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Ambassador to the Middle East to assume direction of the Carter-Mondale Committee.

Vice President Walter Mondale, once a liberal ally of Kennedy's in the Senate, heightened the Carter Administration's criticism of Kennedy and declared that the Senator has yet to give "an issue-based reason for seeking the presidency." Said Mondale: "The real danger is that it [the nomination battle] will be so bitter, so poisonous to the Democratic Party that no Democrat can win."

Indeed, Kennedy will need to justify his candidacy with reasons beyond his personality and ambition if he is to hold his lead over Carter in the polls. Already he has suffered some serious slippage against Carter (see following story). But the power of the Kennedy personality still makes him the most popular of all the presidential contenders.

Larger-than-life personalities are highly prized television commodities in this campaign, partly in contrast to Carter's low-keyed approach and partly because of the seemingly insoluble problems the nation faces. Kennedy used the word leadership 17 times in a recent speech in Philadelphia. On the Republican side, former Texas Governor and Nixon Treasury Secretary Connally managed to use the word five times in a 4½-minute television commercial that was aired last week across the nation on CBS at a cost of \$31,000.

The Connally advertisement was the symbol of another element in the 1980 race: its length. The spot was one of the earliest national television advertisements ever purchased for a presidential race. But network executives have had to refuse to sell larger chunks of time to Reagan and Carter, saying that they do not want to give candidates access to the nets until 1980. Last week the Carter-Mondale Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission, charging the networks with denying them reasonable access to air time.

The troublesome early start of campaign '80 is the result of the incredible burden the candidates face in having to compete for convention delegates in 36 primaries across the nation. In 1968 there were only 17 primaries, but now the need to organize in so many places, and the need to campaign personally in all sections of the country, has forced the rivals into ever earlier activity. Will the seemingly endless electioneering burn out both the workers and the voters long before next year's Election Day? In Florida, where Democrats are just recovering from the struggle over delegates to a state convention at which a meaningless straw vote will be taken, National Committeewoman Hazel Tally Evans laments, "It's totally out of hand, everything is happening much too early. There's no chance to catch your breath. We're on a

continual merry-go-round." The protracted campaign will also seriously disrupt the normal business of Government and perhaps lead to ill-conceived action in order to win votes.

Republican Front Runner Reagan risked the irritation of his supporters and the concerted challenge from such early entries as Connally and George Bush by delaying all serious campaigning. But now he too must enter the action. Says Reagan Campaign Manager John Sears: "Politics is motion and excitement. We must now run harder than if we were behind. Our biggest opponent is us. If we do our job right, nobody can catch us."

Reagan still claims the loyalty of about one-third of his party in state after state. The large number of Republican candidates (nine) challenging him tends to split the anti-Reagan vote and thus strengthen the front runner. Reagan, however, carries some weighty burdens. He is 68 years old. If he wins, he will be the oldest President ever elected in U.S.

history. Perhaps more important, the theatrics of American politics tends to make any three-time candidate seem shopworn.

The 1980 campaign will soon be a pitched battle among the candidates. But among the people who do the voting, the candidates will be viewed through a prism of what they seem to offer in the way of help on energy and inflation and America's place in the world. More than in any recent election, the country will be looking at the candidates skeptically, doubting their promises, almost cynical about their abilities to alter fundamentally the nation's course. Says Maine's Senator Edmund S. Muskie, himself a failed presidential candidate in 1972: "People no longer believe the system exists to solve problems. There is a quiet kind of bitterness out there."

Nonetheless, the system does exist to solve problems, and it is the only system by which the nation's problems will be solved. That makes campaign '80 a contest of true importance. ■

Kennedy's Lead Is Shrinking

A TIME poll shows Carter is within ten points of his rival

As long as Senator Edward M. Kennedy was not a candidate for the presidential nomination, he held a 2-to-1 lead over Jimmy Carter in most public opinion surveys. But now, just as he has officially declared his candidacy, his lead has been reduced to only ten percentage points, 49% to 39%. This sharp change is partly a rallying of Southern support behind Carter, partly a growing belief that Kennedy is "too liberal." Kennedy nonetheless remains the strongest Democratic candidate against all Republicans. Matched against Ronald Reagan, the Republican leader by far, Kennedy wins easily. These are among the findings of a survey of 1,027 voters conducted for TIME by the research firm of Yankelevich, Skelly & White Inc. The interviews were held Oct. 23 to 25.

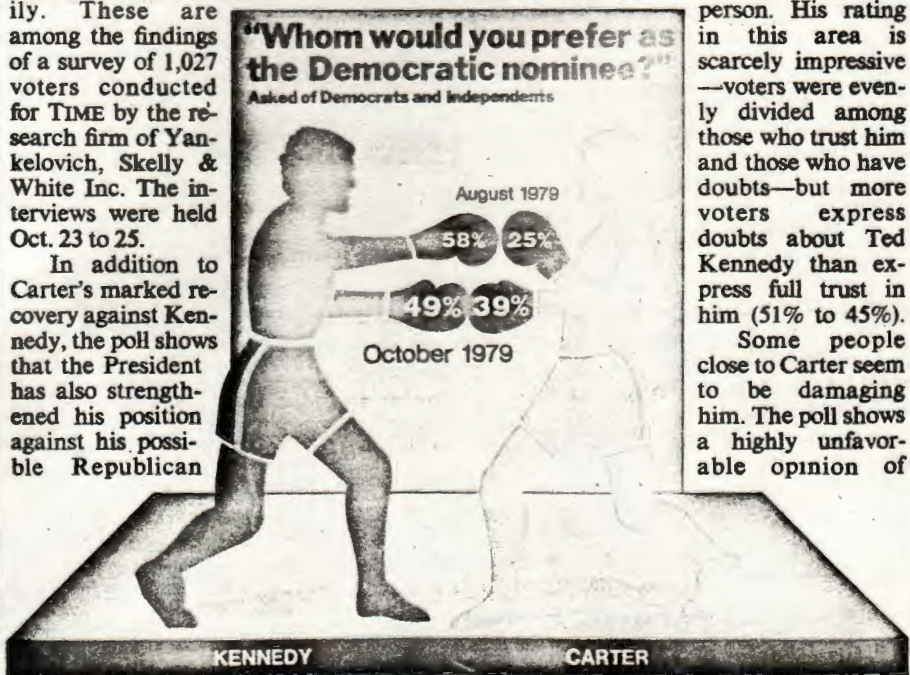
In addition to Carter's marked recovery against Kennedy, the poll shows that the President has also strengthened his position against his possible Republican

opponents. In August, Carter trailed Reagan by four percentage points. But in the latest survey, he has regained the lead, 45% to 41%. Similarly, Carter has widened his lead over John Connally from four points in the late summer to 13 points now. Kennedy's advantage over these Republicans is, however, much wider.

Approval of Carter's handling of the nation's affairs has not increased. In fact, confidence in his economic, energy and foreign policies is dismally low (none has a favorable rating higher than 17%). What has worked in Carter's favor is the trust that voters still have in Carter as a

person. His rating in this area is scarcely impressive—voters were evenly divided among those who trust him and those who have doubts—but more voters express doubts about Ted Kennedy than express full trust in him (51% to 45%).

Some people close to Carter seem to be damaging him. The poll shows a highly unfavorable opinion of



Hamilton Jordan, with 66% viewing him negatively. In addition, 56% of those surveyed say they are bothered by allegations of illegal drug use among the White House staff. Surprisingly, the President's mother, Lillian Carter, is viewed unfavorably by 55%. But Rosalynn, who some aides in the White House have suggested is taking too prominent a role in the campaign, is quite popular. Among those surveyed, 62% have a favorable impression of her while only 38% say they do not like her.

Kennedy's lead over Carter is based on the public's perception of his leadership ability. The Yankelovich organization asked voters whether the top candidates would be "very strong Presidents" or "not strong Presidents." The net difference between those measures provides a "leadership scale," which Kennedy dominates with a rating of +42 (56% say he would be a strong President and 14% say he would not). Carter, on the other hand, rates -31 on the scale, the lowest of any candidate in the field. Other figures were: Reagan +14, Connally +5, Baker +2, Bush -18, Brown -23.

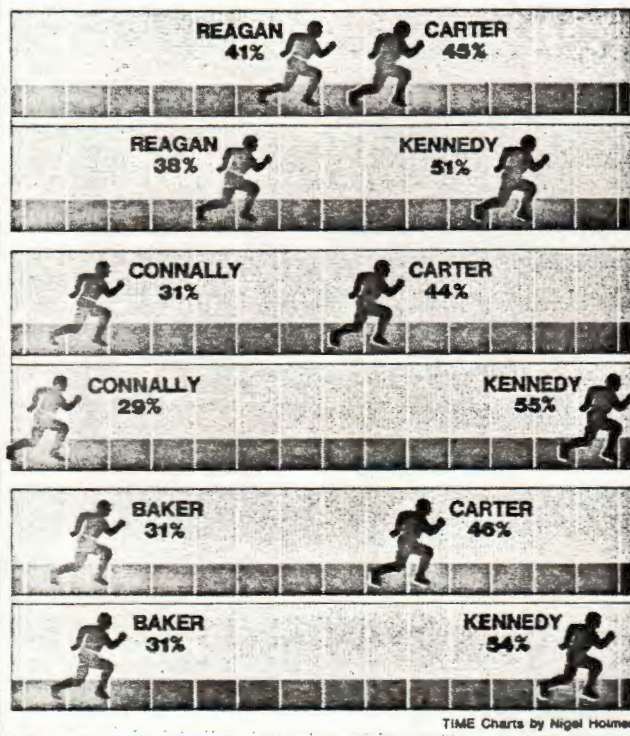
The level of confidence in Kennedy's ability to handle economic, energy and foreign affairs is nearly three times higher than Carter's abysmally low ratings. Yet only slightly more than a third of the voters express much confidence in Kennedy in these areas, suggesting a widespread skepticism about any President's ability to manage the nation well.

Compared directly with Carter, Kennedy is rated a better speaker, more knowledgeable about how to get things done, more experienced, more dynamic, more attractive looking, a better campaigner with a better staff. He is not only credited with having a better personality but also, despite the continuing echoes of Chappaquiddick, with being better "in times of crisis." He is, however, rated less trustworthy, less honest and forthright, less morally upright, and not as good a family man as Carter.

When asked specifically about Chappaquiddick, 76% say, as did 79% in a TIME poll a year ago, that "it is time to forget Chappaquiddick and judge Kennedy by what he has done since then." Similarly, 63% say that the accident should not be an issue in the campaign. Nonetheless, 44% say that they are still bothered by Kennedy's part in the incident. Among independents and Democrats who prefer Carter to Kennedy, that figure is higher (55%), suggesting that Chappaquiddick is costing Kennedy support.

The challenge to an incumbent President has not hurt Kennedy's image as a loyal party man; 85% classify him as such. He carries a reputation as an outstanding

"If the presidential election were held today, for whom in the following pairings would you vote?"



member of the U.S. Senate. But the feeling that his views are too liberal has begun to grow. A year ago, only 38% said he was too liberal, but that number has now jumped to 46%.

Other aspects of Kennedy's life do not, at the moment, seem to affect his political standing. Less than a quarter of those surveyed say they are bothered by the fact that the Senator and his wife Joan are living apart. Nor is Joan Kennedy herself any great political liability, since 52% view her favorably and 48% unfavorably. A sizable majority (61%) say, however, that they would worry a lot about the possibility of assassination if Kennedy becomes the next President.

Jerry Brown's political stock continues to drop toward the point where he may no longer be a viable candidate. Paired against Carter for the Democratic nomination, the California Governor loses badly, 63% to 24%, much worse than his 47%-to-31% standing in August. Only

34% say he would be acceptable as the next President; 46% find him unacceptable.

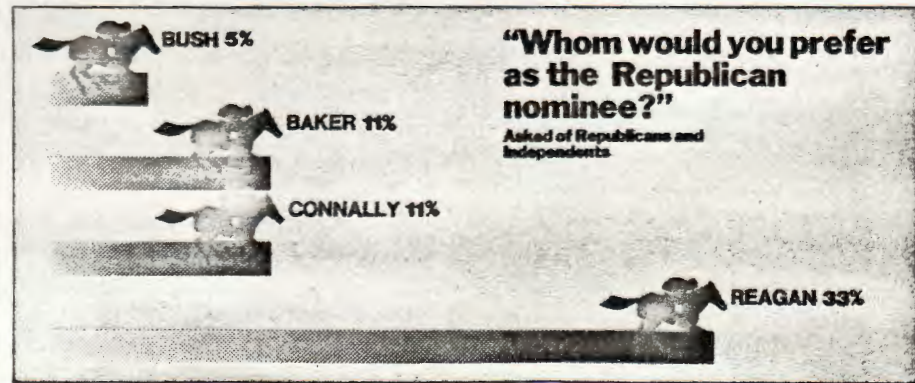
On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan continues to hold a comfortable lead among Republicans and independents as their choice for the presidential nomination. Over the past seven months, during which Reagan has not seriously campaigned, his standing has actually improved. In April, 28% favored him; now 33% say he is their first choice.

Although Gerald Ford has declared that he will not be a candidate, he retired from the field with the support of 27% of Republicans and independents. John Connally and Howard Baker placed in a tie for third, with 11%. When Ford voters are transferred to the remaining candidates according to their second choice for the nomination, Reagan's lead increases impressively. With Ford out, Reagan wins 42%, while Connally and Baker get 17% and 16% respectively. George Bush remains a distant fourth with only 6%.

Connally's vigorous and expensive campaigning has so far brought no improvement in his standings. Nearly as many people

find him unacceptable as President as find him acceptable (40% to 42%). Behind that resistance lie continued doubts about his probity; 42% say they "just don't trust him." Connally has attempted to make his negative image into a positive asset by appearing tough enough and clever enough to run the country effectively. Yet 62% say they perceive him as a "wheeler-dealer," and that contributes heavily to his overall unacceptability. Worse for Connally, his indictment and subsequent acquittal in the milk fund bribery case bother 51% of those asked; 42% say the milk fund case should be an issue in the campaign, compared with the 30% who think Chappaquiddick should be an issue.

The background of this election remains one of pessimism and economic worry. Sixty-nine percent say they feel the country is in "deep and serious trouble." Only 26% feel certain that the election results next year will cause a major improvement in economic conditions.



ELECTIONS-1980

●Yankelovich, Skelly & White, (conducted Aug. 24)
 This survey for TIME magazine tested various aspects of the 1980 Presidential race. TIME's report on this poll included only partial responses without the exact wording of the questions. The following report is as comprehensive as possible at this point.

Choice of Democrats for the 1980
 Democratic nomination

Kennedy 62%
 Carter 24%*

Choice of Republicans and Independents
 for GOP 1980 nomination

Reagan 27%
 Ford 24
 Baker 14
 Connally 12
 Bush 3
 Crane 1

*Although Democrats overwhelmingly favor Kennedy as their party's nominee, 42% believe "Carter will be renominated."

This survey also looked at whether or not each candidate was acceptable to the public and tested if the familiarity of the respondents with the candidate.

	<u>ACCEPTABLE</u>	<u>UNACCEPTABLE</u>	<u>NOT FAMILIAR WITH CANDIDATE</u>
Kennedy	64%	29%	3%
Carter	50	44	1
Brown	33	39	22
Reagan	57	35	3
Ford	57	36	2
Connally	43	36	15
Baker	32	14	48
Bush	10	15	68
Crane	6	16	70

In head-to-head match-ups this survey found:

Carter vs. Reagan	38	42	Not sure 20
Carter vs. Baker	35	35	Not sure 30
Carter vs. Connally	36	32	Not sure 32
Kennedy vs. Connally	56	29	Not sure 15
Kennedy vs. Reagan	53	34	Not sure 13

Carter, Reagan Equal In Voter Popularity, New Survey Indicates

By John F. Stacks
Time-Life News Service

NEW YORK — Plagued by an across-the-board decline in his political popularity, President Carter now manages no better than a tie when paired against Republican Ronald Reagan in a presidential preference poll.

In a survey completed last week for Time magazine by the opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White Inc., Carter and Reagan both get 42 percent from those surveyed, with 16 percent undecided. The study shows Reagan more popular than the president in the Northeast, the West and the South, but Carter edges Reagan among Midwesterners.

The even race with Reagan, who is still leading the pack of Republican contenders for the party's nomination, shows a marked slide for the president since last fall, when a similar survey showed him leading Reagan 56-36. Last June, in the same poll, Carter led Reagan by three points.

The president's trouble was not limited to Republican opposition. Inside his own party, he continues to trail Sen. Edward Kennedy as the first choice of Democrats and independents for the presidential nomination. In the most recent poll, Kennedy leads Carter 56-30. Last fall, when the president's popularity rose on the strength of the Camp David summit, Carter had reduced Kennedy's margin to 10 points, trailing 47-47.

EVEN CALIFORNIA Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. benefitted from the president's low standing. Again among Democrats and independents, Carter leads Brown 44-37 for the party's nomination. But a year ago, that margin was 49-30.

In the Republican nomination sweepstakes, despite the recent lull in Reagan's campaigning and highly visible gains in organization, recruitment and attention by former Treasury Secretary John Connally, Reagan still is the first choice among members of his own party and independents. The Californian was picked first by 28 percent of those polled. Former President Gerald Ford ranked second with 24 percent listing him as their top choice. Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker drew 14 percent, while Connally had 10 percent.

Sampling a series of public attitudes toward Carter, the Yankelovich survey showed poor standings in nearly every area. Most striking was the decline in the personal trust that

Carter inspires. Less than a majority said they feel the president is a leader they can trust. Carter's image as trustworthy has been the cornerstone of his political strength since he first emerged as a national candidate.

AMONG DEMOCRATS, only 48 percent said they totally trusted Carter.

Unlike the first few months of the

See POLL, A-10

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Carter presidency, when large numbers of people said they had changed their opinion for the better based on his conduct in office. 82 percent now say that their impressions of Carter have either remained static or gotten worse. More than one-third of those who voted for him in 1976, the poll showed, say their opinion of Carter has declined.

The main ingredient of this slide in the polls is the popular judgment about Carter's handling of the economy. That reason for lowering their estimate of Carter was cited by 42 percent. Thirty-one percent blamed his overall lack of leadership, and 23 percent listed his management of the energy situation.

Asked specifically if they had a lot of confidence in Carter's handling of the economy, a mere 8 percent said yes, compared to 33 percent during his early months in office. More than one-third of those polled said they had no real confidence that Carter could manage the economy well.

INFLATION CONTINUED to be mentioned by the most people, 61 percent, as the leading problem the country faces. For the first time, energy shortages were cited by a substantial number (39 percent) as a real concern.

But on neither count did Carter elicit any confidence. Less than 10 percent said they thought the president could stop inflation, while 51 percent now believe that as long as Carter is in the White House inflation will only get worse. Indeed, control of inflation produced a general skepticism toward all politicians. Only 17 percent said they thought any other president, Republican or Democrat, could bring it under control.

Foreign affairs provided little more comfort for the president. About half of those polled said they had "some confidence" in Carter's management of affairs abroad, but a quarter said, despite the Middle East peace treaty, that they had no real confidence.

THE POLL RESULTS showed the country in a generally gloomy and slightly bitter mood. Only 23 percent, the lowest figure recorded by the Yankelovich organization, said they felt things are going well in the U.S. In June, 1977, for example, 44 percent agreed with that proposition. In all, 64 percent told interviewers they believe "the country is in deep and serious trouble."

The pollsters interpreted their results as demonstrating a longing for stronger leadership. One interesting statistic supporting that notion was the finding that about half of the supporters of Kennedy and of Reagan found the other candidate "acceptable," despite the wide ideological differences that divide the two men.

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Lynn N.

The Trouble Is Serious

That is the state of the nation, says a majority in a TIME poll

WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE MAIN

ISSUES

FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY?

PERCENT OF PEOPLE WHO MENTIONED: JUNE '78 OCT. '78 APR. '79

Optimism and self-confidence are as inherently American as the right to the pursuit of happiness. Just two years ago, most people responded to a TIME poll by saying they believed that the nation's problems were no worse than usual, that inflation would probably subside or at least get no worse, and that newly elected President Carter was a man in whom they could fully place their trust. That sunny view of the nation's affairs has been giving way to a gloomy and even slightly fearful mood. Haunted by anxiety about continually rising prices, which hit a painful annual rate of 9.5% during the first quarter of this year, plus a heightened concern about energy supplies and nuclear safety, Americans have turned increasingly sour on their own prospects. Specifically, they have become more pessimistic that Carter or any other politician will be able to cure the most pressing of their problems, inflation.

These are among the findings of a survey of 1,024 people com-

pleted this month for TIME by the opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc. The poll found that a record low 23% of those questioned feel things are going well in this country, compared with 45% in June 1977. The poll also found that Carter, who rose substantially in popularity in the wake of his Camp David meetings last September with Anwar

Sadat and Menachem Begin, has again fallen into low esteem in the country. The President has lost important ground to all his political opponents.

The main concern of Americans polled continues to be the rate of inflation and the apparent inability of the Government to cope with it. Nearly two-thirds of those questioned placed inflation at the very top of their list of worries, while more traditional fears like crime in the streets dropped sharply. The state of general gloom seemed to be deepened by the people's belated realization that the nation's energy problems are genuine. Sixty-three percent said they now worry a lot about an energy shortage, indicating that Carter has perhaps convinced the nation of the severity of this problem, if not of his competence to solve it.

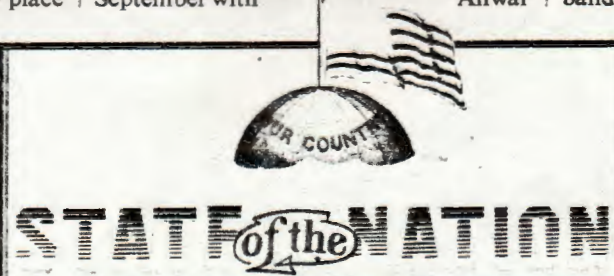
Out of these apprehensions comes the belief by 64% of the sample that "the country is in deep and serious trouble," an opinion shared by only 41% one year ago.

On a more personal level, concern about paying bills has risen, as has anxiety about the inability to save for the future. Nearly half of those questioned reported having to dip into what savings they have to make ends meet. More than one-third have trimmed their gifts to charity because of higher living costs. Twenty-one percent say they have taken second jobs, and 32% of the men say their wives have gone out to work to bring in extra money.

All over the country, Americans have begun making small changes in life-styles to deal with rising prices. In Pittsburgh, for example, Newspaper Reporter Helen Kaiser abandoned her dream of having a band perform at her wedding next month.

Says she: "I've decided to tape the music in advance and play it over the speaker system." While stores in citadels of wealth like Beverly Hills report booming business, others in similar areas in Texas say that even their wealthier clients are cutting back. One Neiman-Marcus saleswoman has just transferred from the high-fashion department to a moderately priced dress section where, she says, "I see all my old customers."

The basic problem for most people is the price of food. Says Judy Carey of Little Rock, Ark.: "For one thing, I quit buying ground beef. The junk food had



	APR. '78	OCT. '78	APR. '79
PROBLEMS ARE WORSE THAN USUAL	51%	44%	31%
THINGS ARE GOING WELL IN THIS COUNTRY	23%	45%	41%
ENERGY SHORTAGE IS A MAJOR CONCERN	63%	49%	64%

to go. And we're using leftovers wherever we can. Yesterday we had a chef's salad for dinner. Sunday it was a casserole because we can get two meals out of it." Philadelphia Quality Control Technician Leo Valz has tired of supplying expensive snacks for his three children. Solution: do-it-yourself pizzas costing \$16 for 24 shells, a big can of tomato sauce and a big bag of cheese. Says Valz: "A nighttime snack doesn't break our backs any more. I just wish they sold make-it-yourself steaks."

Some consumer groups advocate that a one-day-a-week beef boycott be organized to resist meat increases, which amounted to 110% at an annual rate for hamburger in the past three months. But beef producers retort that this will only aggravate the long-run shortage by discouraging the building of new beef herds. One Georgia grocery-store manager reports on his customers' switching to cheaper meats: "They're not boycotting beef, they just can't afford it."

Second on most people's list of price problems comes the cost of fuel. For new car buyers, this produced a high demand for gas-saving automobiles. In New England, the use of wood to replace high-priced oil has grown so much that last week New Hampshire was forced to establish a lottery for woodcutting privileges in state-owned forests.

What could be done? The Yankelovich survey showed that the public favors a variety of rather stringent measures to curb inflation. Half of those surveyed said mandatory price controls would help check inflation, even though popular opposition is usually considered one of the main reasons why controls haven't worked well in the past. Slightly more than half of the respondents said some sort of restriction on the use of credit cards would help, as would putting a ceiling on housing prices.

A pronounced protectionist sentiment also emerged from the survey. Fifty-seven percent said adding a tax to imported goods to bring them into line with American-made products would help control prices. On the other hand, more than 60% rejected limiting the availability of mortgages as a way to control housing prices, and nearly 90% turned down a tax increase as a way of reducing total demand for goods.

To the extent that Americans perceive government spending to be a cause of inflation, they want it cut back. Despite the opposition of most political and economic leaders, they favor by a ratio of 50 to 31 the controversial idea of a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. And if it turned out that peacemaking efforts abroad required increased taxes, half the respondents would rather have that part of the budget cut. As for their personal spending, 63% said they would accept a pay freeze if they could have stable prices rather than continued inflation.

As pervasive as is the concern about

Carter vs. Reagan: Dead Heat

One of the enduring truisms of American politics has been that an incumbent President wields all but overwhelming political power. This axiom holds that almost any challenge to a President has only the barest chance of succeeding. But this pattern may be changing. In the case of Jimmy Carter, his incumbency—and the fact that he is thus blamed for every national problem—may be his biggest electoral handicap.

Matching Carter against a series of potential political opponents, the Yankelovich survey for TIME shows the President able to achieve only a tie with the leading Republican contender, Ronald Reagan. This represents a significant improvement in Reagan's standing against Carter's in the national polls.

Asked to choose between the two men as candidates for President, those questioned in the survey divided evenly, 42% for each man, with 16% undecided. In this test matching, Carter managed to better Reagan only in the Midwest, while losing the Northeast, the West and even his native South to the former California Governor.

Reagan, despite a recent lull in his own campaign efforts, is still the favorite of his party, according to the Yankelovich survey. Twenty-eight percent of Republicans said they preferred Reagan as the G.O.P. nominee, while 24% said they would make former President Gerald Ford their first choice, even though

Ford has said he will not actively seek the nomination. Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker ranked third in the preference poll with 14%, while former Democratic Texas Governor (and former Treasury Secretary) John Connally placed fourth with 10% of those questioned. One understandable handicap for some of the likely Republican contenders at this early stage is that they are far from household names. Even Baker, despite his prominent Senate position, is unknown to 51% of all voters. Far less known are Texan George Bush (65%) and Illinois' Philip Crane (70%).

Inside his own party, Carter remained a distant second choice for the nomination. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the poll showed, would defeat the incumbent President by a large margin. Kennedy led Carter among Democrats and independents by a stunning 56% to 30%. Last fall, after his successes at Camp David, Carter had reduced Kennedy's lead to ten points, but the gap has widened again. Every region of the country, again including the South, gave

Kennedy an advantage, as did Democrats of all ideological stripes, including those calling themselves conservatives.

Some of Carter's top aides profess confidence that Kennedy would lose if he challenged the President. Said one high-ranking aide: "If he runs, Jimmy will beat him, and I think Kennedy knows that." Others disagree. Said one party operative worried about potential Kennedy strength in New Hampshire: "I think he'll beat Carter 2 to 1, even with a write-in campaign." Kennedy's supporters have begun organizing just such a campaign in the nation's first primary state, despite efforts by the Massachusetts Senator to stop them. Another pro-Kennedy effort has sprung up recently in Iowa without the Senator's approval.

Paired against California Governor Jerry Brown, the President also shows a slide in popularity. Carter still leads Brown 44% to 37% among Democrats and independents, but the margin has been cut in half since a year ago.

Carter's weakness is at least partly rooted in a growing desire for more authoritative presidential leadership. The survey showed that despite the ideological gulf that separates the two men, a surprising half of the backers of both Reagan and Kennedy found the other candidate acceptable as a future President.

Political SWEEP-STAKES		
IF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WERE HELD TODAY, WHOM WOULD YOU PREFER AS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE?		
	JUNE '78	APR. '79
CARTER	31%	30%
KENNEDY	54%	56%
CARTER	49%	44%
BROWN	30%	37%
IF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY, FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE?		
	JUNE '78	APR. '79
CARTER	44%	42%
REAGAN	41%	42%

prices, the prospect of high unemployment seems no less frightening. By 38% to 29%, respondents said they would rather deal with high inflation than high joblessness. At the same time, only 6% said they felt loss of jobs was a currently urgent issue and only 2% volunteered that a recession was of immediate concern.

When asked to choose between conflicting energy policies, 53% said they would prefer gasoline rationing to an increase of 50¢ per gal. in the price of gas. Some 75% said that increasing all oil prices, as President Carter plans, would not help discourage excessive use. Nearly two-thirds felt that closing gasoline stations would do nothing to limit the consumption of gasoline.

On the question of nuclear power, Americans were predictably undecided. With the Three Mile Island nuclear plant accident still fresh in their minds, 42% said the dangers of a nuclear accident concerned them a lot. Yet when confronted with the choice of building more nuclear power plants "even in neighborhoods such as your own" or facing a serious energy shortage, more than half said they would prefer building more plants.

Beyond the choices and concerns about the national economy lies a more difficult and perhaps more damaging problem: the corrosive effects that continued inflation have on the political and psychological atmosphere. Throughout the country, people are finding that despite rising incomes their economic situation is either stagnating or worsening, leading to feelings of having been cheated. Observes Dubuque University Sociologist Wayne Youngquist: "Inflation takes all the old rules and invalidates them. It creates an unstable, speculative, spend-thrift mentality and causes the erosion of social values. As a result, the electorate is

	JUNE 78	OCT. 78*	APR. 79
IMPROVED	11%	21%	15%
THE SAME	50%	48%	41%
GOT WORSE	37%	26%	41%

*Following Camp David summit

extremely volatile. Voters have become like unguided missiles as they try to figure out how to have an effect."

According to the Yankelovich survey 53% of the people questioned agreed fully with the statement: "People who work hard and live by the rules are not getting a fair deal these days." More than a third agreed that "people like yourself are powerless to change things in the country."

Plainly, this resentment is not unguided. It is targeted directly on Jimmy Carter. Most striking is the decline in the trust the President inspires in the country, a political quality that has been the hallmark both of his candidacy and his two years in office. Less than a majority of those polled

said they think Carter is a leader they can trust. Even among Democrats, only 48% gave the President their undiminished loyalty, and 50% or more in each section of the country said they had doubts and reservations about his trustworthiness.

In the first few months of his presidency Carter impressed many people with his performance; 82% now say their impressions of Carter have either remained the same or worsened. More than one-third of those who voted for him in 1976 say their opinion of Carter has declined since his election.

The prime factor behind this decline is his handling of the economy. Forty-two percent gave his economic policies as the reason for lowering their opinions of the President. Thirty-one percent blamed his overall lack of leadership and 23% listed his management of the energy situation. Asked specifically if they had a lot of confidence in the President's handling of the economy, a mere 8% said yes, compared with 33% when he took office.

The results on the energy question were a disappointment for the President as well. Only 14% expressed a lot of confidence on that score, while 41% said they had no real confidence at all.

The post-Camp David surge in the President's popularity has not been repeated after his triumph in the Middle East. While half of the sample reported some confidence in Carter diplomacy, only 27% said they had a lot of confidence, and slightly less than a quarter said they had no confidence at all. Any hope the President has of bolstering his flagging popularity with new foreign policy triumphs, like the impending SALT II agreement, thus seems rather empty.

The SALT treaty itself still does not command support from a majority of the country, but the trend since last June seems to be toward greater acceptance. Forty-one percent now say the treaty should be signed, compared with only 32% nearly a year ago, while the percentage of those who feel the treaty is too risky has declined in the ten months from 56% to 48%. Some 37% still feel that the Soviet Union would be the chief beneficiary of the treaty.

As the President's popularity has declined, the mood of pessimism in the country has increased, creating ominous signals both for a second Carter term and for inflation itself. Fifty-one percent now believe that with Carter in the White House inflation will get worse, as compared with less than 10% who think that he will be able to stop inflation. That kind of lack of expectations is self-fulfilling; economists say that people alter their lifestyles in anticipation of ever higher prices. This pessimistic mood extends beyond the Carter presidency. Not more than 17% feel that any other President, Republican or Democrat, will be able to stop the inflationary spiral.



Summary of Recent Polls (5/15/79)

1. AEI Poll - New Hampshire voters (2/18 -3/4)...	Reagan	29%	<u>With Ford out</u>			
	Ford	29	Reagan	40		
	Baker	9	Baker	13		
	Connally	5	Connally	8		
	(All others 4 or less)		Dole	6		
			<u>(All others 4 or less)</u>			
2. Baron Poll - Iowa GOP Leaders (March-April, 1979)	Reagan	47	<u>Personal Popularity</u>			
	Crane	13	Ray	8.5		
	Connally	9	Reagan	8.0		
	Bush	8	Ford	7.2		
	Baker	8	Crane	6.7		
	Ray	8	Baker	6.4		
3. Harris Poll - Nationwide (April, 1979)			Bush	6.1		
			Connally	6.1		
			<u>GOP and Independents</u>			
			<u>GOP Only</u>			
		Reagan	31	Reagan	34	
		Ford	23	Ford	26	
		Baker	13	Baker	14	
		Connally	7	Connally	8	
		(Note: Connally Name ID is 91%)				
		<u>All Voters</u>				
		Reagan	57			
		Brown	35			
4. Time-Yankelovich Poll - Nationwide (April, 1979)			<u>All Voters</u>			
			Reagan	42		
			Carter	42		
			Undec	16		
5. New Hampshire - Research Analysis Corp. (April 27 - May 7)			<u>GOP Voters</u>			
			Reagan	44		
			Baker	14		
			Connally	12		
6. DMI Poll						

RECENT POLL RESULTS

Recent national surveys have yielded the following results on a hypothetical Republican primary and a Reagan/Carter ballot:

	<u>Gallup</u> (Dec.78)	<u>ABC News/Harris</u> (March 1979)	<u>Yankelovich</u> (Time, 4/30/79)	<u>DMI</u> (3/4/79)
<u>All Voters</u>				
Reagan	---	46%	42%	47%
Carter	---	49	42	47
<u>Republicans Only</u>				
Reagan	40%	31%	28%	44%
Ford	24	23	24	23
Baker	9	13	14	10
Connally	6	7	10	8

The recent Boston Globe survey in New Hampshire compares as follows with the DMI survey for the top three contenders:

	<u>DMI</u> (April)	<u>R.A.C./Boston Globe</u> (April 27 - May 1)**
	<u>9-Way*</u>	
Reagan	38%	44%
Baker	8	14
Connally	4	12

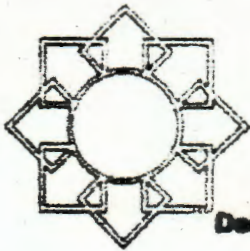
*List of nine candidates which did include Gerald Ford (who received 34%)
 **This Globe result did not include Ford.

Recent Iowa (Des Moines Register) Poll, May 21, 1979

...OF THE GRAND OLD PARTY?

Of the following possible Republican candidates, whom would you nominate for president?

	<u>Now, Without Ford</u>
Ronald Reagan	42%
Howard Baker	20
John Connally	13
Robert Dole	5
George Bush	3
Other	17



Decision/Making/Information

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for today's decision makers

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MEMO

TO: Martin Anderson
FROM: Richard Wirthlin
DATE: May 17, 1979
RE: Survey Comparisons

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Baker	9	13	14	10
Connally	6	7	10	8

The recent Boston Globe survey in New Hampshire compares as follows with the DMI survey for the top three contenders:

	DMI (April 11-14)		R.A.C./Boston Globe (April 27 - May 1)***
	5-May*	9-May**	
Reagan	55%	38%	44%
Baker	13	8	14
Connally	9	4	12

*List of five candidates which did not include Gerald Ford.

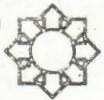
**List of nine candidates which did include Gerald Ford (who received 34%).

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WHAT THE POLLS ARE SAYING ABOUT THE GOP PRIMARY

	<u>Reagan</u> (%)	<u>Ford</u> (%)	<u>Baker</u> (%)	<u>Dole</u> (%)	<u>Connally</u> (%)	<u>Bush</u> (%)	<u>Crane</u> (%)	<u>Anderson</u> (%)	<u>Thompson</u> (%)	<u>Undecided</u> (%)
<u>National</u>										
Gallup 12/78 N = 310	40	24	9	1	6	1	1			
ABC-Harris 3/79 N = 751	31	23	13	2	7	2	3	2		11
Yankelovich 4/30/79	28	24	14		10					
DMI 3/79 N = 540	44	23	10	1	8	1	3	1		8
LA Times 5/25/79 N = 300	33 40	28 —	14 19	7 10	6 9	3 2	3 3		1 2	7 15
<u>Iowa</u>										
Iowa Poll 5/79	42	—	20	5	13	3	1			13
<u>New Hampshire</u>										
Public Opinion 4/12/79 N = 602	29 40	29 —	9 13	4 3	5 6	2	3 3			
DMI 4/18/79 N = 400	38	34	8	4	4	2	3	1		6
Boston Globe 5/13/79	44	—	14	6	12	5	4			



WHAT THE POLLS ARE SAYING ABOUT
THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

	<u>Carter</u> (%)	<u>Reagan</u> (%)	<u>Baker</u> (%)	<u>Connally</u> (%)	<u>Undecided</u> (%)
ABC-Harris 5/24/78	46	47	--	--	9
Yankelovich 4/30/79	42	42	--	--	16
DMI 3-4/79 N = 2000	47 56 61	47 -- --	-- 34 --	-- -- 29	6 10 10
LA Times 5/25/79 N = 1304	49	46	--	--	5

Presidential race- con't.

*Yankelovich--Time, 4/30/79

Democratic nomination

Carter vs. Kennedy

4/79	30%	56%
6/78	31	54

Carter vs. Brown

4/79	44%	37%
6/79	49	30

General Election

Carter vs. Reagan Undecided

4/79	42%	42%	16%
6/78	44	41	--

*Gallup 4/19

General Election

Carter vs. Ford

48%	41%
-----	-----

Carter vs. Reagan

52%	38%
-----	-----

*ABC-Harris, 4/16/79

Jerry Brown trails Carter by 12% points (53-41) and Kennedy by 34% (65-31) for the 1980 Democratic nomination. In the general election, Reagan is ahead of Brown 57-35%. Brown's low popularity is reflected in the lack of faith Americans have in his leadership.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
He is the kind of leader needed to restore confidence in government	32	41	27
He has flip-flopped on important issues, i.e. Proposition 13	52	30	18

residential race--con't

*ABC-Harris, 4/12/79

General Election

Carter vs. Reagan

3/79	49%	46%
12/78	55	38

Kennedy vs. Reagan

3/79	58%	38%
12/78	55	39

Republicans

Who do the Republicans prefer for President?

	<u>Public Opinion</u> <u>March/May 1979</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>4/79</u>	<u>Harris</u> <u>4/79</u>	<u>Yankelovich</u> <u>Time, 4/30/79</u>
Reagan	29%	31%	31%	28%
Ford	29	26	23	24
Baker	9	--	13	14
Connally	5	12	7	10
Dole	4	--	2	--
Bush	2	--	2	--
Weicker	1	--	4	--

*Roper, #/79

This survey found almost a 50/50 split in support/opposition for Carter's re-election. Only 10% identified themselves as strong supporters and 39% as moderate supporters. On the other hand, 17% claimed to be strong critics and 31% as moderate critics.

ECONOMY

*ABC-Harris, 4/17/79

The number of American families that say they are having "a harder time making ends meet" has risen 14% over the last six months (55% to 69%). A majority (61%) feel that we will be in a recession in the next 12 months.

to go. And we're using leftovers wherever we can. Yesterday we had a chef's salad for dinner. Sunday it was a casserole because we can get two meals out of it." Philadelphia Quality Control Technician Leo Valz has tired of supplying expensive snacks for his three children. Solution: do-it-yourself pizzas costing \$16 for 24 shells, a big can of tomato sauce and a big bag of cheese. Says Valz: "A nighttime snack doesn't break our backs any more. I just wish they sold make-it-yourself steaks."

Some consumer groups advocate that a one-day-a-week beef boycott be organized to resist meat increases, which amounted to 110% at an annual rate for hamburger in the past three months. But beef producers retort that this will only aggravate the long-run shortage by discouraging the building of new beef herds. One Georgia grocery-store manager reports on his customers' switching to cheaper meats: "They're not boycotting beef, they just can't afford it."

Second on most people's list of price problems comes the cost of fuel. For new car buyers, this produced a high demand for gas-saving automobiles. In New England, the use of wood to replace high-priced oil has grown so much that last week New Hampshire was forced to establish a lottery for woodcutting privileges in state-owned forests.

What could be done? The Yankelovich survey showed that the public favors a variety of rather stringent measures to curb inflation. Half of those surveyed said mandatory price controls would help check inflation, even though popular opposition is usually considered one of the main reasons why controls haven't worked well in the past. Slightly more than half of the respondents said some sort of restriction on the use of credit cards would help, as would putting a ceiling on housing prices.

A pronounced protectionist sentiment also emerged from the survey. Fifty-seven percent said adding a tax to imported goods to bring them into line with American-made products would help control prices. On the other hand, more than 60% rejected limiting the availability of mortgages as a way to control housing prices, and nearly 90% turned down a tax increase as a way of reducing total demand for goods.

To the extent that Americans perceive government spending to be a cause of inflation, they want it cut back. Despite the opposition of most political and economic leaders, they favor by a ratio of 50 to 31 the controversial idea of a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. And if it turned out that peacemaking efforts abroad required increased taxes, half the respondents would rather have that part of the budget cut. As for their personal spending, 63% said they would accept a pay freeze if they could have stable prices rather than continued inflation.

As pervasive as is the concern about

Carter vs. Reagan: Dead Heat

One of the enduring truisms of American politics has been that an incumbent President wields all but overwhelming political power. This axiom holds that almost any challenge to a President has only the barest chance of succeeding. But this pattern may be changing. In the case of Jimmy Carter, his incumbency—and the fact that he is thus blamed for every national problem—may be his biggest electoral handicap.

Matching Carter against a series of potential political opponents, the Yankelovich survey for TIME shows the President able to achieve only a tie with the leading Republican contender, Ronald Reagan. This represents a significant improvement in Reagan's standing against Carter's in the national polls.

Asked to choose between the two men as candidates for President, those questioned in the survey divided evenly, 42% for each man, with 16% undecided. In this test matching, Carter managed to better Reagan only in the Midwest, while losing the Northeast, the West and even his native South to the former California Governor.

Reagan, despite a recent lull in his own campaign efforts, is still the favorite of his party, according to the Yankelovich survey. Twenty-eight percent of Republicans said they preferred Reagan as the G.O.P. nominee, while 24% said they would make former President Gerald Ford their first choice, even though

Ford has said he will not actively seek the nomination. Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker ranked third in the preference poll with 14%, while former Democratic Texas Governor (and former Treasury Secretary) John Connally placed fourth with 10% of those questioned. One understandable handicap for some of the likely Republican contenders at this early stage is that they are far from household names. Even Baker, despite his prominent Senate position, is unknown to 51% of all voters. Far less known are Texan George Bush (65%) and Illinois' Philip Crane (70%).

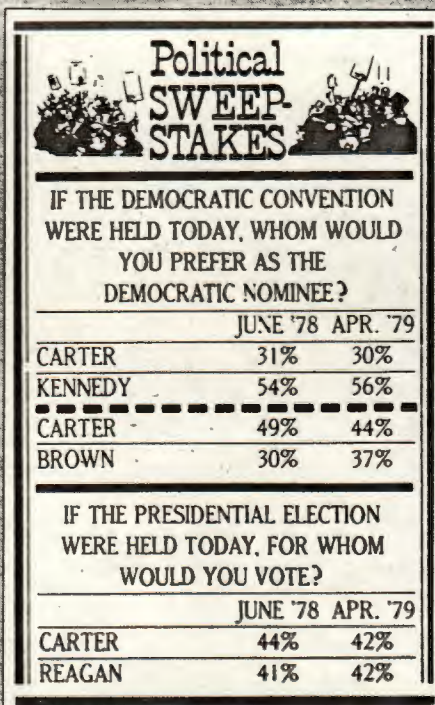
Inside his own party, Carter remained a distant second choice for the nomination. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the poll showed, would defeat the incumbent President by a large margin. Kennedy led Carter among Democrats and independents by a stunning 56% to 30%. Last fall, after his successes at Camp David, Carter had reduced Kennedy's lead to ten points, but the gap has widened again. Every region of the country, again including the South, gave

Kennedy an advantage, as did Democrats of all ideological stripes, including those calling themselves conservatives.

Some of Carter's top aides profess confidence that Kennedy would lose if he challenged the President. Said one high-ranking aide: "If he runs, Jimmy will beat him, and I think Kennedy knows that." Others disagree. Said one party operative worried about potential Kennedy strength in New Hampshire: "I think he'll beat Carter 2 to 1, even with a write-in campaign." Kennedy's supporters have begun organizing just such a campaign in the nation's first primary state, despite efforts by the Massachusetts Senator to stop them. Another pro-Kennedy effort has sprung up recently in Iowa without the Senator's approval.

Paired against California Governor Jerry Brown, the President also shows a slide in popularity. Carter still leads Brown 44% to 37% among Democrats and independents, but the margin has been cut in half since a year ago.

Carter's weakness is at least partly rooted in a growing desire for more authoritative presidential leadership. The survey showed that despite the ideological gulf that separates the two men, a surprising half of the backers of both Reagan and Kennedy found the other candidate acceptable as a future President.



TIME/APR. 30, 1979

The Trouble Is Serious

That is the state of the nation, says a majority in a TIME poll

WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE MAIN

ISSUES

FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY?

PERCENT OF PEOPLE WHO MENTIONED: JUNE '78 OCT. '78 APR. '79

PERCENT OF PEOPLE WHO MENTIONED:	JUNE '78	OCT. '78	APR. '79

Optimism and self-confidence are as inherently American as the right to the pursuit of happiness. Just two years ago, most people responded to a TIME poll by saying they believed that the nation's problems were no worse than usual, that inflation would probably subside or a least get no worse, and that newly elected President Carter was a man in whom they could fully place their trust. That sunny view of the nation's affairs has been giving way to a gloomy and even slightly fearful mood. Haunted by anxiety about continually rising prices, which hit a painful annual rate of 9.5% during the first quarter of this year, plus a heightened concern about energy supplies and nuclear safety, Americans have turned increasingly sour on their own prospects. Specifically, they have become more pessimistic that Carter or any other politician will be able to cure the most pressing of their problems, inflation.

These are among the findings of a survey of 1,024 people com-

pleted this month for TIME by the opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc. The poll found that a record low 23% of those questioned feel things are going well in this country, compared with 45% in June 1977. The poll also found that Carter, who rose substantially in popularity in the wake of his Camp David meetings last September with

Anwar

Sadat and Menachem Begin, has again fallen into low esteem in the country. The President has lost important ground to all his political opponents.

The main concern of Americans polled continues to be the rate of inflation and the apparent inability of the Government to cope with it. Nearly two-thirds of those questioned placed inflation at the very top of their list of worries, while more traditional fears like crime in the streets dropped sharply. The state of general gloom seemed to be deepened by the people's belated realization that the nation's energy problems are genuine. Sixty-three percent said they now worry a lot about an energy shortage, indicating that Carter has perhaps convinced the nation of the severity of this problem, if not of his competence to solve it.

Out of these apprehensions comes the belief by 64% of the sample that "the country is in deep and serious trouble," an opinion shared by only 41% one year ago.

On a more personal level, concern about paying bills has risen, as has anxiety about the inability to save for the future. Nearly half of those questioned reported having to dip into what savings they have to make ends meet. More than one-third have trimmed their gifts to charity because of higher living costs. Twenty-one percent say they have taken second jobs, and 32% of the men say their wives have gone out to work to bring in extra money.

All over the country, Americans have begun making small changes in life-styles to deal with rising prices. In Pittsburgh, for example, Newspaper Reporter Helen Kaiser abandoned her dream of having a band perform at her wedding next month.

Says she: "I've decided to tape the music in advance and play it over the speaker system." While stores in citadels of wealth like Beverly Hills report booming business, others in similar areas in Texas say that even their wealthier clients are cutting back. One Neiman-Marcus saleswoman has just transferred from the high-fashion department to a moderately priced dress section where, she says, "I see all my old customers."

The basic problem for most people is the price of food. Says Judy Carey of Little Rock, Ark.: "For one thing, I quit buying ground beef. The junk food had

	APR. '78	OCT. '78	APR. '79
THINGS ARE GOING WELL IN THIS COUNTRY	23%	23%	23%
THE U.S. IS IN DEEP TROUBLE	64%	64%	64%
THE U.S. IS WORSE THAN USUAL	51%	44%	31%

to go. And we're using leftovers wherever we can. Yesterday we had a chef's salad for dinner. Sunday it was a casserole because we can get two meals out of it." Philadelphia Quality Control Technician Leo Valz has tired of supplying expensive snacks for his three children. Solution: do-it-yourself pizzas costing \$16 for 24 shells, a big can of tomato sauce and a big bag of cheese. Says Valz: "A nighttime snack doesn't break our backs any more. I just wish they sold make-it-yourself steaks."

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Political SWEEPSTAKES		
IF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WERE HELD TODAY, WHOM WOULD YOU PREFER AS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE?		
	JUNE '78	APR. '79
CARTER	31%	30%
KENNEDY	54%	56%

CARTER	49%	44%
BROWN	30%	37%
IF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY, FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE?		
	JUNE '78	APR. '79
CARTER	44%	42%
REAGAN	41%	42%

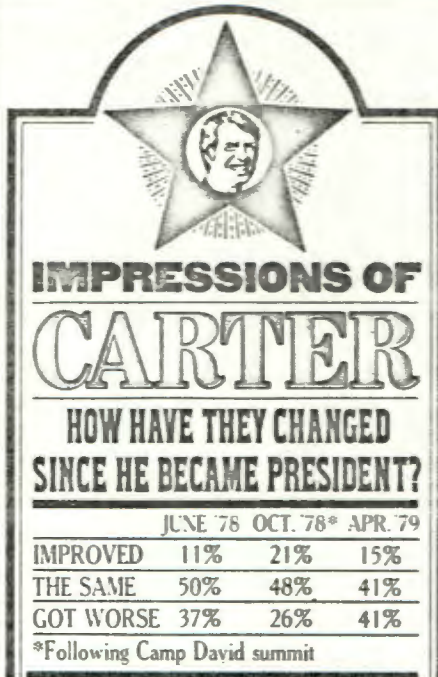
Nation

prices, the prospect of high unemployment seems no less frightening. By 38% to 29%, respondents said they would rather deal with high inflation than high joblessness. At the same time, only 6% said they felt loss of jobs was a currently urgent issue and only 2% volunteered that a recession was of immediate concern.

When asked to choose between conflicting energy policies, 53% said they would prefer gasoline rationing to an increase of 50¢ per gal. in the price of gas. Some 75% said that increasing all oil prices, as President Carter plans, would not help discourage excessive use. Nearly two-thirds felt that closing gasoline stations would do nothing to limit the consumption of gasoline.

On the question of nuclear power, Americans were predictably undecided. With the Three Mile Island nuclear plant accident still fresh in their minds, 42% said the dangers of a nuclear accident concerned them a lot. Yet when confronted with the choice of building more nuclear power plants "even in neighborhoods such as your own" or facing a serious energy shortage, more than half said they would prefer building more plants.

Beyond the choices and concerns about the national economy lies a more difficult and perhaps more damaging problem: the corrosive effects that continued inflation have on the political and psychological atmosphere. Throughout the country, people are finding that despite rising incomes their economic situation is either stagnating or worsening, leading to feelings of having been cheated. Observes Duquesne University Sociologist Wayne Youngquist: "Inflation takes all the old rules and invalidates them. It creates an unstable, speculative, spend-thrift mentality and causes the erosion of social values. As a result, the electorate is



extremely volatile. Voters have become like unguided missiles as they try to figure out how to have an effect."

According to the Yankelovich survey 53% of the people questioned agreed fully with the statement: "People who work hard and live by the rules are not getting a fair deal these days." More than a third agreed that "people like yourself are powerless to change things in the country."

Plainly, this resentment is not unguided. It is targeted directly on Jimmy Carter. Most striking is the decline in the trust the President inspires in the country, a political quality that has been the hallmark both of his candidacy and his two years in office. Less than a majority of those polled

said they think Carter is a leader they can trust. Even among Democrats, only 48% gave the President their undiminished loyalty, and 50% or more in each section of the country said they had doubts and reservations about his trustworthiness.

In the first few months of his presidency Carter impressed many people with his performance; 82% now say their impressions of Carter have either remained the same or worsened. More than one-third of those who voted for him in 1976 say their opinion of Carter has declined since his election.

The prime factor behind this decline is his handling of the economy. Forty-two percent gave his economic policies as the reason for lowering their opinions of the President. Thirty-one percent blamed his overall lack of leadership and 23% listed his management of the energy situation. Asked specifically if they had a lot of confidence in the President's handling of the economy, a mere 8% said yes, compared with 33% when he took office.

The results on the energy question were a disappointment for the President as well. Only 14% expressed a lot of confidence on that score, while 41% said they had no real confidence at all.

The post-Camp David surge in the President's popularity has not been repeated after his triumph in the Middle East. While half of the sample reported some confidence in Carter diplomacy, only 27% said they had a lot of confidence, and slightly less than a quarter said they had no confidence at all. Any hope the President has of bolstering his flagging popularity with new foreign policy triumphs, like the impending SALT II agreement, thus seems rather empty.

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TIME/APR. 30, 1979

The Trouble Is Serious

That is the state of the nation, says a majority in a TIME poll

WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE MAIN

ISSUES

FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY?

PERCENT OF PEOPLE WHO MENTIONED:	JUNE '78	OCT. '78	APR. '79
INFLATION	66%	62%	61%
ENERGY	8%	8%	39%
OIL SITUATION	*	*	18%
NUCLEAR POWER	*	*	9%
TAXES	14%	18%	7%
JOBS	14%	13%	6%
CRIME	8%	8%	4%

*Question not asked

Optimism and self-confidence are as inherently American as the right to the pursuit of happiness. Just two years ago, most people responded to a TIME poll by saying they believed that the nation's problems were no worse than usual, that inflation would probably subside or a least get no worse, and that newly elected President Carter was a man in whom they could fully place their trust. That sunny view of the nation's affairs has been giving way to a gloomy and even slightly fearful mood. Haunted by anxiety about continually rising prices, which hit a painful annual rate of 9.5% during the first quarter of this year, plus a heightened concern about energy supplies and nuclear safety, Americans have turned increasingly sour on their own prospects. Specifically, they have become more pessimistic that Carter or any other politician will be able to cure the most pressing of their problems, inflation.

These are among the findings of a survey of 1,024 people com-

pleted this month for TIME by the opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc. The poll found that a record low 23% of those questioned feel things are going well in this country, compared with 45% in June 1977. The poll also found that Carter, who rose substantially in popularity in the wake of his Camp David meetings last September with

Anwar

Sadat and Menachem Begin, has again fallen into low esteem in the country. The President has lost important ground to all his political opponents.

The main concern of Americans polled continues to be the rate of inflation and the apparent inability of the Government to cope with it. Nearly two-thirds of those questioned placed inflation at the very top of their list of worries, while more traditional fears like crime in the streets dropped sharply. The state of general gloom seemed to be deepened by the people's belated realization that the nation's energy problems are genuine. Sixty-three percent said they now worry a lot about an energy shortage, indicating that Carter has perhaps convinced the nation of the severity of this problem, if not of his competence to solve it.

Out of these apprehensions comes the belief by 64% of the sample that "the country is in deep and serious trouble," an opinion shared by only 41% one year ago.

On a more personal level, concern about paying bills has risen, as has anxiety about the inability to save for the future. Nearly half of those questioned reported having to dip into what savings they have to make ends meet. More than one-third have trimmed their gifts to charity because of higher living costs. Twenty-one percent say they have taken second jobs, and 32% of the men say their wives have gone out to work to bring in extra money.

All over the country, Americans have begun making small changes in life-styles to deal with rising prices. In Pittsburgh, for example, Newspaper Reporter Helen Kaiser abandoned her dream of having a band perform at her wedding next month.

Says she: "I've decided to tape the music in advance and play it over the speaker system." While stores in citadels of wealth like Beverly Hills report booming business, others in similar areas in Texas say that even their wealthier clients are cutting back. One Neiman-Marcus saleswoman has just transferred from the high-fashion department to a moderately priced dress section where, she says, "I see all my old customers."

The basic problem for most people is the price of food. Says Judy Carey of Little Rock, Ark.: "For one thing, I quit buying ground beef. The junk food had



STATE of the NATION

	APR. '78	OCT. '78	APR. '79
U.S. PROBLEMS ARE NO WORSE THAN USUAL	51%	44%	31%
THE U.S. IS IN DEEP AND SERIOUS TROUBLE	41%	49%	64%

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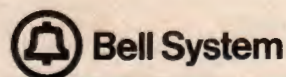
Thanks to all the people of the Bell System.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ROCKDALE ● ATLANTA ● BIRMINGHAM ● CHARLOTTE ● COLUMBIA ● GREENSBORO ● JACKSON ● JACKSONVILLE 3 ● MACON 2 ● NASHVILLE ● NEW ORLEANS ● ORLANDO 1 ● SUB SECTION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● PITTSBURGH 2 ● CHARLESTON ● CINCINNATI ● CLEVELAND 2 ● DETROIT 1 ● PITTSBURGH 1 ● SUB SECTION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● WAYNE ● BALTIMORE 2 ● CAMDEN 2

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to go. And we're using leftovers wherever we can. Yesterday we had a chef's salad for dinner. Sunday it was a casserole because we can get two meals out of it." Philadelphia Quality Control Technician Leo Valz has tired of supplying expensive snacks for his three children. Solution: do-it-yourself pizzas costing \$16 for 24 shells, a big can of tomato sauce and a big bag of cheese. Says Valz: "A nighttime snack doesn't break our backs any more. I just wish they sold make-it-yourself steaks."

Some consumer groups advocate that a one-day-a-week beef boycott be organized to resist meat increases, which amounted to 110% at an annual rate for hamburger in the past three months. But beef producers retort that this will only aggravate the long-run shortage by discouraging the building of new beef herds. One Georgia grocery-store manager reports on his customers' switching to cheaper meats: "They're not boycotting beef, they just can't afford it."

Second on most people's list of price problems comes the cost of fuel. For new car buyers, this produced a high demand for gas-saving automobiles. In New England, the use of wood to replace high-priced oil has grown so much that last week New Hampshire was forced to establish a lottery for woodcutting privileges in state-owned forests.

What could be done? The Yankelovich survey showed that the public favors a variety of rather stringent measures to curb inflation. Half of those surveyed said mandatory price controls would help check inflation, even though popular opposition is usually considered one of the main reasons why controls haven't worked well in the past. Slightly more than half of the respondents said some sort of restriction on the use of credit cards would help, as would putting a ceiling on housing prices.

A pronounced protectionist sentiment also emerged from the survey. Fifty-seven percent said adding a tax to imported goods to bring them into line with American-made products would help control prices. On the other hand, more than 60% rejected limiting the availability of mortgages as a way to control housing prices, and nearly 90% turned down a tax increase as a way of reducing total demand for goods.

To the extent that Americans perceive government spending to be a cause of inflation, they want it cut back. Despite the opposition of most political and economic leaders, they favor by a ratio of 50 to 31 the controversial idea of a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. And if it turned out that peacemaking efforts abroad required increased taxes, half the respondents would rather have that part of the budget cut. As for their personal spending, 63% said they would accept a pay freeze if they could have stable prices rather than continued inflation.

As pervasive as is the concern about

Carter vs. Reagan: Dead Heat

One of the enduring truisms of American politics has been that an incumbent President wields all but overwhelming political power. This axiom holds that almost any challenge to a President has only the barest chance of succeeding. But this pattern may be changing. In the case of Jimmy Carter, his incumbency—and the fact that he is thus blamed for every national problem—may be his biggest electoral handicap.

Matching Carter against a series of potential political opponents, the Yankelovich survey for TIME shows the President able to achieve only a tie with the leading Republican contender, Ronald Reagan. This represents a significant improvement in Reagan's standing against Carter's in the national polls.

Asked to choose between the two men as candidates for President, those questioned in the survey divided evenly. 42% for each man, with 16% undecided. In this test matching, Carter managed to better Reagan only in the Midwest, while losing the Northeast, the West and even his native South to the former California Governor.

Reagan, despite a recent lull in his own campaign efforts, is still the favorite of his party, according to the Yankelovich survey. Twenty-eight percent of Republicans said they preferred Reagan as the G.O.P. nominee, while 24% said they would make former President Gerald Ford their first choice, even though

Ford has said he will not actively seek the nomination. Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker ranked third in the preference poll with 14%, while former Democratic Texas Governor (and former Treasury Secretary) John Connally placed fourth with 10% of those questioned. One understandable handicap for some of the likely Republican contenders at this early stage is that they are far from household names. Even Baker, despite his prominent Senate position, is unknown to 51% of all voters. Far less known are Texan George Bush (65%) and Illinois' Philip Crane (70%).

Inside his own party, Carter remained a distant second choice for the nomination. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the poll showed, would defeat the incumbent President by a large margin. Kennedy led Carter among Democrats and independents by a stunning 56% to 30%. Last fall, after his successes at Camp David, Carter had reduced Kennedy's lead to ten points, but the gap has widened again. Every region of the country, again including the South, gave

Political SWEEPSTAKES

IF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WERE HELD TODAY, WHOM WOULD YOU PREFER AS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE?

	JUNE '78	APR. '79
CARTER	31%	30%
KENNEDY	54%	56%
CARTER	49%	44%
BROWN	30%	37%

IF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY, FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE?

	JUNE '78	APR. '79
CARTER	44%	42%
REAGAN	41%	42%

Kennedy an advantage, as did Democrats of all ideological stripes, including those calling themselves conservatives.

Some of Carter's top aides profess confidence that Kennedy would lose if he challenged the President. Said one high-ranking aide: "If he runs, Jimmy will beat him, and I think Kennedy knows that." Others disagree. Said one party operative worried about potential Kennedy strength in New Hampshire: "I think he'll beat Carter 2 to 1, even with a write-in campaign." Kennedy's supporters have begun organizing just such a campaign in the nation's first primary state, despite efforts by the Massachusetts Senator to stop them. Another pro-Kennedy effort has sprung up recently in Iowa without the Senator's approval.

Paired against California Governor Jerry Brown, the President also shows a slide in popularity. Carter still leads Brown 44% to 37% among Democrats and independents, but the margin has been cut in half since a year ago.


Carter's weakness is at least partly rooted in a growing desire for more authoritative presidential leadership. The survey showed that despite the ideological gulf that separates the two men, a surprising half of the backers of both Reagan and Kennedy found the other candidate acceptable as a future President.

prices, the prospect of high unemployment seems no less frightening. By 38% to 29%, respondents said they would rather deal with high inflation than high joblessness. At the same time, only 6% said they felt loss of jobs was a currently urgent issue and only 2% volunteered that a recession was of immediate concern.

When asked to choose between conflicting energy policies, 53% said they would prefer gasoline rationing to an increase of 50¢ per gal. in the price of gas. Some 75% said that increasing all oil prices, as President Carter plans, would not help discourage excessive use. Nearly two-thirds felt that closing gasoline stations would do nothing to limit the consumption of gasoline.

On the question of nuclear power, Americans were predictably undecided. With the Three Mile Island nuclear plant accident still fresh in their minds, 42% said the dangers of a nuclear accident concerned them a lot. Yet when confronted with the choice of building more nuclear power plants "even in neighborhoods such as your own" or facing a serious energy shortage, more than half said they would prefer building more plants.

Beyond the choices and concerns about the national economy lies a more difficult and perhaps more damaging problem: the corrosive effects that continued inflation have on the political and psychological atmosphere. Throughout the country, people are finding that despite rising incomes their economic situation is either stagnating or worsening, leading to feelings of having been cheated. Observes Dubuque University Sociologist Wayne Youngquist: "Inflation takes all the old rules and invalidates them. It creates an unstable, speculative, spend-thrift mentality and causes the erosion of social values. As a result, the electorate is



**IMPRESSIONS OF
CARTER**

**HOW HAVE THEY CHANGED
SINCE HE BECAME PRESIDENT?**

	JUNE '78	OCT. '78*	APR. '79
IMPROVED	11%	21%	15%
THE SAME	50%	48%	41%
GOT WORSE	37%	26%	41%

*Following Camp David summit

extremely volatile. Voters have become like unguided missiles as they try to figure out how to have an effect."

According to the Yankelovich survey 53% of the people questioned agreed fully with the statement: "People who work hard and live by the rules are not getting a fair deal these days." More than a third agreed that "people like yourself are powerless to change things in the country."

Plainly, this resentment is not unguided. It is targeted directly on Jimmy Carter. Most striking is the decline in the trust the President inspires in the country, a political quality that has been the hallmark both of his candidacy and his two years in office. Less than a majority of those polled

said they think Carter is a leader they can trust. Even among Democrats, only 48% gave the President their undiminished loyalty, and 50% or more in each section of the country said they had doubts and reservations about his trustworthiness.

In the first few months of his presidency Carter impressed many people with his performance; 82% now say their impressions of Carter have either remained the same or worsened. More than one-third of those who voted for him in 1976 say their opinion of Carter has declined since his election.

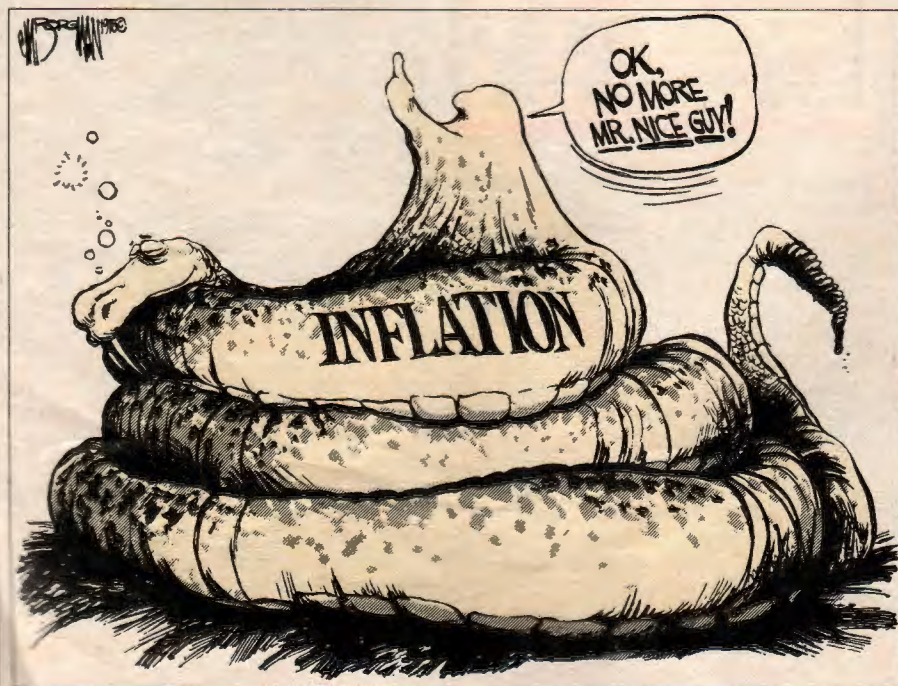
The prime factor behind this decline is his handling of the economy. Forty-two percent gave his economic policies as the reason for lowering their opinions of the President. Thirty-one percent blamed his overall lack of leadership and 23% listed his management of the energy situation. Asked specifically if they had a lot of confidence in the President's handling of the economy, a mere 8% said yes, compared with 33% when he took office.

The results on the energy question were a disappointment for the President as well. Only 14% expressed a lot of confidence on that score, while 41% said they had no real confidence at all.

The post-Camp David surge in the President's popularity has not been repeated after his triumph in the Middle East. While half of the sample reported some confidence in Carter diplomacy, only 27% said they had a lot of confidence, and slightly less than a quarter said they had no confidence at all. Any hope the President has of bolstering his flagging popularity with new foreign policy triumphs, like the impending SALT II agreement, thus seems rather empty.

The SALT treaty itself still does not command support from a majority of the country, but the trend since last June seems to be toward greater acceptance. Forty-one percent now say the treaty should be signed, compared with only 32% nearly a year ago, while the percentage of those who feel the treaty is too risky has declined in the ten months from 56% to 48%. Some 37% still feel that the Soviet Union would be the chief beneficiary of the treaty.

As the President's popularity has declined, the mood of pessimism in the country has increased, creating ominous signals both for a second Carter term and for inflation itself. Fifty-one percent now believe that with Carter in the White House inflation will get worse, as compared with less than 10% who think that he will be able to stop inflation. That kind of lack of expectations is self-fulfilling; economists say that people alter their lifestyles in anticipation of ever higher prices. This pessimistic mood extends beyond the Carter presidency. Not more than 17% feel that any other President, Republican or Democrat, will be able to stop the inflationary spiral.



BOB RANKIN—CINCINNATI ENQUIRER