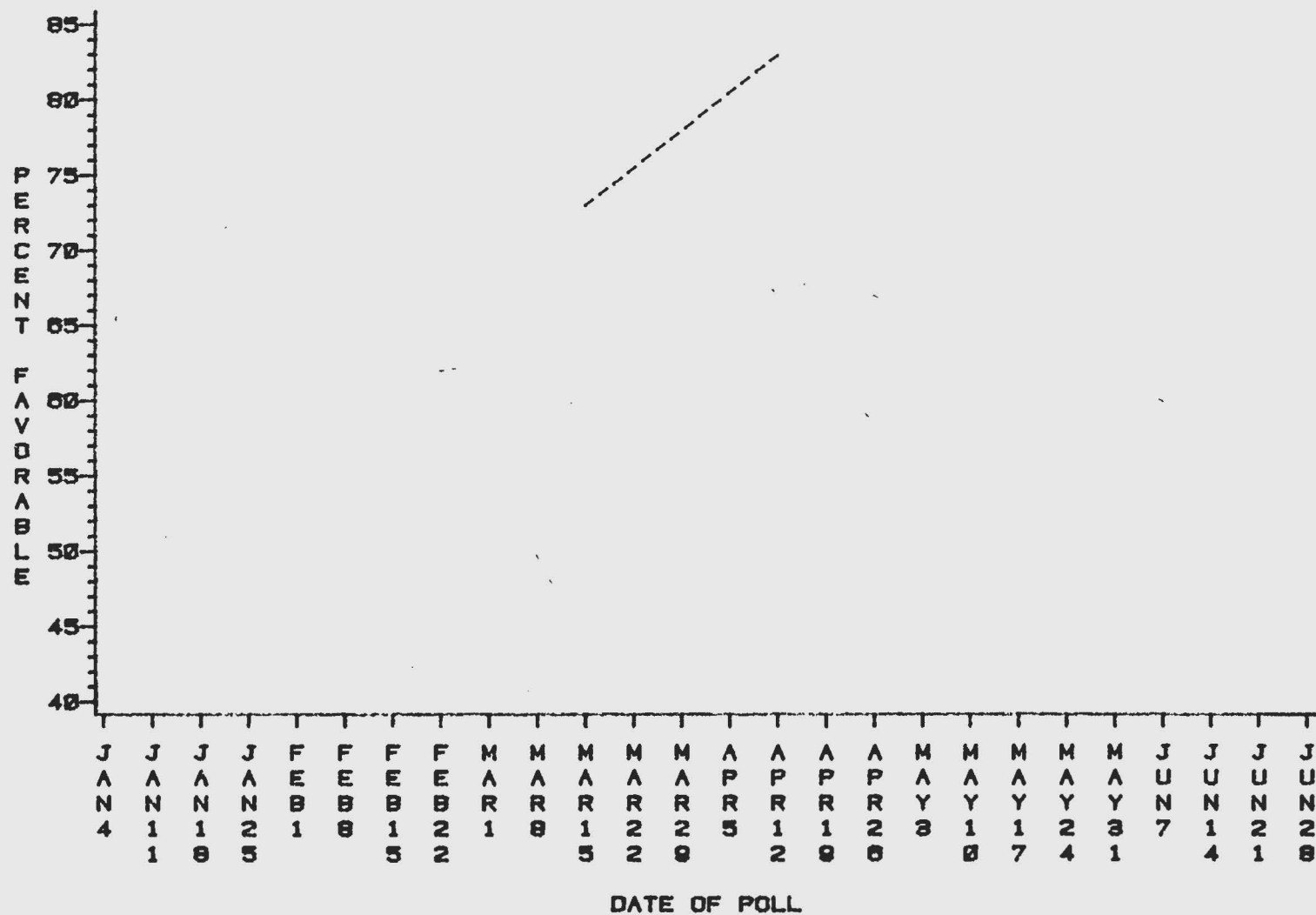
LEGEND: POLL

ABC/POST

CBS/NYT

NBC/AP

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS

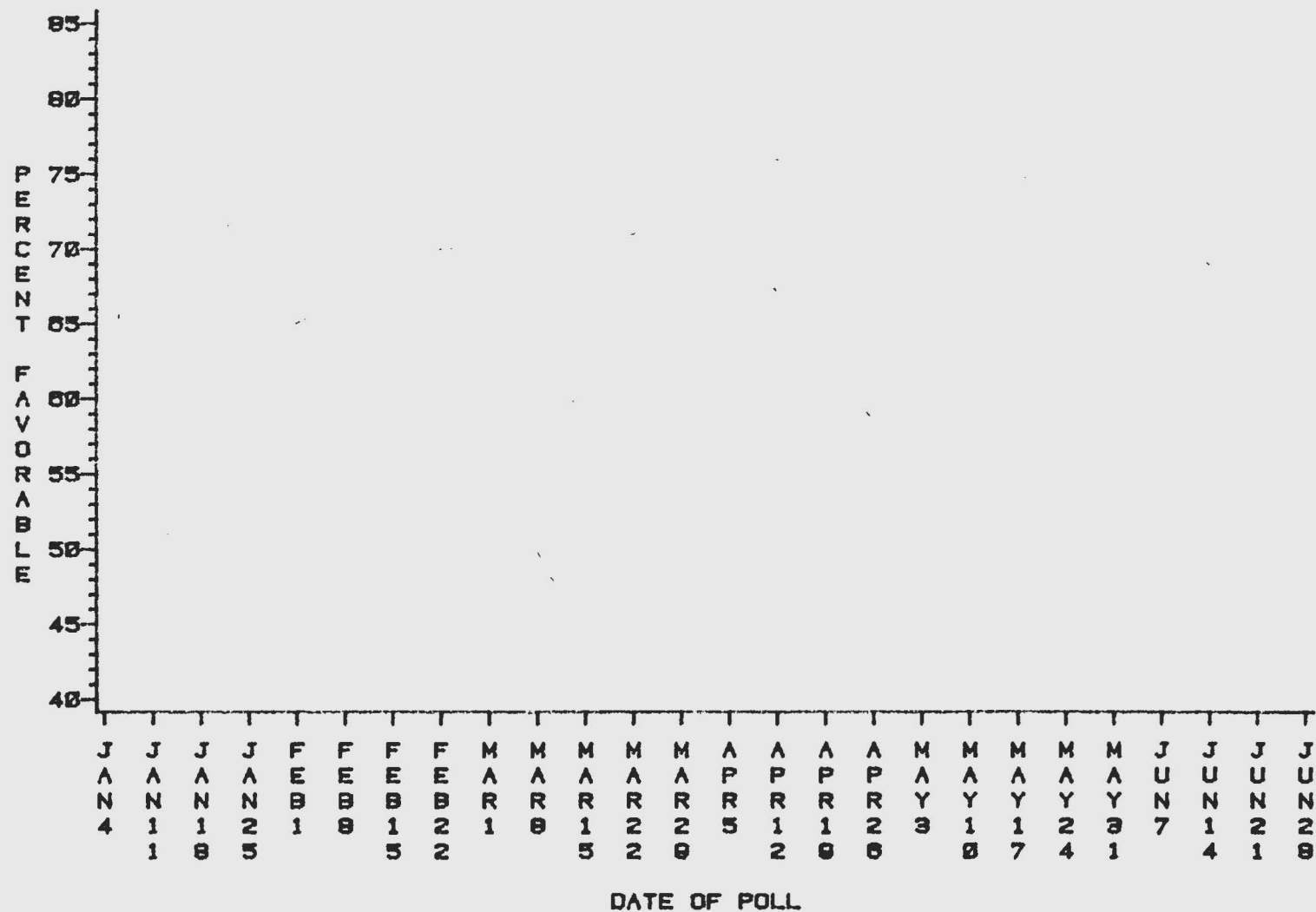


LEGEND: POLL

- HARRIS

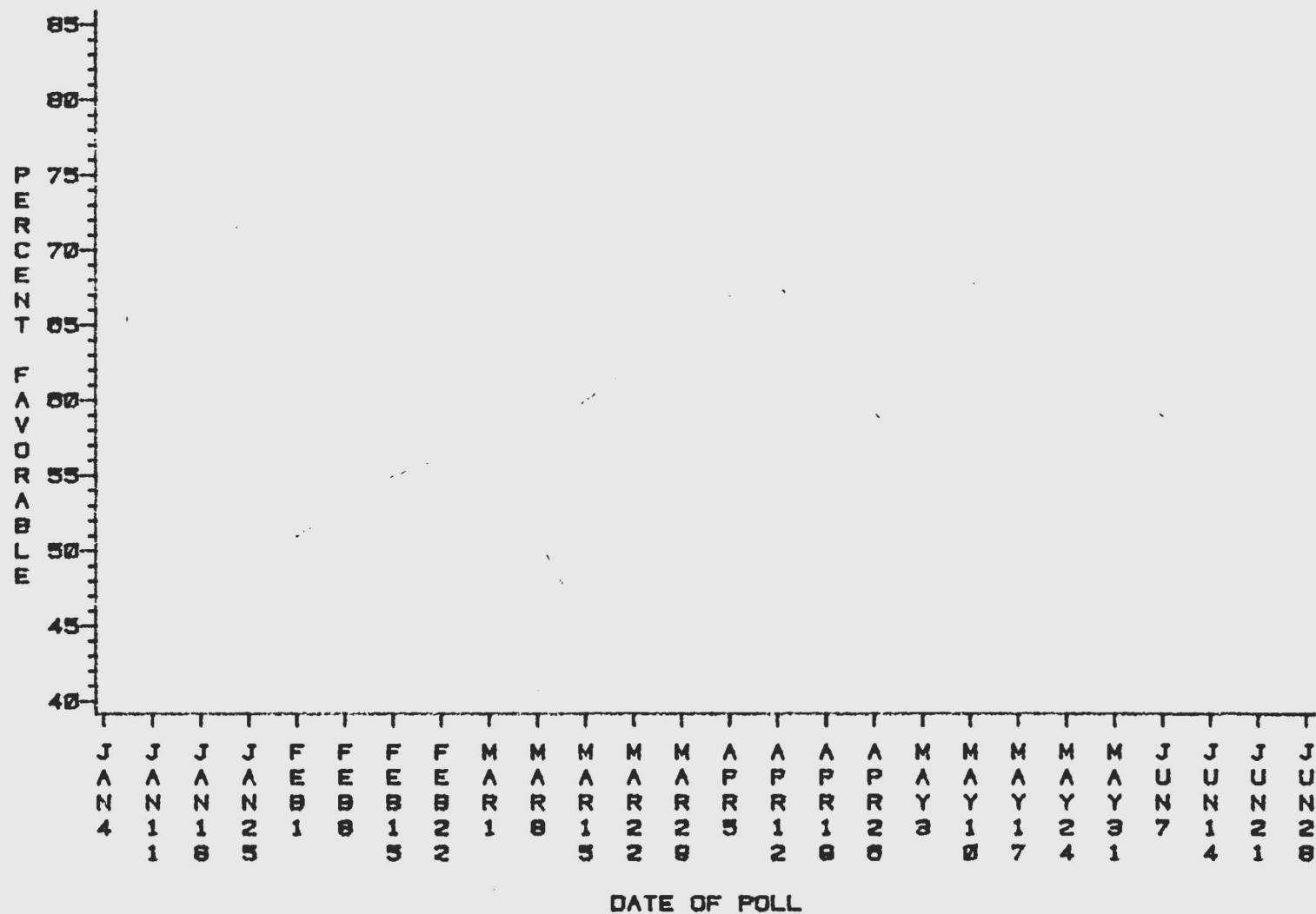
----- LA TIMES

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



LEGEND: POLL DMI

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



LEGEND: POLL - GALLUP

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: June 19, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

We welcome a new national poll to the summary this week: Newsday of Long Island, New York.

NEWSDAY/DATA ANALYSTS, INC.	1,379	May 18-26	Nationwide
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Presidential approval rating: 68-30

In the next few years will inflation go down significantly? Yes: 45
No: 53

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Presidential approval ratings in specific areas:

NATIONWIDE:	Overall:	68		Overall:	57
	Foreign:	50	NASSAU:	Foreign:	42
	Russia:	52	SUFFOLK:	Russia:	45
	Economy:	57	QUEENS:	Economy:	50
	Congress:	75		Congress:	63

President Reagan's economic program will help the rich
at the expense of the poor:

Agree:	41
Disagree:	53

Abortion should be outlawed except in cases of rape,
incest, or danger to the mother's life?

Agree:	50
Disagree:	48

A good idea to send military advisors to El Salvador:

Agree:	28
Disagree:	64

65% support an increase in the defense budget even if this will make inflation worse.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS/Richard F. Link 400 May 18-19 NYC Metro Only

Presidential approval rating: 51-42

Governor Carey approval rating: 19-73

Mayor Koch approval rating: 64-31

ABC/POST

1,533

May 18-19

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL:

LATEST: 66-26

5/14: 66-24

4/22: 73-19

3/30: 73-16

3/29: 63-22

2/20: 68-17

Do you approve of the positions of the Moral Majority?

Approve:	37
Disapprove:	43
?	21

Do you favor the Equal Rights Amendment?

Favor:	61
Oppose:	34

Does President Reagan favor or oppose the amendment?

Favor:	32
Oppose:	56
?	12

Do you approve the Supreme Court's ruling against prayer in schools?

Approve:	31
Disapprove:	67

The nation's economy is:

Latest3/6

Getting better:	14	9
Getting worse:	49	54
Staying the same:	36	36

GALLUP

1,519

May 8-11

REAGAN PROMISES:

Reagan will be able to:

11/805/81

Reduce inflation:

Will:	46	60
Will not:	38	28

Reduce unemployment:

Will:	47	48
Will not:	37	36

Reduce size of government:

Will:	52	66
Will not:	32	23

Balance budget:

Will:	30	41
Will not:	55	46

CLEAN AIR AND WATER

Are air pollution standards too protective of people's health?

Overly protective: 18
Just about right: 38
Not protective enough: 40

Are water pollution standards too protective?

Overly protective: 6
Just about right: 43
Not protective enough: 48

Should Congress make the Clean Air Act Stricter?

Make stricter: 38
Keep about the same: 48
Make less strict: 12

Should Congress make the Clean Water Act stricter?

Make stricter: 52
Keep about the same: 41
Make less strict: 4

PROFILES OF PRESIDENT REAGAN

AgreeDisagree

While it is good to have someone who is firm with the Russians as President, he has to guard against getting the U.S. into another war:

85 13

He has a highly attractive personality and inspired confidence in the White House:

80 16

He is no ordinary politician, because he really wants to cut federal spending and cut back the federal bureaucracy:

77 20

He really cares about working people and minorities and will help get jobs for the unemployed:

54 40

In his economic package, he seems to be more interested in high income people getting richer than what happens to the elderly, the poor and the handicapped:

46 50

He has been wrong to appoint people to key government jobs who really are dead-set against the programs they are supposed to run:

43 44

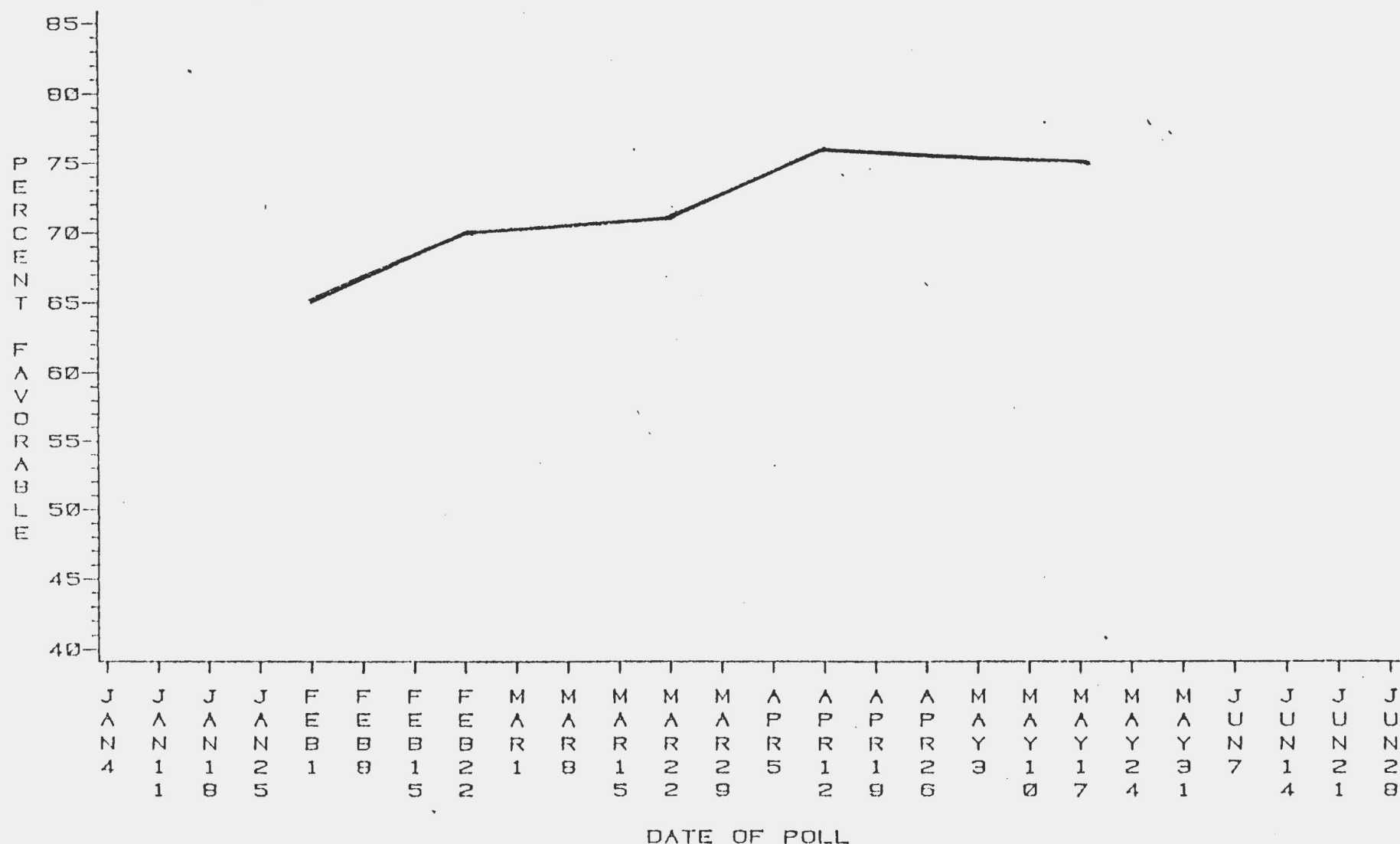
He is allowing right-wing, extreme conservatives to have too much influence over him:

28 62

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings - June 22, 1981

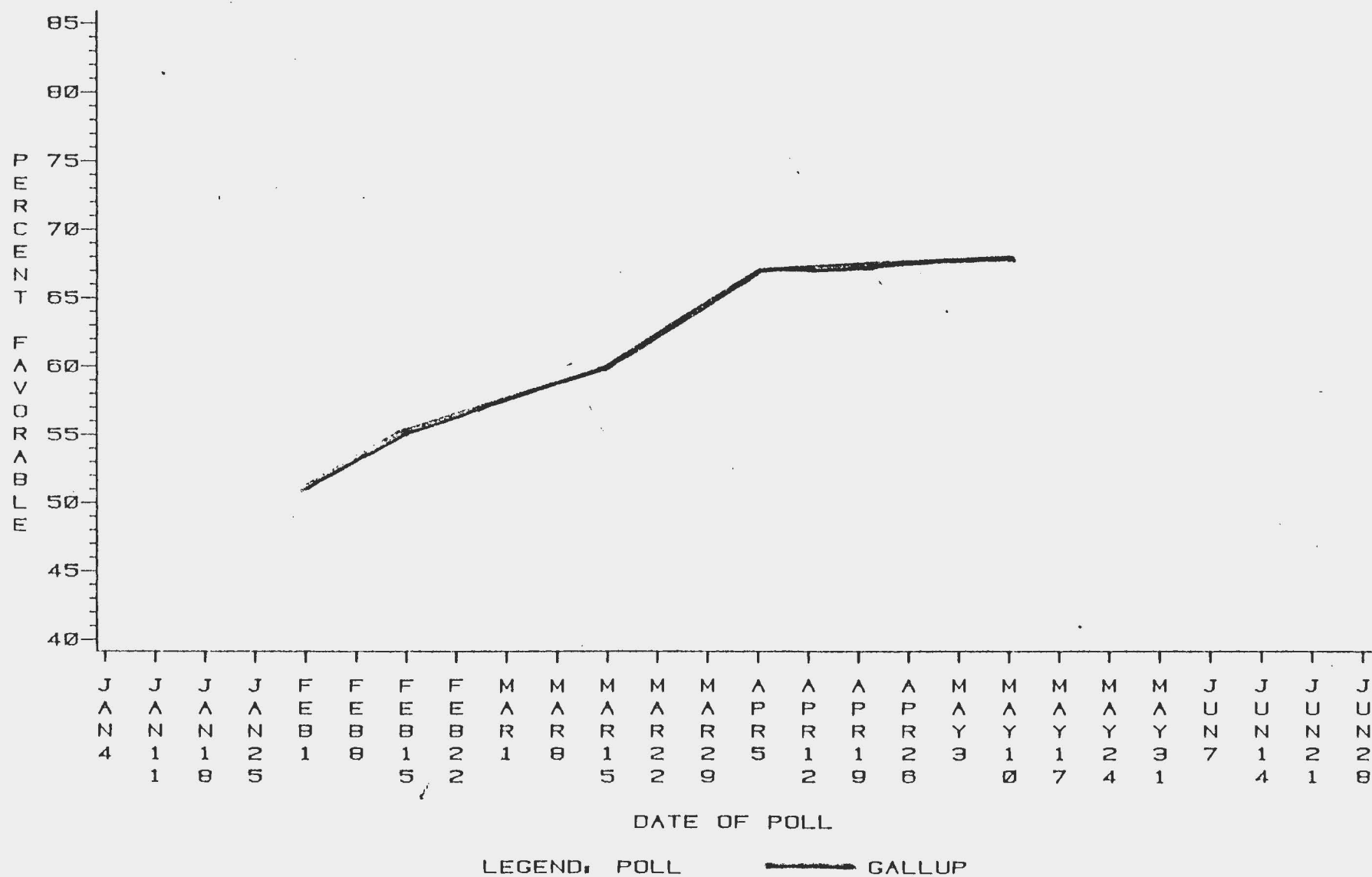
		APPROVAL FAVORABLE	DISAPPROVAL UNFAVORABLE	NO OPINION
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PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS

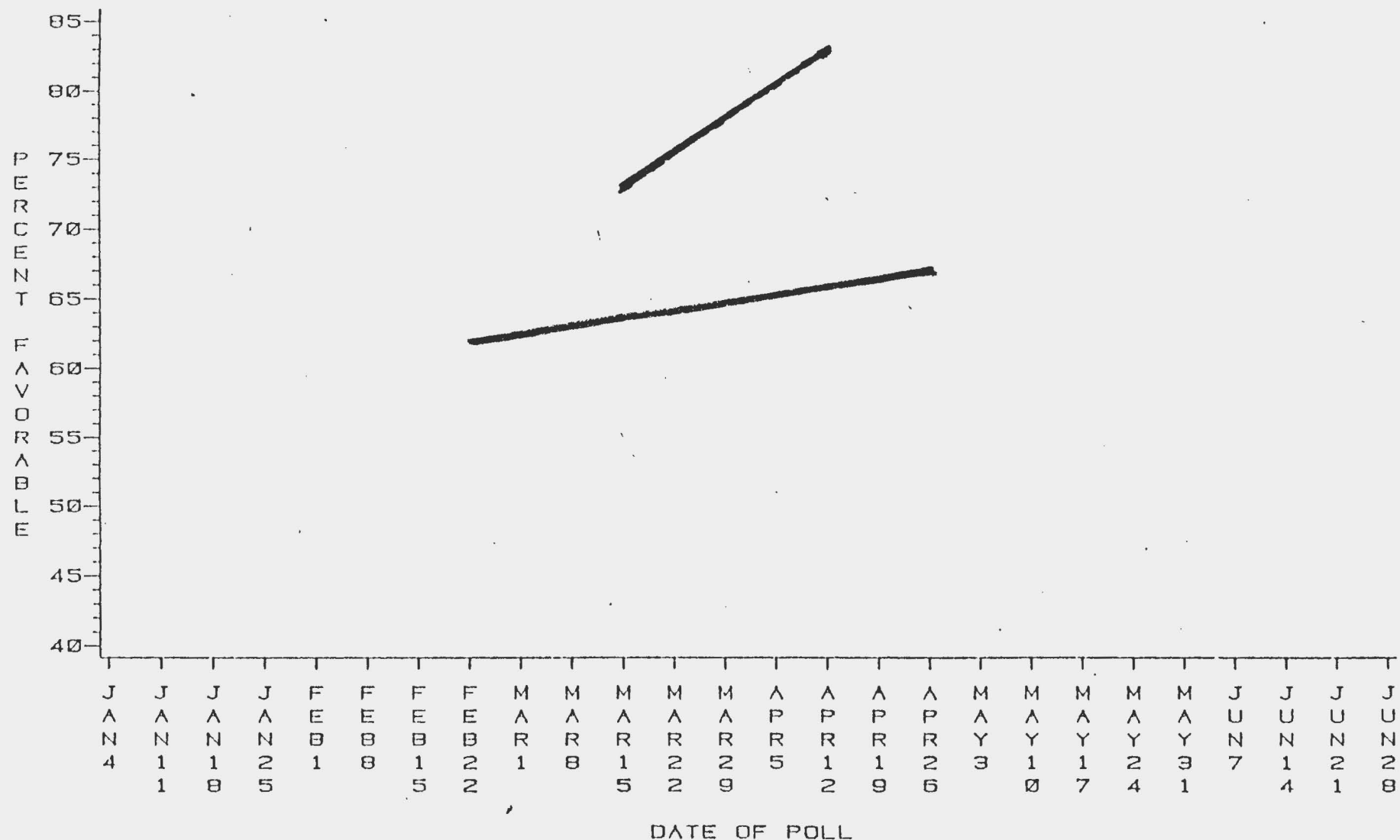


LEGEND: POLL — DMI

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS

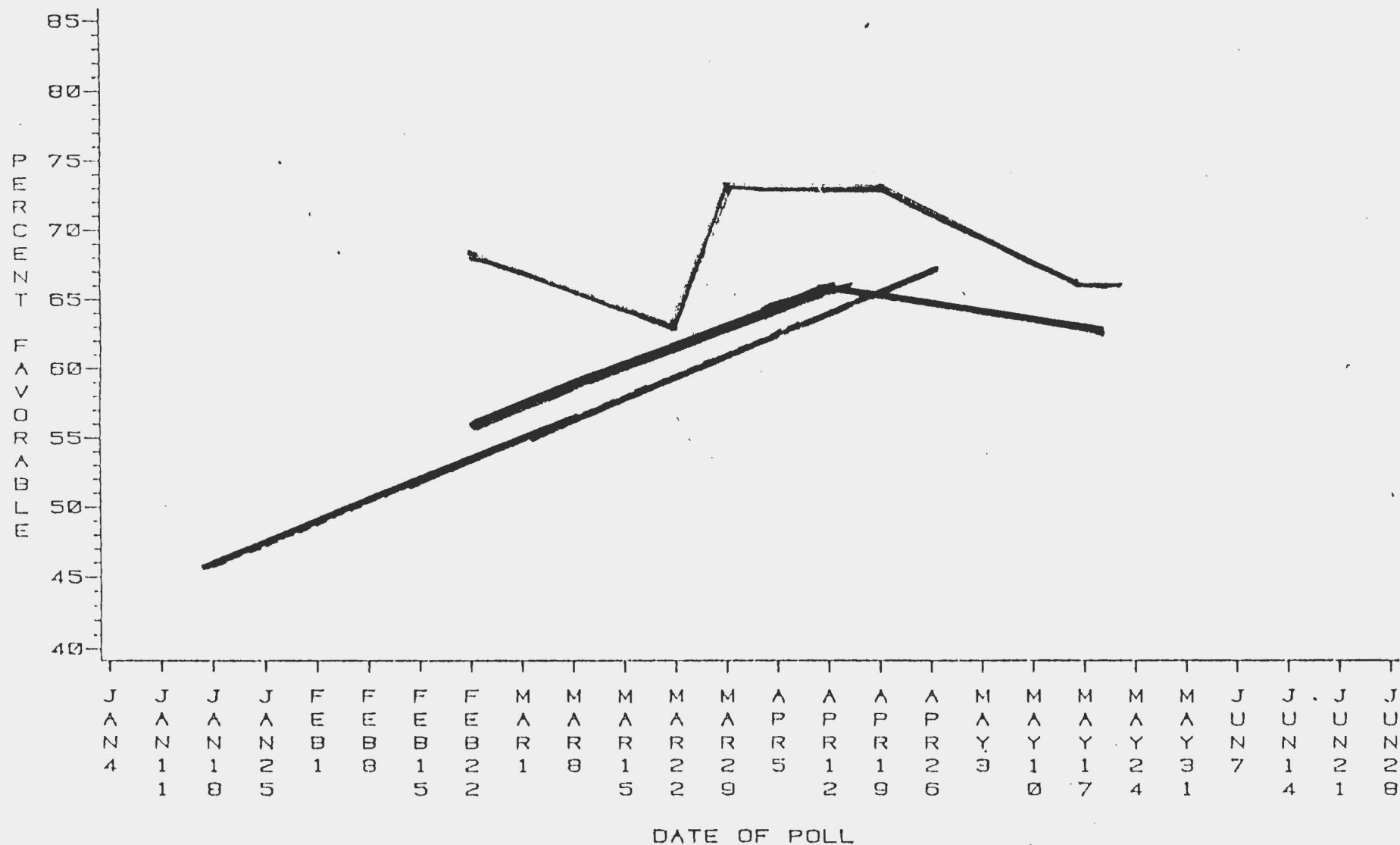


LEGEND: POLL

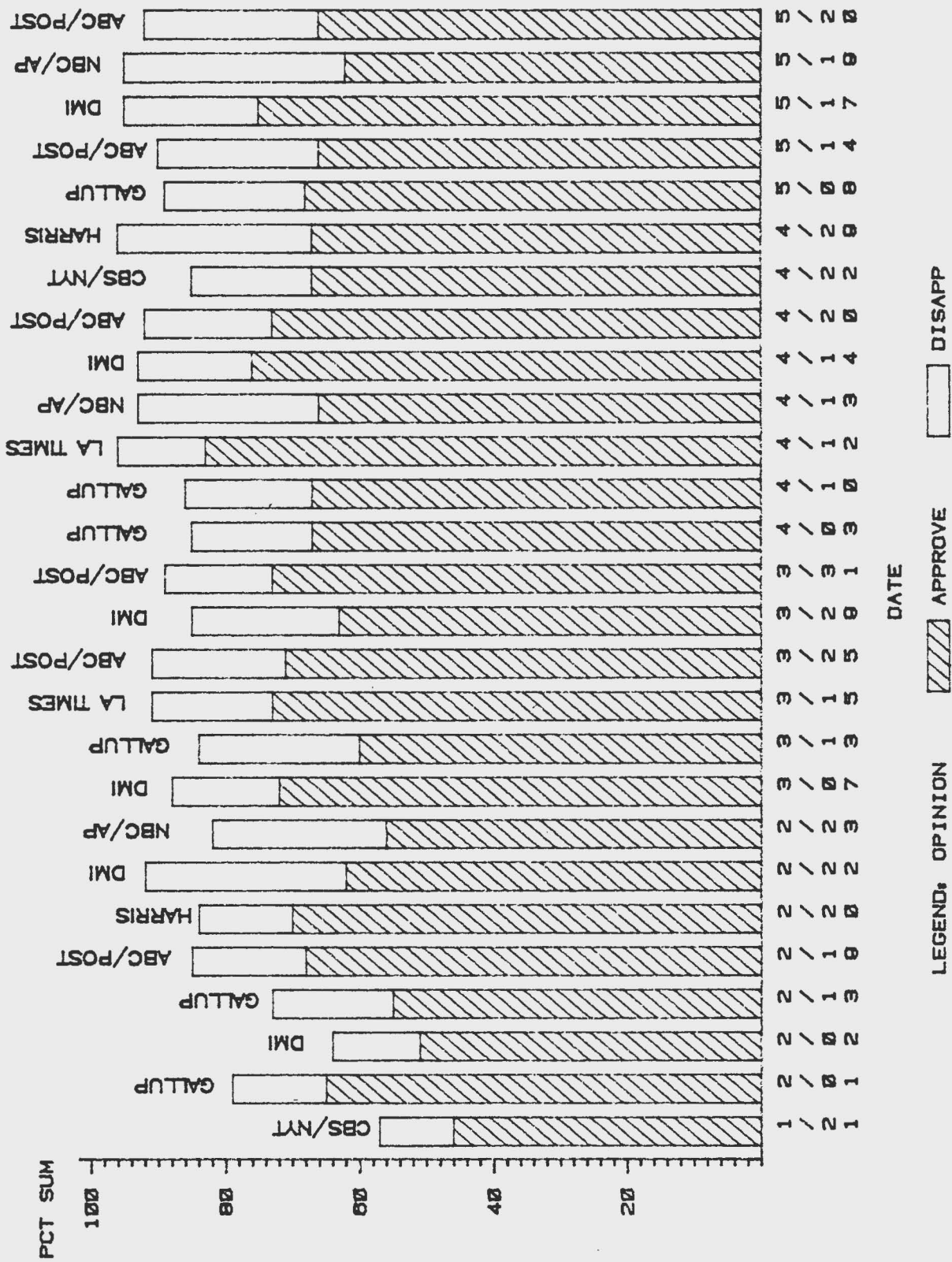
HARRIS

LA TIMES

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



PRESIDENTIAL RATINGS



TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: June 15, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

NBC/AP: May 18-19 1,599

APPROVAL RATINGS

		<u>Latest</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>February</u>
Overall:	Approve:	62	66	56
	Disapprove:	33	27	26
Economy:	Approve:	50	52	56
	Disapprove:	43	38	33
Foreign:	Approve:	48	51	48
	Disapprove:	41	37	33

Budget cuts approved 56-18 with an additional 16 supporting some cuts but not all.

Tax cut approved: 64-22
Previous: 71-15

Reagan Program will reduce inflation: 72-22
Previous: 79-16

Tax cut:		<u>National</u>	<u>GOP</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>
	3 year:	42	48	33	41
	1 year:	49	43	59	46

If a Congressman supports the President's program, are you more likely to support

More likely: 29
Less likely: 11
No difference: 53

SOCIAL ISSUES

ERA approved: 40-25
School prayer approved: 73-21
Busing disapproved: 18-76
Abortion amendment disapproved: 22-71

WESTERN ISSUES

Wilderness lands: Keep: 39
 Develop: 47

Offshore drilling: Favor: 70
 Oppose: 19

GALLUP: May 8-11 1,519

SPENDING CUTS

Too High: 34
About right: 46
Too low: 12
?: 8

Do not disapprove of any cuts: 41
Disapprove of one or more cuts: 48

Specific objections:

Social Security: 17
Education aid: 8
Welfare: 8
Elderly aid: 6
Food Stamps: 5
Medicare/Medicaid: 4
CETA: 4
Student Loans: 3
Veterans benefits: 2
School Lunch: 2
Fuel/Rent/Utility Subsidies: 2

Effect of Reagan program on personal finances:

Improve: 48
Hurt: 37

Tax cut expectations:

There will be a full 30% cut: 17
A smaller cut: 61
No cut at all: 13
Not sure: 9

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS/LINK ASSOC. May 18-19 400 NYC Metro Only

SOCIAL SECURITY

Reduce benefits for early retirees: 21-72

Remove earnings cap for retirees: 56-33

Changes necessary to stave off bankruptcy: Yes: 77-14

ABC/POST: May 18-19 1,533

ABORTION

 Approve abortion on demand: 40
 Approve under most circumstances: 34
 Disapprove under most circumstances: 16
 Disapprove under all circumstances: 10

Federal financing of abortions disapproved: 40-54

 Life begins at: Conception: 41
 First 3 months: 30
 Last six months: 12
 At birth: 11

A law making all abortions murder disapproved: 29-67

HARRIS: May 6-10 1,250

SPACE PROGRAM

The Space Shuttle was a major breakthrough: 76
 A minor breakthrough: 13
 Not much of a breakthrough: 10

Space program worth several billion over next ten years?

	<u>Worth It</u>	<u>Not Worth It</u>
Total:	63	33
College:	71	26
Men:	76	21
Women:	52	43
Blacks:	45	53
GOP:	71	26
DEM:	57	39

HARRIS: Continued

ABORTION:

Right of a woman to have an abortion up to 3 months pregnant?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Total:	56	41
White Protestant:	57	41
White Catholic:	48	49
Jewish:	83	15
White:	57	40
Black:	56	41
East:	57	41
South:	52	44
Midwest:	55	43
West:	64	34
GOP:	62	36
DEM:	54	30
IND:	58	40

WARNING:

There have been several national polls on abortion in the last two weeks, each with differing results. Generally the questions are phrased to elicit a specific response. The reporting of the polls has changed the interpretations even further. Both sides of the issue can point to favorable results in this last round of polls. One should be careful in placing too much credence in any one poll.

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings

11 June 1981

DATE	POLL	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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POST SHOOTING				
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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

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes
Daniel Murphy

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: June 4, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

GALLUP: 1,519 May 3-11

In last week's summary the President's overall approval rating was reported at 63. Here is a break-down by category:

<u>REGION:</u>		<u>POLITICS:</u>		<u>SEX:</u>	
East:	64	GOP:	92	Men	70
South:	69	Dem:	51	Women:	65
Midwest:	70	Ind:	70		
West:	68				

<u>RACE:</u>		<u>AGE:</u>		<u>EDUCATION:</u>	
White:	73	Under 30:	65	College:	72
Non-White:	31	30-49:	72	HS	68
		50+:	65	Grade:	55

Specific performance ratings:

	<u>Current</u>	<u>April 3-6</u>
Defense:	62	
Economy:	58	
Inflation:	56	53
Russia:	53	56
Energy:	44	42
Unemployment:	42	43
El Salvador:	30	39

On Abortion:

1972 Supreme Court	Favor:	45
Ruling on Abortion:	Oppose:	46
Life begins at:	Conception:	54
	In Between:	24
	At Birth:	17
Abortion should be:	Legal under any	
	circumstances:	<u>23</u>
	Under only certain	
	circumstances:	<u>52</u>
	Illegal under all	
	circumstances:	<u>21</u>

HARRIS: 1,250 May 6-10

Most important problem facing this country:

	<u>May 1981</u>	<u>Sept. 1980</u>
Getting inflation under control:	35	27
Helping the elderly, the poor to get a better break:	16	10
Backing up President Reagan in what he wants to do:	10	x
Keeping U.S. military strength as strong as Russia's:	8	19
Supporting stronger measures to control crime:	8	2
Cutting federal spending:	6	9
Making the U.S. more energy self-sufficient:	5	12
Giving some relief to taxpayers:	5	4
Cutting down the size of the federal government:	3	x
Standing up to the Russians throughout the world:	1	x

NEWSWEEK/GALLUP: 716 May 27-28

On Defense:

Reagan defense stance approved:	48-27
In favor of arms agreement with Russia:	59
We should seek superiority over Russia:	54
We should seek parity with Russia:	37
Increased defense spending was approved:	64-29
If increased defense spending creates inflation then increases in defense spending are not supported:	31-60

65% support a higher defense budget even if it means a smaller tax cut.
 53% favor greater defense spending even if it means more cutbacks in non-defense areas.
 48% support increased defense spending even if it means less change of a balanced budget.
 41% disagree.

On returning to the draft:	Favor:	43
	Oppose:	49
Highest priority in defense:	Fight limited war:	50
	All-out war:	23

BALTIMORE SUN/HOLLANDER-COHEN. 811 May 8-17 Maryland Only

Approval rating of U.S. Senators:	Mathias:	33-35
	Sarbanes:	24-40

This poll should be taken with a grain of salt since Mathias was just reelected with 66% of the vote in November. It does show a degree of vulnerability for Democrat Sarbanes, however.

On economic expectations, only 31% of Marylanders said the economy would improve in the next year while 35% said the economy would worsen. 29% said it would stay the same.

Maryland was one of only six states to vote Democratic for President in 1980.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS 400 May New York City Metro Only

Were you more shocked by the assassination attempt on the life of the Pope than the attempt to kill the President?	Yes:	65-32
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Should the Pope curtail his public appearances?	No:	62-30
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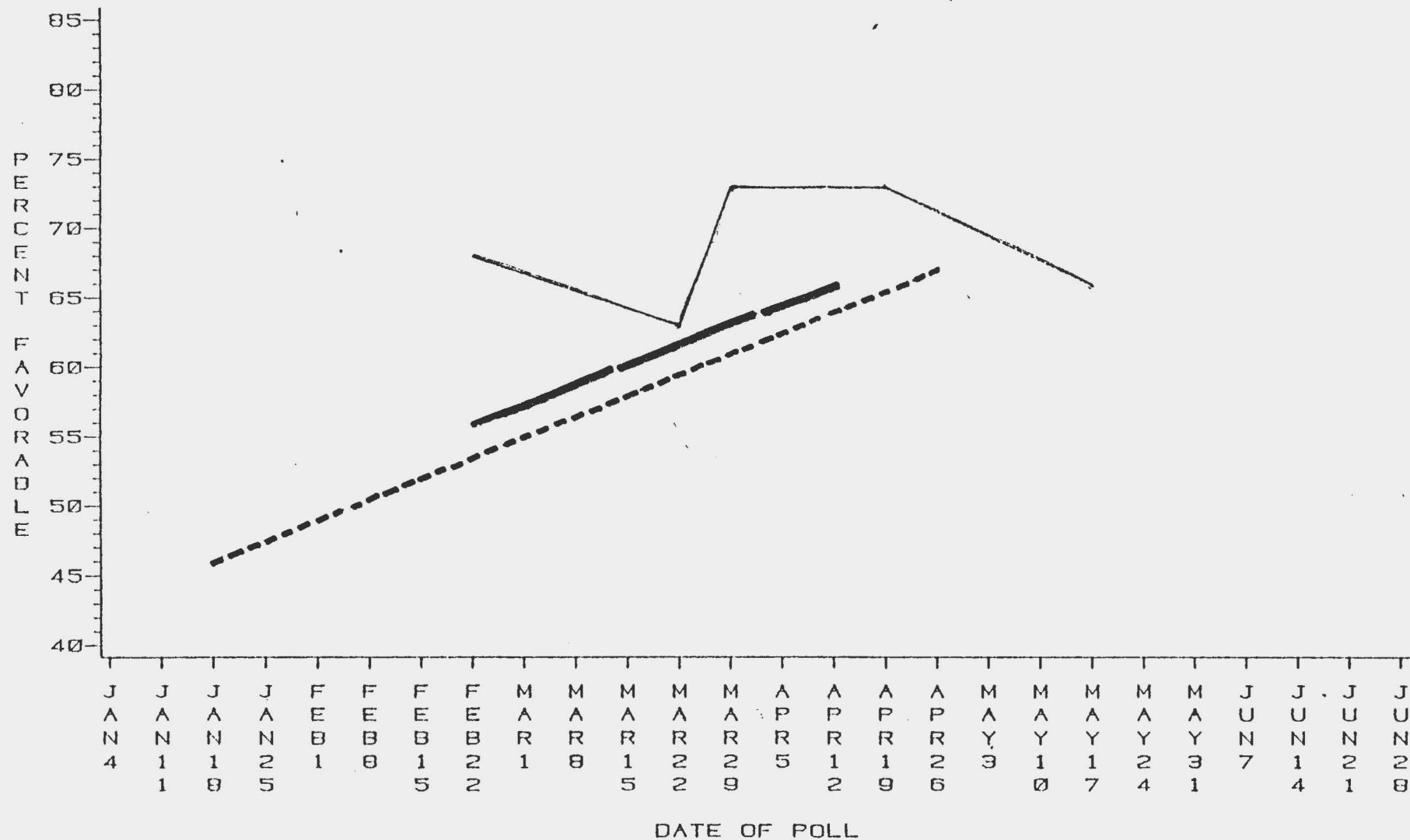
Would you favor the death penalty for assassination attempts:	Favor:	77
	Oppose:	18

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings

29 May 1981

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PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



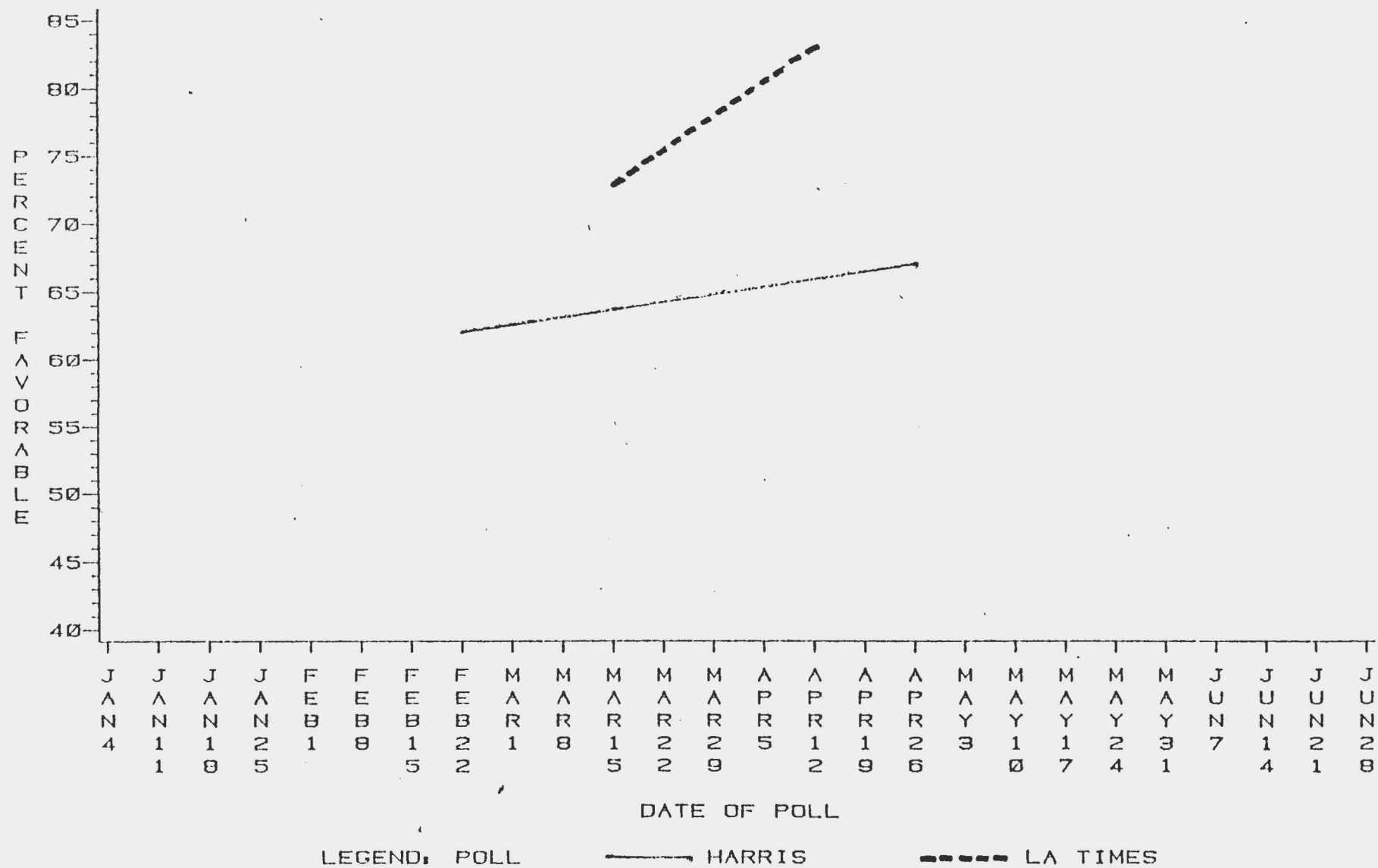
LEGEND: POLL

— ABC/POST

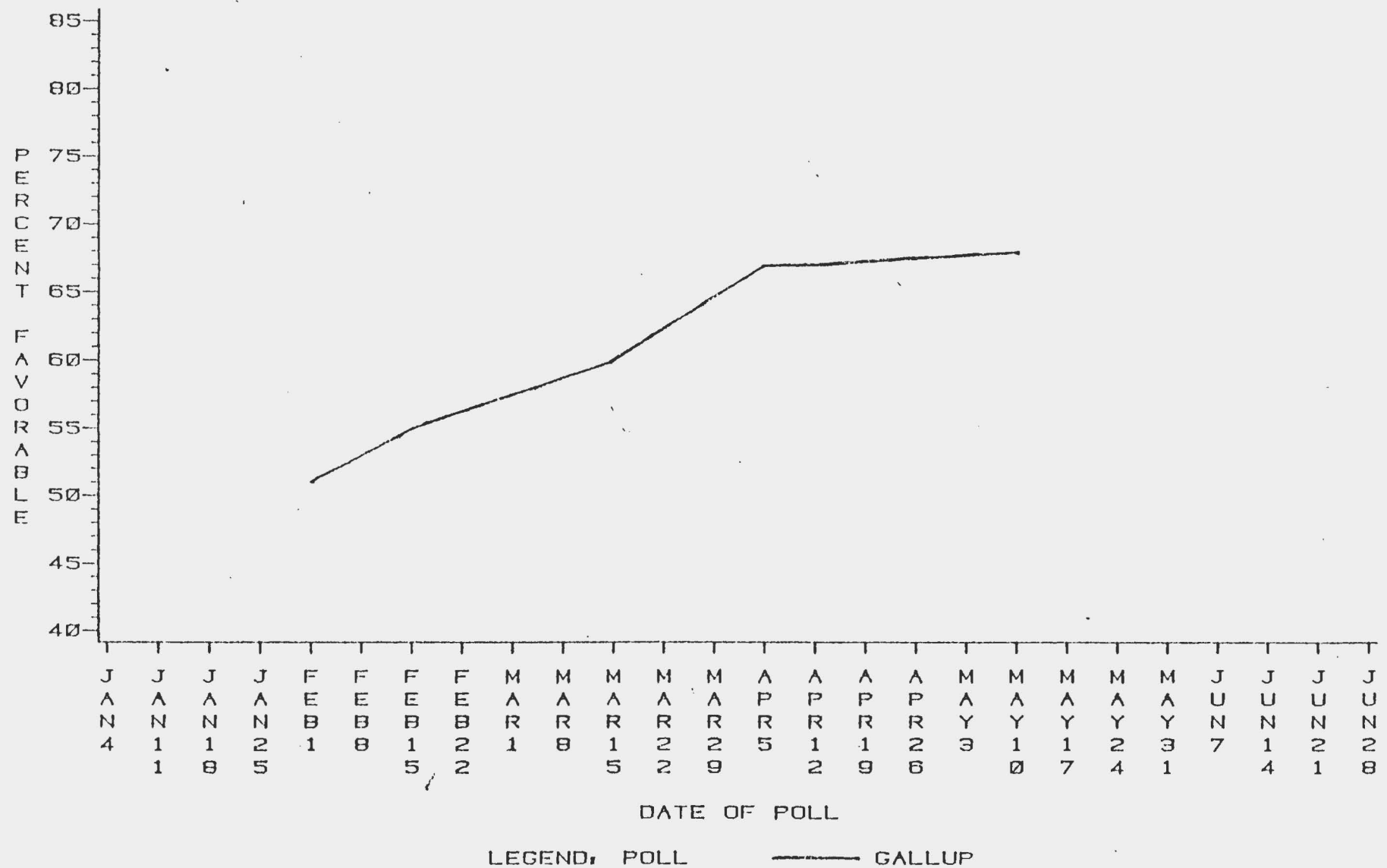
- - - CBS/NYT

— NBC/AP

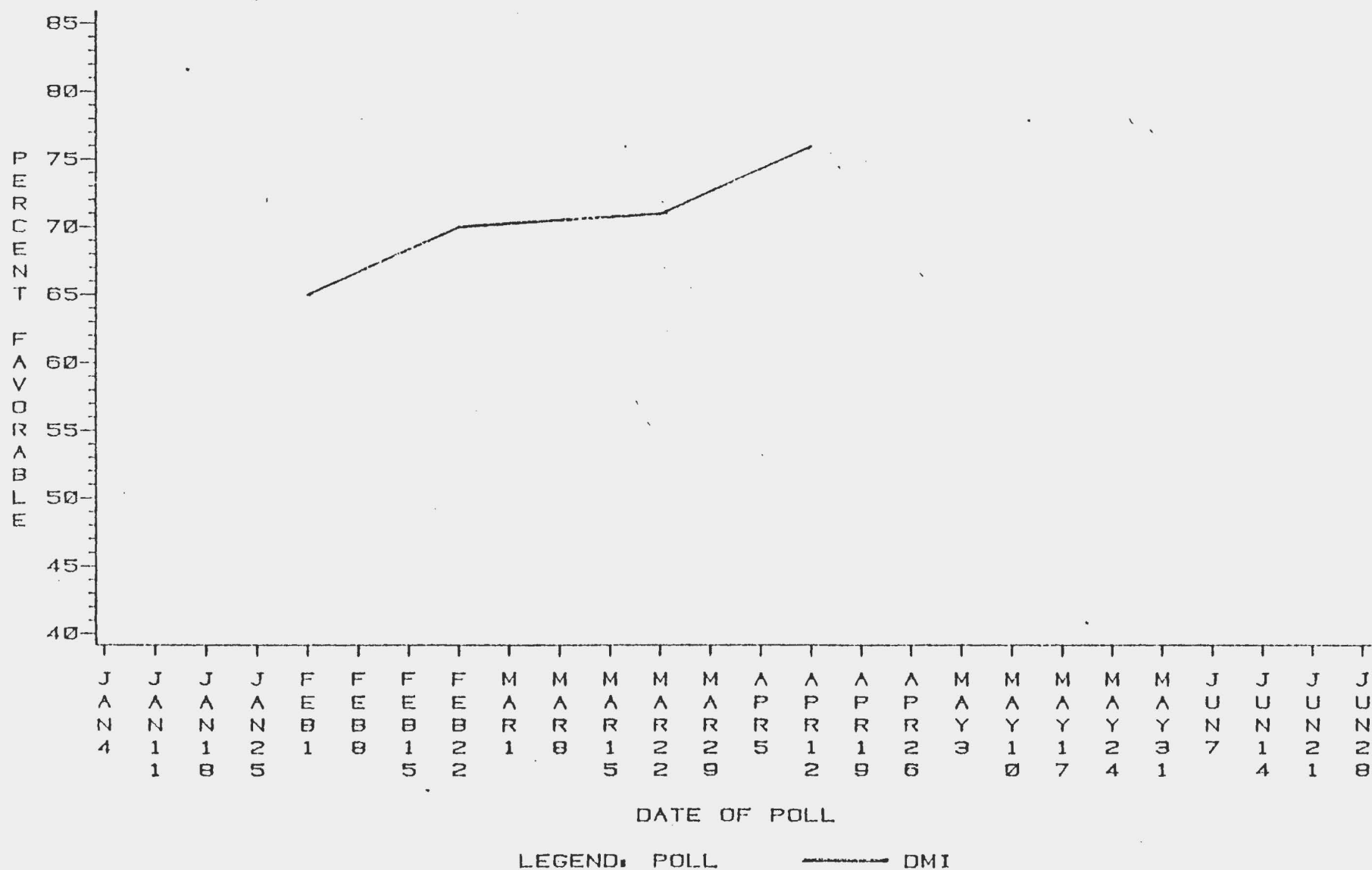
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS



7

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes

FROM: Richard S. Bealt *RSB*

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: June 1, 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

May 29, 1981

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

GALLUP 1,519 May 8-11, 1981

This poll was taken before the social security reforms were announced:

Presidential approval rating:	68-21
Previous rating April 10-13:	67-19
Right after inauguration:	51-13

Comparison of approval ratings four months into office:

Reagan:	68
Carter:	66
Ford:	42*
Nixon:	62
Johnson:	77*
Kennedy:	77
Eisenhower:	74

* took office under special circumstances

NBC/AP 1,599 May 18-19, 1981

Congressional vote preference:

Republican:	43
Democratic:	35
Not sure:	22

This is the first GOP lead since the early 1950's and the largest GOP lead since the institution of scientific polling in the 1930's.

Party Identification:

Republican:	28
Democratic:	31
Independent:	36

Party ID after allocation of
leaning Independents:

Republican:	41 !!!
Democratic:	40
Independent:	19

Previous finding in Jan. 1980:

Republican:	30
Democratic:	51
Independent:	19

NBC/AP (Continued)

Tax question:

Income taxes too high:	69
Income taxes about right:	25

Tax cut favored better than 3 to 1.

Sale of AWACS planes
to Saudi Arabia:

Approve:	19
Disapprove:	54
Don't know:	27

Sale of arms to any country:

Approve:	27
Disapprove:	52
Some countries:	15
Don't know:	6

Aid to Israel:

Not enough:	8
Correct:	43
Too much:	32
Unsure:	17

HARRIS 1,250 May 6-10, 1981

People badly need a cut in tax rates, because every time they get a raise in pay, they go up a higher tax bracket and their added taxes eat up too much of the raise:

Agree: 85-14

It is important to give people in all income brackets the same percentage tax cut:

Agree: 60-36

If personal taxes are cut too sharply then the Federal deficit will go up and that would be inflationary:

Agree: 57-37

The fastest way to stop inflation is to have a big cut in federal spending and to delay any tax cut so the budget can be balanced:

Agree: 54-41

By cutting personal taxes 30% over a three-year period, the economy will be stimulated so much that the federal government will end up with even more money to pay for federal programs in the defense and social areas:

Agree: 50-42

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS POLL 400 May, 1981 New York City Metro Only

Has New York City changed for the better or worse while you have lived here?

Better:	9
Worse:	79
Same:	11
? :	1

What is the worst thing about NYC?

Crime:	72
Living costs:	12
Poor housing:	3
Transportation:	5
High taxes:	7

YANKELOVICH, SKELLY, & WHITE/TIME 1,221 May 12-14, 1981

Percent who feel things are going well in the country:	51
Previous January 1981:	26

Percent who feel Reagan is a leader you can trust:	57
Previous January 1981:	48

The government should stop regulating business and protecting the consumer:	Agree:	62-32
---	--------	-------

We must build up our military strength so we are clearly #1:	Agree:	73-22
--	--------	-------

The Supreme Court and Congress have gone too far in keeping religious and moral values out of our lives:	Agree:	71-26
--	--------	-------

The media reflect a permissive and immoral set of values:	Agree:	60-37
---	--------	-------

Reopen SALT talks:	65-25
Keep military advisors in El Salvador:	35-47

ARTHUR FINKELSTEIN 505 May, 1981 Maryland Only

Rating of Maryland Governor Harry Hughes:

Favorable	47.1
Unfavorable:	24
No opinion:	26.9
Not heard of:	2

Hughes versus Anne Arundel County Executive Robert Pascal:

Hughes (Dem):	43
Pascal (Rep):	22.4
Undecided:	34.7

Hughes was elected Governor in 1978 over former Senator J. Glenn Beall by a 71-29 margin.

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings

29 May 1981

DATE	POLL	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
19-22 Feb	HARRIS	62	30	8
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
31 Mar	ABC/POST	73	16	11
POST SHOOTING				
3-6 Apr	GALLUP	67	18	15
10-13 Apr	GALLUP	67	19	14
12-16 Apr	LA TIMES	83	13	4
13-14 Apr	NBC/AP	66	27	7
14 Apr	DMI	76	17	7
20-21 Apr	ABC/POST	73	19	8
22-26 Apr	CBS/NYT	67	18	15
29-30 Apr	HARRIS	67	29	4
8-11 May	GALLUP	68	21	11
14 May	ABC/POST	66	24	10

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes

FROM: Richard S. Beal *RSB*

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: 22 May 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

100

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

ABC/Post 1,003 May 14, 1981 50% of sample 50 years +

Approval rating on proposed Administration changes:

Approve:	33
Disapprove:	49
Don't know:	18

Among retired people, same question:

Approve:	31
Disapprove:	50
Don't know:	19

Elimination of earnings penalty between 65 and 72:

Approve:	67
Disapprove:	28

Reducing benefits for early retirees:

Approve:	38
Disapprove:	59

Does this represent a broken campaign promise?

Approve:	39
Disapprove:	39
Don't know:	22

Social Security cuts while increase for defense:

Approve:	44
Disapprove:	50

Presidential approval rating: 66* Down from 73

Approval rating among retired: 54

*Elderly oversample downweighted

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

NBC/AP

1,599

May 18-19, 1981

How much confidence in the solvency of the Social Security system?

Complete Confidence:	7
A Great Deal:	15
Only a Little:	47
No Confidence:	27
Not Sure:	4

How to solve system's financial problems?

Much too high:	7
Too High:	31
About Right:	46
Too Low:	6
Not sure:	10

Reagan Administration proposals:

Haven't heard:	45
Favor:	19
Oppose:	20
Favor some, oppose some:	7
Not sure:	9

(Of those who have heard) Reduce future benefits by about 10%:

Approve:	28
Disapprove:	58
Don't know:	14

(Of those who have heard) Cut benefits for early retirees:

Approve:	43
Disapprove:	48
Don't know:	9

5

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Dave Gergen
Frank Ursomarso
Rich Williamson
Larry Speakes

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: Weekly Poll Summary

DATE: 19 May 1981

Enclosed are some telegraphic observations of survey research material from last week.

WEEKLY POLL SUMMARYHARRIS: 1,253 April 29-30, 1981

Presidential job approval rating:	67-29
Previous rating February 19-22	62-30

"Inspiring confident" rating:	75-20
-------------------------------	-------

Relations with Congress approved:	73-20
Previous rating end of March:	60-33

Cutting federal spending approved:	65-31
------------------------------------	-------

President's handling of the economy approved:	58-36
Previous rating at end of March:	53-43
February rating:	58-32

President's handling of inflation:	48-47
Previous rating February 19-22:	51-35

Caring about poor, elderly, handicapped rating:	40-55
Previous rating end of March:	33-63

Economic expectations year from now:

Federal budget on way to being balanced:	56-35
Unemployment will be below what it is now:	48-43
Mortgage rates will be lower:	47-43
Inflation will be below 10%:	35-55
Interest rates will come down sharply:	30-60

Which is more important:

Spending cuts:	59%
Tax cuts:	34%

GALLUP: 1,553 April 10-13, 1981

Which party is the party of prosperity:	GOP: 41
	Dem: 28

Same question January 1980:	GOP: 22
	Dem: 37

Same question in 1970:	GOP: 25
	Dem: 40

Which party is better able to keep US out of WW III:	GOP: 26
	Dem: 39

Same question January 1980:	GOP: 30
	Dem: 32

Same question in 1970:	GOP: 28
	Dem: 22

FLORIDA POLL: 1,000 mid-April Florida only

Presidential job approval rating:	excellent:	34
(Composite rating: 81-13)	pretty good:	47
	not so good:	9
	poor:	4
	don't know:	6
Vice-Presidential job approval rating:	excellent:	25
(Composite rating: 80-8)	pretty good:	55
	not so good:	6
	poor:	2
	don't know:	12

DES MOINES REGISTER: 1,011 April 20-25 Iowa only

Presidential job approval rating:	74-14
Previous rating in early Feb.:	54
Current: Among GOP:	87-4
Among Dems:	61-25
Among Ind.:	71-16

Previous President's Iowa ratings	
three months into office:	Carter: 80
	Nixon: 70
	Kennedy: 78
	Johnson: 84
	Ford: 54 * (2 mos.)

CBS/NYT: 1,439 April 22-26

Party lean or preference:	GOP:	41
	Dem:	49
Same question in January 1980:	GOP:	33
	Dem:	53
Current among 25-34 year olds:	GOP:	43
	Dem:	44
Previous finding in Jan. 1980:	GOP:	30
	Dem:	56
Among White voters:	GOP:	45
	Dem:	44
Same group Jan. 1980:	GOP:	36
	Dem:	49
Among Senior citizens:	GOP:	45
	Dem:	46
Among Westerners:	GOP:	45
	Dem:	42

President Reagan's Job Approval Ratings

15 May 1981

DATE	POLL	APPROVAL FAVORABLE	DISAPPROVAL UNFAVORABLE	NO OPINION
21-23 Jan	CBS/NYT	46	11	43
30 Jan	GALLUP	51	13	36
1 Feb	DMI	65	14	22
19-20 Feb	ABC/POST	68	17	15
19-22 Feb	HARRIS	62	30	8
20 Feb	DMI	70	14	16
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7 Mar	DMI	72	16	13
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14 Apr	DMI	76	17	7
20-21 Apr	ABC/POST	73	19	8
22-26 Apr	CBS/NYT	67	18	15
29-30 Apr	HARRIS	67	29	4
14 May	ABC/POST	66	24	10

4

30 DAY POLL SUMMARY

Chamber of Commerce/Gallup: March 1, 1966 (pre-shooting)

By 57 to 32 the public approves the President's handling of the economy.

By a staggering 74 to 20 the President's 4 point economic program is approved.

Gallup: April 3-6

67% approve the President's handling of his job, 18% disapprove.

By 58 to 28 the public approves the President's handling of inflation.

By only 43 to 34 is his handling of unemployment approved.

Roper: ? early April

By 64 to 19 deep budget cuts are approved.

60% of the public approves the tax cut proposal.

LA Times: April 12-16

83% have a favorable impression of the President, up ten points from the previous poll.

By a 3 to 1 margin the people approve the President's handling of the economy.

The public favors Reagan's package of budget and tax cuts over what the Democrats are offering by a 4 to 3 margin.

NBC/AP: April 13-14

The President's approval rating is up 10 points over the previous survey to stand at 66%.

The tax cut is favored overwhelmingly 71 to 15, better than 4 to 1. Spending cuts are favored 58 to 16 with an additional 14% favoring some cuts but opposing others.

DMI: April 14

The President's job approval rating stands at 76%, up 5 points over the previous survey.

By 70 to 22 the public approves his handling of the economy.

ABC/Post: April 20-21

The approval rating stayed the same over the survey taken the day after the shooting. The 73% rating, however, was up 10 points from the late March survey.

The tax cut is approved by a 67 to 26 margin, up 3 points from the last time the question was asked.

Spending cuts were approved 64 to 31, up 4 points from the previous survey.

CBS/NYT: April 22-26

67% of the respondents approved the President's handling of the job as compared to 64% for Carter at this time 4 years ago. On the spending cuts CBS/NYT found that half of the public had no opinion. Thus they reported the cuts were approved by a 35 to 14 margin. Similarly in regard to the tax cut, half had no clear opinion. 37% approved the tax cut and 11% disapproved. This is in keeping with the overwhelming ratio of support as reported in the other polls.

RECENT LOCAL POLLS

New England Institute For Political Research: March 23-30 New England.

The President received a 68.5% favorable rating. His job approval rating was 57.4%, good considering he received less than half of the vote in New England.

Milwaukee Sentinel: March, poll of business and labor leaders plus union rank and file and state legislators.

93% of 995 business leaders support the tax cut.
65% of 199 union leaders supported the tax cut.
71% of 286 rank and file union members supported the tax cut.
58% of 51 state legislators supported the plan.

By 82 to 16 the businessmen said the cut would promote savings. By 48 to 47 the union leaders said it would promote spending. The rank and file disagreed with their leaders and said 56 to 40 that the cut would stimulate savings.

Finkelstein/NCPAC: April 13-14 12th Texas district(Fort Worth).

In the Fort Worth congressional district of congressman Jim Wright 76.6% have a favorable impression of President Teagan. Ford failed to carry the district in 1976.
72.3% favor the President's tax cut.
70.6% favor the President's spending cuts.
Jim Wright received a favorable rating of 62.7%.

3

To: Dr. R. Beal
From: J. Morgan
Re: Weekly poll summary

April 24, 1981

NBC/AP: April 13-14 1,604

The President's approval rating jumped from 56% in late February to 66% in the current poll. The ten point leap is similar to the ABC increase of ten points. 71% favored the tax cut (need more details).

68% said the President is doing the right thing, while 77% have a favorable opinion of him. 69% have a favorable image of George Bush.

NBC/AP previously gave us the lowest approval rating of any of the major polls.

El Salvador was covered in this poll (see previous memo).

ABC/Post: April 20-21? ?

Approval rating remains high at 74%. Previous rating was 73%, the day after the assassination. Just before the assassination in late March the rating had dropped to 63%, down from the February rating of 68%.

64% approve the spending and tax cuts (no greater details available yet). On the negative side, 44% said Reagan was doing better than Carter on foreign affairs, while 45% said he was doing worse.

New England Institute for Political Research: March 23-30 933

Only 10% of the poll was taken after the shooting. The polling area was New England only. The President received a 68.5% favorable rating and a 19.3% unfavorable.

The job approval rating was 57.4%, which is quite good considering the President received less than 50% of the vote in New England. 24.8% said he was doing a fair job and 7.7% said a poor job, for an unfavorable rating of 32.5%.

California Field Poll: Early April 1,015 California only

Californians were asked to rate the first days in office of the President and gave him a 64% favorable rating (good or excellent). This broke the all time California record of John F. Kennedy in October 1961, when he achieved a 63% rating.

19% gave Reagan a fair rating and 9% a poor rating.

Californians gave Reagan a 55% favorable domestic rating and a 51% favorable rating on foreign affairs.

Los Angeles Times: April 12-16 1,406 nationwide

There is a new approval rating which hasn't as yet been released. The previous rating in March was 73 to 18 favorable.

The Times survey also dealt with presidential security. 47% said the President should mingle and shake hands, while 48% said it was too risky. 69% felt he had adequate protection when he was shot, while 22% disagreed.

By 72 to 25 the public felt that a police permit should be required to buy a handgun. However 54% said that gun control only keeps guns away from law abiding citizens. 46% of the people said they had at least one gun at home.

GALLUP: April 3-6 1,545

See attached page on gun control.

Gallup should be releasing approval figures in the very near future. The last Gallup rating was 59 in late March.

Maine:

We have learned some details of a confidential MOR poll in the state of Maine. There was a 79% favorable rating of the President. Also it appears likely that the GOP will pick-up the Senate seat of Democrat George Mitchell.

Maryland:

The Washington Post reported a Finkelstein poll for NCPAC which showed Senator Sarbanes in deep trouble. He led Congresswoman Marjorie Holt by a 43.7 to 37.5 margin with 18.8 undecided. Clearly, Sarbanes can be beaten.

Mississippi

The first poll from the Mississippi 4th is available and it shows we have a long ways to go to retain that seat. In a multi-candidate race(as is the case for the first election in June) our candidate comes in a poor third. Also, he has little or no name recognition.

The only bright spot is that in a runoff against the most likely Democrat he trails only 26 to 22 with about half undecided.

California

The Califnornia Field Poll gave Jerry Brown an improved but nevertheless terrible rating. 33% gave Brown an excellent or good rating while 37% gave him a fair rating and 28% a poor rating.

Previously his rating was 24% excellent or good, 28% fair and 47% poor.

Cranston received a favorable rating of 56% in comparison.

APPROVE OF LAW REQUIRING LICENSE?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
LATEST (April 3-6)	81 pct.	17 pct.	2 pct.
1980	75	20	5
1975	77	19	4

All persons approving of this provision were then asked:

"Under the Massachusetts law, anyone who is convicted of carrying a gun outside his home without having a license is sentenced to a mandatory year in jail. Would you approve or disapprove of this?"

PLAN BASED ON MASSACHUSETTS LAW

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	Agree to something
LATEST (April 3-6)	82 pct.	17 pct.	2 pct.	18 pct.
1980	80	21	4	15
1975	82	21	2	21

Here are the other questions asked and the results:

"In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of handguns should be made more strict, less strict, or kept as they are now?"

LAWS ON SALE OF HANDGUNS?

	More Strict	Less Strict	Keep Laws	Don't Know
LATEST (April 3-6)	85 pct.	2 pct.	10 pct.	3 pct.
Dec. 1981	87	3	10	11
Jan. 1980	88	3	10	8

"Do you think there should or should not be a law which would require all possession of handguns except by the police or other authorized persons?"

IS IT LEGAL TO POSSESS HANDGUNS?

	Should be	Should not	Don't know
LATEST (April 3-6)	80 pct.	18 pct.	2 pct.
Dec. 1981	78	21	11
Jan. 1980	81	18	8

The 1980 results are based on 1,342 telephone interviews conducted by over 200 randomly-selected

interviewers. The poll was taken in the month of April 1981.

For results based on a sample of this size, one can say with 95 percent confidence that the error is attributable to

sampling and other random errors. There is a 1 percent chance that the error is due to other factors.

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7/13
WEEKLY POLL SUMMARY

ABC/Post 1,206 Mar. 25-29

We have more information about the ABC poll that was in progress when the shooting took place. Apparently, they are a bit sheepish about the poll and are concentrating on the public's attempts to cope with inflation. Most of the space in the Post was devoted to that subject.

The negative, which we had predicted would surface, so far has consisted of a drop in the public's belief that the economic package will help inflation:

	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>
Will help	64	49
Will not	28	41
	8?	10?

The article also stated that almost two-thirds still supported the President's spending and tax cuts. They did say this was down from a 75% support rating earlier.

This is the poll that showed a dramatic turnaround in the final 200 responses after the shooting. These responses were thrown out and are not reflected in the poll.

We can expect more findings released in this poll over the weekend.

ABC/Post 505 Mar. 31

This was the poll that was taken the day after the shooting. It showed a dramatic increase in the President's popularity:

Approval Rating:	<u>Feb. 20</u>	<u>Mar. 29 (above)</u>	<u>Mar. 31</u>
Approve:	68	63	73
Disapprove:	15	22	16

Gun control was favored 65 to 30.

By 72 to 23 respondents felt the President should not be hidden away.

George Bush received a 68 to 15 rating on his ability to handle the job of President.

Al Haig received only a 45 to 33 positive rating.

32% felt that Congress should not criticize the President until he gets better, while 61% said members should do what they think is right.

GALLUP: 1601 March 13-15

Released April 12

This poll is not good news. It leads off with the statement that the public perception of the misery index is unchanged since November. The public's estimate of the inflation rate by the end of 1981 is 13.5% compared to 13.6% in November. The public's estimate of the unemployment rate by the end of the year took a big leap. In November the estimate was 7.1 %, while the current estimate for the end of the year is 8.2%. This indicates a growing public concern for the unemployment picture.

The worst part of the poll consisted of three approval ratings for the President, ONLY ONE OF WHICH WAS GOOD:

The President's handling of inflation was approved 56 to 30.

The President's handling of unemployment was narrowly approved by a 40 to 37 margin.

On the energy situation the approval rating was negative: 37 to 39.

One thing to remember: This poll was taken two weeks before the shooting.

GALLUP:

There has been a release on gun control by Gallup, but it is several months old and not particularly relevant.

HARRIS: Post-assassination attempt:

By 71 to 23 respondents felt this country is slow to find ways to control violence.

By 65 to 27 it was felt that violence is played up too much.

67 to 32 favor federal handgun legislation.

By 52 to 42 the public felt that control of guns doesn't get at the heart of the problem.

By 35 to 60, the public rejects the idea that the US is inclined to be violent by nature.

HARRIS: 1,253 March 27 to April 2

This poll was in progress at the time of the shooting.

The public gives Haig a negative rating of 44 to 46.

Yet, by a 70 to 20 margin they want him to remain in office.

By 49 to 41 the public feels he has tried to take over too much of the setting of foreign policy which is the job of the President.

HAIG continued:

By 47 to 41 Americans say he is too militaristic.

By 82 to 12 people say he has been right in warning the Russians about terrorism.

Democrats give him a negative 36 to 55 rating, while Republicans give him a 60 to 31 positive rating.

LOS ANGELES TIMES:

The latest LA Times Poll dealt with unemployment and illegal aliens.

75% of jobless persons said they would accept menial work.

48% said illegal aliens take only jobs which Americans won't accept, 40% disagreed.

54% of the survey respondents said they favored a national ID card to obtain employment. 41% said no.

62% say employers should be punished for hiring illegals.

39% favored allowing the illegals to remain in the country, while 50% were opposed.

SINDLINGER POLL:

The Sindlinger Poll for the Heritage Foundation closely parallels the Gallup/Chamber of Commerce Poll. An in depth look at this poll will follow.

RECENT RELEVANT POLLS

APPROVAL RATINGS:

Harris: Jan. 22-25 1,250 sample Feb. 12 release

Harris reports a 77-17 positive rating on "inspiring confidence in the White House". This compares with a Carter positive of 75 after taking office. Ford also started at 75. Nixon started at a much lower 48 positive rating on the confidence issue. Carter finished his presidency at a 34 positive rating while Ford finished at a 46 rating. Nixon dropped to an all-time low of 13 when he resigned.

NBC/AP: Feb. 23-24 1,597 sample Mar. 3 release

Job Rating:

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter 2/77</u>	
Excellent	18	15	
Good	38	45	
Only fair	21	22	NBC/AP noted the similar
Poor	5	3	ratings for the two presidents.
Not sure	18	15	

Issues; Tax cut supported 71-15
Spending cuts supported 61-13
Increased defense spending 68-15
Oil decontrol approval 31-39

Gallup:

Approval ratings:

	<u>Jan. 30-Feb. 2</u>	<u>Feb. 13-16</u>	<u>Mar. 13-15</u>
Approve	51	55	59
Disapprove	13	18	24
No opinion	36	27	17

Much has been made of the latest Gallup approval ratings, first that the negative rating is extremely high, and secondly that the 59% figure is far below normal two months into office.

The Gallup Poll must be put in perspective, especially in light of the much higher DMI and ABC/Post ratings (ABC/Post Feb. 19-20, 68-17 approval).

First, there is an unmistakable upward trend. We could well be in the low sixties by now.

Secondly, the high negatives are not necessarily a result of the Reagan economic proposals as is thought. The second (did not appear in the newspapers) Gallup Poll of mid-February has a high negative before the economic speech. It is obvious that the Gallup Poll reflects a strong pre-existing opposition to Reagan before taking office.

Finally, the Gallup article accompanying the release of the poll makes a misleading comparison with other presidents. The poll uses Carter's two month rating of 75, which was his highest ever. He started at 66, but after a 5 week flirtation with the seventies, he was consistently in the mid to low sixties (until he dropped into the fifties in late summer).

Ford was excluded from the Gallup comparison because of unusual circumstances surrounding his accession, but it should be pointed out that he quickly dropped into the low fifties and then into the forties within a few months of taking office. Nixon started at 59 and stayed in the low sixties, except for an occasional 65 rating which Gallup has used for comparison.

DMI:

<u>Approval Ratings:</u>			
	<u>Feb. 1</u>	<u>Feb. 20</u>	<u>March 7</u>
Approve	65	70	72
Disapprove	14	14	16
No Opinion	22	16	13

Even if the DMI ratings are high, they clearly demonstrate an upward trend, even after the economic proposals.

EL SALVADOR:

Los Angeles Times/I.A. Lewis nationwide Mar. 14-22 1,681 sample

Support government of El Salvador:	32%
Stop all aid:	38%
Help leftists:	1%
Haven't heard enough or undecided:	29%

El Salvador another Viet Nam?

Likely:	47%
Unlikely:	38%
No opinion:	15%

Blockade Cuba to cut off arms shipments?

Favor:	34%
Oppose:	21%
No opinion:	45%

Gallup:

A March 15 Gallup Poll appearing in today's (March 26th) Washington Post states that two out of three "informed Americans" fear El Salvador will become another Viet Nam. At the end of the article it was admitted that only 63% of Americans were informed about the issue.

It was further stated that about equal numbers were saying it was "very likely" versus "fairly likely" that El Salvador would become another Viet Nam. The survey revealed that 19% favored economic assistance, 18% military advisors, 16% military supplies, and only 2% troops.

DMI: Mar. 7

El Salvador approval rating:

Strongly approve:	21	
Somewhat approve:	26	
somewhat disapprove:	11	
strongly disapprove:	15	EQUALS: 47-26 approval
No opinion:	27	

Taking all the surveys into consideration one can safely say that at least 30% of the people have not formed an opinion. The rest appear rather split. Thus, as yet there is no majority consensus formed.

This is not to downplay the considerable opposition to the Administration's El Salvador policy. On the contrary, the greatest political danger lies in the possibility that many rank-and-file Catholics will focus on this "sideshow" rather than on the issues which brought them over to the Republican Party. Hopefully, at this time, Catholic opposition is confined to liberal Catholics. We must watch for any movement in this area.

MISCELLANEOUS POLLS:

The Washington Post carried an ABC/Post poll this week dealing with attitudes of Whites and Blacks toward Black social progress. There was nothing surprising in that each race held an essentially different point of view. There was no politics involved.

Also released this week was a Gallup Poll which showed a slight increase in the role of religion in American life.

Can religion answer problems?

	1957	1974	1981
Can answer:	81	62	65
Out of date:	7	20	15
No opinion:	12	18	20