

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

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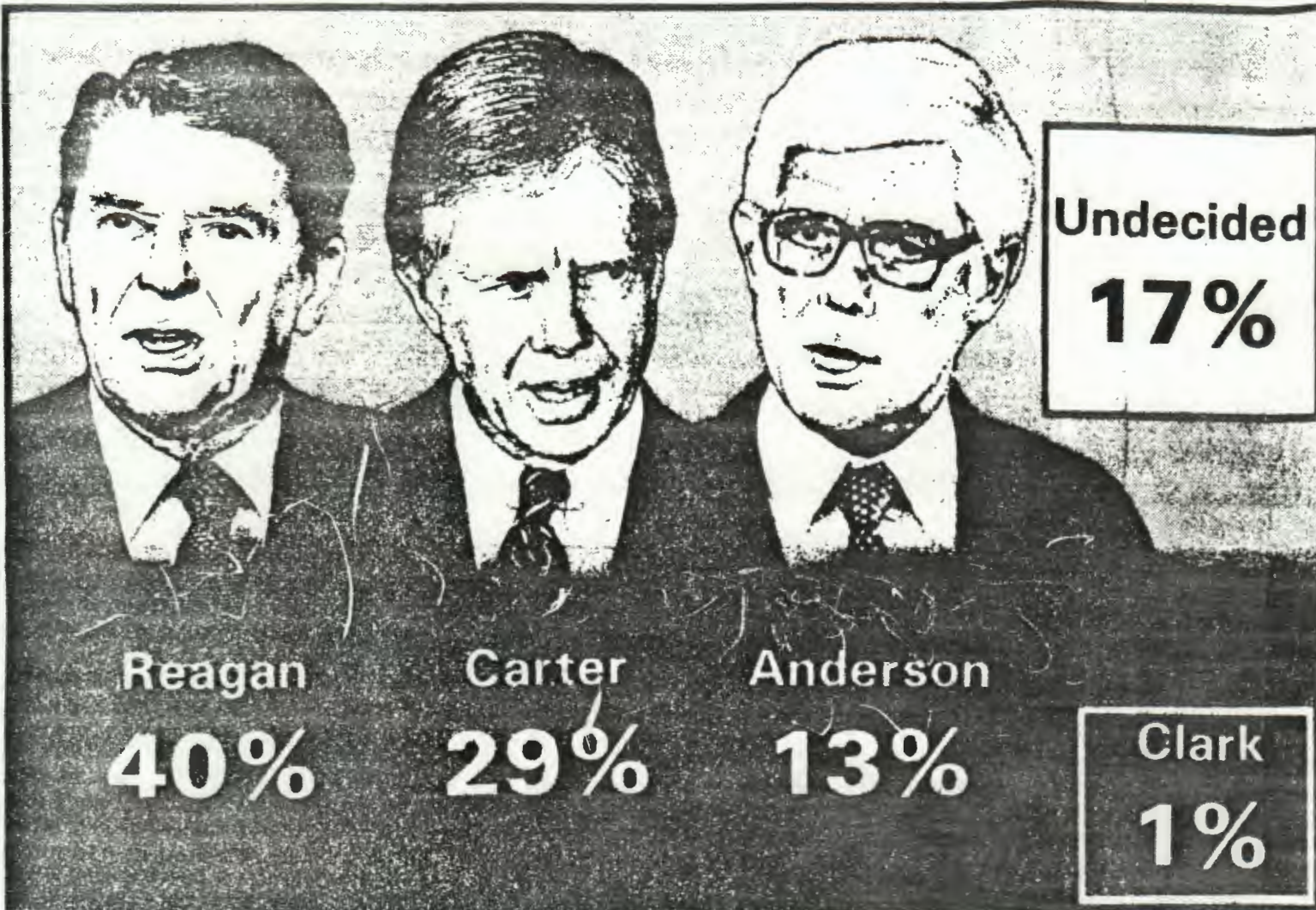
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TO ▶ Dick Wuthlis →

THIS IS WORTH  
READING IF HAVEN'T  
ALREADY DONE SO....

By

# How they rate in Ohio



Beacon Journal Graph

## Reagan dominates statewide poll

### 'Most likely' voters give Carter even less support

By William Hershey  
Beacon Journal staff writer

Ohio voters, worried about inflation and dissatisfied with Jimmy Carter's performance as President, appear ready to help Ronald Reagan send Carter back to Georgia, according to a Beacon Journal telephone survey.

The survey, based on interviews with 672 registered voters, showed Republican Reagan with an 11-point lead over Democrat Carter among all voters, but with an even bigger lead among those most likely to cast ballots Nov. 4.

Among all voters, 40 percent said they were supporting or leaning toward Reagan, compared with 29 percent support for Carter in the same categories.

*Patrick Lucey, running mate of independent John Anderson, said in Akron that Anderson can win the presidency. Page B1.*

on the ballot as an independent, had about 1 percent support, and combined support of less than 1 percent was shown for the other independents: Barry Commoner, Deirdre Griswold, Matilde Zimmerman and Gus Hall.

The survey was conducted on five week nights, Sept. 22 to 26 — before the Iraq-Iran border war escalated — from telephones at the Beacon Journal.

The chances are about nine out of 10

number in Ohio had been dialed, according to a formula developed by Phillip Meyer, Knight-Ridder Newspapers polling expert.

Based on these odds, Reagan's showing could be as high as 45 percent or as low as 35 percent. Carter's could be as high as 35 percent or as low as 24 percent.

In analyzing the survey results, a special category was created to identify those most likely to vote in the presidential election.

Included in that category were those who said they were "very likely" to vote, those who said they were "very interested" in the campaign and those who said they had voted in the 1976 presidential election.

Among these voters, Reagan had nearly 50 percent support, compared with about 2 percent for Carter.

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Collections

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This is not a presidential record. This marker is used as an administrative marker by the Ronald W. Reagan Presidential Library Staff. This marker identifies that there was an object in this folder that could not be scanned due to its size.

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**Sampling conducted statewide**

# Poll is based on 672 interviews

The Beacon Journal voter survey was based on telephone interviews conducted at the Beacon Journal on five weeknights, Sept. 22 to 26.

The interviews were with 672 people who identified themselves as registered voters.

Telephone numbers were chosen at random from exchanges all over the state, theoretically giving each registered voter in the state with a telephone an equal chance of being selected.

Unlisted phone numbers were included because the list of numbers was based on random digits drawn by a computer and added to known Ohio telephone exchanges.

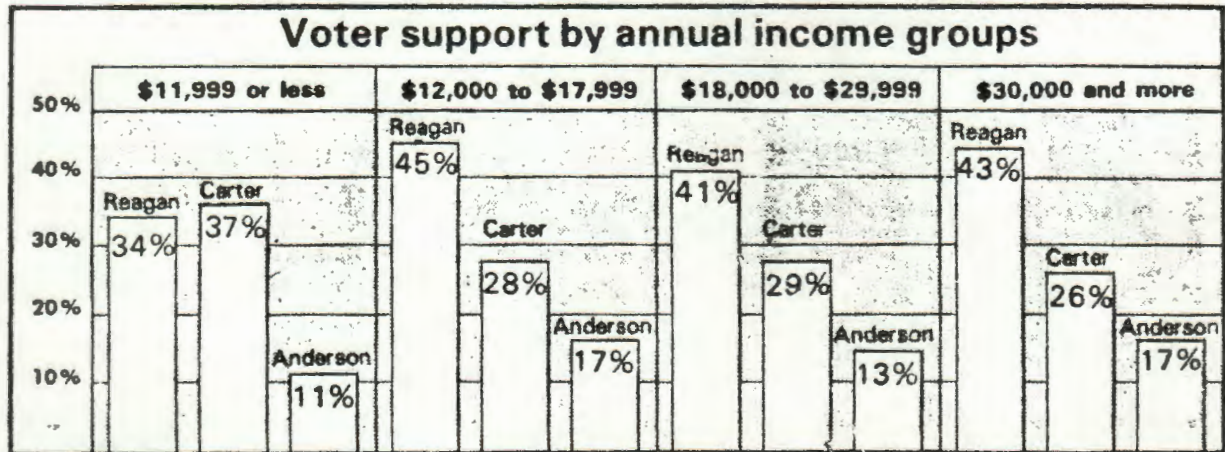
The chances are nine out of 10 that poll results for the presidential race don't deviate by more than 5 percentage points either way from results

that would have been obtained if every phone number in Ohio had been dialed.

For subgroups of voters, the margin of error would be higher, depending on the number of people in each subgroup. Percentages obtained for subgroups are more valuable in showing voting trends than in pinpointing the specific percentages of support for various candidates in each subgroup.

Other possible sources of errors in surveys such as the Beacon Journal's include distortions caused by registered voters who weren't home or who refused to be interviewed.

Also, the results could be distorted by the difference between those who said they will vote and those who actually vote.



# Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

## M E M O R A N D U M

TO: William Timmons  
FROM: Vince Breglio *VQB*  
DATE: September 18, 1980  
RE: Campaign Materials

Attached you will find a list of counties representing our strengths in target states. These counties are all large (approximately 100,000 registered voters or more) and all voted for Ford in 1976. Dealing to strength for increased turnout is a sound strategy in these counties. The states and their respective counties have been listed in descending order of importance.

*SPAN →*  
*Bill -*  
*Do you send.*  
*WANT TO ADDITIONAL*  
*ADDITIONAL MATERIAL*  
*TO THESE COUNTRIES*  
*STAD*  
*NO*  
*By*

*File*

OHIO

<u>County</u>	<u>Registration</u>
Hamilton	451,000
Butler	111,000
Franklin	428,000
Stark	193,000
Montgomery	274,000

ILLINOIS

Du Page	294,000
McHenry	76,000
Kane	94,000
Lake	211,000
Tazewell	70,000
Champaign	77,000
Will	143,000

PENNSYLVANIA

Lancaster	129,000
Chester	132,000
Montgomery	315,000
York	119,000
Dauphin	103,000
Delaware	315,000
Bucks	208,000
Berks	126,000

TEXAS

Lubbock	77,000
Dallas	602,000
Harris	901,000
Tarrant	315,000

CALIFORNIA

<u>County</u>	<u>Registration</u>
Orange	890,000
San Diego	805,000
Ventura	198,000
Marin	125,000
Kern	147,000
Santa Barbara	152,000
San Mateo	282,000

FLORIDA

Sarasota	104,000
Lee	98,000
Orange	171,000
Pinellas	401,000

MISSISSIPPI

Rankin	40,000
Hinds	132,000
Jackson	49,000
Harrison	70,000

LOUISIANA

Caddo	102,000
Jefferson	161,000
East Baton Rouge	139,000

CONNECTICUT

Fairfield	422,000
Litchfield	87,000
New Haven	404,000

WISCONSIN

Waukesha	94,000
Winnebago	43,000
Outagamie	42,000



OREGON

<u>County</u>	<u>Registration</u>
Washington	130,000
Clackamas	135,000
Multnomah	348,000

COLORADO

Arapahoe	127,000
Jefferson	173,000
El Paso	106,000
Boulder	106,000

WASHINGTON

Spokane	156,000
Yakima	69,000
Snohomish	138,000
King	651,000

TENNESSEE

Hamilton	130,000
Knox	157,000

VIRGINIA

Henrico	80,000
Virginia Beach	78,000
Fairfax	241,000
Arlington	73,000

INDIANA

Allen	138,000
Marion	398,000

MEMO

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS  
PRESIDENT

To Dick Withlin -

Have you seen.

*W*

TIMMONS AND COMPANY, INCORPORATED

1850 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 331-1760

MISSOURI 10TH C.D. (FIELD START 8/12-8/19, 1980)

QUESTION 13+13A IF THE ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT WERE BEING HELD TODAY,  
WHO WOULD YOU BE VOTING FOR/WHICH WAY DO YOU LEAN AS OF TODAY -

BREAK ONE		TOTAL /---VOTER TYPE---//-----REGION-----//--CANDIDATE VOTE--//PARTY										VOTE/		REP HAST- AWARE		
		SAMPLE	REP	T-S	DEM	NORTH	EAST	SW	EMER-	BURLI-	UND	REP	DEM	DEFECT	INGS	OF
							CEN.		SON	SON				ORS	VOTE	BOTH
COL 41	TOTAL	350	40	131	155	116	58	177	119	197	34	134	187	38	50	175
		100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
TOTAL VOTE																
1.	RONALD REAGAN	143	36	59	39	48	26	69	79	55	9	105	31	28	23	80
		41.	89.	45.	25.	42.	45.	39.	66.	28.	27.	78.	16.	75.	46.	46.
2.	JIMMY CARTER	149	3	48	86	43	18	88	21	115	12	12	129	3	17	66
		42.	8.	36.	55.	37.	31.	50.	18.	59.	34.	9.	69.	8.	34.	38.
3.	JOHN ANDERSON	32	1	13	18	17	9	6	14	14	4	9	16	2	9	16
		9.	3.	10.	12.	14.	15.	4.	12.	7.	11.	7.	9.	5.	17.	9.
8.	DON'T KNOW	19		6	11	7	4	8	4	10	6	4	10	3	1	9
		5.		5.	7.	6.	7.	5.	3.	5.	17.	3.	5.	9.	2.	5.
9.	REFUSED/NO ANSWER	8		6	2	2	1	5	1	3	4	3	1	1	1	4
		2.		5.	1.	1.	2.	3.	1.	2.	11.	2.	*	4.	2.	2.
COMMITTED VOTE		324	40	119	143	108	53	163	115	184	25	126	176	33	48	162
		100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
	RONALD REAGAN	143	36	59	39	48	26	69	79	55	9	105	31	28	23	80
		44.	89.	50.	27.	45.	49.	42.	69.	30.	37.	83.	17.	86.	47.	49.
	JIMMY CARTER	149	3	48	86	43	18	88	21	115	12	12	129	3	17	66
		46.	8.	40.	60.	40.	34.	54.	19.	63.	47.	10.	73.	9.	35.	41.
	JOHN ANDERSON	32	1	13	18	17	9	6	14	14	4	9	16	2	9	16
		10.	3.	11.	13.	15.	17.	4.	12.	8.	16.	7.	9.	6.	18.	10.

Q41. IF THE ONLY CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT WERE RONALD REAGAN,  
 REPUBLICAN AND JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

	TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	P A R T Y			R E G I O N											
		REPUB- L I C A N	DEMO- C R A T	INDEP- E N D E N T	NYC M E T R O	NYC N Y C	NYC S U B - U R B S	NASSAU / S U F F O - L K	WEST- C H E S - T E R	MID- S T A T E	UP- S T A T E	ERIE	MONROE / O N A N - D A G A	OWN	RENT	UNION H O U S E - H O L D
RONALD REAGAN	47.2	75.4	30.9	32.9	46.5	38.4	59.2	63.2	54.6	46.5	51.0	52.1	49.9	50.8	40.4	45.4
JIMMY CARTER	29.0	13.9	40.5	26.0	27.5	32.4	19.7	20.1	19.8	34.1	31.8	29.7	33.7	27.4	33.1	28.2
DON'T KNOW	23.7	10.6	28.6	41.1	26.0	29.2	21.1	16.7	25.7	19.5	17.3	18.2	16.5	21.8	26.5	26.4

Memo from ...

ELI S. JACOBS

Dear Monroe,  
 This is the Clever  
 poll that I mentioned  
 New York is winnable.

Eli

TIMMONS AND COMPANY INCORPORATED  
 1850 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
 (202) 331-1760

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten:*  
 TO Dick Withlin -  
 FYI

P.O. 2157  
 NEW YORK STATEWIDE  
 JULY, 1980

Q41. IF THE ONLY CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT WERE RONALD REAGAN,  
 REPUBLICAN AND JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

	P A R T Y				R E G I O N										UNION HOUSE -	
	TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	REPUB- L I C A N	DEMO- C R A T	INDEP- E N D E N T	NYC M E T R O	NYC	NYC S U B - U R B S	MASSAU / S U F F O - L K	WEST- C H E S - T E R	MID- S T A T E	UP- S T A T E	MONROE / O N A N - D A G A	ERIE	OWN	RENT	H O L D
RONALD REAGAN	47.2	75.4	30.9	32.9	46.5	38.4	59.2	63.2	54.6	46.5	51.0	52.1	49.9	50.8	40.4	45.4
JIMMY CARTER	29.0	13.9	40.5	26.0	27.5	32.4	19.7	20.1	19.8	34.1	31.8	29.7	33.7	27.4	33.1	28.2
DON'T KNOW	23.7	10.6	28.6	41.1	26.0	29.2	21.1	16.7	25.7	19.5	17.3	18.2	16.5	21.8	26.5	26.4

P.O. 2157  
 NEW YORK STATEWIDE  
 JULY, 1980

Q41. IF THE ONLY CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT WERE RONALD REAGAN,  
 REPUBLICAN AND JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	A G E			I N C O M E			S E X		M A R I T A L S T A T U S		E D U C A T I O N			R E L I G I O N		
	18-34	35-54	55 +	UNDER 15000	15000- 24999	25000 & OVER	MALE	FEMALE	MAR- RIED	SINGLE	HIGH SCHOOL	SOME COL- LEGE	COL- LEGE GRAD.	JEWISH	CATHO LIC	
RONALD REAGAN	47.2	49.0	47.5	45.3	42.0	53.1	51.6	52.4	42.0	50.0	44.3	51.9	51.9	39.9	13.2	59.6
JIMMY CARTER	29.0	34.9	23.0	28.1	35.5	29.8	28.9	28.2	29.7	27.2	31.4	19.5	29.2	38.6	41.4	23.6
DON'T KNOW	23.7	16.2	29.4	26.5	22.5	17.1	19.5	19.4	28.3	22.7	24.2	28.6	18.9	21.5	45.4	16.8

P.O. 2157  
 NEW YORK STATEWIDE  
 JULY, 1980

Q41. IF THE ONLY CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT WERE RONALD REAGAN,  
 REPUBLICAN AND JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

	TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	FAVOR JAVITS	FAVOR DEMO- CRATS	UNDECI -DED	FAVOR REAGAN	FAVOR CARTER	FAVOR ANDER- SON	UNDECI -DED	ITAL- IAN	BLACK
RONALD REAGAN	47.2	44.8	39.6	11.6	99.7	*	28.2	14.8	62.0	35.2
JIMMY CARTER	29.0	28.6	38.0	21.8	*	100.0	37.4	7.2	21.1	18.1
DON'T KNOW	23.7	26.6	22.4	66.6	0.3	*	34.4	78.0	16.9	46.7

P.O. 2157  
 NEW YORK STATEWIDE  
 JULY, 1960

Q42. AND WHAT IF THERE WERE A THREE-WAY RACE BETWEEN----  
 RONALD REAGAN, REPUBLICAN, JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT, AND JOHN ANDERSON,  
 INDEPENDENT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

	P A R T Y				R E G I O N											OWN RENT		UNION HOUSE- HOLD
	TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	REPUB- LICAN	DEMO- CRAT	INDEP- ENDENT	NYC METRO	NYC	NYC SUB- URBS	NASSAU /SUFFO- -LK	WEST- CHES- TER	MID- STATE	UP- STATE	ERIE	MONROE /ONAN- DAGA					
RONALD REAGAN	36.2	63.2	19.7	22.2	35.5	28.0	47.4	48.4	45.5	40.8	36.5	34.3	38.6	41.1	27.0	32.1		
JIMMY CARTER	16.3	10.5	22.4	11.8	14.6	15.1	13.8	12.6	15.5	18.0	20.9	25.9	16.2	15.6	18.2	14.2		
JOHN ANDERSON	30.8	15.2	38.6	42.1	31.7	40.1	18.9	21.9	15.6	35.0	26.0	25.5	26.5	28.7	36.0	35.3		
DON'T KNOW	16.7	11.1	19.4	23.8	18.2	16.9	19.9	17.1	23.4	6.3	16.6	14.3	18.8	14.6	18.8	18.4		



P.O. 2157  
 NEW YORK STATEWIDE  
 JULY, 1960

Q42. AND WHAT IF THERE WERE A THREE-WAY RACE BETWEEN----  
 RONALD REAGAN, REPUBLICAN, JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT, AND JOHN ANDERSON,  
 INDEPENDENT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

	TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	A G E			I N C O M E			S E X		M A R I T A L S T A T U S		E D U C A T I O N			R E L I G I O N	
		18-34	35-54	55 +	UNDER 15000	15000- 24999	25000 & OVER	MALE	FEMALE	MAR- RIED	SINGLE	HIGH SCHOOL	SOME COL- LEGE	COL- LEGE GRAD.	JEWISH	CATHO LIC
RONALD REAGAN	36.2	33.7	37.0	39.6	31.7	38.6	40.3	37.2	34.7	38.5	33.5	43.5	43.5	24.5	7.9	48.1
JIMMY CARTER	16.3	16.8	11.1	22.0	23.1	14.6	15.5	16.0	16.2	15.0	17.6	14.7	15.0	18.6	21.1	14.7
JOHN ANDERSON	30.8	40.5	30.4	18.0	24.4	36.8	27.3	32.5	29.7	29.4	34.1	20.2	30.2	42.1	44.5	22.2
DON'T KNOW	16.7	9.1	21.4	20.4	20.8	9.9	17.0	14.2	19.3	17.1	14.8	21.6	11.2	14.8	26.5	15.0

P.O. 2157  
 NEW YORK STATEWIDE  
 JULY, 1980

Q42. AND WHAT IF THERE WERE A THREE-WAY RACE BETWEEN----  
 RONALD REAGAN, REPUBLICAN, JIMMY CARTER, DEMOCRAT, AND JOHN ANDERSON,  
 INDEPENDENT---FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE

	TOTAL NYS ELEC- TORATE	FAVOR JAVITS	FAVOR DEMO- CRATS	UNDECI -DED	FAVOR REAGAN	FAVOR CARTER	FAVOR ANDER- SON	UNDECI -DED	ITAL- IAN	BLACK
RONALD REAGAN	36.2	38.5	29.8	7.2	100.0	*	*	*	45.9	26.6
JIMMY CARTER	16.3	16.7	22.1	14.5	*	100.0	*	*	8.6	9.1
JOHN ANDERSON	30.8	29.8	38.3	11.7	*	*	100.0	*	29.0	43.2
DON'T KNOW	16.7	15.0	9.8	66.6	*	*	*	100.0	16.5	21.1

MAX

Date: 10-1-80

TO:

Bill Linneman

FROM:

ED MEESE

STAN

FYI.

For appropriate handling.

For direct reply.

Draft reply for EM signature.

Comments:

Some of groups  
look like fund  
who are interested  
in this  
and



# Free Congress Research and Education Foundation

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FOR RELEASE: 11 a.m. Monday, Sept. 29  
CONTACT: Hugh Newton 202-638-1038

### National Poll Shows

15% of Non-voters Can Be Motivated to Vote  
If Given Sufficient Reason

WASHINGTON, September 29, 1980 -- Though they would appear to have a general "who cares?" attitude, substantial segments of America's non-voting public feel strongly enough about certain issues to register and vote, according to a national survey released today.

The poll was conducted by V. Lance Tarrance Associates of Houston for the Washington-based Free Congress Research and Education Foundation.

The survey was designed to identify non-voters most likely to return to the polls, to pinpoint the issues most salient to them, and to identify the campaign methods most appealing to them.

Tarrance has concluded that about 15 percent of non-voters can be motivated to return to the polls if they are given sufficient reason to do so. Nationally, it is estimated that more than 50 million eligible voters fail to vote.

"Generally, the issues which are most likely to be a source of such motivation are abortion, defense, and the Equal Rights Amendment," Tarrance says. "The nation's economic problems are not the real polarizing issues at this point."

The survey followed a previous national study of non-voters, also conducted by Tarrance for the Free Congress Foundation, but

A Non-Profit, Tax-Exempt Educational Organization

it focused in greater detail on the predominant groups within the 15 percent and the issues most important to them.

"Fifteen percent may appear small at first blush," says Paul Weyrich, president of the foundation, "but what we are talking about is 7.5 million people who can realistically be considered potential voters. If we average that out, it comes to 20,000 voters per congressional district."

At a time when increasing attention is being given to the influence of "born-again" Christians on the political process, the survey pays particular attention to an analysis of their tendencies. Among the findings:

- \* 21 percent of all non-voters are "born-again" Christians (or 10.5 million).

- \* They react most strongly to "family-related" issues.

- \* By a margin of 2 to 1, they oppose abortion.

Among "born-again" voters, the survey found that prayer in schools and legislation restricting abortions are the two issues most salient to them. They are also more likely than non-voters in general to respond to contact from their ministers or preachers, and seem to prefer direct mail as a campaign medium.

Young people (under age 35) comprise 35 percent of the non-voting public, and fully half of them have a college degree, the survey found.

"In the short run, the best way to increase turnout may be to intensify telephone bank efforts," Tarrance says. Because many non-voters are already registered, and since people seem to prefer telephone contact over other campaign methods, he pointed out, extensive voter registration drives for short-term purposes may not be very effective.

While 15 percent of all non-voters could be motivated to return to the polls if given sufficient reason, Tarrance estimates that about 60 percent can be considered "hard-core" non-voters. The remaining 25 percent is "a pretty apathetic bunch," he says, "although in a political environment such as we had in 1932 when we had a major shift, it is possible that they might vote."

(more)

The Tarrance survey questioned 800 adults of voting age who had not voted in both the 1976 and 1978 elections. The telephone interviews were conducted between August 11 and 16.

"What we get here," Weyrich says, "is a broad picture of millions of Americans who are not being motivated by the current shape of politics. It's not that they are dead-set against voting -- it's just that they feel, apparently, that nobody pays any attention to them. 'So why bother?' they ask. "If one candidate or another is ever able to tap this hidden political resource, the shape of American politics would be changed forever."

Here are some verbatim questions and percentages from the questionnaire: "If you decided to register to vote today, which party would you register with?" (Asked of those not currently registered.)

Democrat	35%
Republican	16%
Independent	13%
Other	1%
Will never register	14%
Don't know	21%

"Some people are more interested in elections than others are. Thinking about elections for just a minute, would you say that you are very interested, only somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?"

Very interested	33%
Only somewhat interested	45%
Not very interested	13%
Not at all interested	9%
Don't know	1%

(more)

"Now I will read you a number of statements, and I would like to ask you, for each one, whether you agree or disagree. Here's the first one:

'People like me don't have any say about what the government does.'

If choice made, ask: 'And do you feel strongly about that?'	Agree/strongly	32%
	Agree	15%
	Unsure (DO NOT READ)	4%
	Disagree	17%
	Disagree/strongly	32%

'Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.'

If choice made, ask: 'And do you feel strongly about that?'	Agree/strongly	48%
	Agree	15%
	Unsure (DO NOT READ)	2%
	Disagree	11%
	Disagree/strongly	24%

'I don't think that public officials care much what people like me think.'

If choice made, ask: 'And do you feel strongly about that?'	Agree/strongly	37%
	Agree	15%
	Unsure (DO NOT READ)	11%
	Disagree	17%
	Disagree/strongly	20%

"Concerning government and politics, where would you say that you get most of your information -- from radio, from television, or from newspapers?"

Radio	11%
Television	52%
Newspapers	32%
Don't know/no answer	5%

"Thinking about the election for Congressman from your district, would you say that you care a good deal which candidate wins the election, or would you say that you don't care very much who wins?"

Care a good deal	42%
Don't care very much	52%
Don't know/no answer	6%

(more)

"Some people feel that the candidates and issues in politics are not important to them because they do not affect them in their day-to-day lives. Other people feel that politics is important to them, that it affects the happiness of their families. Which opinion comes closest to your own?"

If choice made, ask: 'And do you feel strongly about that?'

Not important/strongly	16%
Not important	11%
Undecided (DO NOT READ)	10%
Important	15%
Important/strongly	49%

"Now let me ask you a slightly different type of question -- Many people feel that things need to change politically in America. Which do you feel would be more important in order to get a real change -- changing Presidents or changing Congress?"

President	17%
Unsure (DO NOT READ)	12%
Congress	63%
Don't know/no answer	8%

"Now just a few final questions for statistical purposes only -- What is your age, please?"

18-24	30%
25-34	29%
35-44	12%
45-54	9%
55-64	9%
65 and over	11%

"What is the last grade of school you completed?"

Less than high school	20%
High School graduate	37%
Some college	26%
College graduate	18%



COMPUTER GENERATED VARIABLES

R1. Nonvoting/Behavioral

Registered/voted Cong .....	1	( 8%)
Registered/voted Pres .....	2	(24%)
Registered/did not vote .....	3	(22%)
Registered/past .....	4	(22%)
Never registered .....	5	(24%)

---

R10. Causes for No Participation

People themselves .....	1	(40%)
Politicians .....	2	(21%)
System .....	3	(24%)
Other/don't know .....	4	(14%)

---

R17. Issue Vote Against Candidate/C

Yes/mentioned .....	1	(38%)
Yes/no mention .....	2	(21%)
No .....	3	(31%)
Other/don't know .....	4	(10%)

---

R20. Number of Times Voting Intention Stated

Zero .....	1	( 9%)
One .....	2	(10%)
Two .....	3	(25%)
Three .....	4	(33%)
Four .....	5	(24%)

---

RG. Geographical Areas

South .....	1	(19%)
Sunbelt .....	2	(11%)
Pacific .....	3	(13%)
North Central .....	4	(30%)
Northeast .....	5	(27%)

---

#####

MEMO

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS  
PRESIDENT

OCT. 2 1980

TO Dr. Wintalui -

FY I

B

TIMMONS AND COMPANY, INCORPORATED  
1850 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
(202) 331-1760

# Pittsburgh

VOL. 54 - NO. 53

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WEDNESDAY,

## Pa. Poll: Reagan

Copyright 1980, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, WTAE-TV and the Gallup Organization Inc.

By Frank M. Matthews  
Post-Gazette Political Writer

Republican Ronald Reagan holds a 7-point lead over President Carter among likely voters in Pennsylvania's Nov. 4 elections, while John B. Anderson's independent candidacy continues to hold at 16 percent of the probable total vote.

The Pennsylvania Poll found Reagan supported by 40 percent of the state's likely voters to 33 percent for Carter, with 11 percent undecided or in favor of

one of the five other candidates on the ballot. A 4 percent margin of error was built into the polling.

The finding, with about five weeks to go in the election campaign, was just about the reverse of the results of actual voting for president when Carter won in 1976. Then, Carter carried Pennsylvania by 2.8 percent - 2,328,677 to 2,205,604 for President Gerald Ford.

The question that went right to the point was:

"Suppose you were voting today for president and vice president of the United States. Who would you vote for:

### Pennsylvania Poll

the Democratic candidates Carter and Mondale, the Republican candidates Reagan and Bush, or independent candidates Anderson and Lucey?"

This, plus subsidiary questions, demonstrates considerable dissatisfaction with the leading candidates. Slightly less than half of the likely voters expressed themselves as strongly in favor of either Carter or Reagan. The majority in each camp was only fairly strong in its com-

# Post-Gazette

Final  
Edition  
10-1-80/10

OCTOBER 1, 1980

20 CENTS

## tops Carter, 40-33

mitment, or not strong at all.

The commitment to Anderson was less: one-third felt strongly on his behalf while the remainder felt fairly strongly or not strongly at all.

Patterns of support for Carter and Reagan ran about as usual in a statewide election. Reagan's top support was strongest in the bedroom counties around Philadelphia while Carter's top strength was in Southwestern Pennsylvania and Philadelphia.

That too follows the actual vote in 1976 when Carter led Ford by 2.8

percent in Allegheny County - 328,343 to 303,127 for Ford.

Carter led Reagan by a wide margin in families of likely voters that have some labor affiliation and among non-white voters. The union-oriented likely voters gave Carter 43 percent to 28 percent for Reagan and 18 percent for Anderson, with 11 percent undecided or for other candidates.

The Pennsylvania Poll was conducted one week after the Reagan-Anderson debate sponsored by the League of Women voters, in which Carter refused to participate and thereby suffered

The poll found that 63 percent of the registered voters in the state either watched the debate on TV or read about it afterward. The net impact was that Anderson and Reagan gained in the opinion of registered voters (as differentiated from likely voters).

Specifically 36 percent of those who watched or read about the debate expressed a less favorable view of Carter because he boycotted it. The view of Reagan was 22 percent less favorable

(Continued Page 2, Column 4)

# The Pennsylvania Poll

The presidential race: based on likely voters

	Carter	Reagan	Anderson	Other/Undecided	Total	Number of Interviews
<b>Likely Voters</b>	33	40	16	11	100	872
<b>Region</b>						
Philadelphia	35	29	20	16	100	100
Philadelphia suburbs	21	51	19	9	100	175
Southwest counties	42	34	14	10	100	216
Rest of state	33	42	14	11	100	361
<b>Party ID</b>						
Democrat	57	13	17	13	100	371
Republican	8	75	10	7	100	317
Independents	30	36	23	11	100	180
<b>Labor union</b>						
Yes	43	28	16	11	100	229
No	30	44	15	11	100	635
<b>Education</b>						
Grade school	31	34	9	16	100	108
High school	34	42	15	9	100	294
College	29	41	21	9	100	378
<b>Age</b>						
18-34	36	34	24	7	100	265
35-49	34	38	18	9	100	218
50 and over	32	44	9	15	100	384
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	33	41	16	10	100	420
Female	33	38	16	12	100	452
<b>Race</b>						
White	31	42	16	11	100	819
Non-white	66	6	12	16	100	63
<b>Income</b>						
Less than \$7,500	38	45	3	14	100	84
\$7,500-\$14,999	34	37	19	10	100	164
\$15,000-\$24,999	34	42	15	9	100	272
\$25,000 and over	33	37	23	7	100	258

## Reagan leads Carter, 40-33

(Continued from Page 1)

because of his performance and that of Anderson was 16 percent less favorable.

Conversely, 11 percent had a more favorable view of Carter because of his absence. 22 percent were more favorable to Reagan because of his participation and 29 percent were more favorable toward Anderson. Subtract the figures and the result is a slight loss for Carter and a slight gain for Anderson and Reagan.

The Pennsylvania Poll found that the sentiment of late September is not static. Anderson enjoys greater support among Democrats than among Republicans: 17 percent and 10 percent respectively. But if the Democrats get their act together within the ensuing five weeks, as the Republicans already have done, a lot of Anderson support may go back home.

Anderson's strongest support is among independent voters, of whom 23 percent would have voted for him at the time of the poll. His problem is that there are not enough independents even if 100 percent of them support him.

### Opinion of candidate after debate:

	Carter	Reagan	Anderson
<b>All registered voters</b>			
More favorable	11	32	29
More unfavorable	38	22	16
Net difference	-25	+10	+13
<b>All Democrats</b>			
Favorable	21	16	32
Unfavorable	22	31	15
Net difference	-1	-15	+17
<b>All Republicans</b>			
Favorable	2	55	15
Unfavorable	49	5	20
Net difference	-47	+50	-5
<b>All Independents</b>			
Favorable	7	27	41
Unfavorable	41	32	12
Net difference	-34	-5	+29

### Candidate preferred:

	Likely Voters	Registered Voters
<b>Carter</b>	33	34
Very strongly	14	14
Fairly strongly	19	20
Not strongly	9	10
<b>Reagan</b>	40	38
Very strongly	19	18
Fairly strongly	11	10
Not strongly	10	10
<b>Anderson</b>	16	16
Very strongly	5	5
Fairly strongly	6	6
Not strongly	5	5
<b>Other/Undecided</b>	11	12
<b>Total Interviews</b>	872	1000

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS  
PRESIDENT

OCT. 2 1980

MEMO

TO Dr. Wirthlin -

FYI

Bj

TIMMONS AND COMPANY, INCORPORATED  
1850 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
(202) 331-1760

## Capital-Journal

Single copy price 50¢

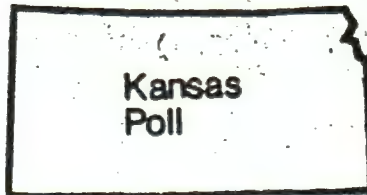
### Jeffries' lead in poll evaporates

Rep. Jim Jeffries' wide mid-August lead over his Democrat challenger, Sam Keys, has all but evaporated in the most recent Capital-Journal Kansas Poll.

The incumbent, who led by 53-27 percent in the 2nd Congressional District in polling Aug. 22-27, has seen his edge dwindle to 43-42 percent in the latest poll.

The same poll also indicates that Ronald Reagan's lead over President Jimmy Carter has diminished slightly and that Sen. Bob Dole continues to maintain a 2-1 lead over his Democrat challenger, John Simpson.

The poll, based on 997 telephone interviews statewide conducted between Sept. 13 and 18, was designed and conducted for The Ca-



pital-Journal by Central Research Corporation of Topeka.

Results of the poll on three special questions will appear in the Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday editions.

There has been only slight apparent movement among Kansas voters in their preferences for the White House. Reagan support in the poll is down from 48 percent to 44 percent while Carter now draws 26 percent, almost identical to the

25 percent he drew in Mid-August. The John Anderson candidacy now draws 10 percent, compared to 9 percent earlier.

Reagan is preferred by 69 percent of those who consider themselves Republicans. Carter, on the other hand, draws 51 percent of the preferences among those who consider themselves Democrats.

Dole, in his bid for re-election, drew 61 percent of the preferences in the latest poll, just as he did three weeks earlier. Simpson, who draws 29 percent statewide, garners 21 percent in the western Kansas First District and 35 percent in the 3rd District which includes the metropolitan Kansas City area.

### Here are poll results at a glance

President	Aug. 22-27	Sept. 13-18	U.S. senator	Aug. 22-27	Sept. 13-18	2nd District Congress	Aug. 22-27	Sept. 13-18
Reagan	48%	44%	Dole	61%	61%	Jeffries	53%	43%
Carter	25%	26%	Simpson	29%	29%	Keys	27%	42%
Anderson	9%	10%	Undecided	10%	10%	Undecided	20%	15%
Undecided	18%	20%						

See related tables on page 2

	(997 polled) Statewide			Congressional Districts					Those who consider themselves...			Age			Sex			
	Late	Aug.	Now	1	2	3	4	5	Urban	Rural	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	18-29	30-49	50/ older	M	F
Reagan	48%	44%	46%	44%	42%	43%	43%	43%	45%	69%	20%	37%	42%	43%	44%	47%	40%	
Carter	25%	26%	19%	26%	33%	23%	31%	28%	23%	8%	51%	24%	24%	26%	28%	24%	29%	
Anderson	9%	10%	8%	10%	14%	14%	6%	17%	6%	8%	8%	14%	20%	14%	4%	11%	9%	
Undecided	18%	20%	29%	20%	11%	20%	20%	17%	26%	15%	20%	25%	14%	17%	24%	18%	22%	

If the election for U.S. senator from Kansas were held today, would you vote for Democrat John Simpson or for Republican Bob Dole?

	(997 polled) Statewide			Congressional Districts					Those who consider themselves...			Age			Sex			
	Late	Aug.	Now	1	2	3	4	5	Urban	Rural	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	18-29	30-49	50/ older	M	F
Dole	61%	61%	62%	62%	58%	63%	61%	60%	62%	83%	40%	57%	69%	58%	61%	63%	60%	
Simpson	29%	29%	21%	30%	35%	29%	28%	30%	26%	11%	49%	30%	23%	33%	28%	29%	28%	
Undecided	10%	10%	17%	8%	7%	8%	11%	10%	11%	6%	11%	13%	8%	9%	11%	8%	12%	

If the election for 2nd District congressional representative were held today, would you vote for Democrat Sam Keys or for Republican Jim Jeffries?

	(997 polled) District wide			Urban		Those who consider themselves...			Age			Sex	
	Late	Aug.	Now	Urban	Rural	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	18-29	30-49	50/ older	M	F
Jeffries	53%	43%	39%	49%	55%	31%	43%	39%	40%	46%	40%	45%	
Keys	27%	42%	45%	37%	27%	60%	40%	44%	44%	42%	46%	39%	
Undecided	20%	15%	16%	14%	18%	9%	17%	17%	16%	12%	14%	16%	

## How the survey was conducted

The Capital-Journal Kansas Poll is a professionally conducted scientific survey of adult Kansans who say they intend to vote on Nov. 4. A total of 997 respondents from across the state were interviewed by telephone between Sept. 13 and Sept. 18.

The statewide sample was made up of proportional numbers of respondents in each of Kansas' five congressional districts. Each district subsample consisted of proportional numbers of rural and urban residents. Individual respondents were selected by means of a special computer-assisted random selection process.

On questions that asked respondents to indicate a choice between candidates, the order of presentation of the

candidates' names was alternated on successive interviews (counter balancing) to nullify possible serial order effects of primacy or recency of mention.

Statewide results are based on the total sample of 997, with approximately 200 from each congressional district. According to accepted standards of statistical inference, estimates based on the statewide sample will vary, if at all, by no more than 3 or 4 percentage points from the actual population value. Estimates based on smaller subsample groups are subject to larger estimating error.

The poll was designed and conducted for The Capital-Journal by Central Research Corporation of Topeka.

# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

### MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill Finmons  
Chuck Tyson

TO Dick Wirthlin -  
Vicini?

FROM: Roger Stone

DATE: October 4, 1980

Both Wirthlin's data and the D'Amato survey conducted by Finkelstein indicate that Ronald Reagan leads Carter only marginally in traditionally Republican upstate New York State. This survey data also indicates that we are currently running ahead of Ford's 1976 levels in New York City, the New York Suburbs and Long Island.

We must get our Republican margin up upstate.

Therefore, I have requested:

- 1) An upstate tour to Syracuse, Rochester and Albany by Ronald Reagan on October 17.
- 2) A stop by Ronald Reagan in Buffalo on October 28th. (Ford only lost Erie County by 6000.)
- 3) A George Bush tour of the Southern Tour, including Jamestown, Elmira, and Binghamton. (Carter currently leads in this area by one point.) (OCT 21 INSTEAD OF ALBANY?)

Please also see the attached memo on the Carter/Mondale local media effort.

cc: L. Keith Bulen



# Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

MEMORANDUM

TO: ~~Bill Timmons~~  
L. Keith Buler  
FROM: Roger Stone *R.*  
DATE: October 4, 1980

TO Dick Winterlin -  
you will pls?  
BY

George Bush is currently tentatively scheduled for Albany, New York on October 21.

I would like to change this to Elmira/Binghamton/Jamestown since our survey data indicates we need the help there more.

October 6, 1980

*DICK WITH LIN →*  
*2/1*

TO: ~~Bill Timmons~~  
FROM: Dick Richards  
RE: Recent Polls

Colorado  
(Sunday, Denver Post)

Most Likely to Vote

Reagan 50%  
Carter 24%  
Anderson 12%  
Undecided 14%

All Voters

Reagan 42%  
Carter 27%  
Anderson 15%  
Undecided 14%

Most Likely to Vote

Estelle  
Buchanan 51%  
Hart 36%  
Undecided 13%

All Voters

Estelle  
Buchanan 44%  
Hart 42%  
Undecided 14%

Rocky Mountain News endorsed  
Reagan on Sunday

cc: Richard Beal

Nebraska  
(SRI Poll, World Herald)  
interviewed 600 people

All Voters

Reagan 45%  
Carter 26%  
Anderson 8%  
Clark 2%  
Undecided 13%

2nd Choice % Anderson Votes

Reagan 35%  
Carter 29%  
Clark 13%  
Undecided 10%  
None 13%

To Dr. Richard Wirtala ->

Klinge reports in a Sept 29/30  
Bill Hamilton poll for Gov Teasdale in  
Missouri that shows

REAGAN	39
CARTER	38
ANDERSON	9
Undecided	14

Bf

# Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 8, 1980

~~With [unclear]~~  
70  
Dick Winstalin -  
Have you  
seen?  
By

MEMORANDUM

TO: BILL TIMMONS  
L. KEITH BUIEN  
JERRY GARMEN  
FROM: DON DEVINE *at*  
SUBJECT: DELAWARE POLL

The papers in Delaware today reported a Harris poll of the state done between September 27 and September 30. Reagan has 42%, Carter 37%, Anderson 15%, and Undecided 6%.

These results are almost identical to Tom Evans' poll in late August: Reagan 41%, Carter 37%, Anderson 15%, Undecided 7%. And Tom's poll shows Reagan gains if Anderson falls in support.

Delaware looks good.

Bill -  
Did you notice Bush's schedule?  
3 days in N.Y.  
2 days in Michigan  
1 day in Boston!  
1/2 " " South Carolina!  
1/2 " " Tennessee

*Don*

10/3/80

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB GRAY  
FROM: STAN ANDERSON  
SUBJECT: LEADERSHIP INDEX

---

Attached is material on the Merrell Presidential Leadership Index. As you can see, RR is highly rated. The author of the Index will be on a national speaking tour, including regional TV appearances, in the next several weeks. The panel which determines results is very prestigious, although Merrell himself is Reagan supporter.

Is there any way we can add to distribution of this finding through some type of announcement by a surrogate, etc., etc.?

# MERRELL INDEX *of* PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP™

V. Dallas Merrell, Ph.D.

	Past U.S. Presidents*			Presidential Candidates		
	high	low	average	Reagan	Carter	Anderson**
<b>OVERALL INDEX RATING***</b>	5.5	3.8	4.8	5.1	3.5	3.9
<b>BUILDING AND USING POWER:</b>	6.0	3.8	4.9	5.1	3.3	4.3
Contending for power	6.3	3.3	5.0	5.0	4.5	5.6
Building and using alliances	5.7	3.5	4.5	5.8	3.3	3.0
Knowing government institutions	6.3	3.2	5.1	4.7	2.3	5.3
Dealing with people face-to-face	6.1	2.5	4.7	5.6	4.0	4.0
Selling ideas to the public	6.3	2.9	4.4	5.6	3.1	3.5
Using power strategically	6.1	3.6	4.9	5.0	2.4	3.6
Dominating and intimidating	6.4	3.4	4.6	4.4	3.1	4.8
Resisting coercion from others	6.3	3.6	5.2	5.0	3.4	4.5
<b>EARNING RESPECT:</b>	5.6	3.0	4.9	5.6	3.7	3.6
Personal integrity	6.0	1.7	4.7	5.9	4.6	4.0
Strong convictions	6.3	3.6	4.9	5.9	4.3	4.3
Consistency in actions	6.3	3.3	4.5	5.2	1.9	2.7
Control of weaknesses	5.8	1.9	4.7	5.4	4.8	3.3
Self confidence	6.6	4.0	5.3	6.1	4.7	4.7
Popularity and public esteem	6.3	1.9	5.0	5.2	2.6	3.7
Visibility of strengths	6.6	2.9	5.2	5.2	3.8	3.6
Achievements before presidency	6.3	4.0	5.0	5.3	2.8	2.8
<b>UNDERSTANDING MATTERS:</b>	5.4	3.5	4.6	4.3	3.6	3.8
Understanding diverse types/people	5.9	3.2	4.7	3.9	3.4	3.5
Tapping grapevines	6.8	4.0	4.9	5.4	3.3	3.3
Relating ideas and events	6.3	3.4	4.7	4.0	3.3	4.0
Reasoning independently	5.8	3.7	4.8	4.2	3.5	4.2
Controlling prejudice	5.2	2.0	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.4
Keeping up-to-date	5.8	4.3	5.1	4.3	4.3	4.5
Listening accurately	5.0	3.7	4.6	4.8	3.3	4.3
Probing and questioning	5.3	3.9	4.6	4.6	3.9	4.0
Getting criticism	4.9	2.3	4.1	4.1	3.4	3.0
<b>ESTABLISHING DIRECTION:</b>	6.1	3.6	4.6	5.1	3.1	3.9
Taking initiative	6.5	3.1	4.9	5.4	4.0	4.5
Clarifying issues	6.2	3.4	4.4	4.6	3.5	4.3
Setting objectives	6.1	3.8	4.9	5.2	2.9	4.0
Formulating strategy	6.1	3.6	4.7	4.8	2.4	3.5
Persuading and building support	6.3	3.6	4.5	5.2	3.0	3.8
Keeping matters on track	5.6	4.0	4.6	5.1	2.7	3.0
<b>DEVELOPING IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES:</b>	5.1	3.8	4.5	5.1	3.0	3.3
Delegating assignments clearly	5.5	4.0	4.8	5.2	3.4	3.6
Building team spirit	5.6	3.9	4.9	5.7	3.0	3.5
Pulling loose ends together	4.7	3.6	4.1	4.7	2.4	2.8
Setting procedures & ground rules	5.1	3.6	4.3	4.7	3.0	3.0
Scheduling to meet deadlines	5.4	3.5	4.4	5.3	3.2	3.5
Clarifying working relationships	5.5	3.4	4.3	4.8	2.8	3.3
<b>SOLVING PROBLEMS:</b>	5.7	3.4	4.8	5.1	3.2	3.8
Spotting problems early	6.1	3.6	4.3	4.6	3.4	3.8
Using competent help	6.0	3.7	4.9	5.9	2.9	3.8
Acting decisively	6.5	3.5	5.0	5.2	2.5	4.2
Using good judgment	5.5	3.0	4.5	4.8	2.4	4.0
Handling crises with poise	6.6	2.8	5.0	5.6	3.1	4.4
Mediating differing interests	5.0	2.7	4.1	4.7	3.6	3.2
Resisting petty demands	5.3	4.1	4.8	5.1	4.6	4.0
Disciplining decisively	6.0	3.6	4.7	4.7	3.1	3.3
<b>PERSONAL EFFORTS:</b>	5.4	4.7	5.1	5.7	4.9	5.0
Working hard at duties	6.3	3.8	5.2	5.1	5.7	5.2
Maintaining health and vitality	6.1	4.5	5.2	6.3	6.0	5.3
Managing personal time	5.7	4.4	4.9	5.6	3.9	4.7
Focusing on priority tasks	6.3	4.1	5.1	5.7	4.1	4.7

\* F.D. Roosevelt 5.5, Truman 5.0, Eisenhower 4.8, Kennedy 4.9, Johnson 5.1, Nixon 3.8, Ford 4.2

\*\* Responses from partial panel

\*\*\* Index uses 7-point scale, with 7 as high.

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PANELISTS

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP INDEX

James MacGregor Burns	Presidential biographer; Pulitzer Prize winning author of <u>Leadership</u> .
Howard Fleiger	Former editor, <u>U. S. News and World Report</u> .
Chester A. Newland	Director, Federal Executive Institute; former Director of Presidential Library.
Francis H. Heller	Author of <u>The Presidency: A Modern Perspective</u> .
Stuart G. Brown	Author of <u>The American Presidency: Leadership, Partisanship and Popularity</u> .
Frank P. Sherwood	Past President, American Society for Public Administration; Director, Washington Public Affairs Center.
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Elmer B. Staats	Comptroller General of the United States of America.
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Neeley Gardner	Professor of Public Administration, University of Southern California; former Deputy Director, California Department of Water Resources.
Caspar W. Weinberger	Former Secretary of U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; former Director of Finance, California State.
Orval Hansen	Former member U. S. House of Representatives.
William H. Ayres	Former member of U. S. House of Representatives.



# PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

## MERRELL INDEX

An independent assessment by a distinguished panel of 19 experts evaluating U.S. presidents on a comprehensive set of leadership attributes.

by Lee Roderick  
Washington Bureau Chief  
Scripps-League Newspapers

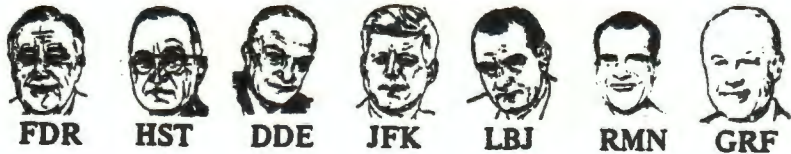
WASHINGTON — Franklin D. Roosevelt was the best leader among modern American presidents, according to a panel of 19 experts surveyed for a just-released study. He scored 5.5 over-all on a rating scale of 7.

Ranking behind FDR among the seven most recent presidents, not including Jimmy Carter, were these men in order: Lyndon Johnson (5.1), Harry Truman (5.0), John Kennedy (4.9), Dwight Eisenhower (4.8), Gerald Ford (4.2) and Richard Nixon (3.8)...

Panelists, who responded in writing, included such well-placed Democrats as former LBJ Press Secretary George Reedy, and such Republicans as former Maine Sen. Margaret Chase Smith. James McGregor Burns, noted independent author and scholar, also included.

FDR comes the nearest to getting a Bo Derek rating among our recent U.S. presidents," said V. Dallas Merrell, a leading management consultant in the capital who privately funded the study. Lending credence to its results is the fact that Merrell himself is a staunch Republican who served as a consultant to the White House under both Nixon and Ford, and ran unsuccessfully in the Maryland primary for a GOP Senate seat.

Merrell, who holds a bachelor's degree from Brigham Young University and a Ph.D. in management from the University of Southern California, says he undertook the rating project in this election year "in the hope that voters will give more consideration to the leadership potential of presidential candidates." He plans to follow up with a second phase of the project rating Ronald Reagan and Carter before the November election.



The 49 leadership dimensions on which the study is based "are derived from the best research available on leadership," said Merrell. The 19 panelists doing the rating included former officials who worked directly with some of the presidents, as well as presidential scholars, biographers, editors and senior public managers.

Roosevelt was rated highest in such areas as his ability to sell ideas and programs to the public (6.3), personal confidence (6.6), taking initiative (6.5), and maintaining poise in crises (6.6). His lowest scores came for pulling loose ends together (3.6), scheduling deadlines (3.8) and clarifying relationships among those needing to work together (3.8).

**Eisenhower scored highest in personal integrity and judgment. He did poorer at understanding government and political systems.**

At the other end of the scale, Nixon's highest scores came in contending for personal influence and control (5.7), working hard at presidential duties (5.2) and maintaining health and vitality (5.2), but he scored abysmally in dealing face-to-face with people (2.5), selling ideas and programs to the public (2.9), maintaining personal integrity and ethical standards (1.7) and controlling personal weakness (1.9).

Between FDR and Nixon, here is how the panel generally viewed the other presidents.

Johnson was rated as the hardest working of the seven, and given high marks for understanding government, taking initiative, and his capacity to dominate and intimidate people. But he was rated low on his listening habits, his ability to control personal prejudices, and his ability to take criticism.

Truman was rated by far the best at handling tough situations decisively, and also ranked highest in disciplining in clear and decisive ways. He had few really low scores. Kennedy scored well for keeping personal strengths visible, building team spirit, using expert help from others, and handling crises with poise and strength. He was less adept at spotting problems early and pulling loose ends together.

Eisenhower scored best on various dimensions related to trust. He scored highest of the seven in personal integrity and judgment, and was rated high in popularity and in personal confidence and respect. He did poorer at understanding government and political systems, thinking and reasoning independently, and taking initiative.

Ford scores high for understanding government, maintaining personal integrity, and maintaining health and vitality. He scored lowest for taking initiative and selling his ideas and programs.

Merrell acknowledges that the low marks given Nixon probably are colored by the nearness of Watergate.

# A Cry for Leadership

TIME, AUGUST 6, 1979

"What will it take for a new presidency to give compelling leadership to the Republic? More than at any time since 1932, the electorate is preoccupied with the need for more effective governance. Can *anybody* do it—provide leadership toward the unmet, shared objectives of the society."

*Fortune*, December 3, 1979

An effective presidency requires *institutional resources* that permit the job to be done, as well as *solutions* to issues and troubles. But, national leadership also demands *personal skills* appropriate to the presidency.

The Merrell study probes and illuminates those personal skills — competencies and attributes of the person who occupies the White House, and the effectiveness with which those skills have been employed in dealing with people, ideas and institutions of the presidency.

## LEADERSHIP DIMENSIONS

Here are some of the dimensions of leadership that have been researched and used as the basis for evaluating U.S. presidents:

- Handling tough situations decisively.
- Using expert help from others.
- Finding opportunities for presidential initiative.
- Letting others know the results expected from them.
- Clarifying relationships among those needing to work together.
- Maintaining personal integrity and ethical standards.
- Establishing popularity and public esteem.
- Reaching the presidency with an established record of achievements.
- Working with powerful individuals and organizations.
- Understanding government and political systems.
- Dealing face-to-face with people.
- Selling ideas and programs to the public.
- Dominating or intimidating when required.
- Tapping information and opinions from unofficial sources.
- Thinking and reasoning independently.
- Being up-to-date with timely information.

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V. DALLAS MERRELL, Ph.D., has studied and counseled hundreds of senior executives from throughout the world, and has designed leadership assessment programs for many businesses and governments. Dr. Merrell is the author of articles and books featured in the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and others. His latest book, *Huddling*, dealing with the politics of management, was published by the American Management Association. Merrell, who has had a national role in executive manpower policies, was a candidate for the U.S. Senate in Maryland.

The *Washington Star* described Dr. Merrell as a person with "self-confidence that comes from years of advising federal officials and business executives on how to run things. Merrell aggressively serves up management-type solutions."



## PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP INDEX PANELISTS

**JAMES MCGREGOR BURNS**, presidential biographer; Pulitzer Prize winning author of *Leadership*.

**Howard Fleiger**, former Editor, U.S. News and World Report.

**Chester A. Newland**, Director, Federal Executive Institute; Director of presidential library.

**Francis H. Heller**, author of *The Presidency: A Modern Perspective*.

**Stuart G. Brown**, author of *The American Presidency: Leadership, Partisanship and Popularity*.

**Frank P. Sherwood**, President, American Society for Public Administration; Director, Washington Public Affairs Center, USC.

**Margaret Chase Smith**, former United States Senator.

**Elmer B. Staats**, Comptroller General of the United States of America.

**George E. Reedy**, Nieman Professor of Journalism, Marquette University; White House Press Secretary; author of *The Twilight of the Presidency*.

**Merlo J. Pusey**, former Associate Editor, *The Washington Post*; Pulitzer Prize biographer.

**A. J. Wann**, author of *The President as Chief Administrator*.

For a copy of the complete study data and a press release, send \$10 to Dr. V. Dallas Merrell, 13917 Crest Hill Lane, Silver Spring, MD 20904. Telephone: (301) 441-2811.

Preservation Copy

# Reagan Bush Committee

memorandum

Oct. 18 1980

TO Dickie Wittlin →

B7

Bill Tucker wanted to make sure you had the results of the new Minneapolis Tribune Poll

Carter	34%
Reagan	30%
Anderson	18%
No Candidates	4%
Undecided	14%

Bonine

# Reagan Bush Committee

memorandum

OCT. 15 1980

10/15/80  
4:00 pm

*BT:*

*to Dick  
within →*

Phone call from Bill Tucker:

Results of poll by DES MOINES REGISTER:

All likely voters in August:

Reagan	47%
Carter	30
Anderson	12
Undecided	11

As of October 12:

Reagan	44%
Carter	32
Anderson	12
Undecided	11

sj



*for Stuart*  
**RKO GENERAL BROADCASTING**

1780 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • AREA CODE 202 638-1780

*Tolls*

*10-16-80*  
OCT. 17 1980

CLIFFORD EVANS  
VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON NEWS BUREAU

OPINION SURVEY

of

Editors of the Major Daily Newspapers of America

on

1980 Presidential Election

OCT. 18 1980

*TO Dick Wirtkin -*  
*By*

\*

88.8% say: Economy/Inflation is the No. 1 Issue in the Election

38.9% say: Personalities will decide the Election

31.9% say: Issues will decide the Election

27.8% say: Issues and Personalities will decide

1.4% say: Undecided

90.3% say: Reagan is the strongest nominee at this time

51.4% say: President Carter will win the Election

44.4% say: Ronald Reagan will win

4.1% say: Undecided

\*

Survey conducted by Washington News Bureau \* RKO General Broadcasting

\*

107 Questionnaires mailed October 3

72 Answers Received October 6 - 16

# Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 17, 1980

Dear Anna:

Many thanks for your October 15th note and the enclosed report by Howard Busby.

The report is indeed encouraging and I hope it proves to be accurate. I will share this information with others here at headquarters.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



William E. Timmons

Mrs. Anna Chennault  
Suite 1020  
1511 K Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20005

bcc: Bill Casey (w/inc - FYI)  
Dick Wirthlin (w/inc - FYI)

**ANNA CHENNAULT**

INVESTMENT BUILDING  
1511 K STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

(202) 347-0516

OCT. 17 1980

October 15, 1980

Mr. William Timmons  
Reagan-Bush Campaign  
901 South Highland Street  
Arlington, Va. 22204

Dear Bill:

This is just a report prepared by Horace Busby  
who used to be Lyndon Johnson's advisor. I thought  
you might be interested in reading it in case you  
missed it.

Sincerely,



Anna Chennault

Enclosure

A SECOND CALL OF  
THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE PROSPECTS

AS OF OCTOBER 11, 1980

THE REPUBLICAN LOCK

This Special Report by Horace W. Busby & Associates is a service for clients participating in the business climate studies conducted by the firm.

The desultory state of the current campaigns is deceiving. Despite the image that nothing much is happening, it is the reality that, if the present trends continue, the outcome on November 4 stands to change the nature of American politics for the balance of the century and longer.

The Republican Lock: What is happening, as of now, is what leaders of the Democratic Party have feared -- and tried to fend off -- since the Republican Party returned to power with the Eisenhower victory in 1952. Eisenhower took much of the West away from the Democrats and made the first strong Republican penetration into the Solid South. On that base, Republicans have been accruing, virtually without note in political commentary, a larger and larger bloc of Electoral College votes likely to go only GOP.

Going into this election, it is simply fact that, through the seven presidential campaigns since mid-century, most of the states have voted most of the time for the Republican candidate. (See the chart on page two.)

- Thirty-five states have voted four or more times for Republicans in seven elections; 29 states have voted five or more times for the Republicans. Sixteen of the states have voted only once for a Democrat, and Arizona has voted for no Democrat since Truman in 1948.
- The Electoral College effect is decisive. The 35 states represent 316 electoral votes, 46 more than the 270 majority needed to win.

Lyndon B. Johnson, who foresaw this trend early in the 1950's, referred to the end result as the "Republican lock," meaning that if all Republican states remain Republican in the Electoral College, the inter-party contest for the White House is inoperative: the Democratic Party cannot hope to win. The evidence strongly suggests that the "lock" is about to close this year.

... over



THE REPUBLICAN LOCK: ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTING TENDENCIES, 1952-76

Frequency of Republican Voting in Seven Elections, by States

<u>Seven Times</u>	<u>Six Times</u>		<u>Five Times</u>		<u>Four Times</u>	
Ariz.	Calif.	N.D.	Fla.	N.M.	Conn.	Mich.
	Colo.	Okla.	Ill.	N.J.	Del.	
	Idaho	Ore.	Ky.	Ohio		
	Ind.	Utah	Me.	Tenn.	*Alaska	
	Iowa	S.D.	Mont.	Wash.	(4-1 Republican)	
	Kan.	Vt.	Nev.			
	Neb.	Va.				
	N.H.	Wyo.				
Electoral Votes	6	136		139		35
				/GOP WINS		
Cumulative	6	142		281		316

The Democratic Party vs. The Republican Lock: The chart above is largely ignored by most Democratic politicians and much of the media. What it discloses is the best kept secret of American politics, namely: no Democrat -- not Carter, not Kennedy, not anyone else -- has any real chance of winning the White House, so long as the Republican nominee is acceptable to most Republicans. Democratic electoral votes are not there.

- . Democrats have no states which have gone 7-0 or 6-1 in support of the party's candidates during the past seven elections.
- . Relative constancy for the Democrats first appears at the 5-2 split, where four states -- Arkansas, Massachusetts, North Carolina and West Virginia -- contribute a modest 39 electoral votes.
- . At that 5-2 breaking point, however, it is already too late for Democratic votes to matter. By then, the Republican will already have won the White House with the 281 electoral votes of the 28 states which go Republican at least 70 percent of the time.

The notion is illusion that the Democrats can pull out victory with their "big" states. Three of the five largest states -- New York, Pennsylvania and Texas -- have gone Democratic by a 4-3 margin. However, the 94 votes of these states, when combined with the votes of 11 other Democratic-leaning states and the District of Columbia, add only to 205 votes.

The Republican lock is tight -- and likely to grow tighter through the next two elections. American constituencies repeat themselves, not only in presidential politics but in all politics. Hence, the patterns of voting established since the start of the Eisenhower incumbency seem likely to continue for years ahead. Whether he wins or loses this year, Jimmy Carter could easily be the last Democratic president.

SECOND CALL: 1980 ELECTORAL COLLEGE PROSPECTS AS OF OCTOBER 7, 1980

DEMOCRATS/CARTER-MONDALE

REPUBLICANS/REAGAN-BUSH

Alabama	9	Alaska	3	Nevada	4
- Arkansas	6	Arizona	6	N. Hampshire	3
DC	3	California	45	+New Jersey	17
. Georgia	12	Colorado	7	New Mexico	4
Hawaii	4	Connecticut	8	North Dakota	3
Maine	4	Florida	17	Ohio	25
Maryland	10	+Delaware	3	Oklahoma	8
. Massachusetts	14	Idaho	4	Oregon	6
Minnesota	10	Illinois	26	Pennsylvania	27
Missouri	12	Indiana	13	South Dakota	4
+New York	41	Iowa	8	+Tennessee	10
North Carolina	13	Kansas	7	Texas	26
Rhode Island	4	+Kentucky	9	Utah	4
South Carolina	8	Louisiana	10	Vermont	3
West Virginia	6	+Michigan	21	Virginia	12
		Montana	4	Washington	9
		Mississippi	7	Wisconsin	11
		Nebraska	5	Wyoming	3
+ Added from September	15				
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>156</b>				<b>382</b>

The States "Come Home": The Second Call of the Electoral College, as of October 11, reflects the Republican lock at work. With the six changes shown -- New York to Carter; Delaware, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey and Tennessee to Reagan -- the states are nearing exact alignment with past tendencies. Only Maine, now on the Democratic side, is away from its normal Republican home. In the Republican column, though, there are two important Democratic strays: Pennsylvania and Texas, which, together, provide 53 votes. Add to the Republican side the 17 votes of Louisiana and Mississippi -- which most often go against Democrats, if not for the GOP -- and the party has a 333 vote base, -62 percent of the Electoral College total.

Against this formidable Republican position, the Carter prospects one month before the voting are bleak. It is possible that there may be some sort of "stealth" campaign -- not detectable within the margin of error of the opinion polls -- working for Carter in the so-called "battleground" big states. If such an effort is working, no one, not even Carter-Mondale field people, is aware of it; besides, should Carter succeed in taking the states on which he is now most concentrated -- Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas -- Reagan would still be the winner, 283-255.

At the other end of the Carter range of possibilities, there is a quite surprising potential. Objective observers are now saying that supposedly hard core Carter states are pulling away: Alabama, Hawaii, Maryland, Minnesota, South Carolina, plus Maine and Missouri. Loss of these states would drop Carter to 93 electoral votes. That would give the White House to

Reagan with 445 electoral votes. That figure is coincidentally close to the 442 vote Eisenhower victory in 1952 which began the building of the present Republican strength.

- . This is not fanciful. As veterans of past Democratic campaigns stress, talking among themselves, the Republican lock has already shown itself once: in 1972, when Richard Nixon took all votes in the Electoral College, except those of Massachusetts. Hubert H. Humphrey, for one, said then that Democrats had been reduced to the status of a "semi-permanent minority." Nixon's inner circle obligingly pried the lock loose with their Watergate folly, opening the way for Carter's hair-thin election four years later.

The election could still go either way, narrowly to Carter or by a landslide for Reagan in the Electoral College. Motivation, morale and money are, like these historic trends, all with Reagan as of mid-October.

The Democratic Future: Although few party figures at Washington are talking about it, this election could well change the Democrats' future. If, as now seems likely, Carter loses the White House on November 4, the Electoral College positioning of the Republicans is such it is difficult to foresee another Democratic President in this century. Consider:

- . Since 1952, Republicans have won 50.2 percent of the cumulative popular vote (495,543,000) to 46.7 percent for Democrats and 3.1 percent for George Wallace and others. But of the cumulative Electoral College vote for the two major parties (3,687), the Republicans have won a whopping 75 percent (2,749). The Electoral College, which Democrats prefer to ignore, is a Republican institution; if a Democratic incumbency cannot hold it, it must be considered unlikely that a Democratic challenge can retake it.
- . The Democratic disadvantage will be increased by the 1980 census reapportionment. In 1972, the Electoral College fell under the control -- for the first time -- of the South and West. The new census will increase the Republican advantage by 11 or more votes.

Finally, a charity: much as Democrats want to attribute his loss to Carter himself, the fact is that even if an FDR were President, prospects would be about the same. It is the party, not simply this president, which is in trouble. The hard-to-accept truth is that Democratic candidacies for the White House may no longer be viable. The Republican lock is about to close; it will be hard for anyone to open over the four elections between now and the year 2000.

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Consultant: Alex Louis

October 11, 1980