FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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HOWARD PHILLIPS, Chairman
DAVID G. SANDERS, Treasurer
JACK ABRAMOFF, Executive Director

86 JAN 24 PM 2:58
RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

January 22, 1986

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Sir:

This letter constitutes a complaint filed pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 437g and 11 CFR 111.4 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, 501 Church Street, N.E., Vienna, Virginia 22180, which, for the reasons stated herein, believes that Vice President George Bush, the Republican National Committee, Fund for America's Future and Market Opinion Research have violated or are about to violate the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.

Upon information and belief, the Republican National Committee commissioned Market Opinion Research, of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988." That description of the purpose of the poll is reportedly contained in the letter of transmittal of the poll from Market Opinion Research to the Republican National Committee. See, Edsall, RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush, The Washington Post, December 14, 1985, at A3. That article further described the poll, as follows:

> "The 82-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate, to rate him against Dole, Baker and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy.
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> "The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:
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> 'It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to

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define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences and how Bush can both take advantage of public good will toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image.'" Id.

Market Opinion Research also reportedly delivered a copy of the poll to "Bush's PAC", Fund for America's Future. Id. Additional reports about the poll, its purposes and its content appear in Gailey, Bush - G.O.P. Poll Stirs Controversy, New York Times, December 5, 1985; Edsall, Bush Should Bear Cost of RNC Poll, Critics Say, The Washington Post, December 6, 1985; Evans and Novak, Bad News for Bush, The Washington Post, December 11, 1985; Broder, Bush Begins Drive to Corner Support of Conservatives, The Washington Post, December 11, 1985; and, Is 'Bush PAC' Misleading Contributors, Human Events, December 14, 1985. In the article in Human Events, it was reported that the poll, based on telephone interviews with 1,500 voters nationwide, found that Bush - in the words of Market Opinion Research - "is the clear front-runner for the Republican nomination for President at this juncture" and that "Bush has an early perceptual advantage over his 1988 opponents". Id. at 5. These reports make it clear that the poll was commissioned, designed, taken, compiled, analyzed and delivered for the purpose of determining whether Vice President George Bush should become a candidate for President in 1988. In the classic sense, this is the type of poll an individual would commission were he "testing the waters" for the purpose of determining whether he should become a candidate for Federal office.

The reports are conflicting, however, as to who, or which entity, is or will pay the estimated $75,000.00 cost of the poll. In one article, it is reported that the Republican National Committee "commissioned" and "financed" the poll. That is consistent with reports that officials of the Republican National Committee planned the poll in the spring of 1985; that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee invited Vice President Bush to suggest some questions for inclusion in the poll; and, that additional questions were developed by William Phillips, who was then an employee of the Republican National Committee. Subsequent articles reported that the Republican National Committee, the Fund for America's Future and even Market Opinion Research would share the cost of the poll. In Edsall, Bush Should Bear Cost of RNC Poll, The Washington Post, December 6, 1985, at A8, a representative of Fund for America's Future was reported to have said "Teeter's firm [Market Opinion Research] will have to pay the cost of the questions relating to 1988 because the Fund for America's Future did not request them."

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Reportedly, Mr. Teeter said he had agreed to that arrangement. In summary, it appears that the Republican National Committee has paid, or intends to pay, for the entire poll or, alternatively, that the cost is to be allocated, in some dubious fashion, between the Republican National Committee, Fund for America's Future and Market Opinion Research. It appears that, whoever pays for all or some portion of the poll, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Matching Payment Account Act will be violated.

The Republican National Committee, as a national party committee, may contribute no more than $5,000.00 to a multicandidate committee in any calendar year and no more than $5,000.00 to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. 44la. Fund for America's Future, as a multicandidate committee, may contribute no more than $5,000.00 to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. 44la. Market Opinion Research, as a corporation, may make no contribution to a Federal candidate or political committee and must charge a Federal candidate or political committee its usual and normal charge for its services. 2 U.S.C. 44lb and 11 CFR 100.7(a)(1)(iii)(B). In the event Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for nomination for election for President and qualifies for funding under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act, Mr. Bush may not expend more than $50,000.00 from his personal funds in connection with his campaign. 26 U.S.C. 9035.

Sections 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1) of Title 11 of the Code of Federal Regulations provide that the terms "contribution" and "expenditure" do not include funds received and payments made solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate. Activities described as being permissible under those exemptions include conducting a poll. The cited sections of the Regulations go on to provide that the individual [Mr. Bush, in this case] must keep records of all such funds received and payments made; and, if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate, the funds received and the payments made are contributions and expenditures subject to the limitations, prohibitions and requirements of the Act and must be reported with the first report filed by the principal campaign committee of the candidate.

With reference to the foregoing limitations and regulatory requirements, it will be recalled that a full copy of the poll was reportedly delivered to Fund for America's Future by

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Market Opinion Research. In fact, Mr. Teeter is reported as saying that "a very different version of the poll will be provided to the RNC." Edsall, RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush, The Washington Post, December 14, 1985, at A3. Accordingly, if the Republican National Committee pays more than $5,000.00 of the cost of the poll delivered to Fund for America's Future, the Republican National Committee will violate 2 U.S.C. 44la. Further, by reason of 11 CFR 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1), if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President, any payment to Market Opinion Research by the Republican National Committee, or by Fund for America's Future, in excess of $5,000.00 will violate 2 U.S.C. 44la. Vice President Bush, as the benefactor of the poll, may pay Market Opinion Research for the cost of the poll, but, if he becomes a candidate subject to the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act, the limit on the amount he may expend for that purpose from his personal funds is $50,000.00. 26 U.S.C. 9035. In summary, and upon the assumption there have been no other transactions, the Republican National Committee may pay $5,000.00, Fund for America's Future may pay $5,000.00 and Vice President Bush may pay $50,000.00, a total of $60,000.00 against a bill for $75,000.00.

In an apparent effort to avoid the foregoing result and the concomitant need for Vice President Bush to authorize the premature establishment of a campaign committee to pay the balance of or all the bill, there is some nonsensical talk about allocating the cost of the poll between the Republican National Committee and Fund for America's Future, based upon the number of questions in the poll requested by the entity to be charged, and some ludicrous talk about Market Opinion Research absorbing a portion of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Because a full copy of the poll was delivered to and accepted by Fund for America's Future and because the entire poll relates to the potential candidacy for President of George Bush, no such allocation is possible. The poll was designed in consultation with the Vice President, his advisors and consultants. It is the content of the poll and the identity of he who benefits from the poll which counts; not who was working for whom at the time the questions were designed or when the orders were given to the polling company. Further, the suggestion that Market Opinion Research inserted some questions on its own and, thus, should bear the cost of those questions, is ridiculous. The format for a poll and each individual question are carefully written, reviewed and analyzed before the poll is taken. Even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically "requested", it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions

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included in every poll. Without the answers to those questions, the poll results would be meaningless and, as such, are included in every poll and the cost of a poll always includes the cost associated with those quesions. In any event, notwithstanding who requested or did not request specific questions, it appears that the entire poll was made available to and was accepted by Fund for America's Future for the ultimate benefit of George Bush.

For the reasons stated, the Federal Election Commission should undertake an exhaustive examination of the facts which gave rise to the development of the poll and of the poll itself; it should determine the true purpose of the poll and the identity of the person benefited; and, it should see to it that the full cost of the poll is paid in a manner that is in compliance with the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and of the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.

Very truly yours,

THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

By: Howard Phillips
Howard Phillips, Chairman

By: David G. Sanders
David G. Sanders, Treasurer

STATE OF VIRGINIA)
COUNTY OF Fairfax) ss:

Sworn to before me by HOWARD PHILLIPS under penalty of prejury and subject to the provisions of section 1001 of Title 18, United States Code, this 20th day of January, 1986.

Janet E. Bowman
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: My Commission Expires Dec. 18, 1987

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STATE OF VIRGINIA)
COUNTY OF Fairfax) to-wit:

Sworn to before me by DAVID G. SANDERS under penalty of perjury and subject to the provisions of section 1001 of Title 18, United States Code, this 20th day of January, 1986.

Janet E. Bowman
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: My Commission Expires Dec. 18, 1987

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RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush

Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican National Committee has commissioned a major poll "to assess personal and job-related perceptions of" Vice President Bush, provoking angry protests from his probable competitors for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) charged yesterday that the poll, which cost an estimated $40,000 to $60,000, violates GOP rules that the RNC be completely neutral.

"I didn't know that the RNC had become a Bush headquarters," Dole said.

Former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., a prospective candidate, said, "I'm surprised and, if this is true, someone ought to be fired."

"This is a slam-dunk of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being financed by the RNC with three purposes, including an examination "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for president in 1988."

William Greener, the committee's political director, said this description is inaccurate and that the RNC and Bush entered into a complex arrangement under which the committee will pay only for those portions of the poll that relate to general issues and job performance.

The remaining part of the poll, which specifically tests Bush's political strength compared with that of his probable competitors, will be paid for by Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, according to Greener and to Robert Teeter, who conducted the poll.

Teeter, who runs Market Opinion Research, supports Bush.

After an afternoon of private meetings to discuss how the poll was developed, Teeter, Greener and other Bush backers provided the following description of its origins.

Initially, they said, Teeter contracted with the RNC for a poll testing voters' views of many public figures, including leading candidates for the 1988 presidential nomination.

Then Bush and RNC Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. discussed the poll and Bush asked that questioning on terrorism and international trade be added. The cost of these questions would be paid by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, in a process called "piggy-backing."

In the time since that arrangement, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

Teeter said that the copy of the poll obtained by The Washington Post inaccurately is described as a poll commissioned by the RNC. He said that the description was a clerical error and that the copy was, in fact, the version that was provided to Bush's PAC.

The 82-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate, to rate him against Dole, Baker and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy.

The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:

"It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences and how Bush can both take advantage of public good will toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image."

Teeter said yesterday that a very different version of the poll will be provided to the RNC. The cost, he said, will be about $75,000, but he added that he could not estimate how the RNC and Bush's PAC will share this expense.

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"All the [illegible] That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CXXXV.... No. 46,614 NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1985 30 CEN

BUSH-G.O.P. POLL STIRS CONTROVERSY

Other Prospective Candidates React Sharply to Queries About Vice President

By PHIL GAILEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4 — The first brushfire among likely Republican Presidential candidates erupted today, provoked by a joint polling project of Vice President Bush and the national party on a public opinion poll.

Officials of the Republican National Committee and of Mr. Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, strove to temper down a flurry of criticism after it was disclosed that they had jointly financed a poll to measure, among other things, voter support for a Bush Presidential candidacy in 1988.

Both party officials and Bush operatives said it was all a misunderstanding. But some of the Vice President's prospective opponents for the 1988 Republican Presidential nomination reacted sharply to party officials allowing Mr. Bush's political advisers to use the survey to "piggyback" questions designed to help them develop campaign strategy.

Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate majority leader, asked if the committee had become "Bush headquarters."

Chairman Offers Explanations

Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., the Republican national chairman, called Senator Dole, Representative Jack F. Kemp of upstate New York and other potential Presidential contenders to try to explain how the poll came about after a news article on the poll was published today in The Washington Post.

John Buckley, a spokesman for Mr. Kemp, said most of the questions in the poll were of more use to Mr. Bush than to the Republican Party, and added, "If this is piggybacking, it's a case of a dump truck piggybacking on a bicycle."

The poll was conducted by Robert Teeter, who runs Marketing Opinion Research in Detroit. Mr. Teeter, who is working for Mr. Bush, said the misunderstanding stemmed from what he called an "inaccurate" foreword written by a clerical employee saying that the poll had been commissioned and financed by the Republican National Committee.

One of the purposes of the poll, the foreword said, was "to investigate voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988."

Costs to Be Shared

The cost of the survey, about $75,000, will be divided by the party and the Bush fund, with each paying for only the questions they requested, Mr. Teeter said. Neither the party nor the Bush fund, he added, will be billed for the questions related to Mr. Bush's Presidential campaign strategy.

"I deserve and am going to take the blame for it," Mr. Teeter said, referring to the way the project was handled. He insisted that "piggybacking" was not an uncommon polling practice.

James Cicconi, who heads the Republican Majority Fund for former Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, another potential Presidential contender, said it would be "a slam-dunk violation" of Federal election laws for Mr. Bush's committee to pay more than $5,000 for the cost of the poll. That is the limit a political action committee can contribute to any candidate.

"I've seen this poll and it's Bush, Bush, Bush all the way," he added.

Questions on Job Performance

A Bush adviser said the Fund for America's Future, which was set up to aid Republican candidates in 1988 and by law cannot involve itself directly in Presidential politics, had requested only questions related to Mr. Bush's job performance and issues that "could help him in campaigning for other Republicans" next year.

"We never wanted the 88 questions and never asked for them," said the adviser, who asked not to be identified. "Teeter did that on his own."

William Greener, political director of the Republican National Committee, said the controversy over the poll was "much to do about not very much." He said the party commissioned Mr. Teeter to conduct a survey on voter attitudes toward issues, and added that the committee would pay for only those questions.

Mr. Greener said Lee Atwater, a Republican political consultant working for Mr. Bush, requested that political questions of interest to the Vice President be piggybacked to, or connected with, the survey.

'Some Questions of His Own'

Mr. Atwater said the poll was discussed last spring at a luncheon meeting between Mr. Bush and Mr. Fahrenkopf. "Fahrenkopf said they were going to do a poll on some issues and told the Vice President that since they were going to use Teeter, he might want to ping in with some questions of his own," Mr. Atwater said.

Mr. Greener said that if other potential Presidential candidates wanted to add questions in future Republican polls, "we'll certainly try to work something out."

So what did Mr. Bush's people learn from the poll results? Among its findings was that "Bush's major pluses at this time are public perceptions of experience, competence, his connection to President Reagan and his ability to handle foreign policy issues."

His major weakness, the poll added, was that "a number of voters see him as weak or as a 'yes' man."

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Bush Should Bear Cost Of RNC Poll, Critics Say

Aides to '88 Contenders Continue Criticism

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

Aides to Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.) yesterday said that Vice President Bush should either personally pay for a controversial $75,000 poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee or set up a special presidential exploratory committee to finance it.

"George Bush is going to have to write a personal check," said David Keene, an adviser to Dole's unofficial 1988 presidential campaign. Keene's assessment was supported by James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund, except that Cannon suggested Bush could set up an exploratory committee to avoid personal liability.

Bush supporters countered that the poll, which included questions evaluating Bush's chances in the 1988 presidential contest, can be paid for under a complex arrangement by three sources: the Republican National Committee; Bush's political action committee (PAC), the Fund for America's Future; and by Market Opinion Research, which conducted the survey.

"Obviously, his political opponents think George Bush is so far ahead that they are clutching at technical straws," Bush adviser Lee Atwater said. "I thought it was too early for desperation tactics, but I guess I was wrong. The fact of the matter is we are not going to do anything illegal, unethical or immoral."

On Tuesday, the RNC and Bush aides defended the survey, arguing that the RNC had commissioned a poll of perceptions of a wide range of public officials and that Bush's Fund for America's Future was given permission to "piggyback" on the poll a series of Bush-related questions to be paid for by the Bush PAC.

John Buckley, press secretary to Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), another potential presidential candidate, contended that the arrangement is "a little like a dump truck riding piggyback on a bicycle," noting that 65 of 71 pages of a copy of the poll he received dealt with Bush.

Yesterday, Bush officials added an element to their description of how the poll was designed, contending that Robert Teeter, head of Market Opinion Research, unilaterally added questions about the 1988 presidential contest without getting the approval of the Bush PAC.

Jan W. Baran, the Bush PAC's lawyer, said Teeter's firm will have to pay the cost of the questions relating to 1988 because the Fund for America's Future did not request them. Teeter said he had agreed to this arrangement.

Keene and Cannon, however, contended that for Teeter's firm to absorb the cost would violate federal election law because it would amount to an illegal corporate contribution to a presidential campaign.

Bush's Fund for America's Future cannot pay for the poll, they argued, because the poll dealt directly with Bush as a presidential candidate. The PAC is restricted by law to spending money to help other congressional candidates and is prohibited from financing a presidential bid.

In addition, Bush has not announced for president and does not have a presidential committee to pay for the poll. Cannon and Keene argued that only Bush can pay for the poll.

"I admire their imagination," Baran, the Bush PAC lawyer, said. "It's too bad they don't have all the facts."

'Procurement Czar' Loses Mandate

Deputy Defense Secretary Taft Transfers Functions to Himself

By Michael Weinkopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Five months after the Defense Department created and filled a new post of "procurement czar" to

Fred S. Hoffman said the move was a "management decision" unrelated to Wade's report. He said that Taft, as deputy secretary, in practice has always overseen major procurement programs.

achieving the desired effect of good quality."

A copy of the 42-page report was released yesterday by the Project on Military Procurement, a private group that describes itself as a Pentagon watchdog.

many officials and by "no close, continuous association" among the researchers, developers, manufacturers and the military services that deploy the weapons.

The process is further hindered by service secretaries who bicker over limited resources, program managers who strive to meet deadlines and financial limits rather than qualitative standards, and by the lack of talented acquisition managers, he said.

Wade recommended, among sev-

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The Washington Post

Sections

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1983

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Bad News for Bush

While growing politically embarrassing to George Bush, the secret poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee warns his political operatives that there is less to his massive lead in the polls for the 1988 presidential nomination than meets the eye.

The survey, couched in the soothing language high-priced pollsters use with their political clients, suggests that the very "leadership" qualities upon which President Reagan's popularity is based are a problem for his vice president. "Bush's relatively low score on leadership, combined with the sentiments among some that he is weak," warns pollster and Bush strategist Robert Teeter, "shows that Bush needs to find opportunities to demonstrate leadership and to develop an image less dependent on his connection to Reagan."

That sums up Bush's dilemma. The poll confirms conventional political wisdom that his strength derives from association with Reagan. Consequently, how can Bush move out from under that shadow to develop his own image?

All this was underlined in the political furor triggered when somebody dropped a copy of the 71-page survey outside the Watergate apartment of Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, a presidential rival of Bush. While described as a mere "piggyback" to a much larger poll produced for (but not yet delivered to) the RNC, Bush insiders concede privately the vice president never would have been billed for it had not the whistle-blower whistled to Dole.

The incident reveals a cozy relationship between Republican national headquarters and the vice president's political operation, particularly consultant Lee Atwater. "I think many of us wonder what else is going on," Dole suggestively purred on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Republican National Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf denies all insinuations. "This joint is going to be candidate neutral," he told us, adding that any deviant will be fired. But the impression in political circles that Fahrenkopf's "joint" is a George Bush fortress underlines his status as the administration's semi-official 1988 candidate. That status is the source of both his strength and his vulnerabilities.

According to the Teeter poll, he emerges as the "clear front-runner" (with 58 percent of Republican voters, compared with 12 percent for runner-up Howard Baker) and is portrayed by Teeter as having "a visible presence and fairly well-defined public image."

While Bush operatives claim this buttresses their view that the nomination is nearly locked, the survey goes on to suggest otherwise. The vice president leads so strongly because "he is presently a more familiar figure," an advantage that "will disappear as the other candidates begin campaigning in earnest."

While only 3 percent of the voters are not aware of Bush (compared with 51 percent for Rep. Jack Kemp), "people identify him mainly as Reagan's vice president." Thus, "his connection to the president" is viewed by the survey as not only a "major plus" but a "major weakness" in that "a number of voters see him as weak or a 'yes' man." Indeed, propinquity to the president is "a hindrance to Bush in developing his own political indentity."

Two issues suggested by the survey for Bush to pursue on his own are terrorism and foreign trade—the very issues the vice president last summer proposed over lunch that Fahrenkopf explore in the Teeter poll commissioned by the RNC. The survey suggests that Bush's chairmanship of the administration's international terrorism task force "should be a plus for him" and calls foreign trade "an issue that Bush can develop without concern about alienating the [protectionist] Reagan constituency" if he does "not appear too 'free-trade-ish.'"

Although behind on "leadership," Bush rates high in "trust." But that goes straight to the issue of whether his political team was playing dirty pool in having the RNC finance the Teeter poll. While the vice president needs to maintain the assets and diminish the liabilities of the Reagan connection, he cannot risk the public's trust in him through sharp political practice.

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The Washington Post

Bush Begins Drive to Corner Support of Conservatives

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Bush has made a strategic decision to move early and aggressively for the support of New Right conservative groups, his aides said yesterday, rather than allow Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) or any other potential challenger for the 1988 nomination to monopolize that wing of the GOP as a political base.

The strategy—which those aides concede has risks of alienating some of Bush's past moderate supporters or being depicted as political opportunism—will get its first crucial test tonight, when Bush is scheduled to be the featured speaker at a Washington testimonial banquet for the late William Loeb, the staunchly conservative publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader.

Loeb was scathing in his descriptions of Bush's challenge to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 New Hampshire primary. Some of Bush's longtime allies in Congress have told reporters they cannot understand the vice president's acceptance of the invitation, and Bush aides said they are well aware that he faces a round of media stories comparing his expected praise of Loeb with Loeb's 1980 editorials questioning Bush's honesty, conservatism and political acumen. Among other things, the Loeb editorials called Bush "a spoiled little rich kid" and a

See BUSH, A24, Col. 1

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH
... billed as a conservative leader

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Bush Is Making an Early Attempt To Gain Support of Conservatives

BUSH, From A1

man "unfit to be the Republican nominee for president."

But Marlin Fitzwater, Bush's press secretary, said the Loeb testimonial is merely the first of a series of scheduled speeches at New Right organizations, including the American Conservative Union's convention in Washington in January, the National Rifle Association's convention in New Orleans in April and a national Right to Life conference in Denver in June.

"The vice president is a conservative," Fitzwater said. "His voting record in Congress was conservative. His support of the president is both personal and philosophical and we think it appropriate to let everyone know that."

Lee Atwater, a senior consultant to Bush's unannounced presidential campaign, said, "George Bush has been the No. 2 leader of the conservative administration and the conservative movement for the last five years. It is not only appropriate but desirable for him to go speak to fellow Reaganites and fellow-conservatives."

Bush's decision to accept the Loeb dinner keynote role and the other New Right organization invitations was prompted, at least in part, by fears that Kemp was mobilizing those organizations for a possible challenge to Bush in 1988.

In the last three months, the representative from New York has spoken to antiabortion groups in Iowa, Michigan and Texas, to the Religious Roundtable, the American Coalition for Traditional Values and Concerned Women for America.

John Buckley, Kemp's spokesman, said that Kemp has been leading the legislative and political efforts for right-to-life and other New Right issues far longer than Bush. "Bush certainly has his work cut out for him in persuading people in a variety of New Right organizations he is one of them," Buckley said, "but it would make absolute sense for him to do so now, because of the predominance of activist conservatives in the early primary and caucus states."

A Bush strategist, who requested anonymity, said "it would be absolutely ridiculous for Bush to let anybody else muscle in on the ground of who is the natural conservative successor to Reagan. For him to let a year or two go by and let Kemp or somebody else take over that ground would be criminal."

Bush strategists assert that Bush is seen by most conservatives and Republicans as being thoroughly in tune with Reagan's conservatism. In one recent poll by Bush consultant Robert Teeter, an absolute majority of those who said they voted in Republican primari said Bush would handle women's minorities, the deficit, econo policy, Soviet relations and taxes "pretty much as Ronald Reagan has."

A 44 percent plurality said t same thing about abortion poli with 18 percent saying Bush would handle the issue "better" than Reagan and an identical 18 percent "not as well" as Reagan, from their point of view.

On the other hand, the same poll indicated some of Bush's image as a moderate challenger to R policies in the 1980 prim persists. Of those polled, 3 cent identified Reagan with some degree of conservatism, 26 percent called him moderate and 10 thought him liberal. For B 39 percent of the same voters chose a conservative label, 36 percent moderate and 19 percent liberal.

Human Events
THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY
VOL. XLV No. 50 DECEMBER 14, 1985 75 ¢

Controversy Over Teeter Poll

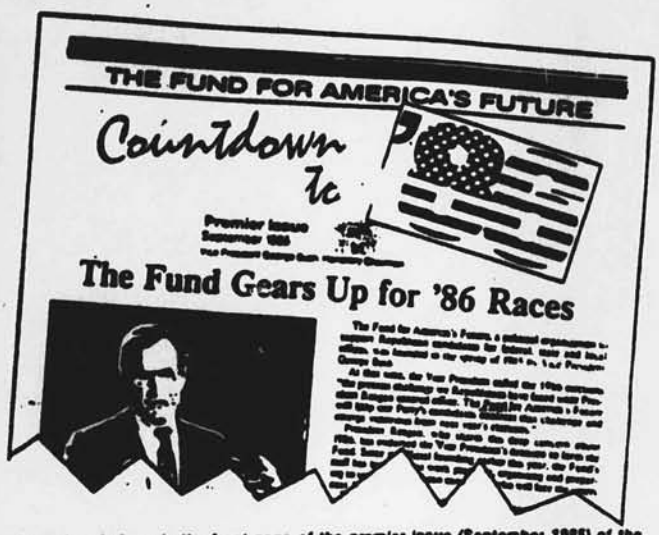
Is 'BushPAC' Misleading Contributors?

Vice President George Bush, as well as the Republican National Committee, has some explaining to do. Back in the spring, Bush set up a special Political Action Committee called The Fund for America's Future. The purpose of the Fund, so said the literature, was "to support Republican candidates for federal, state and local offices...."

Bush himself says that he "founded" his Fund to "provide opportunities for concerned Republicans to make a special contribution to the success of our national campaign in 1986." As Vice President, he says in a brochure, "I will be campaigning on behalf of our Republican candidates," and that "Republican leaders and activists at every level must work to assist Republican candidates in each state if our party is to make gains in the House of Representatives, governorships, state legislatures, and most important, preserve our Republican majority in the United States Senate."

Although the Fund is viewed by some as a way to enhance Bush's 1988 presidential election chances, there is no hint in the literature that this is anything but a committee to channel aid to Republican candidates, especially for 1986. The presidential contest, still three years away, is not alluded to. Many of those recruited to join the Fund's steering committee and/or contribute to the Fund say they came aboard only after they were assured it was not going to act as a Bush-for-President committee.

"George himself made it perfectly clear that this [support of Bush's PAC] doesn't mean a thing as far as 1988 is concerned," said former Indiana GOP National Committeeman L. Keith Bulen, a member of the Fund's steering committee. "Anyone who tells you otherwise is doing George a disservice."


THE FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

Countdown to

Premier Issue

The Fund Gears Up for '86 Races

Reproduced above is the front page of the premier issue (September 1985) of the Fund for America's Future "Countdown to '86" newsletter.

Ron Kaufman, the Fund's political director, told us in October: "We want to keep the good thing from 1984 going into the 1986 election. Our goal is to elect more Republicans to office in 1986 — nothing more — and we'll worry about the future in the future."

But the future seems to be now, as Coach George Allen might have put it. The Fund for America's Future, it was discovered last week, had agreed to pay for an undisclosed portion of a $75,000 poll, the bulk of it clearly designed to aid Bush to capture the 1988 Republican nomination.

The survey, whose cost will be shared by the Republican National Committee, was conducted by Market Opinion Research, the polling firm controlled by Robert Teeter, a well-known Bush supporter.

The poll itself came about in curious fashion. The Republican National Committee, say RNC officials, commissioned Teeter for a poll testing voter attitudes. Bush and his people then asked the RNC to include specific questions on issues, including terrorism. The cost of this part of the survey, RNC officials insist (although there's controversy here too), was to be picked up by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, supposedly agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, a process known in the polling business as "piggybacking."

The poll has raised both ethical and legal questions for the Fund for America's Future and the RNC. Many Republicans who have contributed to Bush's political action committee, in fact, now feel cheated, since they were repeatedly assured that the Fund was to be used to help Republican candidates in 1986.

A major financial contributor to the

(Continued on page 8)

BUSH

Bush Poll Findings See page 5

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THIS WEEK'S NEWS FROM
Inside Washington

'BushPAC' / From page 1

Vice President's PAC, who wanted to remain anonymous, told us:

"I think that [the use of PAC funds for the poll] is unethical and fraudulent, as far as its contributors are concerned. Many of us gave the money on the grounds that it would be used exclusively for 1986 Senate and House candidates and other Republican office-seekers, not for the '88 presidential campaign. Clearly, we have learned that we gave that money under false pretenses, and, speaking for myself, I've given my last dime to BushPAC."

Stressed a longtime Reagan supporter from the Midwest on the Fund's steering committee: "I lent them my name, but have not contributed money. To an extent, you know that they created the PAC for '88 and would use its funds toward the presidential race in some form. I really can't say I'm surprised that [the poll] happened. However, if I were a major contributor, I would feel that my funds were being misused, since many who gave did so with the absolute assurance that the PAC's primary work was in the 1986 campaigns, with '88 to be dealt with only after the former was over."

But the poll may be a violation of the law as well. Various experts on campaign regulations stress it is a major violation of the federal election laws for a multicandidate political action committee—precisely what the Bush Fund is—to contribute more than $5,000 to any political candidate. The Bush Fund was expected to pay far more than this sum for its share of the survey.

Yet no one who studies the poll can come away with any other impression than that virtually the entire survey is dedicated to making George Bush President of the United States.

Jim Cannon, who is trying to make Howard Baker President, has been quoted as saying the poll is a "slam dunk" violation of the federal election laws. "I've seen this poll," he said, "and it's Bush, Bush, Bush all the way."

Well, it's not often that we agree with Howard Baker's people, but that's just how the survey reads. From the attitudinal surveys to the direct advice to Bush, the Teeter poll is crafted to serve the Vice President's 1988 political ambitions. The poll shows how Americans view his role as Vice President, how they see him as a leader, how they rate him against various potential presidential opponents and how he can take advantage of issues.

The fact that Bush is head of a task force on international terrorism, the survey notes at one point, "could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue. . . . This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience."

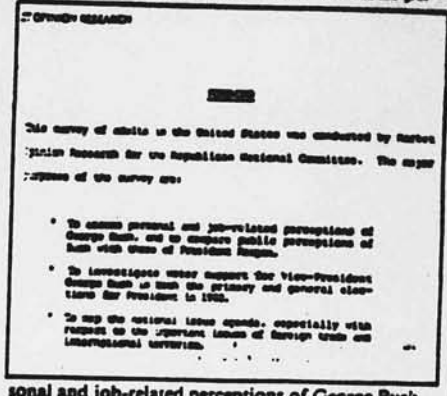
On the face of things, Bush's PAC — The Fund for America's Future — would seem to have transgressed both the ethical and legal boundaries for multicandidate PACs, and Fund officials are already suggesting they never asked Teeter for the survey questions dealing with 1988. Ron Kaufman, the Fund's political director, actually told us: "We did not in any way, shape or form ask for or authorize anyone to do anything on '88 for us."

That, to say the least, is difficult to swallow, but then it is difficult to fully swallow much of what anyone connected with the poll is saying.

The precise role of the Republican National Committee in this whole episode is still unclear. Last week, the survey was leaked around town, and, as things turned out, the "Foreword" strongly suggested that the RNC had actually commissioned and paid for the entire pro-Bush poll.

The "Foreword" to the survey (see photo) said the poll "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee." Nowhere in the "Foreword" — or, in fact, in the over 100-page document — was Bush's Fund for America's Future ever mentioned.

The major purposes of the survey, the "Foreword" went on, were three: "To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan. To investigate voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988. To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism."



Bush's rivals, who got wind of the poll, were livid. Kansas Sen. Robert Dole acidly remarked that he "didn't know that the RNC had become Bush headquarters."

When newsmen began to inquire whether the RNC had commissioned a $75,000 poll solely on behalf of George Bush for the 1988 elections—thus violating its supposed neutrality and the election laws to boot—RNC officials, after conferring with Bush backers, Teeter and others, insisted that the report that was leaked had been prepared for the Bush PAC only.

The "Foreword," they insisted, contained a "clerical" error in failing to mention that the Fund for America's Future had clearly agreed to share the cost of the poll, i.e., pay for the questions it had asked for. It was said that an entirely different report—supposedly to be delivered this week—was being put together for the RNC.

Nevertheless, skepticism exuded from many quarters, and none of the explanations, official or otherwise, get Bush's PAC off the hook. Any way you look at it, The Fund for America's Future has misled its contributors into thinking that the money raised was going to aid Republican candidates in 1986 and has almost certainly violated the federal election laws. Why doesn't one of those public issue' firms test the issues involved?

3804071402 8

Human Events
THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY

But Plenty of Soft Spots

Poll Shows Bush Ahead for '88

Spokesmen for Vice President George Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, were trying last week to downplay the significance of a poll jointly financed by the Bush PAC and the Republican National Committee (see cover story), saying it was meant to answer a few questions about Bush that "could help him in campaigning for other Republicans" in next year's congressional elections.

But it is clear from the poll itself, a copy of which has been obtained by HUMAN EVENTS, that the purpose had little to do with 1986. The real purpose was to help Bush and his political handlers devise a successful strategy for the 1988 presidential primary and general election campaigns.

Much of the poll, which was conducted by Market Opinion Research of Detroit, headed by Robert Teeter, was designed to determine how Bush stacks up against potential Republican and Democratic presidential rivals. Also measured

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were public perceptions of Bush's political strengths and weaknesses. The accompanying analysis suggested ways for the Vice President to capitalize on his strengths while overcoming potential weaknesses.

The survey, based on telephone interviews with 1,500 voters nationwide, found that Bush "is the clear front-runner for the Republican nomination for President at this juncture." Thus Bush receives 58% of the first choice vote and 76% of the combined first and second-choice vote.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole is currently second with 30% of the combined vote, followed by former Senate GOP Leader Howard Baker (27%), former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick (21%) and Rep. Jack Kemp (18%).

Summarizing the poll findings, however, the MOR analysis noted that "Bush has an early perceptual advantage over his 1988 opponents because he is presently a more familiar public figure, but that advantage will disappear as the other candidates begin campaigning in earnest."

The survey revealed that only "3% of the country's Republicans have never heard of Bush, but 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and fully 48% have never heard of Kemp."

The poll also found that "On a zero to one hundred degree 'thermometer' scale of personal favorability, Bush draws a rating of 59°, fifth out of a list of 21 political figures." Outscoring Bush in the thermometer ratings were Ronald Reagan (68°), Lee Iacocca (64°), Jeane Kirkpatrick (62°) and Howard Baker (60°).

Among other potential presidential candidates, Robert Dole draws a thermometer rating of 58.4, just behind Bush, while Jack Kemp scores 57.4. Other thermometer scores are Mario Cuomo (56.4), Gary Hart (55.4) and Ted Kennedy (54.0).

Bush is much more widely known than any of his potential rivals except Kennedy, however. Hence the thermometer ratings may tend to exaggerate Bush's advantage vis-a-vis other potential rivals in both parties.

The poll indicated in other ways that much of Bush's current support could prove to be "soft." The survey determined, for instance, that Bush's current popularity is in large part a reflection of his personal association with President Reagan. Also contributing to Bush's current strength is public appreciation of his past government experience as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, envoy to Communist China, and so forth.

Yet the survey found that GOP primary voters are likely to care much more about issues than a candidate's resume characteristics.

When asked whether they would prefer a candidate who (*1*) "has the best personal qualifications for the job," (*2*) "considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's No. 1 priority," (*3*) "is a fighter for making major changes in government," or (*4*) "would step up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world," 40% chose cutting spending and strengthening the U.S. position as most important while 28% chose cutting the deficit. By contrast, only 19% cited qualifications as most important and 11% named "changes in government" as their top priority.

These "results," notes the MOR analysis, "clearly demonstrate the great appeal of an issue theme and the need for Bush to be associated with one." Also, the analysis commented, the results show that the issues most closely identified with

Ronald Reagan — cutting spending and increasing U.S. strength — "still exhibit significant appeal."

But while issues are likely to be the most important factor in the 1988 GOP nomination battle, the survey revealed that Bush, though far better known than his potential rivals, has not successfully associated himself with these key Republican issues. This is also true of Bush's potential rivals, but this could be expected to change as they begin to get more public attention.

"One clear lesson," said the MOR analysis, "is that Bush is not going to cross the goal line with the theme [qualifications] most commonly associated with him. His resume characteristics are an important asset for him, but, alone, they will not get him elected."

Bush's "major weakness at the present time," says the MOR analysis, "is just that — a number of voters see him as weak or a 'yes' man." The analysis notes that, while "11% of the voters volunteer adjectives attributing strength to Bush, more voters (17%) volunteer adjectives attributing weakness to Bush, e.g., 'weak,' 'not aggressive enough,' 'does not take a stand,' 'not consistent,' 'wishy-washy,' 'too easily swayed,' etc."

To overcome this notion of weakness, the analysis says, "Bush needs to find opportunities to demonstrate leadership and to develop an image

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less dependent upon his connection to Reagan." Citing a poll finding that "[f]ully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists," together with the finding that "60% of the public can be called pro-military action," the analysis suggests that Bush could choose terrorism as an issue on which he can demonstrate "strength."

"The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue," the analysis says. "Pro-Bush voters are more pro-military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him.

"This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience."

Among other interesting aspects of the MOR poll:

• In trial heats against three potential 1988 Democratic opponents—Ted Kennedy, Gary Hart and Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca — Bush is shown winning by similar margins. He leads Kennedy 51% to 45%, Hart by 50% to 45%, and Iacocca by 49% to 43%.

But though the overall margins are similar in all three races, each reveals "a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart."

Bush "falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca, again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power." On the other hand, "Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy."

• In the part of the survey designed to test Republican attitudes toward four possible campaign themes, the MOR pollsters included a question concerning a candidate who "Is a fighter for making major changes in government." This theme, which the analysis stated was included as representative of a theme that "might become uniquely associated" with Jack Kemp by 1988, was picked as most important by only 11% of GOP primary voters.

This should hardly have been surprising, however, since the question is so general as to be virtually meaningless. While Kemp is known among many Republicans as the architect of the 1981 Reagan tax cuts, the poll included not one question designed to test the importance of the tax level as a political issue.

• While the Reagan Administration has come under heavy fire from the liberal media for its opposition to racial quotas, the MOR survey indicates that public opinion is to the *right* of the Administration on this issue. Presented with the statement, "Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them," only 11% said they "strongly agree" and 15% said they "somewhat agree," while 25% said they "somewhat disagree" and 45% said they "strongly disagree."

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 31, 1986

Howard Phillips, Chairman
David G. Sanders, Treasurer
The Conservative Caucus
Political Action Committee
501 Church St., N.E.
Vienna, VA 22180

Dear Messrs. Phillips and Sanders:

This letter will acknowledge receipt of a complaint filed by you which we received on January 24, 1986, which alleges a possible violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, the ("Act"), by The Vice President, United States Senate, the Republican National Committee, The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Committee, and Robert Teeter, President, Market Opinion Research. A staff member has been assigned to analyze your allegations. The respondent will be notified as soon as the Commission takes action on your submission.

You will be notified as soon as the Commission takes final action on your complaint. Should you receive any additional information in this matter, please forward it to this Office. We suggest that this information be sworn to in the same manner as your original complaint. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints. We have numbered this matter under review MUR 2133. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence. If you have any questions, please contact Lorraine F. Ramos at (202) 376-3110.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

8804071403 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 31, 1986

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington D.C.

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Vice President:

This letter is to notify you that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 2133. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a) (4) (B) and § 437g(a) (12) (A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

8804071403 3

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202)376-8200. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures
Complaint
Procedures
Designation of Counsel Statement

8304071400 34

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 31, 1986

William J. McManus, Treasurer
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. McManus:

This letter is to notify you that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Republican National Committee and you, as treasurer, may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 2133. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against the Republican National Committee and you in this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a) (4) (B) and § 437g(a) (12) (A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

8304071403 5

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202)376-8200. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures
Complaint
Procedures
Designation of Counsel Statement

8304071400 36

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 31, 1986

Roy G. Hale, Treasurer
The Fund for America's Future, Inc.
1220 18th Street, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Hale:

This letter is to notify you that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Committee and you, as treasurer, may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 2133. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against your company in this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a) (4) (B) and § 437g(a) (12) (A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

8804071403 7

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202)376-8200. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures
Complaint
Procedures
Designation of Counsel Statement

3804071403 8

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 31, 1986

Robert Teeter, President
Market Opinion Research Co.
550 Washington Blvd.
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Teeter:

This letter is to notify you that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that your company has violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 2133. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against your company in this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a) (4) (B) and § 437g(a) (12) (A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

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If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202)376-8200. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures
Complaint
Procedures
Designation of Counsel Statement

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CCCH9071
86 FEB 7 A8:37

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2133

NAME OF COUNSEL: E. Mark Braden, Esq.

ADDRESS: Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

TELEPHONE: 202/863-8638

RECEIVED
86 FEB 7 P3:31
GENERAL COUNSEL

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

February, 6, 1986
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: William J. McManus

ADDRESS: Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

HOME PHONE:

BUSINESS PHONE: 202/863-8720

8804071404 1

GCC#9689

WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

February 10, 1986

86 FEB 10 P4:30

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
GENERAL COUNSEL

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

This office represents The Fund for America's Future, Inc. and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer, with respect to the above-captioned matter. Enclosed please find a Statement of Designation of Counsel signed by Mr. Hale confirming our representation.

As per our telephone conversation of this date, I hereby request an extension of time within which to respond to the complaint filed in this matter. This request is necessitated by my previously planned absence from the country from February 14-21, 1986. The response currently is due February 20. Accordingly, I request an extension of 15 days up to and including March 7, 1986.

Thank you for your favorable consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB/njl
Enclosure
cc: Roy G. Hale
Edith E. Holiday, Esquire

3804071400 42

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2133

NAME OF COUNSEL:	JAN W. BARAN	CO-COUNSEL EDITH E. HOLIDAY, ESQUIRE
ADDRESS:	WILEY & REIN 1776 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006	THE FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC. 1200 18th Street, N.W. Suite 300 Washington, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE:	(202)429-7330	(202)842-1986

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

2/6/86
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: THE FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC.
ROY G. HALE, TREASURER

ADDRESS: _____

_____

_____

HOME PHONE: _____

BUSINESS PHONE: _____

8804071400 43

RECEIVED AT THE FEC
86 FEB 18 P12:01

Republican National Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

February 14, 1986

86 FEB 19 A9:40
RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

I am writing in response to your letter, dated January 31st, notifying the Republican National Committee (RNC) that a complaint has been received by the Federal Election Commission alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act by the Republican National Committee. Your letter and the attached complaint were transmitted to my office for response.

My office received the letter when I was in the Philippines as part of the international observer group for the presidential election. For this reason, I am requesting that the Commission grant a two-week extension for response to this matter. The facts alleged in the complaint make no reference to any ongoing activity so there is no reason to believe this extension would, in any manner, prejudice any potentially interested parties.

If you have questions in regard to this matter, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very truly yours,

Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

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2133

GCA 9740

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

243 WEST CONGRESS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226 | (313) 963-2414

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 FEB 10 P1:44

February 13, 1986

Mr. Jonathan Levin
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Mr. Levin:

As I mentioned to you in our telephone conversation yesterday, two of the enclosures in your January 31 letter with the copy of the complaint against Market Opinion Research were not enclosed in the envelope you sent us. We did receive a copy of the complaint and the newspaper articles, but the Designation of Counsel Statement and the FEC Procedures were not included.

As we will not receive these until one or two days before our response is due, I would like to request a twenty (20) day extension of the deadline for our response, which I understand is permissible under your regulations so that our counsel has adequate time to assist us in preparing a response.

I assume the Designation of Counsel Statement and the FEC Procedures either have been or are being sent to us.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Teeter
President

cc: Mr. George Meyer
100 W. Long Lake Road
Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

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STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

RECEIVED AT THE F
GCC# 9797
86 FEB 24 A8:

MUR 2133

NAME OF COUNSEL: Mr. George H. Meyer

ADDRESS: 100 W. Long Lake Road
Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, MI 48013

TELEPHONE: 313-647-5111

RECEIVED
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 FEB 24 A9:53

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

February 18, 1986
Date

Robert M. Teeter
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Mr. Robert M. Teeter

ADDRESS: Market Opinion Research
243 W. Congress, Suite 1000
Detroit, MI 48226

HOME PHONE: 313-769-5677

BUSINESS PHONE: 313-963-2414

8804071400 46

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 24, 1986

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley & Rein
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 2133
The Fund for America's Future
Roy G. Hale, as Treasurer

Dear Mr. Baran:

Pursuant to your request, dated February 10, 1986, this Office is granting your request for an extension of time to file a response to the complaint in the above captioned matter. Accordingly, your response is due on March 7, 1986.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

8804071400 47

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 24, 1986

Robert M. Teeter, President
Market Opinion Research
243 West Congress
Detroit, Michigan 48226

RE: MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research

Dear Mr. Teeter:

On February 18, 1986, this Office received your letter requesting an extension of time to file a response to the complaint in the above-captioned matter. This Office has decided to grant you a two week extension of time. Accordingly, your response is due on March 6, 1986.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 24, 1986

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as
Treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On February 19, 1986, this Office received your letter requesting an extension of time to file a response to the complaint in the above-captioned matter. This Office has decided to grant your request for a two week extension. Accordingly, your response is due on March 6, 1986.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

8804071404 9

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE FEC
COMMISSION SECRETARY

SENSITIVE

FEDERAL COMMISSION
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT 4 P4:32

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL
OGC TO THE COMMISSION 3/4/86

MUR 2133
DATE COMPLAINT RECEIVED
BY OGC January 24, 1986
DATE OF NOTIFICATION TO
RESPONDENTS
January 31, 1986
STAFF MEMBER J. Levin

COMPLAINANTS' NAMES:	Howard Phillips, Chairman The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee ("TCCPAC") David G. Sanders, Treasurer TCCPAC
RESPONDENTS' NAMES:	Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer Market Opinion Research Co. The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Roy G. Hale, as treasurer Vice-President George Bush
RELEVANT STATUTES AND REGULATIONS:	2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(C) 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1)(i) 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1)(i)
INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:	None
FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:	None

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SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

Complainants make allegations in connection with a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and conducted by Market Opinion Research Co. ("MOR") As a result of activity related to the poll, complainants allege that the RNC,

Fund for America's Future("FAF"), MOR, and Vice-President George Bush may have violated certain sections of the Act in connection with the making and receipt of contributions.

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

On January 24, 1986, this Office received a complaint filed by Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders on behalf of The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee against the above-named respondents. Enclosed with the complaint are a number of newspaper articles, some of which are referred to by the complainants.

The complaint pertains to a poll apparently commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research. This poll, according to a Washington Post article referred to by the complainants, was conducted for the purpose of determining "voter support" for Bush in both the Presidential primary elections and general election in 1988. The complaint refers to the article further, quoting passages indicating that the poll was designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses among the electorate, to rate him against other possible contenders for the Republican nomination, to examine how Bush can use certain issues to build support, and to make certain points related to a possible strategy for Bush. The article also stated that MOR delivered a copy of the poll to Fund for America's Future. The complaint also cites a number of other articles, including one in Human Events which states that the poll specifically stated that Bush is the clear front-runner.

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Based on these articles, complainants classify the poll as an effort to "test the waters."

Complainants state that "the reports are conflicting" as to who is paying or will pay the $75,000 cost of the poll. One article refers to the RNC commissioning and financing the poll. Complainants state that

> [t]hat is consistent with reports that officials of the Republican National Committee planned the poll in the spring of 1985; that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee invited Vice President Bush to suggest some questions for inclusion in the poll; and, that additional questions were developed by William Phillips, who was then an employee of the Republican National Committee.

Subsequent articles state that RNC, MOR, and FAF will share the cost of the poll. Complainants summarize by stating that it appears that the poll will be paid for either by the RNC alone or by some allocation among RNC, MOR, and FAF.

The complaint proceeds to list alleged violations. It cites a possible violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(C) with respect to a possible contribution by RNC to FAF, possible violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) with respect to possible contributions by the RNC and FAF to George Bush's Presidential campaign, and a possible violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) in the event that MOR provided the poll for less than the usual and normal charge. The complaint also cited the prospective application of 26 U.S.C. § 9035, the section limiting Presidential candidates wishing to qualify for matching fund payments to $50,000 in expenditures from personal funds.

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Complainants also cited 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1) which provide that, while the terms "contribution" and expenditure" do not include receipts and disbursements for "testing the waters," these regulations provide for proper recordkeeping and for treatment of the receipts and disbursements as contributions and expenditures if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate. While complainants do not mention this, recent amendments to the above regulation sections provide for application of contribution limits to "testing the waters" disbursements even before a person becomes a candidate.

Complainants believe that they have presented a scenario which makes it impossible for the RNC, FAF, or the Vice-President not to have violated the Act. Pointing out that the reports indicate that MOR delivered the poll to FAF and that MOR intended to deliver a "very different version" of the poll to RNC, the complainants state that compliance would involve $5,000 from the RNC, $5,000 from FAF, and $50,000 from Bush, i.e., a total of $60,000, against a bill for $75,000, and that, thus violations must have occurred or are about to occur. Complainants state that, in order to avoid such a result and to avoid the "concomitant need" for Vice Presient Bush to prematurely establish a campaign committee, "there is some nonsensical talk" about allocating the cost between the RNC and FAF based upon the number of questions requested by each with MOR absorbing some of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Complainants maintain that because the full poll was

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accepted by FAF and because it relates entirely to a Bush Presidential candidacy, no such allocation is possible. They further maintain that the suggestion that MOR inserted questions on its own is "ridiculous," stating that those requesting the poll would review the format and the questions, and any questions not specifically requested would be the "usual demographic questions included in every poll."

MOR, FAF, and the RNC have all requested extensions of time in which to file responses to the complaint. This Office has granted extensions and the replies are now due on March 6 and March 7. Upon receipt and review of these responses, this Office will report to the Commission with appropriate recommendations.

4 March 1986
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES N. STEELE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/ CHERYL A. FLEMING

DATE: MARCH 6, 1986

SUBJECT: MUR 2133 - FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT
SIGNED MARCH 4, 1986

The above-captioned matter was circulated by the Commission Secretary's Office to the Commissioners on Wednesday, March 5, 1986 at 11:00 A.M.

There were no objections received in the Office of the Secretary of the Commission to the First General Counsel's Report at the time of the deadline.

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Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

March 6, 1986

36 MAR 6 P4:33

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is in response to the complaint by the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee which alleges, in part, that the Republican National Committee (RNC) has violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

This letter is the response of the Republican National Committee pursuant to 11 CFR Section 111.6(a). This response will demonstrate clearly to the Commission that no further action should be taken in connection with this complaint because the complainant, the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, fails to meet the statutory and regulatory requirements of the Federal Election Commission. The complaint does not contain a clear and concise presentation of facts which describe a violation of any statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdicition. [2 USC Section 437g(a)(1); 11 CFR Section 111.4(d)3(4)].

Attached is a copy of an affidavit from William I Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the Republican National Committee. This affidavit clearly illustrates that the allegations in the complaint from the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee are simply recitations of inaccurate newspaper accounts and do not provide a basis on which the Commission could determine that the RNC has violated, or was about to violate, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

Very truly yours,

E. Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd
Enclosure

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AFFIDAVIT

WILLIAM I. GREENER, III

I, William I. Greener, III, being first duly sworn hereby deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contined herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the Republican National Committee (RNC) and am authorized to make this statement on behalf of the Republican National Committee.

3. The Republican National Committee did commission Market Opinion Research (MOR) to conduct a survey and analysis of voter attitudes on a variety of issues, including terrorism and international trade.

4. The Republican National Committee has never commissioned Market Opinion Research (MOR) of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988."

5. The Republican National Committee did not commission, nor have I seen a document "designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate to rate him against Dole, Baker, and Representative Jack Kemp, and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy."

6. Information from this survey and analysis has been made available to members of the Administration, members of the Republican National Committee, and the general public through the press.

7. I was approached in the late summer of 1985 by Lee Atwater and asked if questions of interest to the Fund for America's Future could be added to the survey to be conducted for the RNC by MOR. Pursuant to our normal procedure with such requests, it was acceded to with the express statement the Republican National Committee would not pay for, nor see, any of the work done in this regard.

8. MOR has proposed that the RNC pay $52,390 for the survey and analysis which the RNC commissioned. The RNC will pay MOR $52,390 upon receipt of a billing invoice.

William I. Greener, III

Signed and sworn to before me this 6th day of March, 1986.

Notary Public

E. Thomas Wright
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires May 15, 1988

My commission expires _____.

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GCC# 9969

MEYER, KIRK, SNYDER & SAFFORD
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
100 WEST LONG LAKE ROAD, SUITE 100
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICHIGAN 48013
TELEPHONE: (313) 647-5111
TELECOPIER: (313) 647-6079

GEORGE H. MEYER
JOHN M. KIRK
GEORGE E. SNYDER
RALPH R. SAFFORD
PATRICK K. RODE
DAVID D. SHOUP

MARK R. SOLOMON
OF COUNSEL IN TAX MATTERS

DETROIT OFFICE
838 PENOBSCOT BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1280

March 11, 1986

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 MAR 12 P4:13

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Sir:

This letter is a Response on behalf of Market Opinion Research Company (MOR) to a Complaint filed against it, the Republican National Committee (RNC), the Fund For America's Future (FFAF) and Vice President George Bush by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee.

The attached Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter, the President of MOR, in substance, shows the following:

The RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a political poll in which the FFAF subsequently participated. The poll as finally constituted was to cover several broadly described issues with the design of the questionnaire and the questions left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

The poll included questions on the 1988 election. These questions were included because MOR believed them to be appropriate and within the authority granted to it to conduct the poll. The RNC and the FFAF subsequently refused to pay for the 1988 questions on the basis that the 1988 questions had not been authorized by them.

The inclusion of the 1988 questions, which arose from a misunderstanding between the parties, resulted in a dispute on the amount of MOR's bill for the poll. The parties have negotiated a proposed settlement of the bill, with MOR to be paid in full except for the 1988 questions, the cost for which is to be absorbed by MOR.

The poll was done by MOR in the regular course of its business with the intent to be paid in full for its work. The proposed settlement of the bill by MOR was for business reasons and MOR did not intend to make a contribution to anybody.

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The Complaint against MOR has no merit and should be dismissed without further investigation.

Yours very truly,

George H. Meyer

George H. Meyer

GHM/rg

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AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, depose and say:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a corporation with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf (the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC))and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. The RNC is a long-standing client of MOR. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the issues and details of the poll with Bill Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll.

5. Several days earlier, in a conversation I was having with Vice President George Bush, he made a brief comment that I should expect such a call from Fahrenkopf, who was going to commission MOR to do a poll which would include questions of interest to the Vice President. The Vice President did not say anything that indicated

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in any way that he, himself, was commissioning the poll or that it had been commissioned at his request.

6. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll should identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election, measure voter attitudes on national issues and measure the awareness and perception of major political figures. The design of the questionnaire and the questions to be used were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

7. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned discussions with Fahrenkopf and Phillips, I met with Lee Atwater (a volunteer adviser to the Vice President) and Phillips to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

8. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late Summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed.

9. At about this same time and pursuant to my mentioned discussion with Fahrenkopf, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, and asked him what issues he wanted to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the poll should cover the issues of trade and terrorism.

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10. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then also become associated (as an unpaid political consultant) with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include whatever questions I thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President.

11. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll with the following issues:

(a) to measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) to measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) to measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) to determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

12. During this questionnaire design stage, I gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to Fuller, and he and I discussed the questionnaire with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues. A few days later, Fuller suggested to MOR that it make three changes to the questionnaire. These were a suggested change to a trade question, the addition of names to the list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next President. Some of these suggestions were accepted by MOR.

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13. MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, and I called Greener and told him that the poll would cost $70,000. Greener approved this charge. The charge was determined by MOR in its normal business manner using its customary rates.

14. Except for the discussions with Fuller described in paragraph 12, neither the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, approved the questionnaire - the design of the specific questionnaire having been left to MOR's expertise.

15. The questions in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed them to be appropriate. MOR also believed that all of the questions MOR used including the 1988 election questions were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election.

16. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985, through September 25, 1985.

17. On September 19, 1985, MOR invoiced the RNC $70,000, the agreed on cost for the poll. Nothing has been paid by the RNC on the invoice and reminder invoices for the $70,000 have been sent to it. The stage of MOR's work on the poll at which the invoice was sent to the RNC is in accordance with MOR's normal business practice.

18. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote two separate analyses of the poll. The first analysis emphasized the perception

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of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issues and other national issues. The second analysis emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues. It is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data to cover the various interests of parties involved in the poll.

19. The first analysis was presented by me at a meeting on November 13, 1985, which was one of a number of meetings I was having at this time with the Vice President, his Chief of Staff (Fuller) and Atwater, and copies of the analyses were given to them. Copies of the second analysis were delivered to Greener on December 19, 1985.

20. In December, 1985, MOR was advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions.

21. MOR was also advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. This was the first time MOR became aware that the FFAF would be paying anything for the poll. At this same time MOR was asked by the FFAF to prepare a revised analysis

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to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

22. It was evident to MOR that there was a serious disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this particular situation were that the issues to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

23. Following its customary practice to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had negotiating sessions with both the RNC and the FFAF. As a result, MOR has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions which the RNC agreed it had authorized MOR to poll, and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll), covering only those questions concerning the perception of the Vice President. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614, (a 18.1% portion of the poll), apparently will have to be absorbed by MOR. In making these allocations, MOR used its normal and customary method of allocating costs for multi-client polls. This settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial. This poll was done by MOR in the regular course of

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its business with the intent to be paid in full for its work. The proposed settlement of the bill was for business reasons. MOR had no intent that there be a contribution by it to anybody.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12 day of March 1986.

TRACY PACIOREK
Notary Public, Macomb County, Mich.
Acting in Wayne County
My Commission Expires March 28, 1989

Tracy Paciorek
Notary Public
County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

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WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

March 13, 1986

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 MAR 13 P4:50

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter, the enclosed affidavits, and a letter from Vice President George Bush are submitted by the Fund for America's Future ("Fund") in response to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 24, 1986 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, denominated Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2133. The complaint alleges that the Fund for America's Future has violated or is "about to violate" the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.1/ For the reasons set forth herein, the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") should find no reason to believe that the Fund has committed any such violation. This response reflects facts drawn from the affidavits of Mr. Lee Atwater and Mr. Craig L. Fuller, as well as from affidavits filed with the Commission by Mr. Robert M. Teeter and Mr. William Greener, copies of which counsel for the Fund has received, and the enclosed letter from the Vice President.

I. The Facts

1. Early in 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), decided to commission Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR") and his firm to conduct a poll for the RNC.

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1 Not only is the Vice President not a candidate for any office, but he has taken no steps to qualify as a federally-funded candidate under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. That Act is thus completely inapplicable to the Complaint before the Commission.

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2. Mr. Fahrenkopf informed the Vice President that he was commissioning MOR to do a poll, and stated that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President.

3. The Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for the RNC. Mr. Teeter was then directly contacted by Mr. Fahrenkopf, and asked to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll. Mr. Teeter accordingly spoke to Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President and currently Chairman of the Fund for America's Future), and to Craig Fuller, Chief of Staff to the Vice President, to see what issues they thought might be appropriate for inclusion in the poll. After these conversations Mr. Teeter decided to include questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and the issues of trade and terrorism.

4. It was the common understanding of Messrs. Teeter, Atwater and Fuller that the poll was an RNC poll, and that the questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions.

5. Mr. Atwater notified William Greener, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC, of these conversations. At that time, Mr. Greener expressed a concern that the RNC poll that had been commissioned from MOR might prove politically awkward for the RNC because of the questions relating directly to issues of interest to the Vice President. Mr. Atwater accordingly indicated to Mr. Greener that if necessary the Fund might be able to pay a portion of the costs of the poll. However, it is Mr. Atwater's recollection following this conversation that the MOR survey was an RNC project, and that he expected the RNC to pay for it in full. Mr. Atwater was never shown a draft of the MOR questionnaire, nor did he approve any specific questions.

6. Mr. Teeter sent Mr. Fuller a version of a draft questionnaire for the RNC poll, requesting his comments. Mr. Fuller reviewed it in its entirety and made three specific suggestions to MOR, one of which concerned a trade and terrorism question one a public perception question, and one a question relating to qualities sought in a future President. Mr. Fuller

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was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested. Mr. Fuller on occasion is consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, seeking his reaction to questions they intend to ask, and thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of questions relating to the Vice President. Mr. Fuller was not shown a final copy of the questions before the poll began or otherwise consulted again by MOR.

7. When MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter called Mr. Greener of the RNC and informed him that the poll would cost $70,000. Mr. Greener approved this charge, but he did not receive a copy of the questionnaire in advance of the survey, or otherwise approve the specific questions contained therein.

8. When the poll was complete, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one of which emphasized trade and terrorism, public perception and the 1988 election, and one of which emphasized national issues, the national political parties, and major political figures. Mr. Teeter has stated that it is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data for the various parties involved in a poll. Mr. Teeter presented his first analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985, and gave his second analysis to the RNC when it was completed in early December, 1985.

9. The copy of the survey analysis sent to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and the Vice President contained the cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC. It was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

10. The RNC then advised MOR that it would not pay for the portions of the poll concerning the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions. The Fund also advised MOR that it, at the request of the RNC, would pay for those questions of the poll concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

11. It was apparent to Mr. Teeter that there was a serious but good-faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. Accordingly, and following its customary business

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practice for dispute resolution, MOR negotiated with the RNC and the Fund concerning the payment for the survey. As a result, MOR has agreed to bill the RNC for all questions in the survey except (a) those relating to the 1988 Presidential election, which were never explicitly authorized by the RNC, and (b) those questions relating to the public perception of the Vice President, which will be billed directly to the Fund.

12. The Vice President did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

II. Summary

This chronological review of the facts makes it clear that the RNC commissioned a poll, and for its own reasons sought to include questions of interest to Vice President Bush. Vice President Bush's staff accordingly advised the pollster in general terms of what sort of questions would be of interest to them. Neither the Vice President nor anyone on his staff or associated with the Fund commissioned the poll or authorized 1988 polling. When the questionnaire was prepared, however, MOR included a series of questions related to the 1988 race, mistakenly believing that those questions had been commissioned by the RNC. When the poll had been completed, the Fund agreed, at the request of the RNC and in order to ease the RNC's position, to receive a bill from MOR for these questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

When Mr. Atwater originally told Mr. Greener that the Fund would consider paying for a portion of the poll he did not anticipate the sort of poll which MOR produced, with its emphasis on the 1988 election. However, the Fund is aware of the difficult position in which the RNC now finds itself. The Fund is accordingly prepared to pay MOR, in the sum of $4,996, if the Commission determines that such pay- ment would be in accord with the Federal election laws. The questions identified by MOR for possible payment by the Fund relate only to those questions attempting to measure the perception of various personal characteristics of the Vice President, namely trustworthiness, concern, leadership and competence. Knowledge of such public perception is of value to the Fund in attempting to schedule the Vice President's appearances on behalf of Republican candidates in 1986.

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Throughout this period, the Vice President has reaffirmed his prior statement that he is not a candidate for any office, a fact of which he has advised both his staff and the Fund. The RNC's desire to include questions of interest to the Vice President, the Party's second highest public office holder, in a poll which it commissioned, does not in any way change this fact.

III. Legal Argument

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455, states that "the term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office." Id. at § 431(2). The Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 100.3, state that an individual becomes a candidate upon the occasion of any one of four occurrences:

> the individual receiving contributions or making expenditures aggregating in excess of $5,000; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1);
>
> the individual giving his or her consent to another to receive such contributions or make such expenditures; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(2);
>
> the individual failing to disavow such activity by another person after receiving written notification by the FEC; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(3); or
>
> contributions or expenditures aggregating more than $5,000 made through any combination of the above three occurrences. 11 C.F.R § 100.3(a)(4).

Vice President Bush is not a candidate for public office, and has not authorized anyone to receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of any potential candidacy. Accordingly, he is not a candidate pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.3(a)(2) or (3).

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The Complaint implies that the Vice President in some way becomes a candidate under the terms of 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1) because MOR conducted a poll commissioned by the RNC of which the Vice President and his staff had knowledge and were provided with a copy of one of two analytical summaries, and that the poll contained questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election which allegedly would aid a potential future candidacy by the Vice President.

Such an interpretation is incorrect. The Vice President has stated that he did not request or authorize such a poll, and Mr. Atwater of the Fund and Mr. Fuller of the Vice President's staff have stated that they did not either. Mr. Teeter has stated that only the RNC, and not the Vice President, commissioned and authorized the poll. Further, neither the RNC, nor anyone else outside of MOR, authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 presidential elections.

No facts have been presented to demonstrate that the Vice President commissioned the poll, or authorized the taking of a poll on behalf of any potential candidacy. The accompanying affidavits demonstrate that he did not do so. The willingness of the Fund to voluntarily defray a portion of the RNC's cost by paying for those questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) does not constitute authorization by the Vice President of any expenditures relating to a potential future candidacy, nor of any such expenditures by the Fund.

Thus, the allegation made in the Complaint that the poll should be governed by 11 C.F.R. 100.8(b)(1) (the "testing the waters" regulations) is contrary to the facts. The poll was not an expenditure by anyone "solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," as the Complaint suggests.

The Complaint also states that the Republican National Committee would violate the Act by paying more than $5,000 to MOR for the poll. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the Fund itself would be in violation of the Act by allowing the RNC to pay more than $5,000 of the cost of the

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poll. The notion that it would be contrary to the Act for the RNC to pay for more than a fraction of its own poll is ridiculous. The RNC conceived the idea of the poll, commissioned MOR to do the poll, actively sought advice from the Vice President's staff as to what issues to include in the poll, and authorized the payment of the full cost of the poll before the actual survey began. The Fund's voluntary agreement to pay for a portion of the questions (those allocated by MOR to the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's most active campaigner) in no way alters the RNC's obligation to pay for its own poll. Nor does the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay the final bill submitted in any way violate the election laws. This bill excludes the 1988-related questions (which the RNC had not requested) from its allocation, as well as those questions for which the Fund has voluntarily agreed to pay.

Finally, the Complaint suggests that MOR would be making a corporate contribution by failing to seek payment for the cost of all of the questions. Implicit in this is the allegation that the Fund would be accepting an illegal corporate contribution were MOR not to bill for unauthorized questions contained in the RNC's poll. The complaint further suggests that "even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically 'requested', it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions included in every poll." This is demonstrably wrong. As the affidavits indicate, no one outside of MOR authorized the inclusion of the questions relating to the 1988 presidential elections. It is accordingly these questions for which the RNC refused to pay -- not standard demographic questions.

The allocation of the questions (and thus the charges for them) was prepared by the professional staff of MOR in accordance with their standard accounting methods. Such allocation has been done on the basis of questions contained in the questionnaire, which is a system of allocation recognized by FEC regulations. See 11 C.F.R. §106.3. Nothing in the election law requires anyone to pay for any goods or services which were not requested or authorized. MOR's decision not to bill the RNC for 1988-related questions was a business decision taken in the ordinary course and following standard procedures. Thus, there has been no corporate contribution to the Fund.

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Accordingly, the Fund hereby requests that the Commission find no reason to believe that there is any violation of the Act.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

8804071407S

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1986

Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Mesdames and Sirs:

In response to a letter to me from the Federal Election Commission's General Counsel dated January 31, 1986, please be advised of the following:

1. I am not a candidate for any public office;

2. Although I was aware that the Republican National Committee was conducting a poll, I did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

Sincerely,

George Bush

88040714076

CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Greener that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Greener that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it

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was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions

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relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater
Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13th day of March, 1986.

Jesse E. Kodz
Notary Public

My Commission expires: Sept. 14, 1989

8804071408C

CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT

Craig L. Fuller, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Craig L. Fuller, and I am the Chief of Staff for Vice President George Bush.

2. Last Summer, I was informed by Robert Teeter that Frank Fahrenkopf of the Republican National Committee ("RNC") had commissioned Market Opinion Research ("MOR") to do a poll on a broad range of public questions and issues. I was informed that Mr. Fahrenkopf wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President. I subsequently suggested to Mr. Teeter that questions concerning trade and terrorism be included.

3. I received a copy of the September 6, 1985 draft questionnaire that had been prepared for the RNC poll by MOR. I read it through and then made three suggestions to Mr. Teeter concerning the poll, commenting both on the trade and terrorism questions of particular interest to the Vice President, and on two other questions which I felt could be improved or broadened. One of these concerned adding two names to a list of persons whose public perception was being evaluated, and another involved a question designed to measure qualities sought in a future President.

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4. As Chief of Staff to the Vice President, I have been consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, concerning questions they intend to ask, and briefed on the results of completed polls. I accordingly was not surprised to be asked to comment on Mr. Teeter's poll for the RNC, and assumed others were being asked to review it as well. I replied to Mr. Teeter in conformity with my standard practice, commenting both on the issues of particular concern to the Vice President (trade and terrorism) and on other questions of more general interest.

5. In responding to Mr. Teeter's request for comments, I did not intend to promote any possible candidacy of the Vice President, nor did it ever occur to me that my actions should be so construed. The Vice President has advised his staff, including me, that he is not a candidate and has not authorized anyone to take any actions which might make him one. I considered it entirely appropriate for a Republican National Committee poll to test public reaction to issues and to a number of prominent Republicans, with particular attention to the Vice President, the Party's second ranking office holder.

6. After responding to Mr. Teeter's draft questions, I had no further discussions with him or with anyone from MOR concerning the design of the poll, or the inclusion of any specific questions. I was never shown a completed questionnaire before the poll went into the field. Once the results

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had been analyzed and a summary prepared by MOR, I received from Mr. Teeter in November of 1985 a copy of a document which stated that the survey had been conducted by MOR for the RNC. At no time during this period was I informed by anyone that any of the questions might be paid for by the The Fund for America's Future.

Craig L. Fuller

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13 day of March, 1986.

Notary Public

My Commission expires: 12/14/89

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RECEIVED BY THE FEC
86 MAR 17 P2:28

MEYER, KIRK, SNYDER & SAFFORD
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100 WEST LONG LAKE ROAD, SUITE 100
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DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1261

GEORGE H. MEYER
JOHN M. KIRK
GEORGE E. SNYDER
RALPH R. SAFFORD
PATRICK K. RODE
DAVID D. SHOUP

MARK R. SOLOMON
OF COUNSEL IN TAX MATTERS

March 14, 1986

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 MAR 17 P5:54

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

Enclosed on behalf of Respondent Market Opinion Research Company is a copy of the questionnaire used in the poll in the above described matter. The questionnaire has marginal notations made by MOR indicating which questions were allocated to the Republican National Committee (RNC), the Fund For America's Future (FFAF) and those which were not allocated to either client (N/A).

Very truly yours,

George H. Meyer

George H. Meyer

GHM:dms

Enclosure

8804071400844

ALLOCATION

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # 1-4
Area 6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

CALL RECORD SHEET

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1									Q500 16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1									Q501 17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502 18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503 19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504 20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NTN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505 21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506 22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507 23
Respondent Term.(R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508 24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509 25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510 26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511 27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512 28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513 29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514 30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515 31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516 32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517 33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518 34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519 35
Other Disp. (write in)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520 36
(No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521 37

8804071408 5

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)

DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER END MEETS YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old (male/female) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her?

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1). . 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1) . . . 2
No (GO TO Q.IB) 3
Refused/NA. 9

IB. Are you a citizen of the United States over 18 years of age living at this address?

Yes (GO TO 1) 1
No. 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. Is there any male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1

May I speak with him/her? (After you have ascertained that he/she is an adult citizen of the United States living at that address. (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE). 2
Refused/NA. 9

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER DOES NOT MEET YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm_____ calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have the opinions of a male/female who over 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States living at this address.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes . . . . . 1 QA
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2 102
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her? QAa 103

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1). 2
No (GO TO Q.IB). 3
Refused/NA 9

IB. Is there any adult (man/woman) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address available at this time?

Yes . . . . . 1 QB
No (TERMINATE). 2 104
Refused/NA. 9

a. After you have ascertained that (he/she) is an adult citizen of the United States living at this address (GO TO 1)

QBa 105

106-144 = EXTRA
145-153 SPECIAL DEMO VARIABLES
(V18) 156-160 WEIGHTS

8 0 4 0 7 1 4 0 8 6

Q1-Q.64 = RNC

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

RNC ↓

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

---

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

↓

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

---

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

---

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

8804071408 7

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
6.	The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	
7.	We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	
8.	It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	
9.	If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	1 4 1
10.	Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	
11.	Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	
12.	Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	

RNC

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

---

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

---

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

---

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

8804071408S

RNC

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

8804071409C

RNC

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A

R8804071409 1

RNC

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2 Q23B

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8804071409Z

RNC

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

8804071409

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

RNC

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33

---

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39

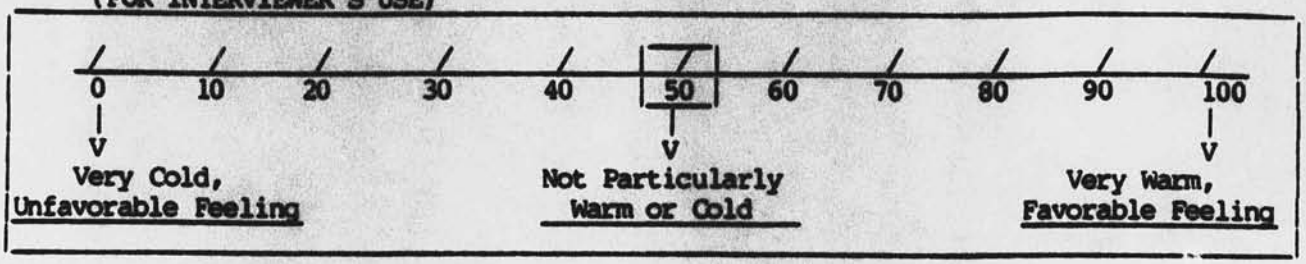
8804071409

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

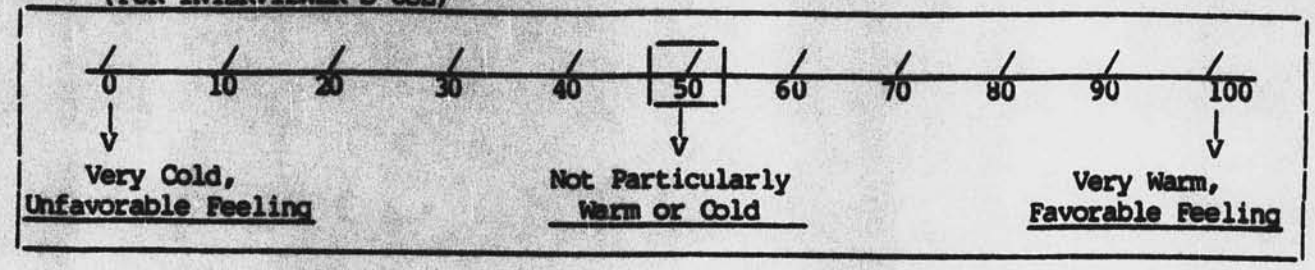
8804071402

(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40. Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41. George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42. Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43. Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44. Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45. Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46. Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47. Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48. Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49. Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

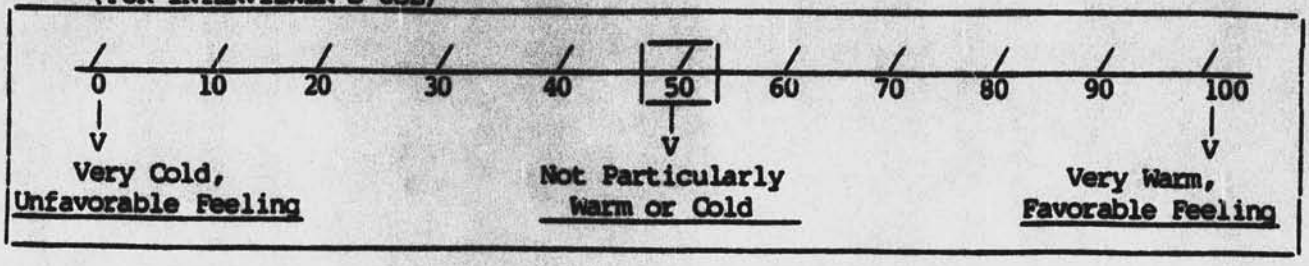
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50.	Jesse Jackson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51.	Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52.	Gary Hart	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53.	Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54.	John Glenn	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55.	Jane Fonda	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56.	Jerry Falwell	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57.	Gerald Ford	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58.	Jimmy Carter	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59.	George Wallace	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60.	Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8804071409 7

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
61.	The Republican Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q61
62.	The Democratic Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q62
63.	Liberals	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q63
64.	Conservatives	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q64

8804071409E

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

NA

66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)

		(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a.	Conservative	1	1
b.	Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c.	Is in government now	3	3
d.	Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e.	Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
	None	6	
	No second mention		7
	Don't know	8	8
	Refused/NA	9	9

---

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 0 9 5

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

NA

One (read below)
The second (read below)
The third (read below)
And the fourth (read below)

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69) 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69) 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69) 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)

68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

NA

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

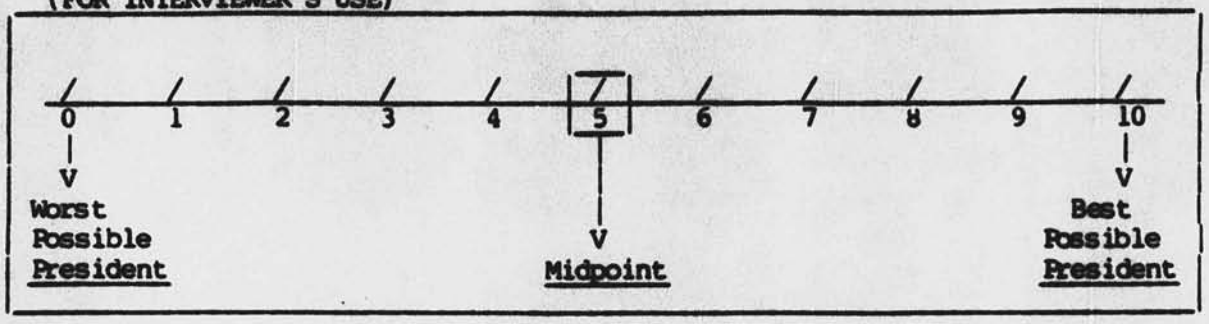
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q72

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

NA Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

NA Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

NA Q75

(GO TO Q.78)

(Q.76 Not asked)

8804141 01

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

NA

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

NA

78. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Ted Kennedy, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q78

79. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Gary Hart, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q79

80. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Lee Iacocca, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q80

8804010

HALF SAMPLE A

FFAF

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804071410

HALF SAMPLE B

B81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

B Q81bM1
B Q81bM2
B Q81bM3
B Q81bM4
B Q81bM5

NR

---

82 .What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

B Q82 M1
B Q82 M2
B Q82 M3
B Q82 M4
B Q82 M5

NR

8804071418

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

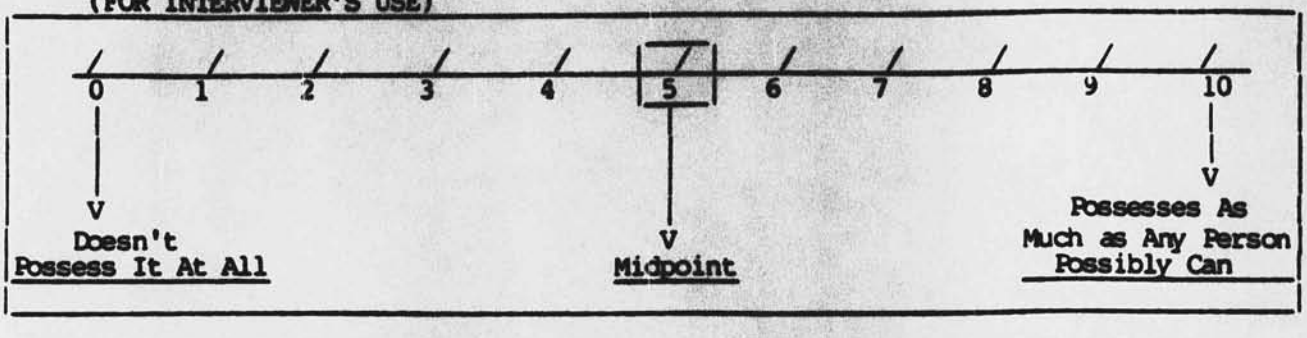
	(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
NA ↓	83. Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
	84. The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
	85. Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
	86. Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
	87. Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
	88. Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
	89. National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

R 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 1 0 5

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



		(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
4		TRUSTWORTHINESS			
RNC	90.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
FFAF	91.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
RNC	92.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
4		CONCERN			
RNC	93.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
FFAF	94.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
RNC	95.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

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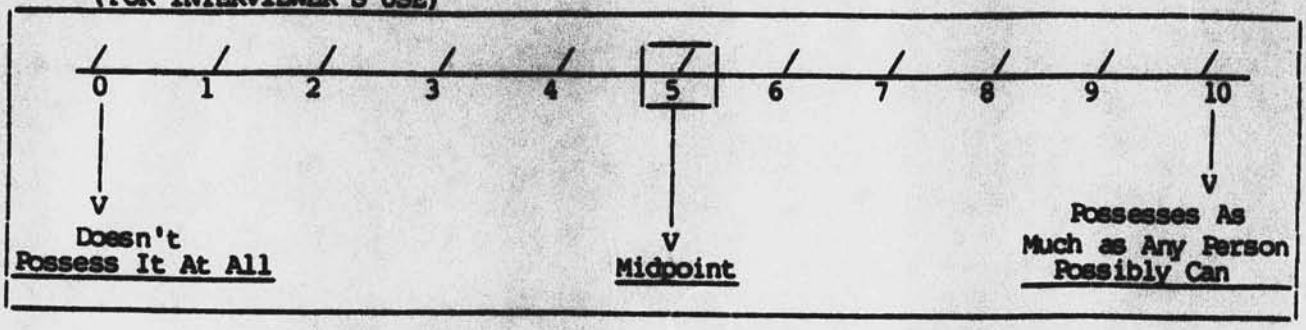
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

RNC 96. Ronald Reagan _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q96

FFAF 97. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q97

RNC 98. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q98

COMPETENCE

RNC 99. Ronald Reagan _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q99

FFAF 100. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q100

RNC 101. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q101

RNC

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

RNC

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q103

RNC

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q104

8804141003

DEMOGRAPHICS

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- Republican. 1
- Democrat. 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

PARTYID 51

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?	b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?
Strong. 1	Republican. 1
Not very strong 2	Democratic. 2
Don't know. 8	Neither 3
Refused 9	Don't know. 8
	Refused 9

8904071405

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	VOTETYP 57-58
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats.	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know.	.98	
Refused/NA.	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTE 59
No.	1	
Registered elsewhere.	3	
Don't know.	8	
Refused/NA.	9	

8804071411C

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB N

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10)

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDOFR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKIN
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

8804071411

D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	MARITAL 92
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWORK 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01	occup 4
Self-employed	.02	
Retired	.03	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04	
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05	
Executive (corporate officer)	.06	
Homemaker	.07	
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08	
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09	
Student	.10	
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11	
Other	.12	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

8804071412

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

8804071411

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

- Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1
- Roman Catholic 2
- Jewish 3
- Other Christian 4
- Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5
- Agnostic/Atheist 6
- None 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

RELIGION 110

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year 2
- Never 1
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

- Under $10,000 0
- $10,000-$15,000 (14,999) 1
- $15,000-$20,000 (19,999) 2
- $20,000-$25,000 (24,999) 3
- $25,000-$30,000 (29,999) 4
- $30,000-$40,000 (39,999) 5
- $40,000-$50,000 (49,999) 6
- $50,000 and over 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3
- Oriental 4
- American Indian 5
- Other 6
- Not ascertained 9

RACE 120

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D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? _____ ZIP
(V16) 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male . . . . . .1 SEX
Female 2 126

R8040711411

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

J. Levin CCCH 129

WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

April 1, 1986

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 APR 1 P5:12

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

Subsequent to the filing on March 13, 1986 by The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund") of a response in MUR 2133, it was discovered that the affidavit of Mr. Lee Atwater, Chairman of the Fund, misidentified an individual at the Republican National Committee.

Accordingly, enclosed is a corrected affidavit of Mr. Atwater, and a revised Response of the Fund incorporating the corrections in Mr. Atwater's affidavit. Only paragraph six of Mr. Atwater's affidavit is altered, by changing the reference to the person at the Republican National Committee with whom Mr. Atwater had the described conversation from Mr. William Greener to Mr. Bill Phillips. The Fund's response is similarily amended at paragraph five of the facts, and in the second paragraph of the Summary.

We regret any inconvenience that this correction may occasion.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

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[redacted])
STATE OF MARYLAND)
[redacted])
COUNTY OF MONTGOMERY

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC, of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Phillips that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Phillips that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

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7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

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11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 1st day of April, 1986.

Gloria A. Rubin
Notary Public

My Commission expires: 7-1-86

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WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

April 1, 1986

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter, the enclosed affidavits, and a letter from Vice President George Bush are submitted by the Fund for America's Future ("Fund") in response to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 24, 1986 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, denominated Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2133. The complaint alleges that the Fund for America's Future has violated or is "about to violate" the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.[1] For the reasons set forth herein, the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") should find no reason to believe that the Fund has committed any such violation. This response reflects facts drawn from the affidavits of Mr. Lee Atwater and Mr. Craig L. Fuller, as well as from affidavits filed with the Commission by Mr. Robert M. Teeter and Mr. William Greener, copies of which counsel for the Fund has received, and the enclosed letter from the Vice President.

[1] Not only is the Vice President not a candidate for any office, but he has taken no steps to qualify as a federally-funded candidate under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. That Act is thus completely inapplicable to the Complaint before the Commission.

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I. The Facts

1. Early in 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), decided to commission Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR") and his firm to conduct a poll for the RNC.

2. Mr. Fahrenkopf informed the Vice President that he was commissioning MOR to do a poll, and stated that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President.

3. The Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for the RNC. Mr. Teeter was then directly contacted by Mr. Fahrenkopf and asked to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll. Mr. Teeter accordingly spoke to Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President and currently Chairman of the Fund for America's Future), and to Craig Fuller, Chief of Staff to the Vice President, to see what issues they thought might be appropriate for inclusion in the poll. After these conversations Mr. Teeter decided to include questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and the issues of trade and terrorism.

4. It was the common understanding of Messrs. Teeter, Atwater and Fuller that the poll was an RNC poll, and that the questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions.

5. Mr. Atwater notified Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC, of these conversations. At that time, Mr. Phillips expressed a concern that the RNC poll that had been commissioned from MOR might prove politically awkward for the RNC because of the questions relating directly to issues of interest to the Vice President. Mr. Atwater accordingly indicated to Mr. Phillips that if necessary the Fund might be able to pay a portion of the costs of the poll. However, it is Mr. Atwater's recollection following this conversation that the MOR survey was an RNC project, and that he expected the RNC to pay for it in full. Mr. Atwater was never shown a draft of the MOR questionnaire, nor did he approve any specific questions.

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6. Mr. Teeter sent Mr. Fuller a version of a draft questionnaire for the RNC poll, requesting his comments. Mr. Fuller reviewed it in its entirety and made three specific suggestions to MOR, one of which concerned a trade and terrorism question, one to a public perception question, and one a question relating to qualities sought in a future President. Mr. Fuller was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested. Mr. Fuller on occasion is consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, seeking his reaction to questions they intend to ask, and thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of questions relating to the Vice President. Mr. Fuller was not shown a final copy of the questions before the poll began or otherwise consulted again by MOR.

7. When MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter called Mr. Greener of the RNC and informed him that the poll would cost $70,000. Mr. Greener approved this charge, but he did not receive a copy of the questionnaire in advance of the survey, or otherwise approve the specific questions contained therein.

8. When the poll was complete, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one of which emphasized trade and terrorism, public perception and the 1988 election, and one of which emphasized national issues, the national political parties, and major political figures. Mr. Teeter has stated that it is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data for the various parties involved in a poll. Mr. Teeter presented his first analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985, and gave his second analysis to the RNC when it was completed in early December, 1985.

9. The copy of the survey analysis sent to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and the Vice President contained the cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC. It was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

10. The RNC then advised MOR that it would not pay for the portions of the poll concerning the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions. The Fund also advised MOR that it, at the request of the RNC, would pay for those questions of the poll concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

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11. It was apparent to Mr. Teeter that there was a serious but good-faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. Accordingly, and following its customary business practice for dispute resolution, MOR negotiated with the RNC and the Fund concerning the payment for the survey. As a result, MOR has agreed to bill the RNC for all questions in the survey except (a) those relating to the 1988 Presidential election, which were never explicitly authorized by the RNC, and (b) those questions relating to the public perception of the Vice President, which will be billed directly to the Fund.

12. The Vice President did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

II. Summary

This chronological review of the facts make it clear that the RNC commissioned a poll, and for its own reasons sought to include questions of interest to Vice President Bush. Vice President Bush's staff accordingly advised the pollster in general terms of what sort of questions would be of interest to them. Neither the Vice President nor anyone on his staff or associated with the Fund commissioned the poll or authorized 1988 polling. When the questionnaire was prepared, however, MOR included a series of questions related to the 1988 race, mistakenly believing that those questions had been commissioned by the RNC. When the poll had been completed, the Fund agreed, at the request of the RNC and in order to ease the RNC's position, to receive a bill from MOR for these questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

When Mr. Atwater originally told Mr. Phillips that the Fund would consider paying for a portion of the poll he did not anticipate the sort of poll which MOR produced, with its emphasis on the 1988 election. However, the Fund is aware of the difficult position in which the RNC now finds itself. The Fund is accordingly prepared to pay MOR, in the sum of $4,996, if the Commission determines that such payment would be in accord with the Federal election laws. The questions identified by MOR for possible payment by the Fund relate only to those questions attempting to measure the perception of various personal characteristics of the Vice President, namely trustworthiness, concern, leadership and competence. Know-

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ledge of such public perception is of value to the Fund in attempting to schedule the Vice President's appearances on behalf of Republican candidates in 1986.

Throughout this period, the Vice President has reaffirmed his prior statement that he is not a candidate for any office, a fact of which he has advised both his staff and the Fund. The RNC's desire to include questions of interest to the Vice President, the Party's second highest public office holder, in a poll which it commissioned, does not in any way change this fact.

III. Legal Argument

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455, states that "the term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office." Id. at § 431(2). The Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 100.3, state that an individual becomes a candidate upon the occasion of any one of four occurrences:

> the individual receiving contributions or making expenditures aggregating in excess of $5,000; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1);
>
> the individual giving his or her consent to another to receive such contributions or make such expenditures; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(2);
>
> the individual failing to disavow such activity by another person after receiving written notification by the FEC; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(3); or
>
> contributions or expenditures aggregating more than $5,000 made through any combination of the above three occurrences. 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(4).

Vice President Bush is not a candidate for public office, and has not authorized anyone to receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of any potential candidacy. Accordingly, he is not a candidate pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.3(a)(2) or (3).

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The Complaint implies that the Vice President in some way becomes a candidate under the terms of 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1) because MOR conducted a poll commissioned by the RNC of which the Vice President and his staff had knowledge and were provided with a copy of one of two analytical summaries, and that the poll contained questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election which allegedly would aid a potential future candidacy by the Vice President.

Such an interpretation is incorrect. The Vice President has stated that he did not request or authorize such a poll, and Mr. Atwater of the Fund and Mr. Fuller of the Vice President's staff have stated that they did not either. Mr. Teeter has stated that only the RNC, and not the Vice President, commissioned and authorized the poll. Further, neither the RNC, nor anyone else outside of MOR, authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections.

No facts have been presented to demonstrate that the Vice President commissioned the poll, or authorized the taking of a poll on behalf of any potential candidacy. The accompanying affidavits demonstrate that he did not do so. The willingness of the Fund to voluntarily defray a portion of the RNC's cost by paying for those questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) does not constitute authorization by the Vice President of any expenditures relating to a potential future candidacy, nor of any such expenditures by the Fund.

Thus, the allegation made in the Complaint that the poll should be governed by 11 C.F.R. 100.8(b)(1) (the "testing the waters" regulations) is contrary to the facts. The poll was not an expenditure by anyone "solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," as the Complaint suggests.

The Complaint also states that the Republican National Committee would violate the Act by paying more than $5,000 to MOR for the poll. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the Fund itself would be in violation of the Act by allowing the RNC to pay more than $5,000 of the cost of the poll. The notion that it would be contrary to the Act for the RNC to pay for more than a fraction of its own poll is ridiculous. The RNC conceived the idea of the poll, commissioned MOR to do the poll, actively sought advice from the Vice President's staff as to what issues to include in the poll, and authorized the payment of the full cost of the poll before

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the actual survey began. The Fund's voluntary agreement to pay for a portion of the questions (those allocated by MOR to the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's most active campaigner) in no way alters the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay for its own poll. Nor does the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay the final bill submitted in any way violate the election laws. This bill excludes the 1988-related questions (which the RNC had not requested) from its allocation, as well as those questions for which the Fund has voluntarily agreed to pay.

Finally, the Complaint suggests that MOR would be making a corporate contribution by failing to seek payment for the cost of all of the questions. Implicit in this is the allegation that the Fund would be accepting an illegal corporate contribution were MOR not to bill for unauthorized questions contained in the RNC's poll. The complaint further suggests that "even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically 'requested,' it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions included in every poll." This is demonstrably wrong. As the affidavits indicate, no one outside of MOR authorized the inclusion of the questions relating to the 1988 presidential elections. It is accordingly these questions for which the RNC refused to pay -- not standard demographic questions.

The allocation of the questions (and thus the charges for them) was prepared by the professional staff of MOR in accordance with their standard accounting methods. Such allocation has been done on the basis of questions contained in the questionnaire, which is a system of allocation recognized by FEC regulations. See 11 C.F.R. § 106.3. Nothing in the election law requires anyone to pay for any goods or services which were not requested or authorized. MOR's decision not to bill the RNC for 1988-related questions was a business decision taken in the ordinary course and following standard procedures. Thus, there has been no corporate contribution to the Fund.

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Accordingly, the Fund hereby requests that the Commission find no reason to believe that there is any violation of the Act.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

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RECEIVED AT THE FEC
GCC# 291
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Republican National Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

April 21, 1986

86 APR 23 A9:54
RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is in further response to the complaint by the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee which alleges, in part, that the Republican National Committee (RNC) has violated, or is about to violate, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act (sic).

The basic assertions upon which the Conservative Caucus complaint is based are incorrect. The RNC did not commission Market Opinion Research (MOR) of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988." The RNC did not commission a document "designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate to rate him against Dole, Baker, and Representative Jack Kemp, and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy."

The Republican National Committee commissions numerous polling firms to conduct political survey research. In 1985 alone, the RNC commissioned more than thirty-three (33) separate polls ranging from nationwide to statewide to countywide. Each year the RNC expends hundreds of thousands of dollars for polling information for its fundraising and political operations. In 1985, the RNC paid MOR to conduct a variety of survey research. Included in those surveys commissioned by the RNC with MOR was a nationwide attitudes survey. This survey was commissioned for the use of

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the RNC for its own political and fundraising purposes, and in support of Administration policy objectives. The RNC has a regular annual budget line item for White House Support. A principal expenditure in that account is polling on behalf of the President and the Administration. Poll data commissioned and received by the RNC is made available to all principal figures of the Administration, and RNC personnel regularly consult with various Administration officials for their input as to issues to be examined in survey research. Often issues of particular interest to individual members of the Administration are included in our requests to our survey research consultants. The RNC did not commission a poll to advance or serve the interest of any potential or actual presidential candidates. Materials received from MOR pursuant to the RNC's commission to conduct a national attitudes survey have been used by the RNC in multitudinous ways. The analysis provided to the RNC is the type essential to the efficient and effective achievement of the RNC's political goals.

Of the surveys conducted for the RNC by opinion research firms in 1985, at least ten were conducted in a joint or "piggybacking" manner. "Piggybacking" is polling jargon for the situation where a committee intends to conduct a survey and makes the polling procedure available to another committee to add separate questions of unique interest to it. The additional cost involved is absorbed by the separate organization desiring the unique questions. It is a standard technique that provides economic benefits to all participants.

Pursuant to our standard practices, the Chairman of the RNC inquired whether there were particular issues, such as trade or terrorism, of interest to the Vice President and his office which they might wish to have examined in the survey. Also, political questions uniquely of interest to the political committee with which the Vice President is associated, the Fund for America's Future, could be placed on the survey pursuant to our standard "piggybacking" arrangements. This option was the responsibility of the respective staffs to be addressed in accordance with RNC rules and policy. The RNC had, and has, no desire for, or interest in, any information regarding the 1988 Presidential election. The Chairman of the RNC did not request such information, and no one else at the RNC was authorized to request such information from MOR. The RNC has not paid for, and will not pay for, such information or analysis. It would not conform to RNC rules or policy.

The RNC regularly includes in surveys it commissions questions regarding the public perception of various political figures, including the President and the Vice President. Similar public perception questions have appeared in virtually all of the numerous national surveys conducted for the RNC by a variety of polling firms since 1981. The usual public perception

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questions in reference to the Vice President are brief, general, thermometer tests. These are not questions in regard to the 1988 election, but are important in the fundraising and political planning of the RNC.

The RNC's intent, at all times, in its dealings with Market Opinion Research was to commission and receive a survey for the Republican National Committee's interest and not any separate or unique polling interest of any other political committee. The obligation for any such unique questions or analysis lies solely with other organizations. The RNC had no knowledge of, and will not pay for any, questions or analysis which are outside the parameters of its intent.

In light of these facts, there is no basis on which the Commission can find reason to believe that the RNC has violated sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

Very truly yours,

Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

8804071431

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

OFFICE OF THE FEC
COMMISSION SECRETARY

SENSITIVE

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Market Opinion Research Co.	)	
	)	
The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Roy G. Hale, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

86 MAY 23 P 4:28

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

On January 24, 1986, the Office of the General Counsel received a complaint filed by Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders on behalf of the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee against the above-named respondents. Enclosed with the complaint were a number of newspaper articles, some of which are referred to by the complainants.

The complaint pertains to a poll apparently commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and conducted by Market Opinion Research ("MOR"). This poll, according to a Washington Post article referred to by the complainants, was conducted for the purpose of determining "voter support" for Vice President Bush in both the presidential primary elections and general election in 1988. The complaint refers to the article further, quoting passages indicating that the poll was designed to explore Vice President Bush's strengths and weaknesses among the electorate, to rate him against other possible contenders for the Republican nomination, to examine how Vice President Bush can use certain issues to build support, and to make certain points related to a possible strategy for Vice President Bush. The

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article also stated that MOR delivered a copy of the poll to Fund for America's Future ("FAF" or "the Fund"). The complaint also cites a number of other articles, including one in Human Events, which states that the poll specifically stated that Mr. Bush is the clear front-runner. Based on these articles, complainants classify the poll as an effort to "test the waters."

Complainants state that "the reports are conflicting" as to who is paying or will pay the alleged $75,000 cost of the poll. One article refers to the RNC commissioning and financing the poll. Complainants state that the article

> is consistent with reports that officials of the Republican National Committee planned the poll in the spring of 1985; that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee invited Vice President Bush to suggest some questions for inclusion in the poll; and, that additional questions were developed by William Phillips, who was then an employee of the Republican National Committee.

Subsequent articles state that the RNC, MOR, and FAF will share the cost of the poll. Complainants summarize by stating that it appears that the poll will be paid for either by the RNC alone or by some allocation among the RNC, MOR, and FAF.

Complainants also cited 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1). Although these regulations indicate that the terms "contribution" and expenditure" do not include receipts and disbursements for "testing the waters," they do provide for proper recordkeeping and for treatment of the receipts and disbursements as contributions and expenditures if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate. Based on that regulation,

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complainants believe they have presented a scenario that makes it impossible for the RNC, FAF, or the Vice President not to have violated the Act. Complainants refer to the newspaper reports, stating that they indicate that MOR delivered "a full copy of the poll" to FAF and that MOR intended to deliver a "very different version" of the poll to the RNC. Complainants state that if the RNC pays more than $5,000 of the cost of the poll delivered to FAF, the RNC will have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a and "if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President," any payment to MOR by the RNC or FAF in excess of $5,000 will violate section 441a. They further state that Vice President Bush will be allowed to pay only up to $50,000 from personal funds if he becomes a candidate receiving matching funds. The complainants conclude from these assertions that, because the RNC can pay only $5,000, FAF can pay only $5,000, the Vice President can pay only $50,000, and the cost of the poll is $75,000, this would leave $15,000 unpaid for if the respondents complied with the limits. Complainants conclude, therefore, that an excessive or prohibited contribution must have been made. Complainants state that, in order to avoid such a result and to avoid the "concomitant need" for Vice President Bush to prematurely establish a campaign committee, "there is some nonsensical talk" about allocating the cost between the RNC and FAF based upon the number of questions requested by each with MOR absorbing some of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Complainants maintain that because the full poll was accepted by FAF and

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because it relates entirely to a Bush Presidential candidacy, no such allocation is possible. They further maintain that the suggestion that MOR inserted questions on its own is "ridiculous," stating that those requesting the poll would review the format and the questions, and any questions not specifically requested would be the "usual demographic questions included in every poll."

MOR, FAF, and the RNC all requested extensions of time in which to file responses to the complaint. This Office granted an extension until March 6 for MOR and until March 7 for RNC and FAF. The RNC's response was received on March 6. The responses of MOR and FAF, however, were not received until March 12 and 13 respectively. On April 23, 1986, the RNC submitted a supplemental response.

The responses make references to seven individuals involved in conversations and transactions related to the poll. These are:

1. Vice President George Bush;
2. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC;
3. William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations for the RNC;
4. Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff;
5. Lee Atwater, a "volunteer adviser" to the Vice President, an "unpaid political consultant" to FAF, and, since January 1, 1986, Chairman of FAF (Att. 3, p. 13);
6. Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff; and
7. Robert M. Teeter, President of MOR.

In response to the complaint, the RNC submitted an affidavit from William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC. He states that the RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a poll related to various issues such as terrorism and

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international trade, but not to issues related to a possible presidential candidacy by Vice President Bush. Mr. Greener states that "[i]nformation from this survey and analysis has been made available to members of the Administration, members of the Republican National Committee, and the general public through the press."

Mr. Greener states that, "in the late summer of 1985," he was approached by Lee Atwater from FAF. Mr. Atwater, according to Mr. Greener, asked him if "questions of interest" to FAF could be added to the survey. Mr. Greener states that he agreed to such questions "with the express statement the Republican National Committee would not pay for, nor see, any of the work done in this regard."

Mr. Greener concludes by stating that "MOR has proposed that the RNC pay $52,390 for the survey and analysis which the RNC has commissioned" and that the RNC will pay MOR this sum upon receipt of an invoice.

The response of MOR contained a letter from counsel and an affidavit from Robert M. Teeter, MOR's president. The letter summarizes the contents of the affidavit. Mr. Teeter states that, early in 1985, the Vice President told him that he should expect a call from Frank Fahrenkopf, the RNC Chairman, concerning a poll to be commissioned by Mr. Fahrenkopf that would include questions of interest to the Vice President, but that the Vice-President had said nothing indicating that a poll was being commissioned at his request. Mr. Teeter further states that

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several days later, Mr. Fahrenkopf asked him to conduct a poll for the RNC and to follow up on details with Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff. Fahrenkopf indicated that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that Teeter "should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll."

The affidavit further states that, a "couple of weeks or so" later, Mr. Teeter, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Atwater (whom Mr. Teeter describes as "a volunteer adviser to the Vice President") met "to discuss a variety of items, including a poll." They decided to delay the poll until the fall to avoid "any lingering effects" from the 1984 election.

Mr. Teeter states that, in the late summer, when MOR and the RNC agreed that the polling should proceed, he asked Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, what issues he wanted to include in the poll and Mr. Fuller replied that the poll should cover trade and terrorism. At that time, Mr. Atwater, who was by then a consultant for FAF, asked that the poll include "whatever questions [Mr. Teeter] thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President." In early September, 1985, Mr. Teeter asked his staff to draft the poll questionnaire with five "issues," one of which was "to measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism" and another of which was "to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush." Mr. Teeter states that, "during the questionnaire design stage," he gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to the Vice

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President's Chief of Staff, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller discussed the questions "with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues." (FAF's response, infra, indicates that Mr. Fuller received the draft on September 6, 1985). A few days later, Mr. Fuller suggested "a change to a trade question, the addition of names to a list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next president." (FAF's response, infra, indicates that two names were suggested.) MOR "accepted" "some" of the suggestions. After completion of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter told Mr. Greener that the poll would cost $70,000, the "customary" rate.

The affidavit maintains that questions relating to the 1988 election, "including the 'head on head' questions" were included because Mr. Teeter and his staff "believed them to be appropriate." MOR believed that these questions "were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor FAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election."

MOR conducted the polling interviews from September 17 to September 25, 1985, and sent a $70,000 invoice to the RNC on September 19. When the poll was completed, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one to be given to the Vice Presidnet and his staff and the other to be given to the RNC. According to Mr. Teeter, the first analysis "emphasized the perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade

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and terrorism issues and other national issues." The second analysis "emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues." Copies of the first analysis were presented by Mr. Teeter to Vice President Bush, his Chief of Staff (Mr. Fuller), and Mr. Atwater at a meeting on November 13, 1985, "one of a number of meetings [he] was having" with these three men. Mr. Greener did not receive a copy of the second analysis until December 19.

Mr. Teeter states that, in December, the RNC advised MOR that it would not pay for "the portion of the poll related to the 1988 election since [it] had not authorized that portion." FAF informed MOR that it would pay "for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the [FAF] had not authorized those questions." (Despite the fact that there was input from Mr. Atwater as to the poll questions, Mr. Teeter claims that "[t]his was the first time MOR became aware that [FAF] would be paying anything for the poll.") He states that FAF also asked MOR to prepare a revised analysis to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates in the 1986 campaign. (Att. 2, pp. 7-8)

Mr. Teeter states that, because it was apparent that MOR and the RNC had disagreed over what questions were to have appeared in the poll, there were negotiations as to payment. MOR has proposed that the RNC pay for 74.8% of the poll, i.e., $52,390,

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and that FAF pay for 7.1% of the poll, i.e., $4,996. The 18.1% balance of the poll ($12,614) "will have to be absorbed by MOR." These allocations and the settlement are, according to MOR, consistent with MOR's "normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial."

The response of FAF contains a detailed letter from its counsel, affidavits from Lee Atwater and Craig Fuller, and a letter from Vice President Bush. The letter and affidavits contain some details additional to those presented by Mr. Teeter. Counsel indicates that during the first conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf stated that he was commissioning MOR to conduct a poll and that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President. Counsel asserts that the "questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions." Mr. Atwater states that in the late summer of 1985, Mr. Phillips "indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC." Mr. Atwater claims that he "therefore indicated to Mr. Phillips that the Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll" if the addition of questions on such issues, i.e., "questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perceptions of leading Republicans, including the Vice President,

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would create a problem for the RNC." Mr. Atwater maintains, however, that it was still his impression at that time that the RNC would include the questions and pay the full cost for the poll.

Mr. Fuller asserts that, as the Vice President's Chief of Staff, he has been "consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, concerning questions they intended to ask, and briefed on the results of the completed polls," and that, therefore, he was not "surprised to be asked to comment" on the poll. He states that he "replied to Mr. Teeter in conformity with [his] standard practice, commenting both on the issues of particular concern to the Vice President (trade and terrorism) and on other questions of more general interest."

Counsel for FAF presents an extensive legal argument in response to the complaint. Counsel asserts that the complaint "implies" that the Vice President becomes a candidate under the terms of 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1) "because MOR conducted a poll of which the Vice President and his staff had knowledge," because the Vice President and his staff were provided with a copy of an analytical summary, and because "the poll contained questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election which allegedly would aid a potential future candidacy by the Vice President." Counsel states that such an interpretation is incorrect, that neither the Vice President, Mr. Atwater, nor Mr. Fuller requested or authorized the poll, and that no one outside of the RNC or MOR authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988

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Presidential elections.

Counsel maintains that FAF's willingness to defray some of the RNC's cost by "paying for those questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) does not constitute authorization by the Vice President of any expenditures relating to a potential future candidacy, nor of any such expenditures by the Fund." Counsel maintains, therefore, that the poll was not for "testing the waters" purposes.

Counsel characterizes the implication in the complaint that the RNC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) by paying more than $5,000 for the poll as "ridiculous." He states that this was an RNC conceived and commissioned poll and that the RNC rightfully will pay for the poll with the exception of those questions related to the 1988 Presidential election and those that FAF agreed to pay for.

Counsel also rejects the argument that MOR, "by failing to seek payment for the cost of all of the questions," is making a corporate contribution. Counsel maintains that MOR paid only for those questions that were not requested, that these were substantive, not demographic, questions, and that the obligations of the RNC, FAF, and MOR were based on an allocation of questions by MOR's professional staff, based on 11 C.F.R. § 106.3. (Counsel apparently meant to refer to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4.) Counsel concludes by stating that "MOR's decision not to bill the RNC for 1988 related questions was a business decision taken in the

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ordinary course and following standard procedures" and that, therefore, "there has been no corporate contribution to the Fund."

Counsel also submitted a letter from the Vice President stating that he is not a candidate for any public office and that, although he was aware that the RNC was conducting a poll, he did not "request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy."

On March 17, 1986, this Office received a copy of the poll questionnaire from MOR. The questionnarie contains marginal notations by MOR denoting which questions MOR allocated to the RNC, which questions MOR allocated to FAF, and which questions were paid for by MOR. There were 107 non-demographic questions. (Although the last question is numbered 104, there are two sets of question 23 and two sets of questions 81 and 82; each set is labeled as "Half Sample A" or "Half Sample B").

Seventy-seven questions, i.e., 72% of the questions, have been allocated to the RNC. These questions include general questions about the state of the nation and the government, questions about the performance of the President and the Vice President, 35 issue questions, 22 of which pertained to trade or terrorism, questions pertaining to general feelings about political figures, one of whom was George Bush, attitudes toward both major parties and toward liberals and conservatives, four sets of questions pertaining to attitudes toward the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy with the RNC paying only

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for references to the President and Senator Kennedy, and questions pertaining to an ideological characterization of the person being polled, the President, and the Vice President.

Six questions, i.e., 5.5% of the questions, were attributed to FAF. These questions pertained to perceptions of George Bush. Two of these questions referred to the Vice President alone. Four were part of the four sets of questions referring to the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy. The remaining twenty-five questions, i.e., 23.4% of the questions, were not allocated and the cost of them is being assumed by MOR. These questions all pertain to George Bush and the 1988 election.

A review of the reports of the RNC, a monthly filer, indicates that no payment has been made to MOR. Starting with the 1985 Year End Report, the RNC has reported on Schedule D that a debt is owed to MOR the amount of which "is undetermined at this time." FAF, a quarterly filer, also has not reported a payment to MOR. Unlike the RNC, its Year End Report does not disclose any debt owed to MOR.

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II. LEGAL ANALYSIS

Section 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1) of the Commission Regulations provide that the terms "contribution" and "expenditure" do not include "[f]unds received" and "payments made" "solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," i.e., funds and payments for "testing the waters." These sections state that examples of testing the waters activities are "conducting a poll, telephone

calls, and travel." The sections further state, however, that "[o]nly funds permissible under the Act may be used for such activities." Therefore, the limits of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a and 441b will apply to any disbursements which were for the purpose of "testing the waters" for a possible Presidential candidacy by Vice President George Bush.

The accounts presented by the respondents thus far indicate that there was input from FAF and from the Vice President and Mr. Fuller concerning the issues and questions included in the poll. It appears that this input occurred from the time of the conception of the idea of the poll to the time of the review of the drafted questions. Even before Mr. Fahrenkopf approached Mr. Teeter about conducting the poll, Mr. Fahrenkopf had already discussed the idea with the Vice President, and the Vice President had informed Mr. Teeter that he should expect a call from Mr. Fahrenkopf as to a poll which would include questions of interest to the Vice President. Subsequently, Mr. Fahrenkopf discussed a poll with Mr. Teeter, and Mr. Fahrenkopf stated that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President and that Mr. Teeter should obtain input from the Vice President's staff. That is exactly what subsequently occurred. Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, informed Mr. Teeter that the poll should include questions on trade and terrorism, and later participated in the poll drafting process by reviewing a copy of the draft questionnaire, a questionnaire which included a number of questions related to a Bush presidential candidacy in 1988.

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Furthermore, Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller state that Mr. Fuller made three suggestions for the poll. These were the addition of two names to a list of persons whose public perception was being evaluated, "changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next President," and a change to a question on the trade issue, one of the issues "of interest" to the Vice President. These facts suggest a need for further inquiry as to the extent of participation by the Vice President or those acting for him and as to the intent of the persons involved in developing this poll.

The accounts presented also reveal that the Vice President did receive the results of the poll and the analysis of the poll results and that he received them well before the RNC. The account of Mr. Teeter indicates that he was having "a number of meetings with the Vice President, his Chief of Staff (Fuller) and Atwater." He states that at a meeting with these three men on November 13, 1985, he presented them with an analysis of the poll results; this analysis emphasized the perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issue and other national issues. The analysis, therefore, appears to cover the entirety of the questionnaire. The RNC the organization which purportedly commissioned the poll, did not receive its analysis, however, until December 19, over five weeks later. The facts presented and a review of the poll itself indicate that the entirety of the poll may have been drafted, conducted, and analyzed as an effort to test the waters for a George Bush

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Presidential candidacy in 1988. Even if certain questions did not refer specifically to 1988, these questions appeared in conjunction with many questions related to the Vice President, and almost two thirds of the questions were on issues of interest to the Vice President, particularly. Taken together, the poll questions appear to relate more to a Bush candidacy in 1988 than to any other situation.

Section 106.4(b) and (c) of the Commission Regulations state:

> (b) The purchase of opinion poll results by a political committee or other person not authorized by a candidate to make expenditures and the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate or a candidate's authorized political committee or agent or by another unauthorized political committee is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser to the candidate or other political committee and an expenditure by the candidate or other political committee. Regarding the purchase of opinion poll results for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate, see 11 C.F.R. 100.7(b)(1).[1/] The poll results are accepted by a candidate or other political committee if the candidate or the candidate's authorized political committee or agent or the other unauthorized political committee--
>
> (1) Requested the poll results before their receipt;
>
> (2) Uses the poll results; or
>
> (3) Does not notify the contributor that the results are refused.
>
> (c) The acceptance of any part of a poll's results which part, prior to receipt, has been made public without any request,

[1/] Section 100.7(b)(1) extends the coverage of this provision to non-candidates conducting "testing the waters" activity.

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> authorization, prearrangement, or coordination by the candidate-recipient, shall not be treated as a contribution in-kind and expenditure under paragraph (b) of this section. (Emphasis added).

It appears that Mr. Bush and Mr. Fuller received the results before any results were made public and with knowledge that such information pertained to and was obtained with reference to a possible candidacy by Mr. Bush in 1988, and they never notified MOR, the RNC, or FAF of a refusal of these results. From the facts available thus far, therefore, it appears that the Vice President was involved in the formulation of the poll and accepted the contribution of those paying for the poll.

Section 441b(a) of Title 2 prohibits a corporation from making contributions and expenditures in connection with a federal election, which includes "testing the waters" activities. See 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1). That section also prohibits knowing receipt or acceptance of such contributions. The cost of drafting questions, polling, and resultant analysis pertaining to a 1988 Bush Presidentialcandidacy was assumed by MOR in an amount totalling $12,614.[2/] It appears, therefore, that there is reason to believe MOR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) by

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2/ MOR asserts that this figure results from its allocation of questions among the RNC, FAF, and MOR. Even if MOR could allocate questions, there are further difficulties. Using MOR's own allocation of the questions, it appears that MOR should have paid $16,380, rather than $12,614, that FAF should be paying $3,850 rather than $4,996, and that the RNC should be paying $50,400, rather than $52,390. In any event, MOR's assumption of any of the cost of the poll results in a corporate contribution.

making a corporate disbursement in connection with a "testing the waters" effort by Vice President Bush.[3/]

Section 441a(a)(2)(A) of Title 2 prohibits a multicandidate committee from making contributions to any candidate with respect to any election for federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed $5,000. As stated before, it appears that the poll was developed and analyzed in part of an effort to test the waters for George Bush. Consequently, the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) apply. Section 441a(f) of Title 2 prohibits knowing acceptance of contributions in excess of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

Despite the fact that the RNC claims that there is a dispute over the amount it should be paying for the poll, RNC has already incurred an obligation to pay a sum concomitant with its input into the poll or with input ostensibly on its own behalf. The RNC "commissioned" the poll and engaged in subsequent activity with respect to the poll, thereby leaving no doubt that an obligation to MOR has already been incurred. The evidence

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3/ With reference to a receipt of MOR's possible contribution, it appears that the Vice President had knowledge that he was receiving information in connection with a possible candidacy, that this information was coming from MOR, and that he was not paying for this information, but it is unclear at this time whether he knew enough of the circumstances of MOR's payments for the poll to establish reason to believe that he knowingly accepted acorporate contribution. An investigation of MOR's alleged violation and the attendant circumstances of the poll may resolve this question.

indicates that the poll, for which the RNC will make payment, was conducted for the benefit of the Vice President with respect to a possible presidential candidacy in 1988. It appears that the Vice President has known virtually from the inception of the poll that the RNC was incurring an obligation for this poll and conferred with RNC representatives both directly and through his representatives about the poll. Because of his knowledge of the circumstances in this matter, it appears that he has also known that the RNC was incurring an obligation greater than $5,000. This Office, therefore, recommends that the Commission find reason to believe both that the RNC and William J. McManus, as treasurer, has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) and that Vice President George Bush has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Section 434(b)(8) of Title 2 requires a political committee to disclose on each report the amount and nature of outstanding debts and obligations owed by or to such political committee. In his affidavit, Mr. Teeter states that, "[i]n December, 1985, MOR was advised by the RNC that it would pay" only for certain specified portions of the poll. Mr. Teeter states that "at about this time," FAF stated that it also would only pay for certain specified portions of the poll. The RNC reported a debt to MOR in an uncertain amount starting with its Year End Report. FAF, however, did not report any debt, even of an indeterminate amount, to MOR on its Year End Report, which was the last report it filed. This Office, therefore, recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that Fund for America's Future and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8).

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Further investigation of the issues is necessary in order to discover more precisely what occurred. More detailed information should be obtained as to a number of transactions and communications, including initial communications between Mr. Bush and Mr. Fahrenkopf, the subsequent conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf and Mr. Teeter as to the proposed contents of the poll, Mr. Fuller's review of the poll, input by Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater into the drafting of the poll, the content of the analyses of the poll, and the meetings involving the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Teeter. Furthermore, questions must be asked to further ascertain what is meant by issue areas "of interest" to the Vice President and what Mr. Fahrenkopf's "purposes" were in asking Mr. Teeter to include certain questions (as stated in FAF's response). Written interrogatories would not be of great utility in the information gathering process. Considering the significant number of questions and follow-up necessary the most desirable process for gathering the information needed, is the deposition of witnesses under oath.

This Office, therefore, recommends that the Commission approve subpoenas for the deposition of five individuals: (1) Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, who was involved in the drafting process and in the receipt of a poll analysis; (2) Mr. Teeter who has been involved in the process since the conception of the poll; (3) Mr. Atwater, who has been actively involved in the arrangements for the poll; (4) Bill Phillips of

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the RNC, who appears to have been involved in the planning of the poll and who talked with Mr. Atwater about questions to be included in the poll and (5) Bill Greener of the RNC who dealt with Mr. Atwater and Mr. Teeter with respect to the poll.

The proposed subpoenas should also include requests for copies of documents, including the poll analyses, in order to assist this Office in deposing the witnesses.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find reason to believe that Market Opinion Research, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

2. Find reason to believe that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A).

3. Find reason to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

4. Find reason to believe that the Fund for America's Future and Roy G. Hale as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8).

5. Approve the attached subpoenas for deposition and documents.

6. Approve the attached letters.

23 May 1988
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Response from the RNC
2. Response from the MOR
3. Response from FAF
4. Copy of the poll sent by MOR
5. Proposed letters to respondents
6. Proposed letters and subpoenas to witnesses

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE FEC
COMMISSION SECRETARIAT

SENSITIVE

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May 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM TO: The Commission

FROM: Retha L. Dixon

SUBJECT: MUR 2133 - General Counsel's Report

On Friday, May 23, 1986, a General Counsel's Report was circulated on 48 Hour Tally vote on the above-mentioned matter. Pages 5 and 6 of Attachment 1 were omitted from the copies circulated. Please find them attached.

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the RNC for its own political and fundraising purposes, and in support of Administration policy objectives. The RNC has a regular annual budget line item for White House Support. A principal expenditure in that account is polling on behalf of the President and the Administration. Poll data commissioned and received by the RNC is made available to all principal figures of the Administration, and RNC personnel regularly consult with various Administration officials for their input as to issues to be examined in survey research. Often issues of particular interest to individual members of the Administration are included in our requests to our survey research consultants. The RNC did not commission a poll to advance or serve the interest of any potential or actual presidential candidates. Materials received from MOR pursuant to the RNC's commission to conduct a national attitudes survey have been used by the RNC in multitudinous ways. The analysis provided to the RNC is the type essential to the efficient and effective achievement of the RNC's political goals.

Of the surveys conducted for the RNC by opinion research firms in 1985, at least ten were conducted in a joint or "piggybacking" manner. "Piggybacking" is polling jargon for the situation where a committee intends to conduct a survey and makes the polling procedure available to another committee to add separate questions of unique interest to it. The additional cost involved is absorbed by the separate organization desiring the unique questions. It is a standard technique that provides economic benefits to all participants.

Pursuant to our standard practices, the Chairman of the RNC inquired whether there were particular issues, such as trade or terrorism, of interest to the Vice President and his office which they might wish to have examined in the survey. Also, political questions uniquely of interest to the political committee with which the Vice President is associated, the Fund for America's Future, could be placed on the survey pursuant to our standard "piggybacking" arrangements. This option was the responsibility of the respective staffs to be addressed in accordance with RNC rules and policy. The RNC had, and has, no desire for, or interest in, any information regarding the 1988 Presidential election. The Chairman of the RNC did not request such information, and no one else at the RNC was authorized to request such information from MOR. The RNC has not paid for, and will not pay for, such information or analysis. It would not conform to RNC rules or policy.

The RNC regularly includes in surveys it commissions questions regarding the public perception of various political figures, including the President and the Vice President. Similar public perception questions have appeared in virtually all of the numerous national surveys conducted for the RNC by a variety of polling firms since 1981. The usual public perception

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questions in reference to the Vice President are brief, general, thermometer tests. These are not questions in regard to the 1988 election, but are important in the fundraising and political planning of the RNC.

The RNC's intent, at all times, in its dealings with Market Opinion Research was to commission and receive a survey for the Republican National Committee's interest and not any separate or unique polling interest of any other political committee. The obligation for any such unique questions or analysis lies solely with other organizations. The RNC had no knowledge of, and will not pay for any, questions or analysis which are outside the parameters of its intent.

In light of these facts, there is no basis on which the Commission can find reason to believe that the RNC has violated sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

Very truly yours,

Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE, GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/ CHERYL A. FLEMING

DATE: MAY 29, 1986

SUBJECT: OBJECTION TO MUR 2133 - GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT SIGNED MAY 23, 1986

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on Tuesday, May 27, 1986 at 11:00 A.M.

Objections have been received from the Commissioners as indicated by the name(s) checked:

Commissioner Aikens	
Commissioner Elliott	X
Commissioner Harris	
Commissioner Josefiak	X
Commissioner McDonald	
Commissioner McGarry	X

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for Tuesday, June 3, 1986.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research Co.	)	
The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Roy G. Hale, as treasurer	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Mary W. Dove, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of June 3, 1986, do hereby certify that the Commission took the following actions on MUR 2133:

1. Decided by a vote of 5-1 to take no action at this time against Market Opinion Research, Inc.

   Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Harris, Josefiak, and and McGarry voted affirmatively. Commissioner McDonald dissented.

2. Decided by a vote of 6-0 to find reason to believe that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

   Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Harris, Josefiak, McDonald, and McGarry voted affirmatively.

3. Failed by a vote of 2-4 to find reason to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

   Commissioners Harris and McGarry voted affirmatively. Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, and McDonald dissented.

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4. Decided by a vote of 5-1 to find reason to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

   Commissioners Elliott, Harris, Josefiak, McDonald, and McGarry voted affirmatively. Commissioner Aikens dissented.

5. Decided by a vote of 5-1 to take no action at this time against the Fund for America's Future and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer.

   Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, and McGarry voted affirmatively. Commissioner Harris dissented.

6. Decided by a vote of 6-0 to amend the subpoena for Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, to request a cost analysis of its poll results based on the Commission's regulations and how it would be apportioned to Vice President Bush and the Republican National Committee.

   Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Harris, Josefiak, McDonald, and McGarry voted affirmatively.

7. Decided by a vote of 6-0 to approve the subpoenas, as amended, for deposition and documents, and the appropriate letters.

   Commissoners Aikens, Elliott, Harris, Josefiak, McDonald, and McGarry voted affirmatively.

Attest:

6-4-86
Date

Mary W. Dove
Mary W. Dove
Administrative Assistant

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Craig L. Fuller
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Fuller:

The Federal Election Commission, established in April, 1975, has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26 Internal Revenue Code of 1954. In connection with an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the attached subpoena which requires you to produce documents and to appear and give sworn testimony on July 7, 1986, at 2:00 p.m. has been issued. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter; but rather considers you a witness only.

Since this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) apply. This section of the Act prohibits the making public of any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made.

You may consult with an attorney and your attorney may assist with the production of documents and be present with you at the deposition. If you intend to be so represented, please advise us, in writing, of the name and address of your attorney prior to the date of deposition.

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.14, a witness summoned by the Commission shall be paid $30.00, plus mileage at the rate of 20.5 cents per mile. You will be given a check for your witness fee and mileage at the time of the deposition.

8804071415

Please confirm your scheduled appearance with Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690 within two days of your receipt of this notification.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Subpoena

8804071416C

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
) MUR 2133

SUBPOENA

TO: Craig L. Fuller
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas you to appear for deposition with regard to a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985, which contained questions pertaining to Vice President George Bush. Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken on July 7, 1986, at 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, beginning at 2:00 p.m. and continuing each day thereafter as necessary.

Further pursuant to section 437d of Title 2, United States Code, you are hereby subpoenaed to produce on June 27, 1986, at the above stated location:

> Copies of any and all documents and correspondence in your possession pertaining to transactions and communications made in reference to the poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985.

9804071416 1

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., this 18th day of June, 1986.

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8804071416

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Bill Phillips
8023 Langbrook Road
Springfield, VA 22152

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Phillips:

The Federal Election Commission, established in April, 1975, has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26 Internal Revenue Code of 1954. In connection with an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the attached subpoena which requires you to produce documents and to appear and give sworn testimony July 8, 1986, at 10:00 a.m. has been issued. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter; but rather considers you a witness only.

Since this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) apply. This section of the Act prohibits the making public of any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made.

You may consult with an attorney, and your attorney may assist with the production of documents and be present with you at the deposition. If you intend to be so represented, please advise us, in writing, of the name and address of your attorney prior to the date of deposition.

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.14, a witness summoned by the Commission shall be paid $30.00, plus mileage at the rate of 20.5 cents per mile. You will be given a check for your witness fee and mileage at the time of the deposition.

8804071416 3

Please confirm your scheduled appearance with Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690 within two days of your receipt of this notification.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Subpoena

8804071416

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
) MUR 2133

SUBPOENA

TO: Bill Phillips
8023 Langbrook Road
Springfield, VA 22152

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas you to appear for deposition with regard to a poll commissioned by the Republican Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985, which contained questions pertaining to Vice President George Bush. Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken on July 8, 1986, at 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, beginning at 10:00 a.m. and continuing each day thereafter as necessary.

Further pursuant to section 437d of Title 2, United States Code, you are hereby subpoenaed to produce documents on June 27, 1986, at the above stated location:

> Copies of any and all documents and correspondence in your possession pertaining to transactions and communications made in reference to the poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985.

8304071465

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., this 18th day of June, 1986.

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8804071416

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Lee Atwater
324 N. Fairfax Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Atwater:

The Federal Election Commission, established in April, 1975, has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26, Internal Revenue Code of 1954. In connection with an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the attached subpoena which requires you to produce documents and to appear and give sworn testimony on July 9, 1986, at 11:00 a.m. has been issued. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter; but rather considers you a witness only.

Since this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) apply. That section of the Act prohibits the making public of any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made. You are advised that no such consent has been given in this case.

You may consult with an attorney, and your attorney may assist with the production of documents and be present with you at the deposition. If you intend to be so represented, please advise us of the name and address of your attorney prior to the date of the deposition.

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.14, a witness summoned by the Commission shall be paid $30.00 plus mileage at the rate of 20.5 cents per mile. You will be given a check for your witness fee and mileage at the time of the deposition.

8804071467

Please confirm your scheduled appearance with Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690 within two days of your receipt of this notification.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Subpoena

88040714158

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
) MUR 2133

SUBPOENA

TO: Lee Atwater
324 N. Fairfax Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas you to appear for deposition with regard to a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985, which contained questions pertaining to Vice President George Bush. Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken on July 9, 1986, at 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, beginning at 11:00 a.m. and continuing each day thereafter as necessary.

Further pursuant to section 437d of Title 2, United States Code, you are hereby subpoenaed to produce documents on June 27, 1986, at the above stated location:

> Copies of any and all documents and correspondence in your possession pertaining to transactions and communications made in reference to the poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985.

8804071469

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., this 18th day of June, 1986.

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8804071417C

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. William I. Greener, III
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Greener:

The Federal Election Commission, established in April, 1975, has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26, Internal Revenue Code of 1954. In connection with an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the attached subpoena which requires you to produce documents and to appear and give sworn testimony on July 8, 1986 at 2:00 p.m. has been issued. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter; but rather considers you a witness only.

Since this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) apply. That section of the Act prohibits the making public of any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made. You are advised that no such consent has been given in this case.

You may consult with an attorney and your attorney may assist with the production of documents and be present with you at the deposition. If you intend to be so represented, please advise us of the name and address of your attorney prior to the date of the deposition.

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.14, a witness summoned by the Commission shall be paid $30.00 plus mileage at the rate of 20.5 cents per mile. You will be given a check for your witness fee and mileage at the time of the deposition.

8904071471

Please confirm your scheduled appearance with Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690 within two days of your receipt of this notification.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Subpoena

8804071417

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
) MUR 2133

SUBPOENA

TO: William I. Greener, III
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas you to appear for deposition with regard to a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985, which contained questions pertaining to Vice President George Bush. Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken on July 8, 1986 at 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, beginning at 2:00 p.m. and continuing each day thereafter as necessary.

Further pursuant to section 437d of Title 2, United States Code, you are hereby subpoenaed to produce documents on June 27, 1986, at the above stated location:

> Copies of any and all documents and correspondence in your possession pertaining to transactions and communications made in reference to the poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985.

8804071417

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., this 18th day of June, 1986.

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8804071417

8804071417 5

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 19, 1986

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

RE: MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush

Dear Mr. Vice President:

The Federal Election Commission notified you on January 31, 1986, of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was forwarded to you at that time. We acknowledge receipt of your explanation of this matter which was dated March 13, 1986.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on June 3, 1986, determined that there is reason to believe that you violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), a provision of the Commission Regulations, in connection with a payment owed by the Republican National Committee for a poll which may have been conducted to determine whether you should become a candidate for the Presidency in 1988. This section of the Commission Regulations provides for the application of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a to the use of funds for testing the waters purposes. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Please submit any such response within ten days of your receipt of this notification. Statements should be submitted under oath.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that the pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, requests for pre-probable conciliation will not be entertained after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel is not authorized to give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 434g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens
Chairman

Enclosure
Procedures

8804071417 6

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 19, 1986

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

The Federal Election Commission notified your clients on January 31, 1986, of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was forwarded to your client at that time. We acknowledge receipt of your clients explanation of this matter which was dated March 6, 1986.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint and information supplied by your clients, the Commission, on June 3, 1986, determined that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) in connection with a payment owed for a poll which may have been conducted in connection with determining whether Vice President George Bush should become a candidate for the Presidency in 1988. This section of the Commission Regulations provides for the application of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a to the use of funds for testing the waters purposes. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Please submit any such response within ten days of your receipt of this notification. Statements should be submitted under oath.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter.

8804071417 7

Further, requests for pre-probable conciliation will not be entertained after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel is not authorized to give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 434g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens
Chairman

Enclosure
Procedures

8804071418

GCC# 792

RECEIVED
FEC
SECRETARY
86 JUN 24 P3:48

Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

June 23, 1986

RECEIVED
FEC
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 JUN 25 A11:14

Joan D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 2133

ATTENTION: Jonathan Levin, Esq.

Dear Chairman Aikens:

I am writing in response to your letter of June 19, 1986, notifying my clients of the Commission's initial action in regard to a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

The Committee examining the prospective sites for the 1988 Republican National Convention and the summer meeting of the Republican National Committee are occurring in St. Louis, Missouri, this week. The employees and officers of the Republican National Committee with whom I would need to discuss a response to your letter will not be available until the week beginning June 30, 1986. For this reason, I am requesting that the time to respond to your action be extended by one week.

If you should have any questions in regard to this matter, please do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

8804071417S

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

86 JUN 23 P12:31

MEMORANDUM

June 23, 1986

SENSITIVE

TO: The Commission

FROM: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

SUBJECT: Revised Subpoena in MUR 2133

For your information, attached is a copy of the subpoeana to Robert Teeter revised in accordance with the Commission's vote of June 3, 1986, in the above-captioned matter.

Attachment
Subpoena

8804071418C

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of) MUR 2133

SUBPOENA

TO: Robert M. Teeter, President
Market Opinion Research, Inc.
550 Washington Blvd
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas you to appear for deposition with regard to a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985, which contained questions pertaining to Vice President George Bush. Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken on July 7, 1986, at 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, beginning at 10:00 a.m. and continuing each day thereafter as necessary.

Further pursuant to section 437d of Title 2, United States Code, you are hereby subpoenaed to produce on June 27, 1986, at the above stated location:

1. Copies of any and all documents and correspondence in your possession pertaining to transactions and communications made in reference to the poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc. between September 17 and September 25, 1985. These copies should include, but not be limited to

8804071418 1

(a) The analysis of poll results given by you to Vice President Bush, Craig Fuller, and Lee Atwater on November 13, 1985.

(b) The analysis of the poll results given to William I. Greener, III, on December 19, 1985.

2. A cost analysis of the poll results prepared pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e).

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., this 19th day of June, 1986.

John D. Aikens

John D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8804071418 2

RECEIVED AT THE FEC
HAND DELIVERED
86 JUN 30 P 1:25

MEYER, KIRK, SNYDER & SAFFORD
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
100 WEST LONG LAKE ROAD, SUITE 100
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICHIGAN 48013
TELEPHONE: (313) 647-5111
TELECOPIER: (313) 647-6079

DETROIT OFFICE
838 PENOBSCOT BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1261

GEORGE H. MEYER
JOHN M. KIRK
GEORGE E. SNYDER
RALPH R. SAFFORD
PATRICK K. RODE
DAVID D. SHOUP

MARK R. SOLOMON
OF COUNSEL IN TAX MATTERS

86 JUN 30 P2:41
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
GENERAL COUNSEL

June 26, 1986

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research Company

Dear Mr. Levin:

As we discussed on Wednesday in connection with the Federal Election Commission Subpoena to produce documents, I am enclosing a list of the contents of the "Sampling Department Job File" and the "Data Processing File" and some representative pages from each. The "Sampling Department Job File" contains material and procedures to determine a reliable national sample of adults for a poll while the "Data Processing File" contains material and procedures to process the raw data obtained from the poll. Both of these files consist of important and highly sensitive proprietary trade secret information of the Company on how a poll is taken and not information regarding the substance of the poll. Because of the proprietary trade secret nature of this material and because we do not believe it is relevant to the subject of the Federal Election Commission's investigation, we would request that Market Opinion Research Company not be required to produce these files.

In the light of the new Subpoena production date of July 3, 1986, we would very much appreciate it if you would advise us as soon as possible whether this is acceptable. Assuming it is acceptable, would you also kindly be sure that the enclosed representative pages do not become available to the public. Thank you.

Yours very truly,

George H. Meyer

George H. Meyer

GHM/rg
Enclosures

8804071483

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 JUL 3 P3:23

RECEIVED AT THE FEC
HAND DELIVERED
86 JUL 3 P 1:22

GCL868

WILEY & REIN
1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

July 3, 1986

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

This office represents Craig L. Fuller, Lee Atwater and Bill Phillips in connection with the above-captioned matter. Enclosed please find executed Statements of Designation of Counsel from these individuals confirming our representation. We also represent the Fund for America's Future in this matter as previously confirmed by letter to you from me dated February 10, 1986.

In response to the subpoenas dated June 18, 1986 to Mssrs. Fuller, Atwater and Phillips, which were modified by mutual agreement for a return date of July 3, 1986, I hereby submit the additional enclosed documents:

1. Memorandum of July 1, 1986 by Craig L. Fuller and attached documents (11 pages).

2. Letter of July 2, 1986 from Lee Atwater (1 page).

3. Letter of July 2, 1986 from Bill Phillips (1 page).

8804071484

It is my understanding that you will be sending written confirmation that the subpoenas have been modified further to provide different dates for the depositions of my clients as follows:

1. Deposition of Mr. Fuller: August 14, 10:00 a.m.

2. Deposition of Mr. Atwater: August 15, 9:00 a.m.

3. Deposition of Mr. Phillips: August 18, 10:00 a.m.

I look forward to receiving your confirmation of this deposition schedule.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB/njl
Enclosures
cc: Craig L. Fuller
Lee Atwater
Bill Phillips
John Schmitz, Esquire
Edith E. Holiday, Esquire

8804071485

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

86 JUL 3 P3:23

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Matter Under Review 2133

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

The undersigned hereby designates Jan W. Baran, Wiley & Rein, 1776 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, (202)429-7330, as my counsel in the above-captioned matter and authorize him to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission. I further designate Edith E. Holiday as co-counsel.

LEE ATWATER

June 25, 1986

8804071486

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

86 JUL 3 P3:23

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Matter Under Review 2133)
)
)

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

The undersigned hereby designates Jan W. Baran, Wiley & Rein, 1776 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, (202)429-7330, as my counsel in the above-captioned matter and authorize him to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission. I further designate Edith E. Holiday and John Schmitz as co-counsel.

CRAIG L. FULLER

June 25, 1986

8804071418 7

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

86 JUL 3 P3:23

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Matter Under Review 2133)
)
)

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

The undersigned hereby designates Jan W. Baran, Wiley & Rein, 1776 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, (202)429-7330, as my counsel in the above-captioned matter and authorize him to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission. I further designate Edith E. Holiday as co-counsel.

Bill Phillips
BILL PHILLIPS

June 25, 1986

8804071418 8

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 JUL 3 P3:23

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR EDE HOLIDAY

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

SUBJECT: MOR Survey Document CR

Attached please find the only documents in my possession related to the Market Opinion Research survey.

Thank you.

Attachment

8804071489

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY LUKENS

FROM: KATHY SMITH

Craig Fuller has the following comments to Mr. Teeter's questionnaire:

1. A great questionnaire.

2. Page 2, Item 16:

   Please consider substituting U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manufacturers.

3. Page 5:

   Please consider adding to the list of names Peter Uberroth and Pat Robertson.

4. Page 6:

   I know you are reluctant to add any additional questions, but I would like you to consider a slightly different approach to the successor line of questioning. Something like the following:

   Since RR cannot serve a third term, some people are considering who best could follow RR. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree that the next President should be:

   1. Experienced in federal government;

   2. Conservative;

   3. Able to articulate new ideas;

   4. Respected by foreign leaders;

   5. Someone now in government;

   6. Someone who worked with RR;

   7. Someone who would keep America competitive;

   8. Someone who would strengthen U.S. defense capabilities;

   9. Someone who would spend more to help to poor;

   10. Someone who whould provide more help to farmers;

(There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas.)

8804071490

9/10 Di — Comments ques to KS 8103 PD

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus
Draft Questionnaire #1
Quota N=1500
September 6, 1985

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think it needs significant changes?

3. (IF NEEDS CHANGES, ASK:) What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.
7. We should hlep <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.
8. It is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer.
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.

R8040714191

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

14. Has competition from foreign countries hurt the economy in your community, helped your local economy, or hasn't it made a difference?

15. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

RANDOMIZE

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so American consumers can have the widest choice possible on what to buy

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products

As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. I'm going to read you some things, and for each one, please tell me how much you think each one has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little, or not at all.

RANDOMIZE

Substitute: U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manf.

16. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies
17. Wage demands by American labor unions
18. Better quality of foreign products
19. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries
20. Cheap labor in foreign countries
21. The selling of goods at less than cost by some foreign companies

22. Do you think our limits on foreign imports should be greater, about the same, or less than they are now?

8804071492

23. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

ROTATE

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

24. Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.

25. Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.

26. A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.

27. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.

28. Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.

29. Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently...

30. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

8804071493

31. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

32. (IF OPPOSE, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

33. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if the children in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

34. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Do you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack? ("Both" coded as a volunteered response)

35. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

36. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

37. Do you believe that the recent hijacking of the TWA airliner and other recent terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals or small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

8804071494

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about him/her using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

38. Ronald Reagan
39. George Bush
40. Robert Dole
41. Howard Baker
42. Jack Kemp
43. James Thompson
44. Jeanne Kirkpatrick
45. Walter Mondale
46. Ted Kennedy
47. Tip O'Neill
48. Jesse Jackson
49. Mario Cuomo
50. Gary Hart
51. Geraldine Ferraro
52. John Glenn
53. Jane Fonda
54. Jerry Falwell
55. Gerald Ford
56. Jimmy Carter
57. George Wallace
59. Lee Iacocca

Peter Uberroth
Pat Robertson
Jerry Falwell

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

60. The Republican Party
62. The Democratic Party
63. Liberals
64. Conservatives

R8040714195

Thinking ahead to 1988 for a moment. . .

65. Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term. Is there anyone, in particular, you would like to see be the next President of the United States? (Who?)

66. As you may know, George Bush may be a candidate for President in 1988. On a zero to ten scale, where zero means you would never consider voting for George Bush for President and ten means you would definitely vote for George Bush for President, where would you place yourself on this scale?

67. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

68. IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. George Bush
b. Bob Dole
c. Howard Baker
d. Jack Kemp
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

69. IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. Ted Kennedy
b. Gary Hart
c. Mario Cuomo
d. Lee Iacocca

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

R 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 1 9 6

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT NAME AND PARTY)?

RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES

70.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Ted Kennedy, Democrat
71.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Gary Hart, Democrat
72.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Lee Iacocca, Democrat

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

(HALF SAMPLE A)

73A. From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush. PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

74A. Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK: Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

(HALF SAMPLE B)

73B. If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the areas you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

74B. What are the areas you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

8804071497

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

RANDOMIZE

75. Our relations with the Soviet Union
76. The federal budget deficit
77. Taxes
78. Abortion
79. Policies concerning minorities
80. Women's rights
81. National economic policy

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to one hundred scale where 100 means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT

Honesty

82. _____ Ronald Reagan
83. _____ George Bush
84. _____ Ted Kennedy

Concern

85. _____ Ronald Reagan
86. _____ George Bush
87. _____ Ted Kennedy

Leadership

88. _____ Ronald Reagan
89. _____ George Bush
90. _____ Ted Kennedy

Competence

91. _____ Ronald Reagan
92. _____ George Bush
93. _____ Ted Kennedy

8804071498

Here are some statements concerning George Bush, in particular, and for each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

94. Bush has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
95. Bush looks like a President.
96. Bush, as President, would keep us out of war.
97. Bush sounds like a President.
98. Bush, as President, would keep our country prosperous.
99. Bush acts like a President.

Background Questions

100. Party identification
101. Past Party identification
102. Past voting behavior
103. Registered voter
104. Ideology
105. Age
106. Education
107. Employment status
108. Occupation
109. Health, education, welfare occupation
110. Marital status
111. Spouse employment status
112. Union/teacher household
113. Farm household
114. Religion
115. Frequency of church attendance
116. Reborn
117. Income
118. Race
119. Sex

880407141999

THE FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
Founder and Honorary Chairman

July 2, 1986

Jan Baran, Esq.
Wiley & Rein
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jan:

In response to your request, I have reviewed my files for materials pertaining to the poll commissioned by the RNC which is the subject of the FEC complaint. No documents exist in the files which appear to be responsive to the supoena. Please feel free to contact me should you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

Bill Phillips
Executive Director

9804071420 0

1200 18TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 300, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 842-1986

Paid for by The Fund For America's Future.
Roy G. Hale, *Treasurer*

THE FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
Founder and Honorary Chairman

LEE ATWATER
Chairman

July 2, 1986

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley & Rein
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jan:

I have searched all documents in my possession and find none that are related to the subpoena issued to me by the FEC.

Sincerely,

Lee Atwater

8804071420 1

Paid for by The Fund For America's Future.
Roy G. Hale, *Treasurer*

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 8, 1986

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley & Rein
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Baran:

Pursuant to your phone conversations on June 26 through July 1, 1986, with Jonathan Levin of this Office, the depositions of Craig Fuller, Lee Atwater, and Bill Phillips have been rescheduled. The deposition of Mr. Fuller is now scheduled for Thursday, August 14, 1986, at 10:00 a.m.; the deposition for Mr. Atwater is now scheduled for Friday, August 15, 1986, at 9:00 a.m.; and the deposition of Mr. Phillips is now scheduled for Monday, August 18, 1986, at 10:00 a.m. These depositions will be held at the Office of the General Counsel.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

8804071420 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 8, 1986

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Braden:

Pursuant to your phone conversation on June 27, 1986, with Jonathan Levin of this Office, the deposition of William I. Greener, III, is now scheduled for Thursday, July 31, 1986, at 10:00 a.m. This deposition will be held at the Office of the General Counsel.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

8804071420 3

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 8, 1986

George H. Meyer, Esquire
Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford
100 West Long Lake Road
Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48303

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Pursuant to your phone conversation on June 26, 1986, with Jonathan Levin of this Office, the deposition of your client, Robert M. Teeter, is now scheduled for Wednesday, July 30, 1986, at 11:00 a.m. This deposition will be held at the Office of the General Counsel.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

8804071420 4

RECEIVED AT THE FEC
ACC#928
86 JUL 14 A9:47

Republican National Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

July 9, 1986

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 JUL 14 P4:29

Jonathan Levin, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

This letter is to notify you that E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel of the Republican National Committee, will be representing me at my deposition on Thursday, July 31st, at 10:00 a.m.

If you should have any questions in regard to this matter, please do not hesitate to contact my attorney.

Very truly yours,

William I. Greener, III

8304071420 5

GCC#904
RECEIVED AT THE FEC
86 JUL 9 P4:28

Republican National Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

July 9, 1986

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 JUL 10 A9:40

Jonathan Levin, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

Attached are copies of any and all documents and correspondence in the possession of William I. Greener, III, and/or the Republican National Committee pertaining to transactions and communications in reference to the poll allegedly commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research, Inc., between September 17 and September 25, 1985.

The employees of the Republican National Committee have made a diligent effort to procure all such documents, and I have every reason to believe that the enclosed materials represent all such items in the Committee's files. If, at any time, we should discover in the Committee's files that there are additional documents, which we do not believe at this time exist, they will be promptly provided to you. The only correspondence or documents pertaining to the poll not produced pursuant to the Commission's request are direct attorney-client communications in response to the Commission's enforcement action, so they are unquestionably privileged and will not be produced.

If you should have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Very truly yours,

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd
Enclosures

8804071420 6

Republican
National
Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

January 9, 1986

Mr. Robert Teeter
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
10th Floor
Detroit, MI 48226

Dear Bob:

I am in receipt of a bill from Market Opinion Research for $70,000 for the recent national survey of voter attitudes conducted for the RNC by MOR.

As you know, there has been some past confusion surrounding this poll and the questions within it. Further, both of us agree that the RNC in no instance authorized questions pertaining to the 1988 presidential contest and we do not intend to pay for those questions.

Will you please advise me as to what the cost of the poll is for those questions on voter attitudes toward the parties and issue and major political figures is, excluding the 1988 questions, and we will pay you accordingly.

Thanks for the extensive briefing. You can believe it will be a useful part of our Achievement '86 planning.

I look forward to seeing you next time you're in town.

Very truly yours,

William I. Greener, III

CC: Robin H. Carle
E. Mark Braden
Jay Banning

3/6/86 - 11:10am $52,390 (74.8%)

8804071420 7

8804071420 8

72/NORCROSS/BGTS/EHC 4:00pm

(1) Review mtg. in AM.

(2) Norcross want it to be all tied up.

(3) 72 - client is RNC. They don't love us.

(4) Should 72 record be supplemented? EMB - no.

(5) F-2 - have we done anything? yes 3 page.

(6) What happens next? vote to go forward.

(7) EMB - believes go forward, need no "reason to believe"

(8) F2 -- something will be leaked to press.

(9) 72 - is it proper for supplemental letter to say -- will do ——— "best story" new legal position. Something of record. — EMB - belief is avoid as HCA/DP head.

(10) "Summation letter" (Norcross)

(11) BGTS - 2 questions - 1- a) can it be done w/out discussion w/ them? b) might it be attempt to escalate "battle" 2- can it be discussed?

(12) Letter from EMB - - yes

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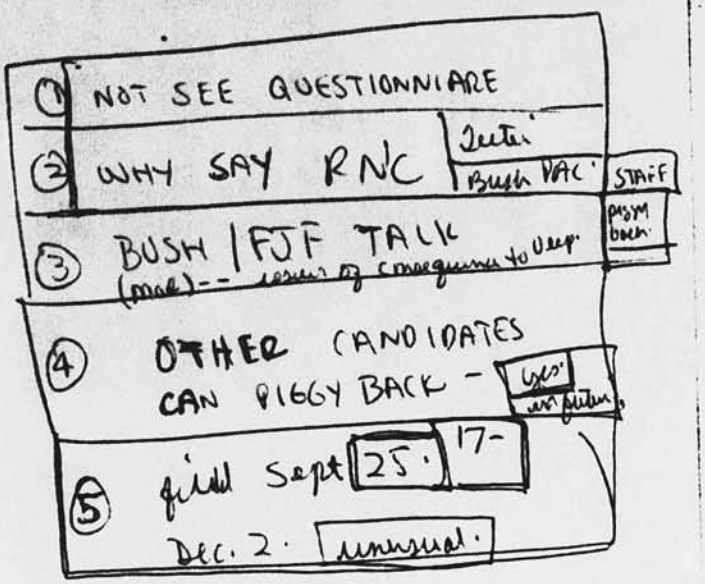


FJF - candidate to designati

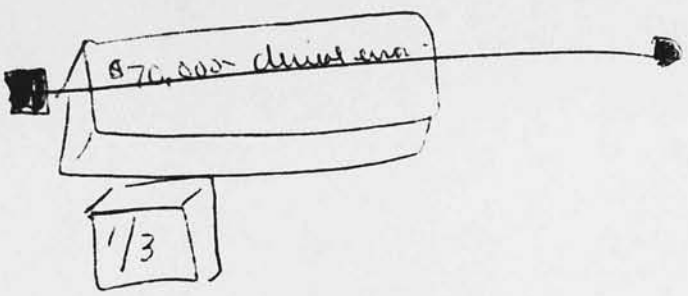
LAST WEEK - NOV 20th
Bush

perceptual mapping - secondary analysis

8804071421 0

PRINT OUT for Buch..

FJF - We get our presentation next week.



3804071421 I

FROM THE DESK OF
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

— couple of questions

Pharma

313
963-
9805

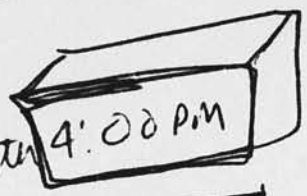
8804071421 2

FJF

① HIRE MOR SURVEY -
mat'l vote survey, in survey -
~~Be~~ terrorism/taxes.

② to all candidates

③ - OTHER CANDIDATES
on it - but no expert

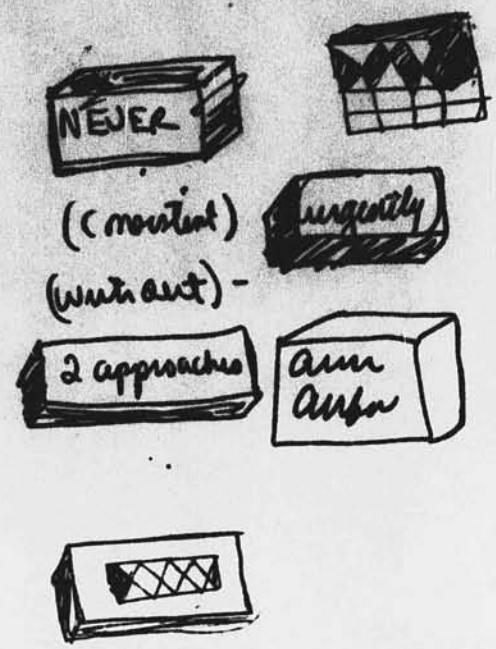


* after 4:00 P.M

who from Bush PAC.

88040714213

8804071421 4



8804071421 5

FROM THE DESK OF
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

Letter | options narrow

- cannot put F2 or George Bush in a position to defend untrade

- COMPANY THAT WE USE --
  Veep would like to see us
  - issue trade w Terrorist
  - UP after 1984

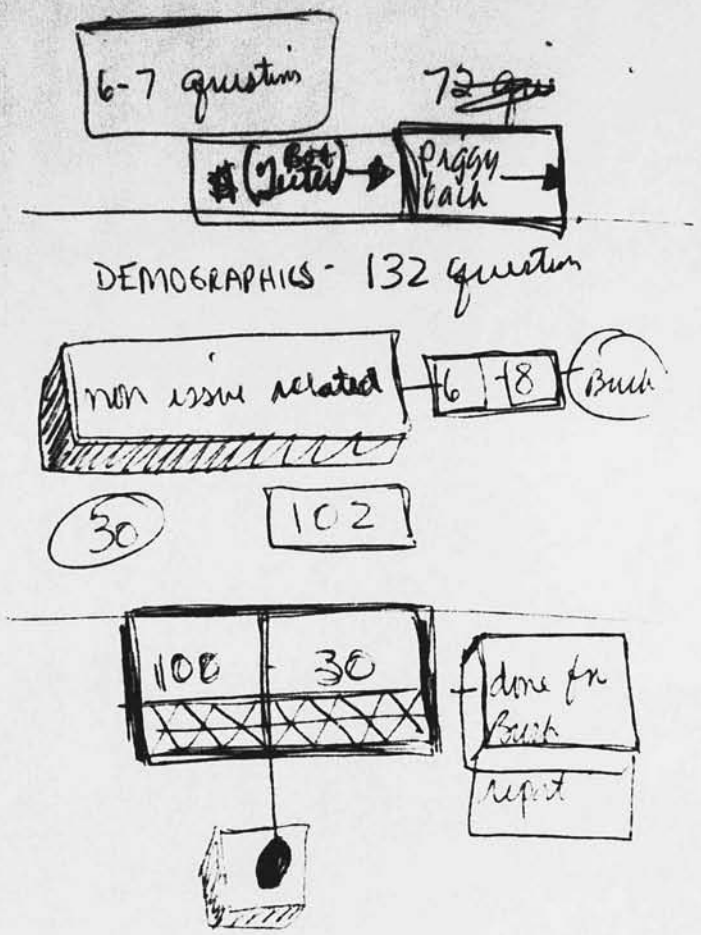
- because of relationship Veep do it

Pres & Veep

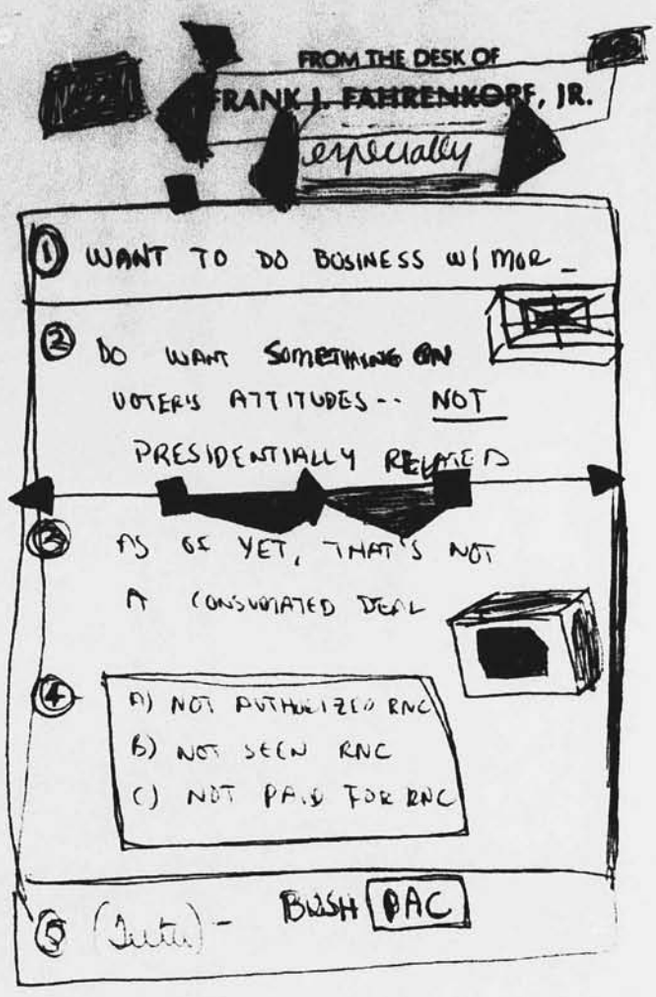
OPTIONS

same story - The key question -
PAC buyout - Terrorism - trade

880407142116



8804071421 7



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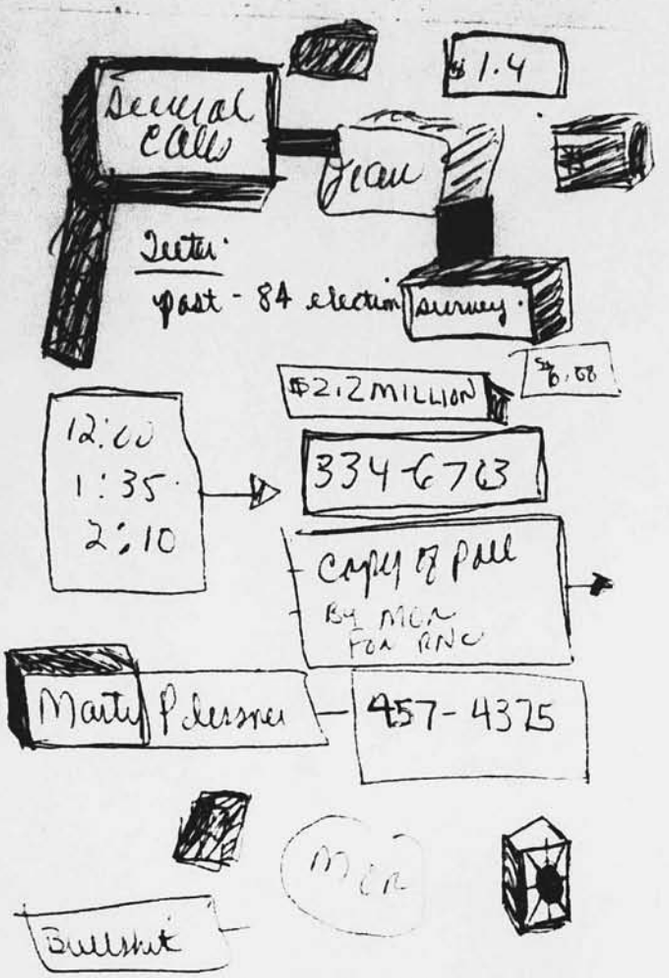


8804071421 9

FROM THE DESK OF
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

(1) WANT TO BUSINESS W/MOR

(2) DO WANT SOMETHING ON VOTERS' ATTITUDES -- NOT PRESIDENTIALLY RELATED

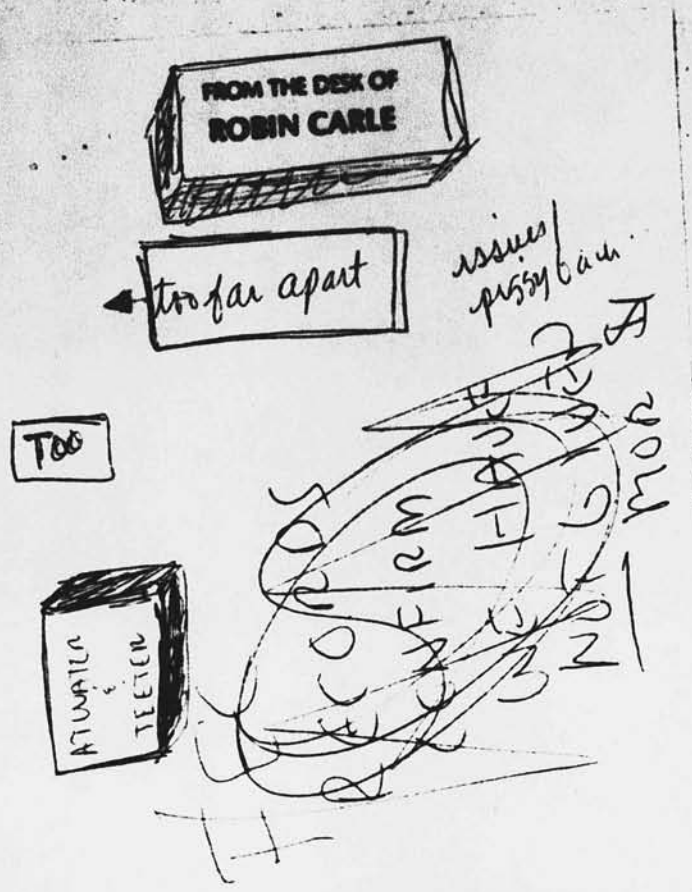
(3) AS OF YET, NOT CONSUMATED DEAL (EXPLAINS PAPER)

---

(4) ANY POLL DONE EXCLUSIVELY FOR BUSH
A) NOT AUTHORIZED BY RNC
B) NOT SEEN BY RNC
C) NOT PAID FOR BY RNC

(5) IF ONE EXISTS TALK TO MOR --
Direct mailer -- just a cover page --
No big deal -- see # 1

88040714220



- if as stated - not pay -
- if ~~not~~ misunderstanding
  shotty work

8804071422 1

AGREED - TO DO POLL - MDR

NAT'L VOTER ANALYSIS

- ISSUES & POSSIBLE CANDIDATES

- Need second questionnaire

- Need sub-sample

FOREWORD

Received
12/3
This page only

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
* To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

8804071422 2

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

12827

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DRAWER 67-688, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48267 | (313) 963-2414

September 9, 1985

Mr. William Greener
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Terms: Net — Due and payable by October 9, 1985

Job No. P85040

For national voter analysis. $70,000.00

vvvvvvvvvv

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 2 2 3

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 9, 1985, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1985 whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than October 9 for preliminary report

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate

8804071424

5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client
Mr. William Greener
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

If to MORC
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
Suite 1000
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Attn: Robert Teeter

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

8804071425

8804071 42226

Republican
National
Committee

Donald R. Hannaford
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

12/3

BILL:

RECEIVED WHILE YOU WERE AWAY (IT WAS DELIVERED TO COMMUNICATIONS).

NO ONE HERE KNOWS OF IT. IS IT FAMILIAR TO YOU. IF SO, WHICH ACCOUNT.

IF NOT, ANY SUGGESTIONS

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

550 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226 | (313) 963-2414

Republican National Committee
310 First Street,SE

Washington, DC 20003

OCTOBER 18, 1985

STATEMENT

Date	Invoice Number	Amount
09SEP85	12827	$70,000.00
	Total	$70,000.00

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1985

8804071427

DRAFT II: GREENER, [redacted], FF LTR. TO POTENTIAL PRES. CANDIDATES (12-4-85)

GEORGE BUSH PETE DUPONT cc: PAUL LAXALT
JACK KEMP HOWARD BAKER
BOB DOLE PAT ROBERTSON

Dear _____

As you know, there has been a great deal of discussion as to the proper role of the Republican National Committee (RNC) with potential candidates for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1988. In fact, I have discussed this subject with you and other possible candidates during the past month so that we might take the first steps towards insuring the RNC's candidate nuetrality, and, at the same time, providing out Party leaders, on an equal basis, appropriate information and resources available from the Committee.

You and I agree our focus during the next year ought not to be 1988, but rather the important elections of 1986. The stakes have never been higher. It is absolutely essential that we retain control of the U.S. Senate and achieve gains at all other levels.

The unfortunate incident this week involving the mistaken impression that the RNC commissioned and paid for a poll exclusively for one Presidential candidate is illustrative of the type of misunderstanding that must be avoided.

As a further indication of the type of confusion that surrounds our efforts, one only needs to look at ~~those~~ the numerous consultants and pollsters who work with ~~us~~ the RNC and are also official or unofficial advisors to one or more of those who might run for the Presidential nomination in 1988. How best to handle this, and other matters, ~~is not a black and white situation~~ of concern must be addressed.

During our past discussions about how best to minimize and eliminate these problems, I asked you and other potential candidates, to designate a representative who would interface with the RNC. Obvious topics for us to address would include the 1988 convention, possible

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and
Presidential debates, the availability of resources and information from the RNC.

You have indicated that your representative for these meetings would be _____. The aforementioned misunderstanding concerning polling makes it essential that this ad hoc committee begin meeting with me and appropriate RNC officials as soon as is feasible.

I intend to schedule the first meeting of this group sometime in early January. In the next 10 days, I will contact you with more of the details as to the exact date and scope of the meeting. If you want to change your representative, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

All of us at the RNC look forward to working with you in the upcoming months. Together, we can assure the goals we share for the 1986 election are reached.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. It is vital that we get the job done in 1986.

Sincerely,

FF

8804071 4229

Republican National Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

Date: 12/4/85

To: ROBIN CARLE

The F² letter, as requested. The handwritten "yours and yours" would go on the copy only going to the Vice. OK?

BGK

(1) "real" figures -- TO DEVIATE

(2) RELATIONSHIP

(3) DON'T LEAVE ROOM FOR TINKERING PLANS FOR. TO BE WRITTEN -- CHANGE, X DOLLARS FROM ENC

DRAFT: GREENER, III - F LETTER TO POTENTIAL PR[illegible] CANDIDATES (12-4-85)

Dear _____:

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You and I agree our focus during the next year ought not to be 1988, but rather the important elections of 1986. The stakes have never been higher. It is absolutely essential that we retain control of the U.S. Senate and achieve gains at all other levels.

This week an unfortunate situation has arisen as a mistaken impression has been generated that the RNC did a poll exclusively for one Presidential candidate. Simply stated, this is not the case.

The fact is that we conducted one of our ordinary national voter surveys and allowed the Vice President's people to "piggy-back" some questions of interest to them. We have seen neither the questions or the results on the piggy-back" questions. We have never been asked to pay for these questions. In fact, as of this date, we have not seen the results on the questions that we paid to have asked.

The nature of the problem is a simple clerical error. When the pollster prepared the books containing the questions of particular and political interest to those working with the Vice President, a sentence indicating the study had been done for the RNC was contained. As noted earlier, this just is not the truth.

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In our past conversations, we have discussed you designating an individual who would meet with us here at the RNC. You indicated that _____ was who you would prefer be included.

Obviously, it is time for our first meeting. We must make certain all of the energies of the RNC are aimed at the 1986 election. At the same time, you deserve to be confident that the RNC is being strictly nuetral in matters pertaining the 1988 nomination.

I want to convene our first meeting on _____. If you want me to contact someone other than _____ please let me know at your earliest convenience.

All of us at the RNC look forward to working with you in the upcoming months. Together we can assure the goals we share for the 1986 election are reached.

Sincerely,

FF

GRAPH A

RNC employs - lots of consultants as well pollsters which officials unfamiliar can create misunderstandings in the future

8804071423 2

8804071423 3

Republican National Committee

piggyback

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

- letter to TT candidates →
- (RNC) Date: Dec 13-

To:

→ letter

(1) BUSH EMBARASSED (TT's)

(2) DIRTY TRICKS

(3) F2 BASHING

A) RNC

B) MOVERS & SHAKERS (elected)

C) TT CANDIDATES

D) CONSERVATIVES.

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ttta238

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tAM-Bush-Poll; BJT;0656

tGOP Poll Draws Howls Of Protest From Bush's Potential Rivals

tBy DONALD M. ROTHBERG

tAP Political Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) - A Republican Party poll that included questions about Vice President George Bush's presidential prospects was drawing howls of protest Wednesday from his potential rivals who saw the survey as a tilt toward Bush in the 1988 race.

There also was a question whether Bush's political action committee would violate federal election laws if it paid part of the cost of the poll.

Aides to Bush's rivals were contending the vice president's political action committee would violate federal law if it paid more than $5,000 toward the cost of the survey. A Bush adviser said that was an incorrect interpretation of the law.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, said he got an angry call from Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, who demanded: ''What the hell is going on?''

The chairman said he assured Dole, who has his eye on the 1988 presidential nomination, that the party would be ''candidate neutral'' in the race.

Dole told Fahrenkopf the survey was ''paid for and commissioned by the Republican National Committee to Make George Bush President of The United States.''

Fahrenkopf said confusion arose from the fact the national committee allowed advisers to Bush to include some questions in a survey commissioned by the party from Market Opinion Research, a polling firm that does extensive work for the GOP.

''They asked if they could piggyback,'' said Fahrenkopf, using the term for such situations, when a candidate piggybacks questions on someone else's poll; he gets the data from his questions and pays for that portion of the survey.

John Buckley, press secretary to Rep. Jack Kemp, R-N.Y., another potential presidential candidate, said 65 of 71 pages of a copy of the poll he received dealt with Bush.

Bush

COPY OF WHAT GOT NOT WHAT (RAK) WE GOT.

Baker complaint
in PACs →
supplement or file
not one.

"It's a little like a dump truck riding piggyback on a bicycle," said Buckley.

When pollster Robert Teeter compiled the data a copy of the poll was sent out with a cover letter which said: "This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey were:

"To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush; and to compare public perception of Bush with those of President Reagan.

"To investigate voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general election for president in 1988.

"To map the national issue agenda; especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism."

The survey of 1,500 people was conducted in September.

Lee Atwater; former deputy White House political director and now a private consultant and adviser to Bush; said the cover letter was "a gross clerical error." He said the letter was meant only to describe the Bush portion of the letter.

James Cannon; who runs the Republican Majority Fund; a political action committee set up by former Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr.; said his legal advisers said it was "a slam dunk of a violation" of election laws for the Bush PAC to pay for the poll.

Atwater said the Bush PAC's attorneys reviewed the poll and "we're going to pay for questions that deal with Bush's image and all that kind of stuff."

He said that "we're not paying for anything about 1988" and added that "any political action committee wants to see how their chairman and principal spokesman looks."

A top official of the Bush PAC; speaking only on condition he not be identified; said that Teeter "put some '88 stuff in there and now says; 'Oops; I went too far from the FEC standpoint' and I guess we'll have to eat that stuff."

Federal election laws prohibit a political action committee from contributing more than $5,000 to a candidate; including to a potential candidate testing the waters in preparation for a possible presidential campaign.

AP-NY-12-04-85 1817EST

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Controversy Over Teeter Poll

Is 'BushPAC' Misleading Contributors?

Vice President George Bush, as well as the Republican National Committee, has more candidates to do. Back in the spring, Bush set up a special Political Action Committee called The Fund for America's Future. The purpose of the Fund, so said the literature, was "to support Republican candidates for federal, state and local offices. . . ."

Bush himself says that he "founded" his PAC to "provide opportunities for conservative Republicans to make a special contribution to the success of our national campaign in 1986." As Vice President, he says in a brochure, "I will be campaigning on behalf of our Republican candidates," and that "Republican leaders and activists at every level must work to assist Republican candidates in each state if our party is to make gains in the House of Representatives, governorships, state legislatures, and most important, preserve our Republican majority in the United States Senate."

Although the Fund is viewed by some as a way to enhance Bush's 1988 presidential election chances, there is no hint in the literature that this is anything but a committee to channel aid to Republican candidates, especially for 1986. The presidential contest, still three years away, is not alluded to. Many of those recruited to join the Fund's steering committee and/or contribute to the Fund say they came aboard only after they were assured it was not going to act as a front-for-President committee.

"George himself made it perfectly clear that this [support of Bush's PAC] doesn't mean a thing as far as 1988 is concerned," said former Indiana GOP National Committeeman L. Keith Bulen, a member of the Fund's steering committee. "Anyone who tells you otherwise is doing George a disservice."

Ben Kaufman, the Fund's political director, told us in October: "We want to keep the good thing from 1984 going into the 1986 election. Our goal is to elect more Republicans to office in 1986 — nothing more — and we'll worry about the future in the future."

But the future seems to be now, as Coach George Allen might have put it. The Fund for America's Future, it was discovered last week, had agreed to pay for an undisclosed portion of a $75,000 poll, the bulk of it clearly designed to aid Bush to capture the 1988 Republican nomination.

The survey, whose cost will be shared by the Republican National Committee, was conducted by Market Opinion Research, the polling firm controlled by Robert Teeter, a well-known Bush supporter.

The poll itself came about in curious fashion. The Republican National Committee, say RNC officials, commissioned Teeter for a poll testing voter attitudes. Bush and his people then asked the RNC to include specific questions on issues, "including terrorism." The cost of this part of the survey, RNC officials insist (although there's controversy here too), was to be picked up by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, supposedly agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, a process known in the polling business as "piggybacking."

The poll has raised both ethical and legal questions for the Fund for America's Future and the RNC. Many Republicans who have contributed to Bush's political action committee, in fact, now feel cheated, since they were repeatedly assured that the Fund was to be used to help Republican candidates in 1986.

A major financial contributor to the Vice President's PAC, who wanted to remain anonymous, told us:

"I think that [the use of PAC funds for the poll] is unethical and fraudulent, as far as its contributors are concerned. Many of us gave the money on the grounds that it would be used exclusively for 1986 Senate and House candidates and other Republican office-seekers, not for the '88 presidential campaign. Clearly, we have learned that we gave that money under false pretenses, and, speaking for myself, I've given my last dime to BushPAC."

Stressed a longtime Reagan supporter from the Midwest on the Fund's steering committee: "I lent them my name, but have not contributed money. To an extent, you know that they created the PAC for '88 and would use its funds toward the presidential race in some form. I really can't say I'm surprised that [the poll] happened. However, if I were a major contributor, I would feel that my funds were being misused, since many who gave did so with the absolute assurance that the PAC's primary work was in the 1986 campaigns, with '88 to be dealt with only after the former was over."

But the poll may be a violation of the law as well. Various experts on campaign regulations stress it is a major violation of the federal election laws for a multicandidate political action committee—precisely what the Bush Fund is—to contribute more than $5,000 to any political candidate. The Bush Fund was expected to pay far more than this sum for its share of the survey.

Yet no one who studies the poll can come away with any other impression than that virtually the entire survey is dedicated to making George Bush President of the United States.

Jim Cannon, who is trying to make Howard Baker President, has been quoted as saying the poll is a "slam dunk" violation of the federal election laws. "I've seen this poll," he said, "and it's Bush, Bush, Bush all the way."

Well, it's not often that we agree with Howard Baker's people, but that's just how the survey reads. From the attitudinal surveys to the direct advice to Bush, the Teeter poll is crafted to serve the Vice President's 1988 political ambitions. The poll shows how Americans view his role as Vice President, how they see him as a leader, how they rate him against various potential presidential opponents and how he can take advantage of issues.

The fact that Bush is head of a task force on international terrorism, the survey notes at one point, "could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue. . . . This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience."

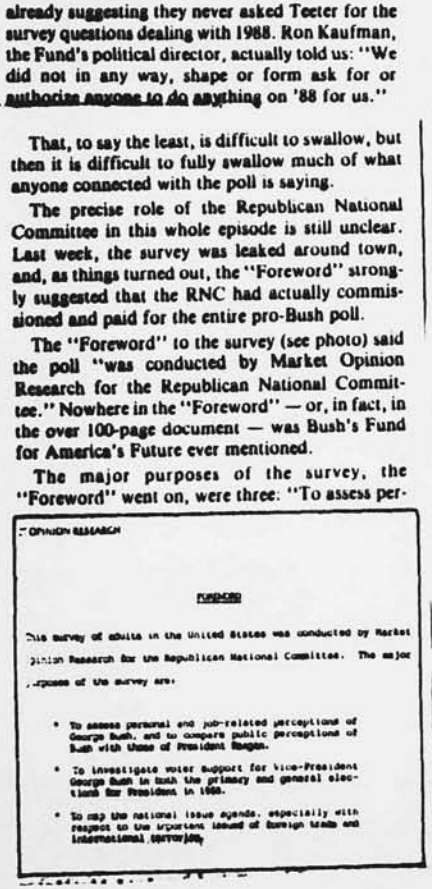
On the face of things, Bush's PAC — The Fund for America's Future — would seem to have transgressed both the ethical and legal boundaries for multicandidate PACs, and Fund officials are already suggesting they never asked Teeter for the survey questions dealing with 1988. Ron Kaufman, the Fund's political director, actually told us: "We did not in any way, shape or form ask for or authorize anyone to do anything on '88 for us."

That, to say the least, is difficult to swallow, but then it is difficult to fully swallow much of what anyone connected with the poll is saying.

The precise role of the Republican National Committee in this whole episode is still unclear. Last week, the survey was leaked around town, and, as things turned out, the "Foreword" strongly suggested that the RNC had actually commissioned and paid for the entire pro-Bush poll.

The "Foreword" to the survey (see photo) said the poll "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee." Nowhere in the "Foreword" — or, in fact, in the over 100-page document — was Bush's Fund for America's Future ever mentioned.

The major purposes of the survey, the "Foreword" went on, were three: "To assess personal and job related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan. To investigate voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988. To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism."



OPINION RESEARCH

FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

- To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
- To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
- To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Bush's rivals, who got wind of the poll, were livid. Kansas Sen. Robert Dole acidly remarked that he "didn't know that the RNC had become Bush headquarters."

When newsmen began to inquire whether the RNC had commissioned a $75,000 poll solely on behalf of George Bush for the 1988 elections—thus violating its supposed neutrality and the election laws to boot—RNC officials, after conferring with Bush backers, Teeter and others, insisted that the report that was leaked had been prepared for the Bush PAC only.

The "Foreword," they insisted, contained a "clerical" error in failing to mention that the Fund for America's Future had clearly agreed to share the cost of the poll, i.e., pay for the questions it had asked for. It was said that an entirely different report—supposedly to be delivered this week—was being put together for the RNC.

Nevertheless, skepticism exuded from many quarters, and none of the explanations, official or otherwise, get Bush's PAC off the hook. Any way you look at it, The Fund for America's Future has misled its contributors into thinking that the money raised was going to aid Republican candidates in 1986 and has almost certainly violated the federal election laws. Why doesn't one of those public issue law firms test the issues involved?

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RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush

Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican National Committee has commissioned a major poll "to assess personal and job-related perceptions of" Vice President Bush, provoking angry protests from his probable competitors for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) charged yesterday that the poll, which cost an estimated $40,000 to $60,000, violates GOP rules that the RNC be completely neutral.

"I didn't know that the RNC had become a Bush headquarters," Dole said.

Former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., a prospective candidate, said, "I'm surprised and, if this is true, someone ought to be fired."

"This is a slam-dunk of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being financed by the RNC with three purposes, including an examination "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for president in 1988."

William Greener, the committee's political director, said this description is inaccurate and that the RNC and Bush entered into a complex arrangement under which the committee will pay only for those portions of the poll that relate to general issues and job performance.

The remaining part of the poll, which specifically tests Bush's political strength compared with that of his probable competitors, will be paid for by Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, according to Greener and to Robert Teeter, who conducted the poll.

Teeter, who runs Market Opinion Research, supports Bush.

After an afternoon of private meetings to discuss how the poll was developed, Teeter, Greener and other Bush backers provided the following description of its or-

[illegible] said, Teeter [illegible]

tracted with the RNC for a poll testing voters' views of many public figures, including leading candidates for the 1988 presidential nomination.

Then Bush and RNC Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. discussed the poll and Bush asked that questioning on terrorism and international trade be added. The cost of these questions would be paid by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, in a process called "piggy-backing."

In the time since that arrangement, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

Teeter said that the copy of the poll obtained by The Washington Post inaccurately is described as a poll commissioned by the RNC. He said that the description was a clerical error and that the copy was, in fact, the version that was provided to Bush's PAC.

The 82-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate, to rate him against Dole, Baker and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy.

The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:

"It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences and how Bush can both take advantage of public good will toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image."

Teeter said yesterday that a very different version of the poll will be provided to the RNC. The cost, he said, will be about $75,000, but he

[illegible] exp[illegible]

DRAFT II: GREENER, II, FF LTR. TO POTENTIAL PRES. CANDIDATES (12-4-85)

GEORGE BUSH PETE DUPONT cc: PAUL LAXALT
JACK KEMP HOWARD BAKER
BOB DOLE BAT ROBERTSON

Dear _____

As you know, there has been a great deal of discussion as to the proper role of the Republican National Committee (RNC) with potential candidates for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1988. In fact, I have discussed this subject with you and other possible candidates during the past month so that we might take the first steps towards insuring the RNC's candidate nuetrality, and, at the same time, providing out Party leaders, on an equal basis, appropriate information and resources available from the Committee.

You and I agree our focus during the next year ought not to be 1988, but rather the important elections of 1986. The stakes have never been higher. It is absolutely essential that we retain control of the U.S. Senate and achieve gains at all other levels.

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I intend to schedule the first meeting of this group sometime in early January. In the next 10 days, I will contact you with more of the details as to the exact date and scope of the meeting. If you want to change your representative, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

All of us at the RNC look forward to working with you in the upcoming months. Together, we can assure the goals we share for the 1986 election are reached.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. It is vital that we get the job done in 1986.

Sincerely,

FF

8804071423 9

Republican National Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

Date: 12/4/85

To: ROBIN CARLE

The F² letter, as requested. The handwritten "yours and yours" would go on the copy only going to the Veep. OK?

BGK

(1) "real" figures -- TO DEVIATE

(2) RELATIONSHIP

(3) DON'T LEAVE ROOM T- [illegible] PLANS FOR. TO BE WRITTEN -- [illegible] X DOLLARS FROM [illegible]

DRAFT: GREENER, III-[redacted]F LETTER TO POTENTIAL PRE[redacted]. CANDIDATES (12-4-85)

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GRAPH A

RNC employs - lots of candidate to avoid position which opposed candidate can create misunderstandings in the future

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Republican National Committee

piggyback

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

- letter to Candidates →
- (RNC) Date: Dec 13-

To:

← letter

(1) BUSH EMBARRASSED (π 8)

(2) DIRTY TRICKS

(3) F2 BASHING

A) RNC

B) MOVERS & SHAKERS (elected)

C) π CANDIDATES

D) CONSERVATIVES.

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U N BYLZYRRXR

&AM-Bush-Poll; Bjt;0656

&GOP Poll Draws Howls Of Protest From Bush's Potential Rivals

&By DONALD M. ROTHBERG

&AP Political Writer

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Baker complaint on PACs -> Supplement re: ...

Bush (RNK)
COPY OF WHAT GOT | NOT WHAT WE GOT

''IT'S A LITTLE LIKE A DUMP TRUCK RIDING PIGGYBACK ON A BICYCLE,'' SAID BUCKLEY.

WHEN POLLSTER ROBERT TEETER COMPILED THE DATA A COPY OF THE POLL WAS SENT OUT WITH A COVER LETTER WHICH SAID: ''THIS SURVEY OF ADULTS IN THE UNITED STATES WAS CONDUCTED BY MARKET OPINION RESEARCH FOR THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. THE MAJOR PURPOSES OF THE SURVEY WERE:

''TO ASSESS PERSONAL AND JOB-RELATED PERCEPTIONS OF GEORGE BUSH, AND TO COMPARE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF BUSH WITH THOSE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN.

''TO INVESTIGATE VOTER SUPPORT FOR VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH IN BOTH THE PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT IN 1988.

''TO MAP THE NATIONAL ISSUE AGENDA, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF FOREIGN TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.''

THE SURVEY OF 1,500 PEOPLE WAS CONDUCTED IN SEPTEMBER.

LEE ATWATER, FORMER DEPUTY WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL DIRECTOR AND NOW A PRIVATE CONSULTANT AND ADVISER TO BUSH, SAID THE COVER LETTER WAS ''A GROSS CLERICAL ERROR.'' HE SAID THE LETTER WAS MEANT ONLY TO DESCRIBE THE BUSH PORTION OF THE LETTER.

JAMES CANNON, WHO RUNS THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND, A POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SET UP BY FORMER SENATE MAJORITY LEADER HOWARD H. BAKER JR., SAID HIS LEGAL ADVISERS SAID IT WAS ''A SLAM DUNK OF A VIOLATION'' OF ELECTION LAWS FOR THE BUSH PAC TO PAY FOR THE POLL.

ATWATER SAID THE BUSH PAC'S ATTORNEYS REVIEWED THE POLL AND ''WE'RE GOING TO PAY FOR QUESTIONS THAT DEAL WITH BUSH'S IMAGE AND ALL THAT KIND OF STUFF.''

HE SAID THAT ''WE'RE NOT PAYING FOR ANYTHING ABOUT 1988'' AND ADDED THAT ''ANY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE WANTS TO SEE HOW THEIR CHAIRMAN AND PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN LOOKS.''

A TOP OFFICIAL OF THE BUSH PAC, SPEAKING ONLY ON CONDITION HE NOT BE IDENTIFIED, SAID THAT TEETER ''PUT SOME '88 STUFF IN THERE AND NOW SAYS, 'OOPS, I WENT TOO FAR FROM THE FEC STANDPOINT' AND I GUESS WE'LL HAVE TO EAT THAT STUFF.''

FEDERAL ELECTION LAWS PROHIBIT A POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE FROM CONTRIBUTING MORE THAN $5,000 TO A CANDIDATE, INCLUDING TO A POTENTIAL CANDIDATE TESTING THE WATERS IN PREPARATION FOR A POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

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Controversy Over Tester Poll

Is 'BushPAC' Misleading Contributors?

Vice President George Bush, as well as the Republican National Committee, has been criticizing on the Right to Life issue. Bush set up a special Political Action Committee called The Fund for America's Future. The purpose of the Fund, as said the literature, was "to support Republican candidates for federal, state and local offices...."

Bush himself says that he "founded" his fund to "provide opportunities for conservative Republicans to make a significant contribution to the success of our national campaign in 1986." As Vice President, he says in a brochure, "I will be campaigning on behalf of our Republican candidates," and that "Republican leaders and activists at every level must work to assist Republican candidates in each state if our party is to make gains in the House of Representatives, governorships, state legislatures, and most important, preserve our Republican majority in the United States Senate."

Although the Fund is viewed by some as a way to enhance Bush's 1988 presidential election chances, there is no hint in the literature that this is anything but a committee to channel aid to Republican candidates, especially for 1986. The presidential contest, still three years away, is not alluded to. Many of those recruited to join the Fund's steering committee and/or contribute to the Fund say they came aboard only after they were assured it was not going to act as a [redacted]-for-President committee.

"George himself made it perfectly clear that this [support of Bush's PAC] doesn't mean a thing as far as 1988 is concerned," said former Indiana GOP National Committeeman L. Keith Bulen, a member of the Fund's steering committee. "Anyone who tells you otherwise is doing George a disservice."

Ben Kaufman, the Fund's political director, told us in October: "We want to keep the good thing from 1986 going into the 1988 election. Our goal is to elect senate Republicans to office in 1986 — nothing more — and we'll worry about the future in the future."

But the future seems to be now, as Coach George Allen might have put it. The Fund for America's Future, it was discovered last week, had agreed to pay for an undisclosed portion of a $75,000 poll, the bulk of it closely designed to aid Bush to capture the 1988 Republican nomination.

The survey, whose cost will be shared by the Republican National Committee, was conducted by Market Opinion Research, the polling firm controlled by Robert Teeter, a well-known Bush supporter.

The poll itself came about in curious fashion. The Republican National Committee, say RNC officials, commissioned Teeter for a poll testing voter attitudes. Bush and his people then asked the RNC to include specific questions on issues, including terrorism. The cost of this part of the survey, RNC officials insist (although there's controversy here too), was to be picked up by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, supposedly agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, a process known in the polling business as "piggybacking."

The poll has raised both ethical and legal questions for the Fund for America's Future and the RNC. Many Republicans who have contributed to Bush's political action committee, in fact, now feel cheated, since they were repeatedly assured that the Fund was to be used to help Republican candidates in 1986.

A major financial contributor to the Vice President's PAC, who wanted to remain anonymous, told us:

> "I think that [the use of PAC funds for the poll] is unethical and fraudulent, as far as its contributors are concerned. Many of us gave the money on the grounds that it would be used exclusively for 1986 Senate and House candidates and other Republican office-seekers, not for the '88 presidential campaign. Clearly, we have learned that we gave that money under false pretenses, and, speaking for myself, I've given my last dime to BushPAC."

Stressed a longtime Reagan supporter from the Midwest on the Fund's steering committee: "I lent them my name, but have not contributed money. To an extent, you know that they created the PAC for '88 and would use its funds toward the presidential race in some form. I really can't say I'm surprised that [the poll] happened. However, if I were a major contributor, I would feel that my funds were being misused, since many who gave did so with the absolute assurance that the PAC's primary work was in the 1986 campaigns, with '88 to be dealt with only after the former was over."

But the poll may be a violation of the law as well. Various experts on campaign regulations stress it is a major violation of the federal election laws for a multicandidate political action committee—precisely what the Bush Fund is—to contribute more than $5,000 to any political candidate. The Bush Fund was expected to pay far more than this sum for its share of the survey.

> Yet no one who studies the poll can come away with any other impression than that virtually the entire survey is dedicated to making George Bush President of the United States.

Jim Cannon, who is trying to make Howard Baker President, has been quoted as saying the poll is a "slam dunk" violation of the federal election laws. "I've seen this poll," he said, "and it's Bush, Bush all the way."

Well, it's not often that we agree with Howard Baker's people, but that's just how the survey reads. From the attitudinal surveys to the direct advice to Bush, the Tester poll is crafted to serve the Vice President's 1988 political ambitions. The poll shows how Americans view his role as Vice President, how they see him as a leader, how they rate him against various potential presidential opponents and how he can take advantage of issues.

The fact that Bush is head of a task force on international terrorism, the survey notes at one point, "could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue.... This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience."

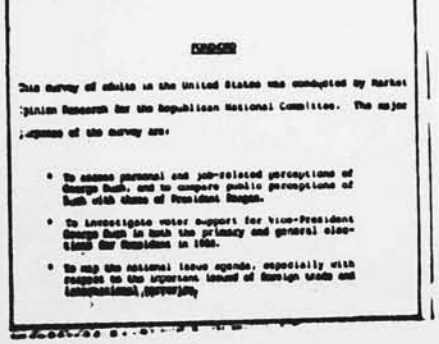
On the face of things, Bush's PAC — The Fund for America's Future — would seem to have transgressed both the ethical and legal boundaries for multicandidate PACs, and Fund officials are already suggesting they never asked Teeter for the survey questions dealing with 1988. Ron Kaufman, the Fund's political director, actually told us: "We did not in any way, shape or form ask for or authorize anyone to do anything on '88 for us."

That, to say the least, is difficult to swallow, but then it is difficult to fully swallow much of what anyone connected with the poll is saying.

The precise role of the Republican National Committee in this whole episode is still unclear. Last week, the survey was leaked around town, and, as things turned out, the "Foreword" strongly suggested that the RNC had actually commissioned and paid for the entire pro-Bush poll.

The "Foreword" to the survey (see photo) said the poll "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee." Nowhere in the "Foreword" — or, in fact, in the over 100-page document — was Bush's Fund for America's Future ever mentioned.

The major purposes of the survey, the "Foreword" went on, were three: "To assess personal and job related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan. To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988. To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism."



FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

- To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
- To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
- To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Bush's rivals, who got wind of the poll, were livid. Kansas Sen. Robert Dole acidly remarked that he "didn't know that the RNC had become Bush headquarters."

When newsmen began to inquire whether the RNC had commissioned a $75,000 poll solely on behalf of George Bush for the 1988 elections—thus violating its supposed neutrality and the election laws to boot—RNC officials, after conferring with Bush backers, Teeter and others, insisted that the report that was leaked had been prepared for the Bush PAC only.

The "Foreword," they insisted, contained a "clerical" error in failing to mention that the Fund for America's Future had clearly agreed to share the cost of the poll, i.e., pay for the questions it had asked for. It was said that an entirely different report—supposedly to be delivered this week—was being put together for the RNC.

Nevertheless, skepticism exuded from many quarters, and none of the explanations, official or otherwise, get Bush's PAC off the hook. Any way you look at it, The Fund for America's Future has misled its contributors into thinking that the money raised was going to aid Republican candidates in 1986 and has almost certainly violated the federal election laws. Why doesn't one of those public issue law firms test the issues involved?

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RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush

Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican National Committee has commissioned a major poll "to assess personal and job-related perceptions of" Vice President Bush, provoking angry protests from his probable competitors for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) charged yesterday that the poll, which cost an estimated $40,000 to $60,000, violates GOP rules that the RNC be completely neutral.

"I didn't know that the RNC had become a Bush headquarters," Dole said.

Former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., a prospective candidate, said, "I'm surprised and, if this is true, someone ought to be fired."

"This is a slam-dunk of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being financed by the RNC with three purposes, including an examination "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for ..."

tracted with the RNC for a poll testing voters' views of many public figures, including leading candidates for the 1988 presidential nomination.

Then Bush and RNC Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. discussed the poll and Bush asked that questioning on terrorism and international trade be added. The cost of these questions would be paid by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, in a process called "piggy-backing."

In the time since that arrangement, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

Teeter said that the copy of the poll obtained by The Washington Post inaccurately is described as a poll commissioned by the RNC. He said that the description was a clerical error and that the copy was, in fact, the version that was provided to Bush's PAC.

The 82-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths ...

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WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

April 1, 1986

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

Subsequent to the filing on March 13, 1986 by The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund") of a response in MUR 2133, it was discovered that the affidavit of Mr. Lee Atwater, Chairman of the Fund, misidentified an individual at the Republican National Committee.

Accordingly, enclosed is a corrected affidavit of Mr. Atwater, and a revised Response of the Fund incorporating the corrections in Mr. Atwater's affidavit. Only paragraph six of Mr. Atwater's affidavit is altered, by changing the reference to the person at the Republican National Committee with whom Mr. Atwater had the described conversation from Mr. William Greener to Mr. Bill Phillips. The Fund's response is similarily amended at paragraph five of the facts, and in the second paragraph of the Summary.

We regret any inconvenience that this correction may occasion.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

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CITY OF WASHINGTON)
STATE OF MARYLAND)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)
COUNTY OF MONTGOMERY)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC, of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Phillips that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Phillips that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

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7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

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11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

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Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 1st day of April, 1986.

Gloria A. Rubin
Notary Public

My Commission expires: 7-1-86

WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

April 1, 1986

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter, the enclosed affidavits, and a letter from Vice President George Bush are submitted by the Fund for America's Future ("Fund") in response to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 24, 1986 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, denominated Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2133. The complaint alleges that the Fund for America's Future has violated or is "about to violate" the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.[1] For the reasons set forth herein, the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") should find no reason to believe that the Fund has committed any such violation. This response reflects facts drawn from the affidavits of Mr. Lee Atwater and Mr. Craig L. Fuller, as well as from affidavits filed with the Commission by Mr. Robert M. Teeter and Mr. William Greener, copies of which counsel for the Fund has received, and the enclosed letter from the Vice President.

[1] Not only is the Vice President not a candidate for any office, but he has taken no steps to qualify as a federally-funded candidate under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. That Act is thus completely inapplicable to the Complaint before the Commission.

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I. The Facts

1. Early in 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), decided to commission Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR") and his firm to conduct a poll for the RNC.

2. Mr. Fahrenkopf informed the Vice President that he was commissioning MOR to do a poll, and stated that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President.

3. The Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for the RNC. Mr. Teeter was then directly contacted by Mr. Fahrenkopf and asked to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll. Mr. Teeter accordingly spoke to Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President and currently Chairman of the Fund for America's Future), and to Craig Fuller, Chief of Staff to the Vice President, to see what issues they thought might be appropriate for inclusion in the poll. After these conversations Mr. Teeter decided to include questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and the issues of trade and terrorism.

4. It was the common understanding of Messrs. Teeter, Atwater and Fuller that the poll was an RNC poll, and that the questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions.

5. Mr. Atwater notified Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC, of these conversations. At that time, Mr. Phillips expressed a concern that the RNC poll that had been commissioned from MOR might prove politically awkward for the RNC because of the questions relating directly to issues of interest to the Vice President. Mr. Atwater accordingly indicated to Mr. Phillips that if necessary the Fund might be able to pay a portion of the costs of the poll. However, it is Mr. Atwater's recollection following this conversation that the MOR survey was an RNC project, and that he expected the RNC to pay for it in full. Mr. Atwater was never shown a draft of the MOR questionnaire, nor did he approve any specific questions.

6. Mr. Teeter sent Mr. Fuller a version of a draft questionnaire for the RNC poll, requesting his comments. Mr. Fuller reviewed it in its entirety and made three specific suggestions to MOR, one of which concerned a trade and terrorism question, one to a public perception question, and one a question relating to qualities sought in a future President. Mr. Fuller was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested. Mr. Fuller on occasion is consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, seeking his reaction to questions they intend to ask, and thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of questions relating to the Vice President. Mr. Fuller was not shown a final copy of the questions before the poll began or otherwise consulted again by MOR.

7. When MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter called Mr. Greener of the RNC and informed him that the poll would cost $70,000. Mr. Greener approved this charge, but he did not receive a copy of the questionnaire in advance of the survey, or otherwise approve the specific questions contained therein.

8. When the poll was complete, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one of which emphasized trade and terrorism, public perception and the 1988 election, and one of which emphasized national issues, the national political parties, and major political figures. Mr. Teeter has stated that it is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data for the various parties involved in a poll. Mr. Teeter presented his first analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985, and gave his second analysis to the RNC when it was completed in early December, 1985.

9. The copy of the survey analysis sent to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and the Vice President contained the cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC. It was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

10. The RNC then advised MOR that it would not pay for the portions of the poll concerning the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions. The Fund also advised MOR that it, at the request of the RNC, would pay for those questions of the poll concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

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11. It was apparent to Mr. Teeter that there was a serious but good-faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. Accordingly, and following its customary business practice for dispute resolution, MOR negotiated with the RNC and the Fund concerning the payment for the survey. As a result, MOR has agreed to bill the RNC for all questions in the survey except (a) those relating to the 1988 Presidential election, which were never explicitly authorized by the RNC, and (b) those questions relating to the public perception of the Vice President, which will be billed directly to the Fund.

12. The Vice President did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

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II. Summary

This chronological review of the facts make it clear that the RNC commissioned a poll, and for its own reasons sought to include questions of interest to Vice President Bush. Vice President Bush's staff accordingly advised the pollster in general terms of what sort of questions would be of interest to them. Neither the Vice President nor anyone on his staff or associated with the Fund commissioned the poll or authorized 1988 polling. When the questionnaire was prepared, however, MOR included a series of questions related to the 1988 race, mistakenly believing that those questions had been commissioned by the RNC. When the poll had been completed, the Fund agreed, at the request of the RNC and in order to ease the RNC's position, to receive a bill from MOR for these questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

When Mr. Atwater originally told Mr. Phillips that the Fund would consider paying for a portion of the poll he did not anticipate the sort of poll which MOR produced, with its emphasis on the 1988 election. However, the Fund is aware of the difficult position in which the RNC now finds itself. The Fund is accordingly prepared to pay MOR, in the sum of $4,996, if the Commission determines that such payment would be in accord with the Federal election laws. The questions identified by MOR for possible payment by the Fund relate only to those questions attempting to measure the perception of various personal characteristics of the Vice President, namely trustworthiness, concern, leadership and competence. Know-

ledge of such public perception is of value to the Fund in attempting to schedule the Vice President's appearances on behalf of Republican candidates in 1986.

Throughout this period, the Vice President has reaffirmed his prior statement that he is not a candidate for any office, a fact of which he has advised both his staff and the Fund. The RNC's desire to include questions of interest to the Vice President, the Party's second highest public office holder, in a poll which it commissioned, does not in any way change this fact.

III. Legal Argument

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455, states that "the term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office." Id. at § 431(2). The Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 100.3, state that an individual becomes a candidate upon the occasion of any one of four occurrences:

> the individual receiving contributions or making expenditures aggregating in excess of $5,000; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1);
>
> the individual giving his or her consent to another to receive such contributions or make such expenditures; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(2);
>
> the individual failing to disavow such activity by another person after receiving written notification by the FEC; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(3); or
>
> contributions or expenditures aggregating more than $5,000 made through any combination of the above three occurrences. 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(4).

Vice President Bush is not a candidate for public office, and has not authorized anyone to receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of any potential candidacy. Accordingly, he is not a candidate pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.3(a)(2) or (3).

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The Complaint implies that the Vice President in some way becomes a candidate under the terms of 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1) because MOR conducted a poll commissioned by the RNC of which the Vice President and his staff had knowledge and were provided with a copy of one of two analytical summaries, and that the poll contained questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election which allegedly would aid a potential future candidacy by the Vice President.

Such an interpretation is incorrect. The Vice President has stated that he did not request or authorize such a poll, and Mr. Atwater of the Fund and Mr. Fuller of the Vice President's staff have stated that they did not either. Mr. Teeter has stated that only the RNC, and not the Vice President, commissioned and authorized the poll. Further, neither the RNC, nor anyone else outside of MOR, authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections.

No facts have been presented to demonstrate that the Vice President commissioned the poll, or authorized the taking of a poll on behalf of any potential candidacy. The accompanying affidavits demonstrate that he did not do so. The willingness of the Fund to voluntarily defray a portion of the RNC's cost by paying for those questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) does not constitute authorization by the Vice President of any expenditures relating to a potential future candidacy, nor of any such expenditures by the Fund.

Thus, the allegation made in the Complaint that the poll should be governed by 11 C.F.R. 100.8(b)(1) (the "testing the waters" regulations) is contrary to the facts. The poll was not an expenditure by anyone "solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," as the Complaint suggests.

The Complaint also states that the Republican National Committee would violate the Act by paying more than $5,000 to MOR for the poll. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the Fund itself would be in violation of the Act by allowing the RNC to pay more than $5,000 of the cost of the poll. The notion that it would be contrary to the Act for the RNC to pay for more than a fraction of its own poll is ridiculous. The RNC conceived the idea of the poll, commissioned MOR to do the poll, actively sought advice from the Vice President's staff as to what issues to include in the poll, and authorized the payment of the full cost of the poll before

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the actual survey began. The Fund's voluntary agreement to pay for a portion of the questions (those allocated by MOR to the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's most active campaigner) in no way alters the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay for its own poll. Nor does the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay the final bill submitted in any way violate the election laws. This bill excludes the 1988-related questions (which the RNC had not requested) from its allocation, as well as those questions for which the Fund has voluntarily agreed to pay.

Finally, the Complaint suggests that MOR would be making a corporate contribution by failing to seek payment for the cost of all of the questions. Implicit in this is the allegation that the Fund would be accepting an illegal corporate contribution were MOR not to bill for unauthorized questions contained in the RNC's poll. The complaint further suggests that "even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically 'requested,' it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions included in every poll." This is demonstrably wrong. As the affidavits indicate, no one outside of MOR authorized the inclusion of the questions relating to the 1988 presidential elections. It is accordingly these questions for which the RNC refused to pay -- not standard demographic questions.

The allocation of the questions (and thus the charges for them) was prepared by the professional staff of MOR in accordance with their standard accounting methods. Such allocation has been done on the basis of questions contained in the questionnaire, which is a system of allocation recognized by FEC regulations. See 11 C.F.R. § 106.3. Nothing in the election law requires anyone to pay for any goods or services which were not requested or authorized. MOR's decision not to bill the RNC for 1988-related questions was a business decision taken in the ordinary course and following standard procedures. Thus, there has been no corporate contribution to the Fund.

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Accordingly, the Fund hereby requests that the Commission find no reason to believe that there is any violation of the Act.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

88040714260

CITY OF WASHINGTON)
) ss:
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

March 4, 1986

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985 in my capacity as unpaid political consultant to The Fund, I asked Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, to "piggyback" some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President on a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("The RNC"). These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986. At no time did I specify, request or authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by Market Opinion Research. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of Market Opinion Research to formulate questions concerning the Vice President appropriate to The Fund's activities.

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5. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of the poll.

6. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

7. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assesses the 1988 Presidential race. Because my copy of the poll results stated it was conducted for The RNC, I assumed that the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had been commissioned by the The RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned The RNC had not commissioned these questions either.

8. At that time, I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund would not pay for questions which were unauthorized concerning the 1988 Presidential elections and have requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions authorized and relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from Market Opinion Research or submitted payment for the poll.

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Lee Atwater

A

CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Greener that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Greener that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1988, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it

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was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions

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relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater
Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13th day of March, 1986.

Jesse E. Kohl
Notary Public

My Commission expires: Sept. 14, 1989

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501 CHURCH ST., N.E.
VIENNA, VA 22180
(703) 938-4450, 938-4451

HOWARD PHILLIPS, Chairman
DAVID G. SANDERS, Treasurer
JACK ABRAMOFF, Executive Director

FEC
83 JAN 24 P2:38
SENSITIVE
83 JAN 24 P2:38
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

January 22, 1986

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Sir:

This letter constitutes a complaint filed pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 437g and 11 CFR 111.4 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, 501 Church Street, N.E., Vienna, Virginia 22180, which, for the reasons stated herein, believes that Vice President George Bush, the Republican National Committee, Fund for America's Future and Market Opinion Research have violated or are about to violate the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.

Upon information and belief, the Republican National Committee commissioned Market Opinion Research, of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988." That description of the purpose of the poll is reportedly contained in the letter of transmittal of the poll from Market Opinion Research to the Republican National Committee. See, Edsall, RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush, The Washington Post, December 14, 1985, at A3. That article further described the poll, as follows:

> "The 82-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate, to rate him against Dole, Baker and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy.
>
> "The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:
>
> 'It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to

Paid for by TCCPAC, not by any candidate, committee, or candidate's committee

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Reportedly, Mr. Teeter said he had agreed to that arrangement. In summary, it appears that the Republican National Committee has paid, or intends to pay, for the entire poll or, alternatively, that the cost is to be allocated, in some dubious fashion, between the Republican National Committee, Fund for America's Future and Market Opinion Research. It appears that, whoever pays for all or some portion of the poll, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Matching Payment Account Act will be violated.

The Republican National Committee, as a national party committee, may contribute no more than $5,000.00 to a multicandidate committee in any calendar year and no more than $5,000.00 to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. 441a. Fund for America's Future, as a multicandidate committee, may contribute no more than $5,000.00 to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. 441a. Market Opinion Research, as a corporation, may make no contribution to a Federal candidate or political committee and must charge a Federal candidate or political committee its usual and normal charge for its services. 2 U.S.C. 441b and 11 CFR 100.7(a)(1)(iii)(B). In the event Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for nomination for election for President and qualifies for funding under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act, Mr. Bush may not expend more than $50,000.00 from his personal funds in connection with his campaign. 26 U.S.C. 9035.

Sections 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1) of Title 11 of the Code of Federal Regulations provide that the terms "contribution" and "expenditure" do not include funds received and payments made solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate. Activities described as being permissible under those exemptions include conducting a poll. The cited sections of the Regulations go on to provide that the individual [Mr. Bush, in this case] must keep records of all such funds received and payments made; and, if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate, the funds received and the payments made are contributions and expenditures subject to the limitations, prohibitions and requirements of the Act and must be reported with the first report filed by the principal campaign committee of the candidate.

With reference to the foregoing limitations and regulatory requirements, it will be recalled that a full copy of the poll was reportedly delivered to Fund for America's Future by

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Market Opinion Research. In fact, Mr. Teeter is reported as saying that "a very different version of the poll will be provided to the RNC." Edsall, RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush, The Washington Post, December 14, 1985, at A3. Accordingly, if the Republican National Committee pays more than $5,000.00 of the cost of the poll delivered to Fund for America's Future, the Republican National Committee will violate 2 U.S.C. 441a. Further, by reason of 11 CFR 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1), if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President, any payment to Market Opinion Research by the Republican National Committee, or by Fund for America's Future, in excess of $5,000.00 will violate 2 U.S.C. 441a. Vice President Bush, as the benefactor of the poll, may pay Market Opinion Research for the cost of the poll, but, if he becomes a candidate subject to the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act, the limit on the amount he may expend for that purpose from his personal funds is $50,000.00. 26 U.S.C. 9035. In summary, and upon the assumption there have been no other transactions, the Republican National Committee may pay $5,000.00, Fund for America's Future may pay $5,000.00 and Vice President Bush may pay $50,000.00, a total of $60,000.00 against a bill for $75,000.00.

In an apparent effort to avoid the foregoing result and the concomitant need for Vice President Bush to authorize the premature establishment of a campaign committee to pay the balance of or all the bill, there is some nonsensical talk about allocating the cost of the poll between the Republican National Committee and Fund for America's Future, based upon the number of questions in the poll requested by the entity to be charged, and some ludicrous talk about Market Opinion Research absorbing a portion of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Because a full copy of the poll was delivered to and accepted by Fund for America's Future and because the entire poll relates to the potential candidacy for President of George Bush, no such allocation is possible. The poll was designed in consultation with the Vice President, his advisors and consultants. It is the content of the poll and the identity of he who benefits from the poll which counts; not who was working for whom at the time the questions were designed or when the orders were given to the polling company. Further, the suggestion that Market Opinion Research inserted some questions on its own and, thus, should bear the cost of those questions, is ridiculous. The format for a poll and each individual question are carefully written, reviewed and analyzed before the poll is taken. Even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically "requested", it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions

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included in every poll. Without the answers to those questions, the poll results would be meaningless and, as such, are included in every poll and the cost of a poll always includes the cost associated with those quesions. In any event, notwithstanding who requested or did not request specific questions, it appears that the entire poll was made available to and was accepted by Fund for America's Future for the ultimate benefit of George Bush.

For the reasons stated, the Federal Election Commission should undertake an exhaustive examination of the facts which gave rise to the development of the poll and of the poll itself; it should determine the true purpose of the poll and the identity of the person benefited; and, it should see to it that the full cost of the poll is paid in a manner that is in compliance with the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and of the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.

Very truly yours,

THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

By: Howard Phillips
Howard Phillips, Chairman

By: David G. Sanders
David G. Sanders, Treasurer

STATE OF VIRGINIA)
COUNTY OF Fairfax) ss:

Sworn to before me by HOWARD PHILLIPS under penalty of prejury and subject to the provisions of section 1001 of Title 18, United States Code, this 20th day of January, 1986.

Janet E. Bowman
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: My Commission Expires Dec. 18, 1987

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THE WASHINGTON POST ... WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1985 A9

RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush

Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican National Committee has commissioned a major poll "to assess personal and job-related perceptions of" Vice President Bush, provoking angry protests from his probable competitors for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) charged yesterday that the poll, which cost an estimated $40,000 to $60,000, violates GOP rules that the RNC be politically neutral.

"I don't know that the RNC has become a Bush headquarters," Dole said.

Former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., a prospective candidate, said, "I'm surprised and, if this is true, something ought to be done."

"This is a clear-cut case of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Dole's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being financed by the RNC with three purposes, including an examination "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for president in 1988."

William Greener, the committee's political director, said this description is inaccurate and that the RNC and Bush entered into a complex arrangement under which the committee will pay only for those portions of the poll that relate to general issues and job performance.

The remaining part of the poll, which specifically tests Bush's political strength compared with that of his probable competitors, will be paid for by Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, according to Greener and to Robert Teeter, who conducted the poll.

Teeter, who runs Market Opinion Research, supports Bush.

After an afternoon of private meetings to discuss how the poll was developed, Teeter, Greener and other Bush backers provided the following description of its origins.

Initially, they said, Teeter contracted with the RNC for a poll measuring voters' views of many public figures, including leading Democrats for the 1988 presidential nomination.

Then Bush and RNC Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. decided to add the poll and Bush asked that questions dealing on terrorism and international trade be added. The cost of these questions would be paid by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant to Vice President Bush, and William Phillips, Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, agreed to add a series of questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, in a process called "piggybacking."

At the time these decisions were made, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

Teeter said that the copy of the poll obtained by The Washington Post inaccurately described it as a poll commissioned by the RNC. He said that the description was a clerical error and that the copy was, in fact, the version that was provided to Bush's PAC.

The 88-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate, to rate him against Dole, Baker and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy.

The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:

"It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences and how Bush can both take advantage of public good will toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image."

Teeter said yesterday that a very different version of the poll will be provided to the RNC. The cost, he said, will be about $70,000, but he added that he could not estimate how the RNC and Bush's PAC will share this expense.

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Bush Should Bear Cost Of RNC Poll, Critics Say

Aides to '88 Contenders Continue Criticism

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

Aides to Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.) yesterday said that Vice President Bush should either personally pay for a controversial $75,000 poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee or set up a special presidential exploratory committee to finance it.

"George Bush is going to have to write a personal check," said David Keene, an adviser to Dole's unofficial 1988 presidential campaign. Keene's assessment was supported by James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund, except that Cannon suggested Bush could set up an exploratory committee to avoid personal liability.

Bush supporters countered that the poll, which included questions evaluating Bush's chances in the 1988 presidential contest, can be paid for under a complex arrangement by three separate: the Republican National Committee, Bush's political action committee (PAC), the Fund for America's Future, and by Market Opinion Research, which conducted the survey.

"Obviously, the political opponents think George Bush is so far ahead that they're clutching at technical straws," Bush adviser Lee Atwater said. "I thought it was too early for desperation tactics, but I guess I was wrong. The fact of the matter is we are not going to do anything illegal, unethical or immoral."

On Tuesday, the RNC and Bush aides defended the survey, arguing that the RNC had commissioned a poll of perceptions of a wide range of public officials and that Bush's Fund for America's Future was given permission to "piggyback" on the poll a series of Bush-related questions to be paid for by the Bush PAC.

John Buckley, press secretary to Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), another potential presidential candidate, contended that the arrangement is "a little like a dump truck riding piggyback on a bicycle," noting that 66 of 71 pages of a copy of the poll he received dealt with Bush.

Yesterday, Bush officials added an element to their description of how the poll was designed, contending that Robert Teeter, head of Market Opinion Research, unilaterally added questions about the 1988 presidential contest without getting the approval of the Bush PAC.

Jan W. Baran, the Bush PAC's lawyer, said Teeter's firm will have to pay the cost of the questions relating to 1988 because the Fund for America's Future did not request them. Teeter said he had agreed to this arrangement.

Keene and Cannon, however, contended that for Teeter's firm to absorb the cost would violate federal election law because it would amount to an illegal corporate contribution to a presidential campaign.

Bush's Fund for America's Future cannot pay for the poll, they argued, because the poll dealt directly with Bush as a presidential candidate. The PAC is restricted by law to spending money to help other congressional candidates and is prohibited from financing a presidential bid.

In addition, Bush has not announced for president and does not have a presidential committee to pay for the poll. Cannon and Keene argued that only Bush can pay for the poll.

"I admire their imagination," Baran, the Bush PAC lawyer, said. "It's too bad they don't have all the facts."

'Procurement Czar' Loses Mandate

Deputy Defense Secretary Taft Transfers Functions to Himself

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Five months after the Defense

Fred S. Hoffman said the move was a "management decision" unrelated to Woolsey's report. He said that Taft, as deputy secretary, in practice has

achieving the desired effect of good quality."

(A copy of the 49-page report was released yesterday by the Project on Military Procurement, a private

many officials and by "no close, continuous association" among the researchers, developers, manufacturers and the military services that deploy the weapons.

The process is further hindered by service secretaries who bicker over limited resources, program managers who strive to meet deadlines and financial limits rather than qualitative standards, and by the lack of talented acquisition manag-

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The Washington Post

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Bush Begins Drive to Corner Support of Conservatives

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Bush has made a strategic decision to move early and aggressively for the support of New Right conservative groups, his aides said yesterday, rather than allow Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) or any other potential challenger for the 1988 nomination to monopolize that wing of the GOP as a political base.

The strategy—which those aides concede has risks of alienating some of Bush's past moderate supporters or being depicted as political opportunism—will get its first crucial test tonight, when Bush is scheduled to be the featured speaker at a Washington testimonial banquet for the late William Loeb, the staunchly conservative publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader.

Loeb was scathing in his descriptions of Bush's challenge to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 New Hampshire primary. Some of Bush's longtime allies in Congress have told reporters they cannot understand the vice president's acceptance of the invitation, and Bush aides said they are well aware that he faces a round of media stories comparing his expected praise of Loeb with Loeb's 1980 editorials questioning Bush's honesty, conservatism and political acumen. Among other things, the Loeb editorials called Bush "a spoiled little rich kid" and a

See BUSH, A24, Col. 1

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH
. . . billed as a conservative leader

Human Events
THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY

Controversy Over Tester Poll

Is 'BushPAC' Misleading Contributors?

Vice President George Bush, as well as the Republican National Committee, has some explaining to do. Back in the spring, Bush set up a special Political Action Committee called The Fund for America's Future. The purpose of the Fund, so said the literature, was "to support Republican candidates for federal, state and local offices...."

Bush himself says that he "founded" his Fund to "provide opportunities for concerned Republicans to make a special contribution to the success of our national campaign in 1986." As Vice President, he says in a brochure, "I will be campaigning on behalf of our Republican candidates," and that "Republican leaders and activists at every level must work to assist Republican candidates in each state if our party is to make gains in the House of Representatives, governorships, state legislatures, and most important, preserve our Republican majority in the United States Senate."

Although the Fund is viewed by some as a way to enhance Bush's 1988 presidential election chances, there is no hint in the literature that this is anything but a committee to channel aid to Republican candidates, especially for 1986. The presidential contest, still three years away, is not alluded to. Many of those recruited to join the Fund's steering committee and/or contribute to the Fund say they came aboard only after they were assured it was not going to act as a Bush-for-President committee.

"George himself made it perfectly clear that this [support of Bush's PAC] doesn't mean a thing as far as 1988 is concerned," said former Indiana GOP National Committeeman L. Keith Bulen, a member of the Fund's steering committee. "Anyone who tells you otherwise is doing George a disservice."

Reproduced above is the front page of the premier issue (September 1985) of the Fund for America's Future "Countdown to '86" newsletter.

Ron Kaufman, the Fund's political director, told us in October: "We want to keep the good thing from 1984 going into the 1986 election. Our goal is to elect more Republicans to office in 1986 — nothing more — and we'll worry about the future in the future."

But the future seems to be now, as Coach George Allen might have put it. The Fund for America's Future, it was discovered last week, had agreed to pay for an undisclosed portion of a $75,000 poll, the bulk of it clearly designed to aid Bush to capture the 1988 Republican nomination.

The survey, whose cost will be shared by the Republican National Committee, was conducted by Market Opinion Research, the polling firm controlled by Robert Teeter, a well-known Bush supporter.

The poll itself came about in curious fashion. The Republican National Committee, say RNC officials, commissioned Teeter for a poll testing voter attitudes. Bush and his people then asked the RNC to include specific questions on issues, including terrorism. The cost of this part of the survey, RNC officials insist (although there's controversy here too), was to be picked up by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, supposedly agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, a process known in the polling business as "piggybacking."

The poll has raised both ethical and legal questions for the Fund for America's Future and the RNC. Many Republicans who have contributed to Bush's political action committee, in fact, now feel cheated, since they were repeatedly assured that the Fund was to be used to help Republican candidates in 1986.

A major financial contributor to the

(Continued on page 5)

Bush Poll Findings See page 5

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Human Events
THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY
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But Plenty of Soft Spots

Poll Shows Bush Ahead for '88

Spokesmen for Vice President George Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, were trying last week to downplay the significance of a poll jointly financed by the Bush PAC and the Republican National Committee (see cover story), saying it was meant to answer a few questions about Bush that "could help him in campaigning for other Republicans" in next year's congressional elections.

But it is clear from the poll itself, a copy of which has been obtained by HUMAN EVENTS, that the purpose had little to do with 1986. The real purpose was to help Bush and his political handlers devise a successful strategy for the 1988 presidential primary and general election campaigns.

Much of the poll, which was conducted by Market Opinion Research of Detroit, headed by Robert Teeter, was designed to determine how Bush stacks up against potential Republican and Democratic presidential rivals. Also measured

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less dependent upon his connection to Reagan." Citing a poll finding that "[f]ully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists," together with the finding that "60% of the public can be called pro-military action," the analysis suggests that Bush could choose terrorism as an issue on which he can demonstrate "strength."

"The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue," the analysis says. "Pro-Bush voters are more pro-military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him.

"This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience."

Among other interesting aspects of the MOR poll:

• In trial heats against three potential 1988 Democratic opponents—Ted Kennedy, Gary Hart and Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca—Bush is shown winning by similar margins. He leads Kennedy 51% to 45%, Hart by 50% to 45%, and Iacocca by 49% to 43%.

But though the overall margins are similar in all three races, each reveals "a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart."

Bush "falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca, again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power." On the other hand, "Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy."

• In the part of the survey designed to test Republican attitudes toward four possible campaign themes, the MOR pollsters included a question concerning a candidate who "Is a fighter for making major changes in government." This theme, which the analysis stated was included as representative of a theme that "might become uniquely associated" with Jack Kemp by 1988, was picked as most important by only 11% of GOP primary voters.

This should hardly have been surprising, however, since the question is so general as to be virtually meaningless. While Kemp is known among many Republicans as the architect of the 1981 Reagan tax cuts, the poll included not one question designed to test the importance of the tax level as a political issue.

• While the Reagan Administration has come under heavy fire from the liberal media for its opposition to racial quotas, the MOR survey indicates that public opinion is to the *right* of the Administration on this issue. Presented with the statement, "Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them," only 11% said they "strongly agree" and 15% said they "somewhat agree," while 25% said they "somewhat disagree" and 45% said they "strongly disagree."

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less dependent upon his connection to Reagan." Citing a poll finding that "[f]ully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists," together with the finding that "60% of the public can be called pro-military action," the analysis suggests that Bush could choose terrorism as an issue on which he can demonstrate "strength."

"The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue," the analysis says. "Pro-Bush voters are more pro-military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him.

"This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience."

Among other interesting aspects of the MOR poll:

• In trial heats against three potential 1988 Democratic opponents—Ted Kennedy, Gary Hart and Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca — Bush is shown winning by similar margins. He leads Kennedy 51% to 43%, Hart by 50% to 45%, and Iacocca by 49% to 43%.

But though the overall margins are similar in all three races, each reveals "a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart."

Bush "falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca, again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power." On the other hand, "Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy."

• In the part of the survey designed to test Republican attitudes toward four possible campaign themes, the MOR pollsters included a question concerning a candidate who "Is a fighter for making major changes in government." This theme, which the analysis stated was included as representative of a theme that "might become uniquely associated" with Jack Kemp by 1988, was picked as most important by only 11% of GOP primary voters.

This should hardly have been surprising, however, since the question is so general as to be virtually meaningless. While Kemp is known among many Republicans as the architect of the 1981 Reagan tax cuts, the poll included not one question designed to test the importance of the tax level as a political issue.

• While the Reagan Administration has come under heavy fire from the liberal media for its opposition to racial quotas, the MOR survey indicates that public opinion is to the *right* of the Administration on this issue. Presented with the statement, "Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them," only 11% said they "strongly agree" and 15% said they "somewhat agree," while 25% said they "somewhat disagree" and 45% said they "strongly disagree."

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WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

April 1, 1986

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

Subsequent to the filing on March 13, 1986 by The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund") of a response in MUR 2133, it was discovered that the affidavit of Mr. Lee Atwater, Chairman of the Fund, misidentified an individual at the Republican National Committee.

Accordingly, enclosed is a corrected affidavit of Mr. Atwater, and a revised Response of the Fund incorporating the corrections in Mr. Atwater's affidavit. Only paragraph six of Mr. Atwater's affidavit is altered, by changing the reference to the person at the Republican National Committee with whom Mr. Atwater had the described conversation from Mr. William Greener to Mr. Bill Phillips. The Fund's response is similarily amended at paragraph five of the facts, and in the second paragraph of the Summary.

We regret any inconvenience that this correction may occasion.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

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CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Greener that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Greener that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it

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was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions

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relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater
Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13th day of March, 1986.

Joyce E. Kolb
Notary Public

My Commission expires: Sept. 14, 1989

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CITY OF WASHINGTON)

) ss:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

March 5, 1986

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985 in my capacity as unpaid political consultant to The Fund, I asked Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, to include some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President on a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("The RNC"). At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of The RNC of this request. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986. At no time did I specify, request or authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by Market Opinion Research. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of Market Opinion Research to formulate questions concerning the Vice President appropriate to The Fund's activities.

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5. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of the poll.

6. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

7. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assesses the 1988 Presidential race. Because my copy of the poll results stated it was conducted for The RNC, I assumed that the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had been commissioned by the The RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned The RNC had not commissioned these questions either.

8. At that time, I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund would not pay for questions which were unauthorized concerning the 1988 Presidential elections and have requested that he submit to The Fund a revised analysis and a bill only for those questions authorized and relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from Market Opinion Research or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996 which sum MOR has determined consitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

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Lee Atwater

CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT

Craig L. Fuller, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Craig L. Fuller, and I am the Chief of Staff for Vice President George Bush.

2. Last Summer, I was informed by Robert Teeter that Frank Fahrenkopf of the Republican National Committee ("RNC") had commissioned Market Opinion Research ("MOR") to do a poll on a broad range of public questions and issues. I was informed that Mr. Fahrenkopf wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President. I subsequently suggested to Mr. Teeter that questions concerning trade and terrorism be included.

3. I received a copy of the September 6, 1985 draft questionnaire that had been prepared for the RNC poll by MOR. I read it through and then made three suggestions to Mr. Teeter concerning the poll, commenting both on the trade and terrorism questions of particular interest to the Vice President, and on two other questions which I felt could be improved or broadened. One of these concerned adding two names to a list of persons whose public perception was being evaluated, and another involved a question designed to measure qualities sought in a future President.

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4. As Chief of Staff to the Vice President, I have been consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, concerning questions they intend to ask, and briefed on the results of completed polls. I accordingly was not surprised to be asked to comment on Mr. Teeter's poll for the RNC, and assumed others were being asked to review it as well. I replied to Mr. Teeter in conformity with my standard practice, commenting both on the issues of particular concern to the Vice President (trade and terrorism) and on other questions of more general interest.

5. In responding to Mr. Teeter's request for comments, I did not intend to promote any possible candidacy of the Vice President, nor did it ever occur to me that my actions should be so construed. The Vice President has advised his staff, including me, that he is not a candidate and has not authorized anyone to take any actions which might make him one. I considered it entirely appropriate for a Republican National Committee poll to test public reaction to issues and to a number of prominent Republicans, with particular attention to the Vice President, the Party's second ranking office holder.

6. After responding to Mr. Teeter's draft questions, I had no further discussions with him or with anyone from MOR concerning the design of the poll, or the inclusion of any specific questions. I was never shown a completed questionnaire before the poll went into the field. Once the results

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had been analyzed and a summary prepared by MOR, I received from Mr. Teeter in November of 1985 a copy of a document which stated that the survey had been conducted by MOR for the RNC. At no time during this period was I informed by anyone that any of the questions might be paid for by the The Fund for America's Future.

Craig L. Fuller

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13 day of March, 1986.

Notary Public

My Commission expires: 12/14/88

WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

March 13, 1986

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter, the enclosed affidavits, and a letter from Vice President George Bush are submitted by the Fund for America's Future ("Fund") in response to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 24, 1986 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, denominated Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2133. The complaint alleges that the Fund for America's Future has violated or is "about to violate" the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.1/ For the reasons set forth herein, the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") should find no reason to believe that the Fund has committed any such violation. This response reflects facts drawn from the affidavits of Mr. Lee Atwater and Mr. Craig L. Fuller, as well as from affidavits filed with the Commission by Mr. Robert M. Teeter and Mr. William Greener, copies of which counsel for the Fund has received, and the enclosed letter from the Vice President.

I. The Facts

1. Early in 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), decided to commission Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR") and his firm to conduct a poll for the RNC.

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1 Not only is the Vice President not a candidate for any office, but he has taken no steps to qualify as a federally-funded candidate under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. That Act is thus completely inapplicable to the Complaint before the Commission.

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2. Mr. Fahrenkopf informed the Vice President that he was commissioning MOR to do a poll, and stated that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President.

3. The Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for the RNC. Mr. Teeter was then directly contacted by Mr. Fahrenkopf, and asked to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll. Mr. Teeter accordingly spoke to Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President and currently Chairman of the Fund for America's Future), and to Craig Fuller, Chief of Staff to the Vice President, to see what issues they thought might be appropriate for inclusion in the poll. After these conversations Mr. Teeter decided to include questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and the issues of trade and terrorism.

4. It was the common understanding of Messrs. Teeter, Atwater and Fuller that the poll was an RNC poll, and that the questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions.

5. Mr. Atwater notified William Greener, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC, of these conversations. At that time, Mr. Greener expressed a concern that the RNC poll that had been commissioned from MOR might prove politically awkward for the RNC because of the questions relating directly to issues of interest to the Vice President. Mr. Atwater accordingly indicated to Mr. Greener that if necessary the Fund might be able to pay a portion of the costs of the poll. However, it is Mr. Atwater's recollection following this conversation that the MOR survey was an RNC project, and that he expected the RNC to pay for it in full. Mr. Atwater was never shown a draft of the MOR questionnaire, nor did he approve any specific questions.

6. Mr. Teeter sent Mr. Fuller a version of a draft questionnaire for the RNC poll, requesting his comments. Mr. Fuller reviewed it in its entirety and made three specific suggestions to MOR, one of which concerned a trade and terrorism question one a public perception question, and one a question relating to qualities sought in a future President. Mr. Fuller

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was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested. Mr. Fuller on occasion is consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, seeking his reaction to questions they intend to ask, and thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of questions relating to the Vice President. Mr. Fuller was not shown a final copy of the questions before the poll began or otherwise consulted again by MOR.

7. When MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter called Mr. Greener of the RNC and informed him that the poll would cost $70,000. Mr. Greener approved this charge, but he did not receive a copy of the questionnaire in advance of the survey, or otherwise approve the specific questions contained therein.

8. When the poll was complete, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one of which emphasized trade and terrorism, public perception and the 1988 election, and one of which emphasized national issues, the national political parties, and major political figures. Mr. Teeter has stated that it is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data for the various parties involved in a poll. Mr. Teeter presented his first analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985, and gave his second analysis to the RNC when it was completed in early December, 1985.

9. The copy of the survey analysis sent to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and the Vice President contained the cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC. It was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

10. The RNC then advised MOR that it would not pay for the portions of the poll concerning the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions. The Fund also advised MOR that it, at the request of the RNC, would pay for those questions of the poll concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

11. It was apparent to Mr. Teeter that there was a serious but good-faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. Accordingly, and following its customary business

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practice for dispute resolution, MOR negotiated with the RNC and the Fund concerning the payment for the survey. As a result, MOR has agreed to bill the RNC for all questions in the survey except (a) those relating to the 1988 Presidential election, which were never explicitly authorized by the RNC, and (b) those questions relating to the public perception of the Vice President, which will be billed directly to the Fund.

12. The Vice President did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

II. Summary

This chronological review of the facts makes it clear that the RNC commissioned a poll, and for its own reasons sought to include questions of interest to Vice President Bush. Vice President Bush's staff accordingly advised the pollster in general terms of what sort of questions would be of interest to them. Neither the Vice President nor anyone on his staff or associated with the Fund commissioned the poll or authorized 1988 polling. When the questionnaire was prepared, however, MOR included a series of questions related to the 1988 race, mistakenly believing that those questions had been commissioned by the RNC. When the poll had been completed, the Fund agreed, at the request of the RNC and in order to ease the RNC's position, to receive a bill from MOR for these questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

When Mr. Atwater originally told Mr. Greener that the Fund would consider paying for a portion of the poll he did not anticipate the sort of poll which MOR produced, with its emphasis on the 1988 election. However, the Fund is aware of the difficult position in which the RNC now finds itself. The Fund is accordingly prepared to pay MOR, in the sum of $4,996, if the Commission determines that such pay- ment would be in accord with the Federal election laws. The questions identified by MOR for possible payment by the Fund relate only to those questions attempting to measure the perception of various personal characteristics of the Vice President, namely trustworthiness, concern, leadership and competence. Knowledge of such public perception is of value to the Fund in attempting to schedule the Vice President's appearances on behalf of Republican candidates in 1986.

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Throughout this period, the Vice President has reaffirmed his prior statement that he is not a candidate for any office, a fact of which he has advised both his staff and the Fund. The RNC's desire to include questions of interest to the Vice President, the Party's second highest public office holder, in a poll which it commissioned, does not in any way change this fact.

III. Legal Argument

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455, states that "the term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office." Id. at § 431(2). The Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 100.3, state that an individual becomes a candidate upon the occasion of any one of four occurrences:

> the individual receiving contributions or making expenditures aggregating in excess of $5,000; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1);
>
> the individual giving his or her consent to another to receive such contributions or make such expenditures; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(2);
>
> the individual failing to disavow such activity by another person after receiving written notification by the FEC; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(3); or
>
> contributions or expenditures aggregating more than $5,000 made through any combination of the above three occurrences. 11 C.F.R § 100.3(a)(4).

Vice President Bush is not a candidate for public office, and has not authorized anyone to receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of any potential candidacy. Accordingly, he is not a candidate pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.3(a)(2) or (3).

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The Complaint implies that the Vice President in some way becomes a candidate under the terms of 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1) because MOR conducted a poll commissioned by the RNC of which the Vice President and his staff had knowledge and were provided with a copy of one of two analytical summaries, and that the poll contained questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election which allegedly would aid a potential future candidacy by the Vice President.

Such an interpretation is incorrect. The Vice President has stated that he did not request or authorize such a poll, and Mr. Atwater of the Fund and Mr. Fuller of the Vice President's staff have stated that they did not either. Mr. Teeter has stated that only the RNC, and not the Vice President, commissioned and authorized the poll. Further, neither the RNC, nor anyone else outside of MOR, authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 presidential elections.

No facts have been presented to demonstrate that the Vice President commissioned the poll, or authorized the taking of a poll on behalf of any potential candidacy. The accompanying affidavits demonstrate that he did not do so. The willingness of the Fund to voluntarily defray a portion of the RNC's cost by paying for those questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) does not constitute authorization by the Vice President of any expenditures relating to a potential future candidacy, nor of any such expenditures by the Fund.

Thus, the allegation made in the Complaint that the poll should be governed by 11 C.F.R. 100.8(b)(1) (the "testing the waters" regulations) is contrary to the facts. The poll was not an expenditure by anyone "solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," as the Complaint suggests.

The Complaint also states that the Republican National Committee would violate the Act by paying more than $5,000 to MOR for the poll. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the Fund itself would be in violation of the Act by allowing the RNC to pay more than $5,000 of the cost of the

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poll. The notion that it would be contrary to the Act for the RNC to pay for more than a fraction of its own poll is ridiculous. The RNC conceived the idea of the poll, commissioned MOR to do the poll, actively sought advice from the Vice President's staff as to what issues to include in the poll, and authorized the payment of the full cost of the poll before the actual survey began. The Fund's voluntary agreement to pay for a portion of the questions (those allocated by MOR to the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's most active campaigner) in no way alters the RNC's obligation to pay for its own poll. Nor does the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay the final bill submitted in any way violate the election laws. This bill excludes the 1988-related questions (which the RNC had not requested) from its allocation, as well as those questions for which the Fund has voluntarily agreed to pay.

Finally, the Complaint suggests that MOR would be making a corporate contribution by failing to seek payment for the cost of all of the questions. Implicit in this is the allegation that the Fund would be accepting an illegal corporate contribution were MOR not to bill for unauthorized questions contained in the RNC's poll. The complaint further suggests that "even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically 'requested', it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions included in every poll." This is demonstrably wrong. As the affidavits indicate, no one outside of MOR authorized the inclusion of the questions relating to the 1988 presidential elections. It is accordingly these questions for which the RNC refused to pay -- not standard demographic questions.

The allocation of the questions (and thus the charges for them) was prepared by the professional staff of MOR in accordance with their standard accounting methods. Such allocation has been done on the basis of questions contained in the questionnaire, which is a system of allocation recognized by FEC regulations. See 11 C.F.R. §106.3. Nothing in the election law requires anyone to pay for any goods or services which were not requested or authorized. MOR's decision not to bill the RNC for 1988-related questions was a business decision taken in the ordinary course and following standard procedures. Thus, there has been no corporate contribution to the Fund.

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Accordingly, the Fund hereby requests that the Commission find no reason to believe that there is any violation of the Act.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

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WILEY & REIN

1776 K STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

March 13, 1986

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross, Esquire
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter, the enclosed affidavits, and a letter from Vice President George Bush are submitted by the Fund for America's Future ("Fund") in response to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 24, 1986 by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, denominated Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2133. The complaint alleges that the Fund for America's Future has violated or is "about to violate" the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.1/ For the reasons set forth herein, the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") should find no reason to believe that the Fund has committed any such violation. This response reflects facts drawn from the affidavits of Mr. Lee Atwater and Mr. Craig L. Fuller, as well as from affidavits filed with the Commission by Mr. Robert M. Teeter and Mr. William Greener, copies of which counsel for the Fund has received, and the enclosed letter from the Vice President.

I. The Facts

1. Early in 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), decided to commission Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR") and his firm to conduct a poll for the RNC.

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1 Not only is the Vice President not a candidate for any office, but he has taken no steps to qualify as a federally-funded candidate under the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. That Act is thus completely inapplicable to the Complaint before the Commission.

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2. Mr. Fahrenkopf informed the Vice President that he was commissioning MOR to do a poll, and stated that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President.

3. The Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for the RNC. Mr. Teeter was then directly contacted by Mr. Fahrenkopf, and asked to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll. Mr. Teeter accordingly spoke to Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President and currently Chairman of the Fund for America's Future), and to Craig Fuller, Chief of Staff to the Vice President, to see what issues they thought might be appropriate for inclusion in the poll. After these conversations Mr. Teeter decided to include questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and the issues of trade and terrorism.

4. It was the common understanding of Messrs. Teeter, Atwater and Fuller that the poll was an RNC poll, and that the questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions.

5. Mr. Atwater notified William Greener, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC, of these conversations. At that time, Mr. Greener expressed a concern that the RNC poll that had been commissioned from MOR might prove politically awkward for the RNC because of the questions relating directly to issues of interest to the Vice President. Mr. Atwater accordingly indicated to Mr. Greener that if necessary the Fund might be able to pay a portion of the costs of the poll. However, it is Mr. Atwater's recollection following this conversation that the MOR survey was an RNC project, and that he expected the RNC to pay for it in full. Mr. Atwater was never shown a draft of the MOR questionnaire, nor did he approve any specific questions.

6. Mr. Teeter sent Mr. Fuller a version of a draft questionnaire for the RNC poll, requesting his comments. Mr. Fuller reviewed it in its entirety and made three specific suggestions to MOR, one of which concerned a trade and terrorism question one a public perception question, and one a question relating to qualities sought in a future President. Mr. Fuller

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was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested. Mr. Fuller on occasion is consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, seeking his reaction to questions they intend to ask, and thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of questions relating to the Vice President. Mr. Fuller was not shown a final copy of the questions before the poll began or otherwise consulted again by MOR.

7. When MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter called Mr. Greener of the RNC and informed him that the poll would cost $70,000. Mr. Greener approved this charge, but he did not receive a copy of the questionnaire in advance of the survey, or otherwise approve the specific questions contained therein.

8. When the poll was complete, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one of which emphasized trade and terrorism, public perception and the 1988 election, and one of which emphasized national issues, the national political parties, and major political figures. Mr. Teeter has stated that it is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data for the various parties involved in a poll. Mr. Teeter presented his first analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985, and gave his second analysis to the RNC when it was completed in early December, 1985.

9. The copy of the survey analysis sent to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and the Vice President contained the cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC. It was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

10. The RNC then advised MOR that it would not pay for the portions of the poll concerning the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions. The Fund also advised MOR that it, at the request of the RNC, would pay for those questions of the poll concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

11. It was apparent to Mr. Teeter that there was a serious but good-faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. Accordingly, and following its customary business

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practice for dispute resolution, MOR negotiated with the RNC and the Fund concerning the payment for the survey. As a result, MOR has agreed to bill the RNC for all questions in the survey except (a) those relating to the 1988 Presidential election, which were never explicitly authorized by the RNC, and (b) those questions relating to the public perception of the Vice President, which will be billed directly to the Fund.

12. The Vice President did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

II. Summary

This chronological review of the facts makes it clear that the RNC commissioned a poll, and for its own reasons sought to include questions of interest to Vice President Bush. Vice President Bush's staff accordingly advised the pollster in general terms of what sort of questions would be of interest to them. Neither the Vice President nor anyone on his staff or associated with the Fund commissioned the poll or authorized 1988 polling. When the questionnaire was prepared, however, MOR included a series of questions related to the 1988 race, mistakenly believing that those questions had been commissioned by the RNC. When the poll had been completed, the Fund agreed, at the request of the RNC and in order to ease the RNC's position, to receive a bill from MOR for these questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

When Mr. Atwater originally told Mr. Greener that the Fund would consider paying for a portion of the poll he did not anticipate the sort of poll which MOR produced, with its emphasis on the 1988 election. However, the Fund is aware of the difficult position in which the RNC now finds itself. The Fund is accordingly prepared to pay MOR, in the sum of $4,996, if the Commission determines that such pay- ment would be in accord with the Federal election laws. The questions identified by MOR for possible payment by the Fund relate only to those questions attempting to measure the perception of various personal characteristics of the Vice President, namely trustworthiness, concern, leadership and competence. Knowledge of such public perception is of value to the Fund in attempting to schedule the Vice President's appearances on behalf of Republican candidates in 1986.

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Throughout this period, the Vice President has reaffirmed his prior statement that he is not a candidate for any office, a fact of which he has advised both his staff and the Fund. The RNC's desire to include questions of interest to the Vice President, the Party's second highest public office holder, in a poll which it commissioned, does not in any way change this fact.

III. Legal Argument

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455, states that "the term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office." Id. at § 431(2). The Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 100.3, state that an individual becomes a candidate upon the occasion of any one of four occurrences:

> the individual receiving contributions or making expenditures aggregating in excess of $5,000; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1);
>
> the individual giving his or her consent to another to receive such contributions or make such expenditures; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(2);
>
> the individual failing to disavow such activity by another person after receiving written notification by the FEC; 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(3); or
>
> contributions or expenditures aggregating more than $5,000 made through any combination of the above three occurrences. 11 C.F.R § 100.3(a)(4).

Vice President Bush is not a candidate for public office, and has not authorized anyone to receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of any potential candidacy. Accordingly, he is not a candidate pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.3(a)(2) or (3).

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The Complaint implies that the Vice President in some way becomes a candidate under the terms of 11 C.F.R. § 100.3(a)(1) because MOR conducted a poll commissioned by the RNC of which the Vice President and his staff had knowledge and were provided with a copy of one of two analytical summaries, and that the poll contained questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election which allegedly would aid a potential future candidacy by the Vice President.

Such an interpretation is incorrect. The Vice President has stated that he did not request or authorize such a poll, and Mr. Atwater of the Fund and Mr. Fuller of the Vice President's staff have stated that they did not either. Mr. Teeter has stated that only the RNC, and not the Vice President, commissioned and authorized the poll. Further, neither the RNC, nor anyone else outside of MOR, authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 presidential elections.

No facts have been presented to demonstrate that the Vice President commissioned the poll, or authorized the taking of a poll on behalf of any potential candidacy. The accompanying affidavits demonstrate that he did not do so. The willingness of the Fund to voluntarily defray a portion of the RNC's cost by paying for those questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) does not constitute authorization by the Vice President of any expenditures relating to a potential future candidacy, nor of any such expenditures by the Fund.

Thus, the allegation made in the Complaint that the poll should be governed by 11 C.F.R. 100.8(b)(1) (the "testing the waters" regulations) is contrary to the facts. The poll was not an expenditure by anyone "solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," as the Complaint suggests.

The Complaint also states that the Republican National Committee would violate the Act by paying more than $5,000 to MOR for the poll. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the Fund itself would be in violation of the Act by allowing the RNC to pay more than $5,000 of the cost of the

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poll. The notion that it would be contrary to the Act for the RNC to pay for more than a fraction of its own poll is ridiculous. The RNC conceived the idea of the poll, commissioned MOR to do the poll, actively sought advice from the Vice President's staff as to what issues to include in the poll, and authorized the payment of the full cost of the poll before the actual survey began. The Fund's voluntary agreement to pay for a portion of the questions (those allocated by MOR to the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's most active campaigner) in no way alters the RNC's obligation to pay for its own poll. Nor does the RNC's agreement with MOR to pay the final bill submitted in any way violate the election laws. This bill excludes the 1988-related questions (which the RNC had not requested) from its allocation, as well as those questions for which the Fund has voluntarily agreed to pay.

Finally, the Complaint suggests that MOR would be making a corporate contribution by failing to seek payment for the cost of all of the questions. Implicit in this is the allegation that the Fund would be accepting an illegal corporate contribution were MOR not to bill for unauthorized questions contained in the RNC's poll. The complaint further suggests that "even if one were to accept the possibility that certain questions were not specifically 'requested', it would be because those questions related to the usual demographic questions included in every poll." This is demonstrably wrong. As the affidavits indicate, no one outside of MOR authorized the inclusion of the questions relating to the 1988 presidential elections. It is accordingly these questions for which the RNC refused to pay -- not standard demographic questions.

The allocation of the questions (and thus the charges for them) was prepared by the professional staff of MOR in accordance with their standard accounting methods. Such allocation has been done on the basis of questions contained in the questionnaire, which is a system of allocation recognized by FEC regulations. See 11 C.F.R. §106.3. Nothing in the election law requires anyone to pay for any goods or services which were not requested or authorized. MOR's decision not to bill the RNC for 1988-related questions was a business decision taken in the ordinary course and following standard procedures. Thus, there has been no corporate contribution to the Fund.

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Accordingly, the Fund hereby requests that the Commission find no reason to believe that there is any violation of the Act.

Sincerely yours,

Jan W. Baran
Counsel for The Fund for
America's Future

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Counsellor
The Fund for America's Future

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1986

Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Mesdames and Sirs:

In response to a letter to me from the Federal Election Commission's General Counsel dated January 31, 1986, please be advised of the following:

1. I am not a candidate for any public office;

2. Although I was aware that the Republican National Committee was conducting a poll, I did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy.

Sincerely,

George Bush

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CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT

Craig L. Fuller, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Craig L. Fuller, and I am the Chief of Staff for Vice President George Bush.

2. Last Summer, I was informed by Robert Teeter that Frank Fahrenkopf of the Republican National Committee ("RNC") had commissioned Market Opinion Research ("MOR") to do a poll on a broad range of public questions and issues. I was informed that Mr. Fahrenkopf wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President. I subsequently suggested to Mr. Teeter that questions concerning trade and terrorism be included.

3. I received a copy of the September 6, 1985 draft questionnaire that had been prepared for the RNC poll by MOR. I read it through and then made three suggestions to Mr. Teeter concerning the poll, commenting both on the trade and terrorism questions of particular interest to the Vice President, and on two other questions which I felt could be improved or broadened. One of these concerned adding two names to a list of persons whose public perception was being evaluated, and another involved a question designed to measure qualities sought in a future President.

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4. As Chief of Staff to the Vice President, I have been consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, concerning questions they intend to ask, and briefed on the results of completed polls. I accordingly was not surprised to be asked to comment on Mr. Teeter's poll for the RNC, and assumed others were being asked to review it as well. I replied to Mr. Teeter in conformity with my standard practice, commenting both on the issues of particular concern to the Vice President (trade and terrorism) and on other questions of more general interest.

5. In responding to Mr. Teeter's request for comments, I did not intend to promote any possible candidacy of the Vice President, nor did it ever occur to me that my actions should be so construed. The Vice President has advised his staff, including me, that he is not a candidate and has not authorized anyone to take any actions which might make him one. I considered it entirely appropriate for a Republican National Committee poll to test public reaction to issues and to a number of prominent Republicans, with particular attention to the Vice President, the Party's second ranking office holder.

6. After responding to Mr. Teeter's draft questions, I had no further discussions with him or with anyone from MOR concerning the design of the poll, or the inclusion of any specific questions. I was never shown a completed questionnaire before the poll went into the field. Once the results

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had been analyzed and a summary prepared by MOR, I received from Mr. Teeter in November of 1985 a copy of a document which stated that the survey had been conducted by MOR for the RNC. At no time during this period was I informed by anyone that any of the questions might be paid for by the The Fund for America's Future.

Craig L. Fuller

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13 day of March, 1986.

Notary Public

My Commission expires: 12/14/89

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CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Greener that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Greener that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it

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was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions

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relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater

Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13th day of March, 1986.

Jesse E. Koch

Notary Public

My Commission expires: Sept. 14, 1989

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Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

March 6, 1986

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

ATTN: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is in response to the complaint by the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee which alleges, in part, that the Republican National Committee (RNC) has violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

This letter is the response of the Republican National Committee pursuant to 11 CFR Section 111.6(a). This response will demonstrate clearly to the Commission that no further action should be taken in connection with this complaint because the complainant, the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee, fails to meet the statutory and regulatory requirements of the Federal Election Commission. The complaint does not contain a clear and concise presentation of facts which describe a violation of any statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdicition. [2 USC Section 437g(a)(1); 11 CFR Section 111.4(d)3(4)].

Attached is a copy of an affidavit from William I Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the Republican National Committee. This affidavit clearly illustrates that the allegations in the complaint from the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee are simply recitations of inaccurate newspaper accounts and do not provide a basis on which the Commission could determine that the RNC has violated, or was about to violate, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

Very truly yours,

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd
Enclosure

bcc: Edie Holiday, Esq.

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AFFIDAVIT

WILLIAM I. GREENER, III

I, William I. Greener, III, being first duly sworn hereby deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contined herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the Republican National Committee (RNC) and am authorized to make this statement on behalf of the Republican National Committee.

3. The Republican National Committee did commission Market Opinion Research (MOR) to conduct a survey and analysis of voter attitudes on a variety of issues, including terrorism and international trade.

4. The Republican National Committee has never commissioned Market Opinion Research (MOR) of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988."

5. The Republican National Committee did not commission, nor have I seen a document "designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with

7. I was approached in the late summer of 1985 by Lee Atwater and asked if questions of interest to the Fund for America's Future could be added to the survey to be conducted for the RNC by MOR. Pursuant to our normal procedure with such requests, it was acceded to with the express statement the Republican National Committee would not pay for, nor see, any of the work done in this regard.

8. MOR has proposed that the RNC pay $52,390 for the survey and analysis which the RNC commissioned. The RNC will pay MOR $52,390 upon receipt of a billing invoice.

William I. Greener, III

Signed and sworn to before me this 6th day of March, 1986.

Notary Public

E. Thomas Wright
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires May 15, 1988

My commission expires _____.

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MAR 18 1986

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, depose and say:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a corporation with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf (the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC)) and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. The RNC is a long-standing client of MOR. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the issues and details of the poll with Bill Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll.

5. Several days earlier, in a conversation I was having with Vice President George Bush, he made a brief comment that I should [illegible] to do a poll which would include questions of interest to the Vice President. The Vice President did not say anything that indicated

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in any way that he, himself, was commissioning the poll or that it had been commissioned at his request.

6. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll should identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election, measure voter attitudes on national issues and measure the awareness and perception of major political figures. The design of the questionnaire and the questions to be used were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

7. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned discussions with Fahrenkopf and Phillips, I met with Lee Atwater (a volunteer adviser to the Vice President) and Phillips to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

8. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late Summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed. (AS DESCRIBED ABOVE)

9. At about this same time and pursuant to my mentioned discussion with Fahrenkopf, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, and asked him what issues he wanted to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the poll should cover the issues of trade and terrorism.

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10. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then also become associated (as an unpaid political consultant) with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include whatever questions I thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President.

11. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll with the following issues:

(a) to measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) to measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) to measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) to determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

12. During this questionnaire design stage, I gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to Fuller, and he and I discussed the questionnaire with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues. A few days later, Fuller suggested to MOR that it make three changes to the questionnaire. These were a suggested change to a trade question, the addition of names to the list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next President. Some of these suggestions were accepted by MOR.

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13. MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, and I called Greener and told him that the poll would cost $70,000. Greener approved this charge. The charge was determined by MOR in its normal business manner using its customary rates. Consistent w/ law.

14. Except for the discussions with Fuller described in paragraph 12, neither the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, approved the questionnaire - the design of the specific questionnaire having been left to MOR's expertise.

15. The questions in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed them to be appropriate. MOR also believed that all of the questions MOR used including the 1988 election questions were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election.

16. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985, through September 25, 1985.

17. On September 19, 1985, MOR invoiced the RNC $70,000, the agreed on cost for the poll. Nothing has been paid by the RNC on the invoice and reminder invoices for the $70,000 have been sent to it. The stage of MOR's work on the poll at which the invoice was sent to the RNC is in accordance with MOR's normal business practice.

18. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote two separate analyses of the poll. The first analysis emphasized the perception

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of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issues and other national issues. The second analysis emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues. It is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data to cover the various interests of parties involved in the poll.

19. The first analysis was presented by me at a meeting on November 13, 1985, which was one of a number of meetings I was having at this time with the Vice President, his Chief of Staff (Fuller) and Atwater, and copies of the analyses were given to them. Copies of the second analysis were delivered to Greener on December 19, 1985.

20. In December, 1985, MOR was advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions.

21. MOR was also advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. This was the first time MOR became aware that the FFAF would be paying anything for the poll. At this same time MOR was asked by the FFAF to prepare a revised analysis

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to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

22. It was evident to MOR that there was a serious disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this particular situation were that the issues to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

23. Following its customary practice to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had negotiating sessions with both the RNC and the FFAF. As a result, MOR has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions which the RNC agreed it had authorized MOR to poll, and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll), covering only those questions concerning the perception of the Vice President. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614, (a 18.1% portion of the poll), apparently will have to be absorbed by MOR. In making these allocations, MOR used its normal and customary method of allocating costs for multi-client polls. This settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial. This poll was done by MOR in the regular course of

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its business with the intent to be paid in full for its work. The proposed settlement of the bill was for business reasons. MOR had no intent that there be a contribution by it to anybody.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of March 1986.

TRACY PACIOREK
Notary Public, Macomb County, Mich.
Acting in Wayne County
My Commission Expires March 28, 1989

Notary Public
County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

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FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION
MUR 2133

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, state:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a company with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr., the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC), a long-standing client of MOR, and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the details of the poll with ~~William~~ BILL Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to Vice President Bush, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll. The design of the questionnaire and the specific questions to be used to cover the subjects were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

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5. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll in general was to identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election and measure voter attitudes on national issues and major political figures.

6. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned conversations with Fahrenkopf and Phillips, Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President), Phillips and I met to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

7. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed.

8. At about this time, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, to ask him what issues the Vice President might like to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the Vice President would like the poll to cover the issues of trade and terrorism. No other questions were requested by Fuller or the Vice President's staff. The Vice President himself did not request any questions.

9. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then become associated with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include the perception of the Vice President.

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10. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll, with the following objectives, to

(a) Measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) Measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) Measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) Determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) Determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

11. During this questionnaire design stage, I had a meeting with Fuller in Washington. At this meeting, among other nonrelated matters, we discussed the specific draft questions on the trade and terrorism issues, which the MOR staff had prepared and which I had brought with me to show Fuller. Fuller called me a day or two later and said he had thought about the questions I had shown him and had some suggestions, which MOR adopted.

12. MOR completed drafting of the questionnaire and determined the cost for the poll using MOR's usual and normal rates. I called Greener and told him that the cost for the entire poll would be $70,000. Greener agreed.

13. Except for the discussions concerning the trade and terrorism questions at no time did the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, review the questionnaire, approve it or ask for any specific questions, the question and questionnaire having been left to MOR's expertise.

14. The areas in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed that the questions and approach used were within the broad authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admitedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically requested questions relating to the 1988 election. (Thank God)

15. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985 through September 25, 1985. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote separate analyses of the poll, one for the FFAF (the FFAF Analysis) and one for the RNC (the RNC Analysis). The FFAF Analysis, the Foreword to which erroneously stated that it was for the RNC, emphasized the public's perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election and the national issues of trade and terrorism. The RNC Analysis emphasized the public's attitude on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues.

16. Copies of the FFAF Analysis were delivered to Atwater, for the FFAF, Fuller and the Vice President. Several copies of the RNC Analysis were, some time later, delivered to Greener for the RNC.

17. MOR was subsequently advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election, since the RNC had not authorized those questions. MOR also was

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advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. At this same time, MOR was asked by the FFAF to rewrite the analysis with the purpose of showing how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

18. It was evident that there was a serious but good faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC and the FFAF as to what was or was not to be covered in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this situation were that the specific areas to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

19. Following its customary practices to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had several negotiating sessions with each client. MOR will be has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions that the RNC agreed it had asked MOR to poll and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll) covering only those questions which FFAF agreed it had authorized MOR to poll. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614 (an 18.1% portion of the poll) will have to be absorbed by MOR. MOR used its normal and customary method of allocating costs in

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multi-client polls in making these allocations and this settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial.

20. I have attached to this Affidavit a copy of the questionnaire noting on the questionnaire which questions were allocated to the RNC, which questions were allocated to the FFAF, and which were not allocated to either client.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this ____ day of March 1986.

_____, Notary Public
_____ County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

8804071 4327

MOR

MEYER, KIRK, SNYDER & SAFFORD
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
100 WEST LONG LAKE ROAD, SUITE 100
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICHIGAN 48013
TELEPHONE: (313) 647-8111
TELECOPIER: (313) 647-8078

DETROIT OFFICE
838 PENOBSCOT BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1280

GEORGE N. MEYER
JOHN N. KIRK
GEORGE E. SNYDER
RALPH R. SAFFORD
PATRICK R. RODE
DAVID D. SHOUP

MARK R. SOLOMON
OF COUNSEL IN TAX MATTERS

MAR 18 1986

March 11, 1986

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Sir:

This letter is a Response on behalf of Market Opinion Research Company (MOR) to a Complaint filed against it, the Republican National Committee (RNC), the Fund For America's Future (FFAF) and Vice President George Bush by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee.

The attached Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter, the President of MOR, in substance, shows the following:

The RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a political poll in which the FFAF subsequently participated. The poll as finally constituted was to cover several broadly described issues with the design of the questionnaire and the questions left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

The poll included questions on the 1988 election. These questions were included because MOR believed them to be appropriate and within the authority granted to it to conduct the poll. The RNC and the FFAF subsequently refused to pay for the 1988 questions on the basis that the 1988 questions had not been authorized by them.

The inclusion of the 1988 questions, which arose from a misunderstanding between the parties, resulted in a dispute on the amount of MOR's bill for the poll. The parties have negotiated a proposed settlement of the bill, with MOR to be paid in full except for the 1988 questions, the cost for which is to be absorbed by MOR.

The poll was done by MOR in the regular course of its business with the intent to be paid in full for its work. The proposed settlement of the bill by MOR was for business reasons and MOR did not intend to make a contribution to anybody.

3 3 0 4 0 7 1 4 3 2 8

The Complaint against MOR has no merit and should be dismissed without further investigation.

Yours very truly,

George H. Meyer

GHM/rg

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FILE
JAN 6 1986
fyi: JJ
Harris
Pol.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 20, 1985

The Hon. Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Frank:

I appreciated your letter to the Vice President of December 4, 1985 concerning the formation of an ad hoc committee to discuss activities of the Republican National Committee as they may relate to the Vice President and other Republicans. As we indicated to you previously, Ron Walker will serve as the Vice President's representative on the committee should such a committee be formed.

Based upon our telephone conversation, it is my understanding that the ad hoc committee will not review and discuss resources traditionally provided during the past five years to the President and Vice President. It is my understanding, as a result of our conversation, that the RNC will continue to support the administration, specifically the Vice President, in the same manner and at the same level it has in past years. As you and I discussed, this is most appropriate given the office and the level of support provided to the RNC by the Vice President. I want you to know that this understanding is most appreciated.

With regard to the scope of activity you envision for the Committee, I want you to know that Ron Walker has full authority to discuss any issue appropriate for review by the RNC. We would like, of course, to focus primarily on 1986. To the extent the RNC is planning for the 1988 convention and wishes to involve the ad hoc committee, we would have no objection. However, I do have reservations about utilizing the ad hoc committee at this stage to discuss and resolve any issue related to a 1988 presidential campaign. Since the Vice President has neither declared his intentions with regard to 1988 nor does he have a committee formed to address the 1988 campaign, I cannot authorize the Vice President's representative to engage in these issues at this time.

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Finally, with regard to the discussion in your letter concerning a misunderstanding about polling, I was pleased, based on our conversation, that we are in agreement with regard to the fact that you offered to pay for a survey containing questions in which we would have an interest. I, regret, as I know you must, that procedures were employed that could have prevented confusion about the questions and the analysis derived from the survey.

We look forward to working closely with you, Frank, to make the best possible use of Republican resources in 1986 and to creating a constructive environment for dealing with future political considerations.

Sincerely,

Craig L. Fuller
Chief of Staff to the
Vice President

cc: The Honorable Paul Laxalt

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Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

Bush Poll

Mr. Robert S.
President/Tre
William Howar
899 Bromton D
Westbury, New

8804071433 2

Dear Bob:

I want to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Republican National Committee not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the polls taken for the RNC and the Fund for America's Future is regrettable.

Simply stated, a clerical error resulted in news reports conveying an incorrect assertion that the RNC had done something which we had not done. Despite what you may have heard, the RNC did not and will not pay for polling or anything else for specific candidates until after the 1988 Convention. The Republican National Committee has a long-standing policy of candidate neutrality. We will not support any of the 1988 presidential candidates prior to the 1988 Republican Convention. Only after the delegates at the 1988 GOP Convention have voted for their choice for President and the nomination has been confirmed, will the RNC actively support the chosen candidate. Until then, the RNC will abide by its rules and remain completely candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.

I hope this explanation addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter and hope for your continued support. If there is anything else my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

February 24, 1986

Mr. Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

8804071432

Dear Bob:

I want to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Republican National Committee not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the polls taken for the RNC and the Fund for America's Future is regrettable.

Simply stated, a clerical error resulted in news reports conveying an incorrect assertion that the RNC had done something which we had not done. Despite what you may have heard, the RNC did not and will not pay for polling or anything else for specific candidates until after the 1988 Convention. The Republican National Committee has a long-standing policy of candidate neutrality. We will not support any of the 1988 presidential candidates prior to the 1988 Republican Convention. Only after the delegates at the 1988 GOP Convention have voted for their choice for President and the nomination has been confirmed, will the RNC actively support the chosen candidate. Until then, the RNC will abide by its rules and remain completely candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.

I hope this explanation addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter and hope for your continued support. If there is anything else my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

long standing

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Joan -
This letter is now 0669q.
Please print on FJF letterhead
& give to Chairman's office.
Thanks.
Randy

8804071433 3

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

January 14, 1985

Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear Robert:

Thank you for your recent letter.

I would like to assure that it has been, and will continue to be a policy of the RNC not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the poll is regrettable.

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test voter reaction to specific issues, in this case trade and terrorism. The Fund for America's Future was interested in the same issues, as well as some candidate-specific information. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the agreement that we would pay for only those questions on issues. In fact, two different survey books were produced by Market Opinion Research.

Unfortunately, the finished product received by the Fund for America's Future contained a clerical error, namely the omission of a statement declaring that the poll was purchased in part by the Republican National Committee, and in part by the Fund for America's Future. This copy was reported in the press, and as a result, the RNC appeared to be supporting George Bush for President. Let me again assure you that this is in no way the truth, and that the RNC will remain completely candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.

I hope this addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter, and hope for your continued support. If there is anything my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/tv

R 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 3 3 4

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Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

January 14, 1985

1/17

Tom —
With corrections,
A-Ok.

Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear Robert:

Thank you for your recent letter.

I would like to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, a policy of the RNC not to support candidates, ~~including~~ -- including presidential candidates, ~~in the pre-primary phase~~. The confusion concerning the poll is, ~~therefore, all the more~~ regretable.

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test voter reaction to specific issues, in this case trade and terrorism. The Fund for America's Future was interested in the same issues, as well as some candidate-specific information. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll, with the agreement that we would pay for only those questions on issues, and in fact, two different survey books were produced by Market Opinion Research. Unfortunately, the finished product received by the Fund for America's Future contained a clerical error, ~~namely~~ the omission of a statement declaring that the poll was purchased in part by the Republican National Committee, and in part by the Fund for America's Future. This copy ~~was leaked to~~ reported in the press, and as a result, the RNC appeared to be supporting George Bush for President. Let me again assure you that this is in no way the truth, and that the RNC will remain candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.

I hope this ~~will assuage your fears~~ explains & addresses your concern. I appreciate your interest in this matter, and hope for your continued support. If there is anything my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

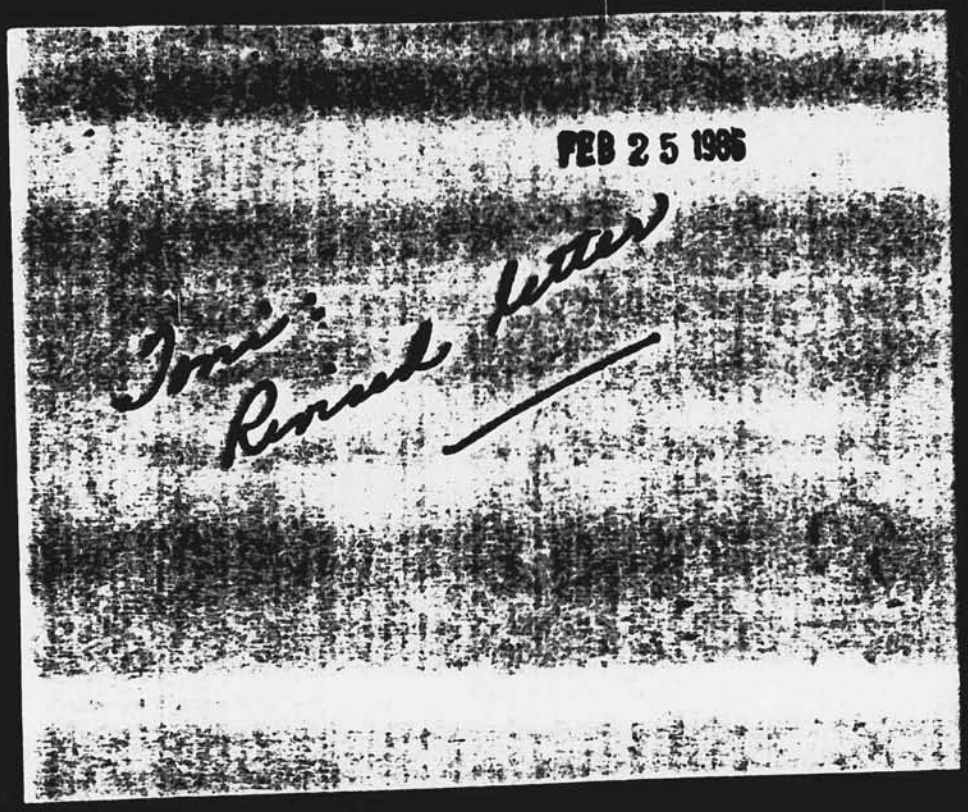
FJF/tv

long standing

The Republican National Committee has a policy of candidate neutrality. We will not support any of the 1988 presidential candidates prior to the 1988 Republican Convention. Only after the delegates at the 1988 GOP Convention have voted for their choice for President and the nomination has been confirmed, will the RNC actively support the chosen candidate. Until then, the RNC will abide by its rules and remain completely candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.

Joan -
This letter is now 0669q.
Please print on FJF letterhead
& give to Chairman's office.
Thanks.
Randy

88040714337


FEB 2 5 1986
Iowa Rural Letter

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

February 24, 1986

Mr. Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear Bob:

I want to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Republican National Committee not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the polls taken for the RNC and the Fund for America's Future is regrettable. ~~I hope that this letter will clarify the situation and explain what actually happened.~~

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test national voter attitudes. The Fund for America's Future had some questions which were only of concern to them. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the understanding that we would pay only for the questions we had requested and never see their questions. Two different survey books were produced by the polling firm, Market Opinion Research. We will, in fact, pay only for the research that we requested.

The misunderstanding over this matter arose from a clerical error in the first copy of the poll that was released. The report received by the Fund for America's Future did not contain a statement declaring that the poll was purchased, in part, by the Republican National Committee and, in part, by others. Instead, it said we paid for material they received. When the contents of this copy were reported by the press, the RNC appeared to have paid for material pertaining to the 1988 election.

Simply stated, a clerical error resulted in news reports conveying an incorrect assertion that the RNC had done something which we had not done. Despite what you may have heard, the RNC did not and will not pay for polling or anything else for specific candidates until after the 1988 Convention. ~~Let me again assure you that the RNC is not supporting George Bush, or any other candidate, for President. The RNC will abide by its rules and remain completely candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.~~

Kathleen

8304071433 9

I hope this explanation addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter and hope for your continued support. If there is anything else my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

8804071434 0

FJF -

for your edits

- candidate neutrality until after convention
- despite what you may have read in various publications the RNC did not & will not pay for polling on behalf of [illegible]

FEB 1 1 1996

For F.J.F. sign.

Ret. to Pam.

print 0570g on FJF letterhead and give it to the Chairman's office for review.

Thanks.

Randy

8804071434 1

William Howard Taft Young Re
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear ~~Robert:~~ BOB

I want to assure you that it
of the Republican National Co
presidential candidates -- pri
polls taken for the RNC and t
hope that this letter will cla
happened.

-- explain what actually

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test national voter attitudes. The Fund for America's Future had some questions which were only of concern to them. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the understanding that we would pay only for the questions we had requested and never see their questions. Two different survey books were produced by the polling firm, Market Opinion Research. We will, in fact, pay only for the research that we requested, ~~and the Fund for America's Future will pay for the additional work that they wanted.~~

? is this true

The misunderstanding over this matter arose from a clerical error in the first copy of the poll that was released. The report received by the Fund for America's Future did not contain a statement declaring that the poll was purchased, in part, by the Republican National Committee and, in part, by others. Instead, it said we paid for material they received. When the contents of this copy were reported by the press, the RNC appeared to have paid for material pertaining to the 1988 election.

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I hope this explanation addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter and hope for your continued support. If there is anything else my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

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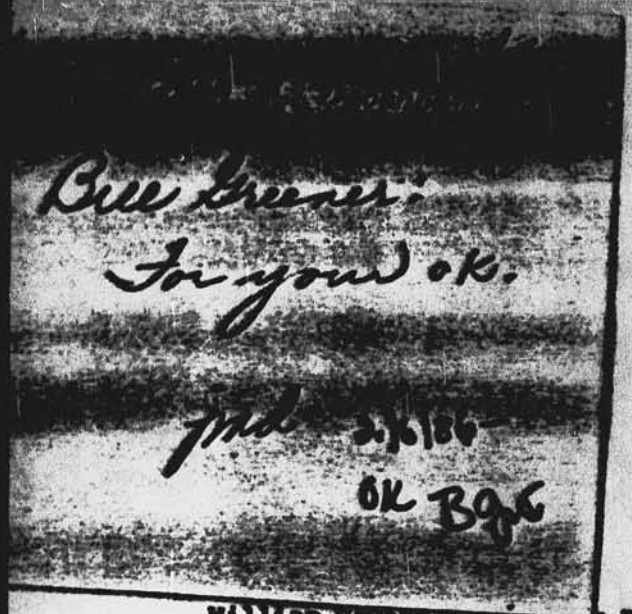

February 4, 1986

William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear Robert:

I want to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Republican National Committee not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the polls taken for the RNC and the Fund for America's Future is regrettable. I hope that this letter will clarify the situation and explain what actually happened.

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test national voter attitudes. The Fund for America's Future had some questions which were only of concern to them. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the understanding that we would pay only for the questions we had requested and never see their questions. Two different survey books were produced by the polling firm, Market Opinion Research. We will, in fact, pay only for the research that we requested, and the Fund for America's Future will pay for the additional work that they wanted.

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I hope this explanation addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter and hope for your continued support. If there is anything else my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

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Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

January 27, 1986

Mr. Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

1/31/86 Randy -
Please see my edits.
OK?
Thanks
BJ

Dear Robert:

I want to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Republican National Committee not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the polls taken for the RNC and the Fund for America's Future is regrettable. I hope that this letter will clarify the situation and explain what actually happened.

NEVER SEE THEIR QUESTIONS. -

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test national voter attitudes. The Fund for America's Future was ~~interested in voter reaction to the questions that the RNC was asking in this particular poll and~~ had some questions which were only of concern to them. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the understanding that we would pay only for the questions we had requested. Two different survey books were produced by the polling firm, Market Opinion Research. We will, in fact, pay only for the research that we requested, and the Fund for America's Future will pay for the additional work that they wanted.

OTHERS. Instead, reports said we paid for material they received.

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Very truly yours,

HAVE PAID FOR ~~SOME~~ MATERIAL PERTAINING TO THE 1988 ELECTION.

news reports conveying

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

Briefly stating the clerical error resulted in an incorrect assertion that the RNC had done something which we had not.

8804071434 5

1/22

Bill—

Thought you might like to approve this.

Pat B.

1/29/86

To: Bill

Attached letter from Legal

1/22/86

DAT -

YOU SHOULD LET BRADEN DRAFT A LETTER WE REVIEW. WE WANT TO BE CAREFUL. OK?

Thanks

BG

(Check on Poli Sup)

Joan -
The response to this letter is 0570q. Mark has approved this text.
Randy Davis

Date:

To:

Mark Braden -
Would you like to start all over with this Krosse letter?
Our attempt is attached.
Thanks. Pat Powell
X

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

January 27, 1986

Mr. Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear Robert:

I want to assure you that it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Republican National Committee not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the polls taken for the RNC and the Fund for America's Future is regrettable. I hope that this letter will clarify the situation and explain what actually happened.

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test voter reaction to specific issues. In the poll about which you are inquiring, we were trying to assess the views of Americans on trade and terrorism. The Fund for America's Future was also interested in these issues, as well as having some questions which were only of concern to them. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the understanding that we would pay only for questions on those two issues. Two different survey books were produced by the polling firm, Market Opinion Research. We will, in fact, pay only for the research that we requested, and the Fund for America's Future will pay for the additional work that they wanted.

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Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/rdd

8804071348

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

January 14, 1985

Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

Dear Robert:

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Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/tv

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Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

January 14, 1985

Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, New York 11590

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I would like to assure that it has been, and will continue to be a policy of the RNC not to support candidates -- including presidential candidates -- prior to a primary. The confusion concerning the poll is regrettable.

As you know, the Republican National Committee periodically commissions polls to test voter reaction to specific issues, in this case trade and terrorism. The Fund for America's Future was interested in the same issues, as well as some candidate-specific information. We agreed to attach their questions to our poll -- referred to as "piggybacking" -- with the agreement that we would pay for only those questions on issues. In fact, two different survey books were produced by Market Opinion Research.

Unfortunately, the finished product received by the Fund for America's Future contained a clerical error, namely the omission of a statement declaring that the poll was purchased in part by the Republican National Committee, and in part by the Fund for America's Future. This copy was reported in the press, and as a result, the RNC appeared to be supporting George Bush for President. Let me again assure you that this is in no way the truth, and that the RNC will remain completely candidate-neutral throughout the primary election cycle.

I hope this addresses your concerns. I appreciate your interest in this matter, and hope for your continued support. If there is anything my office can do for you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

FJF/tv

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WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB

ROBERT S. GROSSE
PRESIDENT/TREASURER

899 BROMTON DRIVE
WESTBURY, NY 11590
(516) 333-1862

December 17, 1985

12/18 DEC 18 1985 ~~Rep: Comm~~ Fyi: ↔ Pol

Honorable Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee JAN 13 1986
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003 Re-route: Pol.

Dear Mr. Fahrenkopf:

12/14 Issue attached

In the recent issue of Human Events I read a disturbing article regarding The Fund for America's Future and the part that the Republican National Committee played in financing a poll taken by Vice-President Bush's PAC.

While I am a strong supporter of the work that the RNC does on behalf of the GOP, I do not support the idea of aiding one candidate over the others for President, especially when there are several potential candidates for the 1988 Republican nomination.

Our club has not made any formal decision about whom we will support. However, based upon his House voting record and other data I do not believe that Mr. Bush is all that conservative and I will not support him in the primaries.

I am writing to find out if the story is factual. Recently I received a bill for my 1986 RNC membership dues and my decision regarding whether or not to rejoin is predicated upon the validity of the story.

A while back I was a member of the Republican Presidential Task Force and the United States Senatorial Committee. I did not renew my membership seeing that my money was going to support Republicans that are so liberal that they would hurt the party more than help it.

I would appreciate a response to my inquiry. As you know from our meeting this past May, I support the work that you are doing and I would like to belong to the RNC, at least as long as you are chairman.

With my warmest personal regards, I remain

Cordially,

Bob

ROBERT S. GROSSE

RSG/dm

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Human Events

THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY

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VOL. XLV No. 50

DECEMBER 14, 1985

Controversy Over Teeter Poll

Is 'BushPAC' Misleading Contributors?

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 3 5 2

Vice President George Bush, as well as the Republican National Committee, has some explaining to do. Back in the spring, Bush set up a special Political Action Committee called The Fund for America's Future. The purpose of the Fund, so said the literature, was "to support Republican candidates for federal, state and local offices. . . ."

Bush himself says that he "founded" his Fund to "provide opportunities for concerned Republicans to make a special contribution to the success of our national campaign in 1986." As Vice President, he says in a brochure, "I will be campaigning on behalf of our Republican candidates," and that "Republican leaders and activists at every level must work to assist Republican candidates in each state if our party is to make gains in the House of Representatives, governorships, state legislatures, and most important,

THIS WEEK'S NEWS FROM
Inside Washington

'BushPAC' / From page 1

Vice President's PAC, who wanted to remain anonymous, told us:

"I think that [the use of PAC funds for the poll] is unethical and fraudulent, as far as its contributors are concerned. Many of us gave the money on the grounds that it would be used exclusively for 1986 Senate and House candidates and other Republican office-seekers, not for the '88 presidential campaign. Clearly, we have learned that we gave that money under false pretenses, and, speaking for myself, I've given my last dime to BushPAC."

Stressed a longtime Reagan supporter from the Midwest on the Fund's steering committee: "I lent them my name, but have not contributed money. To an extent, you know that they created the PAC for '88 and would use its funds toward the presidential race in some form. I really can't say I'm surprised that [the poll] happened. However, if I were a major contributor, I would feel that my funds were being misused, since many who gave did so with the absolute assurance that the PAC's primary work was in the 1986 campaigns, with '88 to be dealt with only after the former was over."

But the poll may be a violation of the law as well. Various experts on campaign regulations stress it is a major violation of the federal election laws for a multicandidate political action committee—precisely what the Bush Fund is—to contribute more than $5,000 to any political candidate. The Bush Fund was expected to pay far more than this sum for its share of the survey.

Yet no one who studies the poll can come away with any other impression than that virtually the entire survey is dedicated to making George Bush President of the United States.

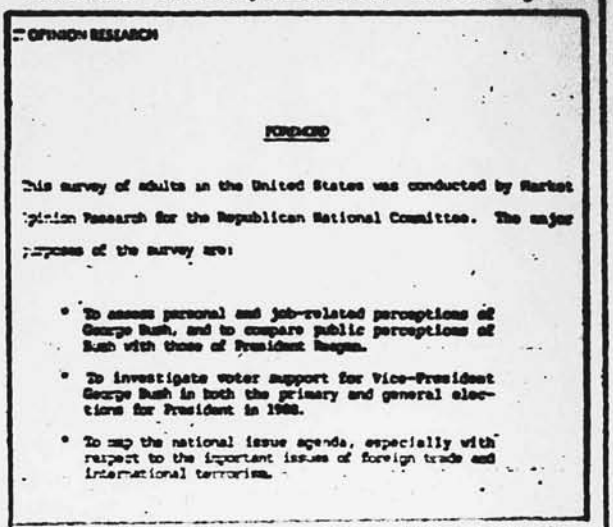
Jim Cannon, who is trying to make Howard

That, to say the least, is difficult to swallow, but then it is difficult to fully swallow much of what anyone connected with the poll is saying.

The precise role of the Republican National Committee in this whole episode is still unclear. Last week, the survey was leaked around town, and, as things turned out, the "Foreword" strongly suggested that the RNC had actually commissioned and paid for the entire pro-Bush poll.

The "Foreword" to the survey (see photo) said the poll "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee." Nowhere in the "Foreword" — or, in fact, in the over 100-page document — was Bush's Fund for America's Future ever mentioned.

The major purposes of the survey, the "Foreword" went on, were three: "To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan. To investigate voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in



OPINION RESEARCH

FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

- To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
- To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
- To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

December 4, 1985

Vice President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear George:

As you know, there has been a great deal of discussion as to the proper role of the Republican National Committee (RNC) with potential candidates for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1988. In fact, I have discussed this subject with you and other possible candidates during the past month so that we might take the first steps towards insuring the RNC's candidate neutrality, and, at the same time, providing our Party leaders, on an equal basis, appropriate information and resources available from the Committee.

You and I agree our focus during the next year ought not to be 1988, but rather the important elections of 1986. The stakes have never been higher. It is absolutely essential that we retain control of the U.S. Senate and achieve gains at all other levels.

The unfortunate incident this week involving the mistaken impression that the RNC commissioned and paid for a poll exclusively for one Presidential candidate is illustrative of the type of misunderstanding that must be avoided.

As futher indication of the type of confusion that surrounds our efforts, one only needs to look at the numerous consultants and pollsters who work with the RNC and are also official or unofficial advisors to one or more of those who might run for the Presidential nomination in 1988. How best to handle this, and other matters of concern must be addressed.

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During our past discussions about how best to minimize and eliminate these problems, I asked you and other potential candidates, to designate a representative who would interface with the RNC. Obvious topics for us to address would include the 1988 convention, possible Presidential debates and, the availability of resources and information from the RNC. You have indicated that your representative for these meetings would be Ron Walker.

The aforementioned misunderstanding concerning polling makes it essential that this ad-hoc committee begin meeting with me and appropriate RNC officials as soon as is feasible.

I intend to schedule the first meeting of this group sometime in early January. In the next 10 days, I will contact you with more of the details as to the exact date and scope of the meeting. If you want to change your representative, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

All of us at the RNC look forward to working with you in the upcoming months. Together, we can assure the goals we share for the 1986 election are reached.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. It is vital that we get the job done in 1986.

Very truly yours,

FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FJF/gts
cc: The Honorable Paul Laxalt
General Chairman, RNC

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FILE Presidential

Meet the Press 12-8-85
transcript

AL HUNT: The Republican National Committee just did a poll basically for George Bush. The RNC paid for it. Was that proper and should George Bush have to reimburse the RNC?

DOLE: Well it certainly wasn't proper. I mean there's no question about the propriety of it. It was improper. I think many of us wonder what else is going on, so...

HUNT: What do you think is going on?

DOLE: I don't know. But who knows who will run in 1988? But when the Republican National Committee takes a poll - How do you get George Bush in the White House in '88 - then some of the rest of us who might even have an outside chance wonder a bit about it.

NOVAK: Do you think he should pay for that poll?

DOLE: Oh I don't know - I don't quarrel with George Bush. But somebody ought to pay for it.

NOVAK: Who?

DOLE: But the problem is they're going to have a violation of the law whatever happens.

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&AM-Bush-Poll; BJT;0656

&GOP Poll Draws Howls Of Protest From Bush's Potential Rivals

&By DONALD M. ROTHBERG

&AP Political Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) - A Republican Party poll that included questions about Vice President George Bush's presidential prospects has drawing howls of protest Wednesday from his potential rivals who saw the survey as a tilt toward Bush in the 1988 race.

There also was a question whether Bush's political action committee would violate federal election laws if it paid part of the cost of the poll.

Aides to Bush's rivals were contending the vice president's political action committee would violate federal law if it paid more than $5,000 toward the cost of the survey. A Bush adviser said that was an incorrect interpretation of the law.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee; said he got an angry call from Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole; who demanded; ''What the hell is going on?''

The chairman said he assured Dole; who has his eye on the 1988 presidential nomination; that the party would be ''candidate neutral'' in the race.

Dole told Fahrenkopf the survey was ''paid for and commissioned by the Republican National Committee to Make George Bush President of The United States.''

Fahrenkopf said confusion arose from the fact the national committee allowed advisers to Bush to include some questions in a survey commissioned by the party from Market Opinion Research; a polling firm that does extensive work for the GOP.

''They asked if they could piggyback;'' said Fahrenkopf; using the term for such situations. When a candidate piggybacks questions on someone else's poll; he gets the data from his questions and pays for that portion of the survey.

John Buckley; press secretary to Rep. Jack Kemp; R-N.Y.; another potential presidential candidate; said 65 of 71 pages of a copy of the poll he received dealt with Bush.

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''It's a little like a dump truck riding piggyback on a bicycle,'' said Buckley.

When pollster Robert Teeter compiled the data a copy of the poll was sent out with a cover letter which said: ''This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey were:

''To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush; and to compare public perception of Bush with those of President Reagan.

''To investigate voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general election for president in 1988.

''To map the national issue agenda; especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.''

The survey of 1,500 people was conducted in September.

Lee Atwater, former deputy White House political director and now a private consultant and adviser to Bush, said the cover letter was ''a gross clerical error.'' He said the letter was meant only to describe the Bush portion of the letter.

James Cannon, who runs the Republican Majority Fund, a political action committee set up by former Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., said his legal advisers said it was ''a slam dunk of a violation'' of election laws for the Bush PAC to pay for the poll.

Atwater said the Bush PAC's attorneys reviewed the poll and ''we're going to pay for questions that deal with Bush's image and all that kind of stuff.''

He said that ''we're not paying for anything about 1988'' and added that ''any political action committee wants to see how their chairman and principal spokesman looks.''

A top official of the Bush PAC, speaking only on condition he not be identified, said that Teeter ''put some '88 stuff in there and now says, 'Oops, I went too far from the FEC standpoint' and I guess we'll have to eat that stuff.''

Federal election laws prohibit a political action committee from contributing more than $5,000 to a candidate, including to a potential candidate testing the waters in preparation for a possible presidential campaign.

AP-NY-12-04-85 1817EST

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Republican
National
Committee

December 30, 1985

MEMORANDUM

To: ROBIN CARLE
Chief of Staff

Thru: WILLIAM I. GREENER, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

From: TERRY WADE
Director of Communications

Subject: Bush/Pac letter

Attached is a draft of a letter in response to a question about the Bush/Pac poll. As you can see, I believe it would should come from the Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations.

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December 20, 1985

Mr. Robert S. Grosse
President/Treasurer
William Howard Taft
Young Republican Club
899 Bromton Drive
Westbury, NY 11590

Mr. Grosse:

Chairman Fahrenkopf has asked me to respond to your letter of December 17. Let me begin by saying, we appreciate your interest and support of the the activities of the Republican National Committee.

Now to your concern. First of all, you are not the first person to ask about this situation so let me come right to the point. The Republican National Committee has not paid for any poll done for The Fund for America's Future, nor will the RNC pay for any polling done on behalf of potential candidates for the 1988 Republican nomination.

Chairman Fahrenkopf has repeatedly, and continues to say that the RNC will be neutral in the 1988 presidential nominating process.

So, what of the Human Events article on the matter? Well, it is as simple as this: Market Opinion Research made a mistake. While preparing polling data MOR had done for the Vice President, data that we did not ask to be done and will not pay for, a forward was prepared that said the information was paid for by the Republican National Committee. With that forward attached it is certainly easy to see that people might come to the conclusion that the RNC had commissioned a poll seeking to measure the vice president's potential as a presidential candidate. The simple fact is, we did not.

-- more --

What we did agree to do is to let the vice president "piggyback" onto a poll that we had asked MOR to do. Payment for the piggyback portion of the poll was to be arranged between MOR and the vice president.

What we asked MOR to do is a general public attitudes poll, similar to polls that we do regularly. The poll was to ask questions relating to public attitudes toward a variety of issues and of a wide range public officials. We did request MOR to include some questions that related to areas in which the vice president, as a part of his official function, works (such as trade and terrorism). I want to stress, there is nothing new in this. The RNC has for years done polling of this type to assist the President and the administration determine public opinion.

I hope this letter clears up the matter. As I said, we do appreciate your support for the Republican National Committee and the goals we have for 1986 and the years ahead. We will continue to work as hard as we know how to help Republicans be elected at all levels of government. And we can best do that at the presidential level by staying neutral until our Party has chosen a nominee and then uniting behind that candidate, whomever he or she might be.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM I. GREENER, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

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WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB

ROBERT S. GROSSE
PRESIDENT/TREASURER

899 BROMTON DRIVE
WESTBURY, NY 11590
(516) 333-1862

December 17, 1985

DEC 18 1985
Rep: Comm
Ayd: 33
Pol

Honorable Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mr. Fahrenkopf:

In the recent issue of Human Events I read a disturbing article regarding The Fund for America's Future and the part that the Republican National Committee played in financing a poll taken by Vice-President Bush's PAC.

While I am a strong supporter of the work that the RNC does on behalf of the GOP, I do not support the idea of aiding one candidate over the others for President, especially when there are several potential candidates for the 1988 Republican nomination.

Our club has not made any formal decision about whom we will support. However, based upon his House voting record and other data I do not believe that Mr. Bush is all that conservative and I will not support him in the primaries.

I am writing to find out if the story is factual. Recently I received a bill for my 1986 RNC membership dues and my decision regarding whether or not to rejoin is predicated upon the validity of the story.

A while back I was a member of the Republican Presidential Task Force and the United States Senatorial Committee. I did not renew my membership seeing that my money was going to support Republicans that are so liberal that they would hurt the party more than help it.

I would appreciate a response to my inquiry. As you know from our meeting this past May, I support the work that you are doing and I would like to belong to the RNC, at least as long as you are Chairman.

With my warmest personal regards, I remain

Cordially,

ROBERT S. GROSSE

RSG/dm

Pat P—
He needs to see this—
Thanks Tom

8804071436 2

MEMORANDUM

republican national committee

TO: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FROM: BILL PHILLIPS

DATE: MARCH 15, 1985

3/17

****

The Teeter Project is on schedule. It probably will be done mid-April, depending on other projects that may be in the field at that time.

The effort will be done as an addendum on another project.

I don't know what this pertains to.

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RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush

Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican National Committee has commissioned a major poll "to assess personal and job-related perceptions of" Vice President Bush, provoking angry protests from his probable competitors for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) charged yesterday that the poll, which cost an estimated $40,000 to $60,000, violates GOP rules that the RNC be completely neutral.

"I didn't know that the RNC had become a Bush headquarters," Dole said.

Former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., a prospective candidate, said, "I'm surprised and, if this is true, someone ought to be fired."

"This is a slam-dunk of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being [illegible] tracted with the RNC for a poll testing voters' views of many public figures, including leading candidates for the 1988 presidential nomination.

Then Bush and RNC Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. discussed the poll and Bush asked that questioning on terrorism and international trade be added. The cost of these questions would be paid by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, then Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, in a process called "piggy-backing."

In the time since that arrangement, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

Teeter said that the copy of the poll obtained by The Washington Post inaccurately is described as a poll commissioned by the RNC. He said that the description was a clar[illegible]

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

U.S. National Study

Analysis Report

Prepared For:

The Republican National Committee

Not to be released without the joint permission
of Market Opinion Research and
the Republican National Committee

December, 1985
#P85040

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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To measure public support for the Republican and Democratic parties, profile their respective coalitions, and analyze their strengths and weaknesses.
* To uncover whether or not the 1984 post-election party parity has been maintained through 1985.
* To compare the current 44% Republican Party coalition with the minority coalitions of years past.
* To assess the mood of the national electorate with regard to their perceptions of the direction of the country and approval of President Reagan and Vice-President Bush.
* To measure the basic issue attitudes of the American public with regard to such areas as traditionalism, government assistance, unions, and foreign aid and intervention.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.
* To map voter perceptions of major political figures on a two-dimensional space containing partisan and ideological axes.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S.

citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

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Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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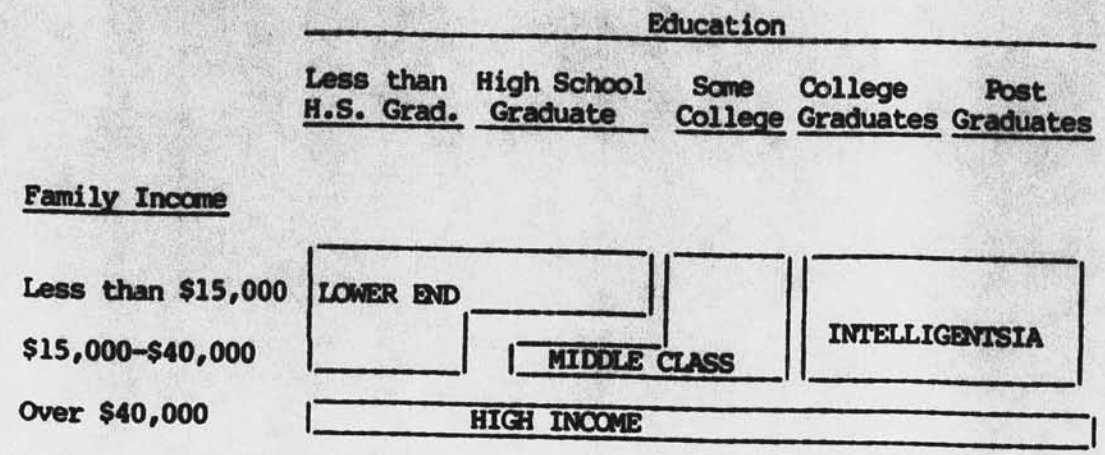
"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:



The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

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"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	47%
2.	19	
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	23%
5. Free trader	6	
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	42%
Lean protectionist	25	
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	45%
Core anti-protectionist	17	
Total	100%	

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The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

		Distribution of Index
0	No military action	16%
1		25
2		28
3		23
4	Military action in all cases	9
Total		100%

R 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 3 7 4

U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

	Total Electorate
1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	
Right direction	50%
Wrong track	39
Don't know	10
Refused/NA	1
2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	
Working fairly well	53
Need significant changes	43
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

SEE ATTACHED TABLE

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	
Strongly approve	34
Somewhat approve	34
Somewhat disapprove	12
Strongly disapprove	15
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	2
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	
Strongly approve	22
Somewhat approve	35
Somewhat disapprove	8
Strongly disapprove	9
Don't know	23
Refused/NA	3

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(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

	Total
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relation-ship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	17
Refused/No answer	*

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Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #4	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them. (Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

		Total Electorate
Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .		
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4
	Hurts	36
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31
	About the same	28
	Less	34
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46
	No	51
	Don't know	2
	Refused/NA	*

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16
b.	Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53
c.	Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	1

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Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)	Total Electorate
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)	
a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55
Don't know.	14
Refused/NA.	2

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More	9
About the same	36
Less	51
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war	35
Allowing fewer imports into country	58
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	*

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	36%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	57
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	73
	Oppose	19
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	43
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	40
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	35
	Oppose	40
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16
	Don't know	8
	Refused/NA	1
36. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists	28
	Favor only as retaliation	47
	Favor neither	4
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	1
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	36
	Oppose	40
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate	59
	Refuse to negotiate	34
	Don't know	6
	Refused/NA	1
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups	27
	Foreign government	66
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1

Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a z: to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to : hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68*
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

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Here are some characteristics traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(Q. 90 - 101)

	Total Electorate Average
TRUSTWORTHINESS	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	5.7
CONCERN	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	6.5
LEADERSHIP	
Ronald Reagan	7.7
Ted Kennedy	6.2
COMPETENCE	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	6.2

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		Total Electorate
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%
	Fairly liberal	8
	Slightly liberal	4
	Moderate	52
	Slightly conservative	8
	Fairly conservative	13
	Extremely conservative	7
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	1

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2
	Fairly liberal	5
	Slightly liberal	3
	Moderate	26
	Slightly conservative	10
	Fairly conservative	25
	Extremely conservative	20
	Don't know	8
	Refused/NA	1

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2
	Fairly liberal	4
	Slightly liberal	4
	Moderate	36
	Slightly conservative	11
	Fairly conservative	21
	Extremely conservative	7
	Don't know	13
	Refused/NA	1

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate
D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?	Republican.	31%
	Democrat.	34
	Independent	30
	No preference	3
	Other	*
	Don't know.	1
	Refused	*

Party Identification Scale	
Strong Democrat . . .	17
Weak Democrat	17
Independent Democrat.	12
Independent	10
Independent Republican	13
Weak Republican . . .	17
Strong Republican . .	14
Other/Not ascertained	*

D2. (V6) In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)	Straight Democratic .	12
	Mostly Democratic . .	17
	A few more Democrats than Republicans. .	8
	About equally for both parties	21
	A few more Republicans than Democrats. . .	7
	Mostly Republican . .	18
	Straight Republican .	8
	Other	*
	Never voted	5
	Don't know.	2
	Refused/NA.	1

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?	Yes	81
	No.	16
	Registered elsewhere.	3
	Don't know.	*
	Refused/NA.	—

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		Total Electorate
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16
	25-29 years	11
	30-34 years	13
	35-39 years	11
	40-44 years	8
	45-49 years	6
	50-54 years	7
	55-59 years	6
	60-64 years	6
	65-74 years	11
	75 and over	4
	Refused	*
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11
	Graduated high school	32
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3
	Some college-2 years or less	19
	Some college-more than 2 years	9
	Graduated college	14
	Post-graduate work	8
	Refused	--
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51
	Employed and working part-time	11
	Unemployed	5
	Retired	18
	Housewife	11
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*
	Other	4
	Don't know	—
	Refused/NA	*

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	Total Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	
Single	24
Married	62
Divorced	7
Separated	1
Widow/Widower	7
Don't know	—
Refused/NA	*
D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	
Employed and working full-time	58
Employed and working part-time	8
Unemployed	1
Retired	17
Housewife	15
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*
Other	1
Don't know	—
Refused/NA	*
D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	
Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26
Self-employed	10
Retired	17
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7
Executive (corporate officer)	4
Homemaker	1
Services (nurse, police, military)	5
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12
Student	1
Education (teacher, counselor)	4
Other	4
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	1

		Total Electorate
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent	3
	Other member of household	2
	Both	2
	None	93
	Don't know	*
	Refused	—
D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent	11
	Other member of household	10
	Both	2
	None	77
	Don't know	*
	Refused	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member
Labor union	10	10
Teachers' association	4	5
No	85	83
Refused/Single member household	*	3

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	54
— Roman Catholic	26
Jewish	4
— Other Christian	10
Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2
Agnostic/Atheist	*
None	2
Don't know	1
Refused	1

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D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

Every week	28
Almost every week	12
Once or twice a month	17
A few times a year	31
Never	11
Don't know	*
Refused	*

		Total Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7
	$50,000 and over	11
	Don't know	3
	Refused	5
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83
	Black	11
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4
	Oriental	*
	American Indian	1
	Other	1
	Not ascertained	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48
	Female	52
	Political Strata	
	Pacific	14
	Mountain	5
	East North Central	18
	West North Central	7
	Deep South	26
	Border	8
	Mid-Atlantic	16
	New England	5

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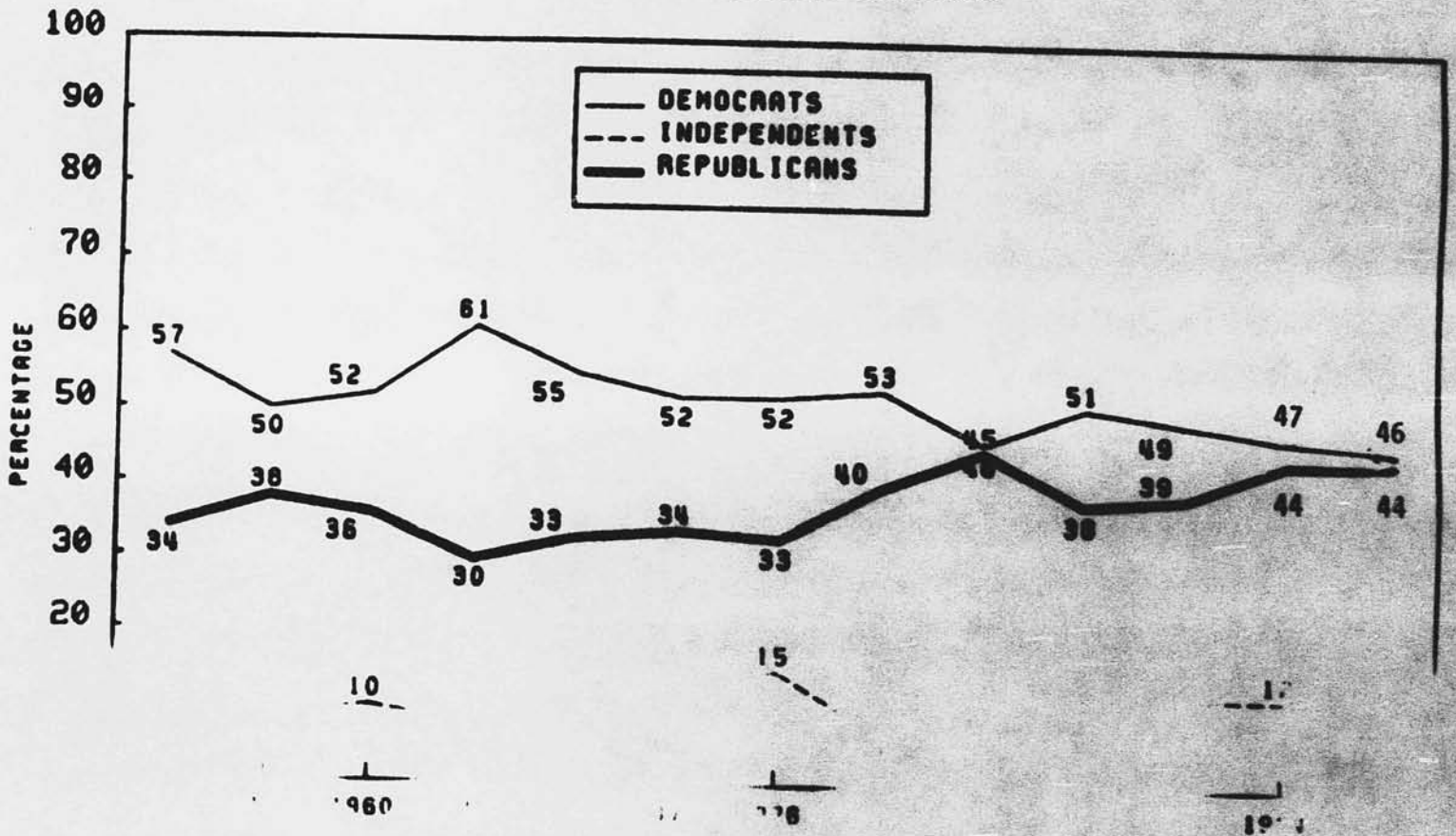
CHAPTER 1: REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY COALITIONS

During the year after the 1984 elections, the Republican Party has maintained the party identification gap between itself and the Democratic Party. At the present time, 44% of the nation's adults identify themselves as Republicans, while 46% call themselves Democrats. This 2-point margin continues the trend begun after Ronald Reagan's 1980 election to the Presidency, and is about the same as last year's 3-point, 44% to 47%, gap and 1981's 3-point, 45% to 48%, gap. The Republican Party is truly at parity with the Democratic Party.

A major question that remains to be answered is whether those voters who have climbed on the Republican bandwagon because of President Reagan will remain on the wagon after Reagan has gotten off. In other words, is this party parity transitory because it is based largely on the power of President Reagan's personality, or are these newfound Republicans on the bandwagon for the long haul? And, if some of these voters can go either way, what issues and policies will solidify their new partisan inclinations? The answers to these questions are critical for the future of the Republican Party.

Before answering the what and how of keeping these voters in the Party, it is necessary to discuss who they are, and how the Republican Party coalition differs from the Democratic Party coalition.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION



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Major Determinants of Partisanship

There are several factors — generational, lifestyle, and situational -- that have a bearing on one's partisan inclination. At the present time, the major determinants of partisanship are income, race, sex, religion, education, age, and ideology.

The household income at which partisanship changes is $25,000. Over half of the voters with incomes under $25,000 a year, who comprise 53% of the electorate, are Democrats, while over half of those with incomes over $25,000 a year (47% of the electorate) are Republicans. Income is one of the most clear-cut delimiters of partisanship.

Party identification among whites is fairly evenly divided, although the Republican Party holds a 49% to 41% plurality over the Democrats. Among blacks, the Democratic Party is the overwhelming favorite. Fully 85% of the nation's blacks identify themselves as Democrats; only 9% call themselves Republican. Hispanics identify more with Democrats as well, but the gap is not nearly as large. Fifty percent (50%) of the nation's Hispanics call themselves Democrats, 39% say they are Republican.

Though the differences are not great, men identify themselves as Republicans (by a 48% to 42% margin) while women generally think of themselves as Democrats (50% to 40%). This gender difference became prominent after 1980 along with the so-called Reagan "gender gap." In the mid-1970's, there was little or no difference in party identification between men and women.

The pattern of age and partisanship has changed over the course of the last generation. In the past, younger voters were more liberal and thus more inclined to be Democratic. Political theory stated that, as one grew older and had to deal with buying a house, raising children, planning for retirement, etc., one was likely to become more conservative and more Republican. However, now it is voters under 25, those who are being politicized in the Reagan years, who are most likely to be Republican. Fully 51% of adults under 25 say they are Republican, while only 39% report to be Democrats. That margin shifts in mid-age, and voters over 55 are more likely to be Democrats -- those 55 to 64 by a margin of 56% to 37%, those 65 and older by a 49% to 44% margin. These partisan differences show how important <u>when</u> one enters the electorate is. The New Deal generation, who entered the electorate 40 years ago, are more Democratic than Republican, and those entering the electorate now are more Republican than Democratic.

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Religion has always been a source of political differences, though the partisanship of Protestants and Catholics is not as different as one might think. Only a small 48% to 44% plurality of the nation's Protestants call themselves Republicans, and an almost equally small 49% to 40% plurality of the country's Catholics call themselves Democratic. The biggest gap comes among the country's Jews, a 63% majority of whom identify themselves as Democrats. Only 28% say they are Republican.

As education increases, so does the likelihood of being a Republican — until graduate school. Most of those voters with less than a high school education (58%) consider themselves as Democrats. That gap narrows to 47% to 43% with the acquisition of a high school diploma, and reverses to a 49% to 41% Republican advantage with some college education, and 53% to 41% with a college degree. Those who continue onto graduate school, however, are more likely (49% to 43%) to be Democrats.

The relationship between ideology and partisanship has been clouded somewhat in recent years due to changing definitions of the words liberal and conservative. Given the choice, most people eschew the words liberal and conservative and call themselves moderate. Indeed, 52% of the country's adults say they are moderate on political issues, while 28% describe themselves as conservative and 15% say they are liberal. Republicans and Democrats alike are more likely to label themselves moderate than either liberal or conservative.

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Relationship Between Ideology and Partisanship

		Party Identification		
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat
Ideology				
Conservative	28%	42%	17%	18%
Moderate	52	45	60	56
Liberal	15	9	13	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

There is still a relationship between ideology and partisanship, albeit not a strong one. Many more Republicans call themselves conservative (42%) than liberal (9%). There are only a few more Democrats calling themselves liberal (21%) than conservative (18%) -- most (56%) prefer the label "moderate."

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Total	100%	44%	46%	37%	(1500)
Ideology					
Conservative	100%	64	30	24	(427)
Moderate	100%	39	50	40	(774)
Liberal	100%	27	65	53	(220)
Age					
18-24	100%	51	39	27	(237)
25-34	100%	43	45	37	(365)
35-44	100%	42	47	36	(283)
45-54	100%	47	44	37	(196)
55-64	100%	37	56	44	(189)
65+	100%	44	49	46	(225)
Education					
Less than high school	100%	29	58	47	(228)
High school/Vocational school	100%	43	47	38	(521)
Some college	100%	49	41	31	(419)
College graduate	100%	53	41	33	(215)
Post graduate	100%	43	49	45	(117)
Occupational Group					
Farm household	100%	39	46	39	(99)
Union household	100%	33	56	44	(265)
Teacher household	100%	42	50	34	(113)
Religion					
Protestant	100%	48	44	33	(811)
Catholic	100%	40	49	47	(391)
Jewish	100%	28	63	59	(54)

(continued on next page)

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

(cont'd.)

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Income					
Under $15,000	100%	34%	55%	42%	(359)
$15,000-$25,000	100%	39	50	39	(370)
$25,000-$40,000	100%	53	37	30	(377)
$40,000 and over	100%	54	40	35	(268)
Race					
White	100%	49	41	41	(1244)
Black	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Hispanic	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Sex					
Male	100%	48	42	33	(726)
Female	100%	40	50	41	(774)
Combined Demographics					
Men					
18-44 years old	100%	49	41	31	(444)
45 years and older	100%	47	45	36	(280)
Women					
18-44 years old	100%	41	48	37	(441)
45 years and older	100%	39	53	47	(331)
College					
18-44 years old	100%	46	46	41	(229)
45 years and older	100%	57	37	29	(102)
Non-College					
18-44 years old	100%	45	43	31	(656)
45 years and older	100%	40	52	45	(509)
White					
Men	100%	53	37	37	(599)
Women	100%	44	45	45	(645)
Black					
Men	100%	12	83	—	(78)
Women	100%	7	86	—	(81)

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

(cont'd.)

		Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	60%	36%	36%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	57	35	35	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	36	36	(458)
Lower end	100%	38	51	51	(275)
Jews	100%	28	63	60	(53)
Hispanics	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Blacks	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Tracer Group					
White northern Protestant	100%	57	34	34	(373)
White northern Catholic	100%	41	48	48	(202)
White northern union	100%	45	45	45	(209)
Southern white	100%	51	40	40	(395)
Jews	100%	28	63	60	(53)
Blacks	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Hispanics	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Political Region					
New England	100%	33	55	51	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	48	46	38	(246)
East North Central	100%	40	51	42	(263)
West North Central	100%	50	38	36	(111)
Border South	100%	39	51	42	(118)
Deep South	100%	44	47	32	(392)
Mountain	100%	45	41	40	(80)
Pacific	100%	47	40	24	(210)

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Demographic Profile of the Republican Party

Though partisanship is related to income, race, sex, age, education, religion, and ideology, the stereotype of Republicans as being white, Protestant, rich, stodgy, older white men is simply not true. The Democratic Party has often been cast as the party of the working man, the "average Joe." However, it is actually the case that more middle class Americans (as defined by income and education -- see the Foreword for the definition) call themselves Republicans than Democrats. A demographic profile of the nation's Republican partisans reveals that:

* 53% are under 40
* 36% are middle class
* only 24% have incomes over $40,000
* 31% are Southern whites
* 24% are Catholic

It is the case that 92% are white and 53% are male, and it is true that, as a group, Republicans have higher incomes and more education than Democrats. But these tendencies can hide the diversity that exists within the Party.

Geographically, the only area where the Republicans have a slight advantage over the Democrats is among Southern whites. In all other areas of the country the two party coalitions are close to equal in strength, though the Eastern Seaboard (New England, Mid-Atlantic regions) leans Democratic, while the West Coast is slightly more Republicans.

The most recent additions to the Republican coalition are younger voters and voters from the South. These voter groups are key elements of the new Republican coalition. The Republican coalition is no longer predominately older, northern WASP's. The social group profile of the Republican Party ten years ago shows that 51% were Northern white Protestants and only 21% were white Southerners. Now, the northern WASP component of the Republican Party has dropped to 32% and white Southerners now comprise 31% of the party. The increased contribution of white Southerners to Republican coalition makes the Republican coalition a truly national coalition for the first time in its history. The Republican new plurality is also slightly younger than the Democratic coalition. A 53% majority of the Republican identifiers and leaners are under 40 years old. Conversely, a 54% majority of the Democratic coalition is 40 yers old or older.

It is among these key voter groups -- white Southerners and voters under 40 — that work must be done to make their changing partisanship a lasting rather than a temporary phenomenon.

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Demographic Profile of the Democratic Party

Comparing the Democratic party coalition with the Republican coalition shows that, among the Democratic Party:

* 48% are under 40
* 24% are middle class
* 12% have incomes over $40,000
* 23% are Southern whites
* 28% are Catholic

The groups among whom Democrats outdraw Republicans are:

* Blacks (19% of the Democratic coalition are blacks, vs. 2% of the Republican coalition)
* lower end whites (20% vs. 16%)
* union household members (21% vs.13%)
* Jews (5% vs. 2%)

Blacks, as a proportion of the Democratic coalition, have doubled their importance, increasing from 10% of the Democratic identifiers in the 1950's to a 20% share today.

Where 44% of the Republicans have incomes under $25,000, 60% of the Democrats do. Where 44% of the Republicans have no more than a high school education, 55% of the Democrats do. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the Republicans are classified as middle class on the basis of income and education, while only 24% of the Democratic coalition are middle class. There are indeed demographic differences between the two parties, and the Republican Party is quite competitive with the Democrats on the middle ground.

Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(695)	(559)
Ideology				
Conservative	28%	42%	18%	18%
Moderate	52	45	56	56
Liberal	15	9	21	21
Age				
18-24	16	18	13	11
25-34	24	24	24	24
35-44	19	18	19	18
45-54	13	14	12	13
55-64	13	11	15	15
65+	15	15	16	19
Education				
Less than high school	15	10	19	19
High school/Vocational school	35	34	36	36
Some college	28	31	25	23
College graduate	22	25	21	22
Occupational Group				
Farm household	7	6	7	7
Union household	18	13	21	21
Teacher household	8	7	8	7
Religion				
Protestant	54	59	52	48
Catholic	26	24	28	33
Jewish	4	2	5	6

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Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

(cont'd.)

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Income				
Under $15,000	26%	20%	31%	27%
$15,000-$25,000	27	24	29	26
$25,000-$40,000	27	33	22	20
$40,000 and over	20	24	17	17
Race				
White	83	92	74	94
Black	11	2	19	—
Hispanic	4	4	4	3
Sex				
Male	48	53	44	43
Female	52	47	56	57
Combined Demographics				
Men				
18-44 years old	30	33	26	25
45 years and older	19	20	18	18
Women				
18-44 years old	29	27	30	29
45 years and older	22	20	25	28
College				
18-44 years old	15	16	15	17
45 years and older	17	9	5	5
Non-College				
18-44 years old	44	44	41	37
45 years and older	34	31	38	41
White				
Men	40	48	32	39
Women	43	43	42	52
Black				
Men	5	1	9	—
Women	5	1	10	—

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Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

(cont'd.)

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Status Group				
High income	15%	21%	12%	15%
Intelligentsia	11	14	8	10
Middle class	31	36	24	30
Lower end	18	16	20	25
Jews	4	2	5	6
Hispanics	4	4	4	3
Blacks	11	2	19	—
Tracer Group				
White northern Protestant	25	32	18	22
White northern Catholic	13	13	14	17
White northern union	14	14	14	17
Southern white	26	31	23	28
Jews	4	2	5	6
Blacks	11	2	19	—
Hispanics	4	4	4	3
Political Region				
New England	5	4	6	7
Mid-Atlantic	16	18	16	17
East North Central	18	16	19	20
West North Central	7	8	6	7
Border South	8	7	9	9
Deep South	26	26	27	22
Mountain	5	5	5	6
Pacific	14	15	12	13

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Social Group Profile of the Party Coalitions, 1952-1982

Democratic Party Identifiers

	1952-1960	1962-1972	1976	1980	1984	1985
WASPs	19%	20%	17%	17%	19%	18%
Catholics	13	16	19	16	23	14
Northern Union	22	19	18	18	13	14
White Southerners	31	25	23	23	20	23
Jews	5	3	4	6	5	5
Blacks	10	16	18	21	20	19
	100%	100%	109%	100%	100%	100%

Republican Party Identifiers

	1952-1960	1962-1972	1976	1980	1984	1985
WASPs	56%	51%	51%	43%	34%	32%
Catholics	10	10	14	16	16	13
Northern Union	18	13	11	14	10	14
White Southerners	11	23	21	24	34	31
Jews	1	1	1	*	2	2
Blacks	5	2	2	3	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Age Profile of the Party Coalitions

	Democratic Identifiers	
	1979	1985
18-24	19%	13%
25-39	31	35
40-54	20	21
55-64	14	15
65+	16	16
	100%	100%

	Republican Identifiers	
	1979	1985
18-24	16%	18%
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	13
65+	21	15
	100%	100%

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CHAPTER 2: MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

The American public is generally satisfied with the way things are going in the country today. When asked, "Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?", 50% answer that things are going in the right direction while 39% feel that things are off on the wrong track.

This 50% to 39% positive majority is a dramatic turnaround from the 1972-1980 period, when more voters felt the country was seriously off on the wrong track than believed they were heading in the right direction.

Not surprisingly, their satisfaction with the way things are going is reflected in the public's feeling that the political system is "working fairly well at the present time." A 53% to 43% majority opine that the system is working well and needs no significant changes.

These two evaluations go hand in hand -- those who feel things in the country are going well feel that the political system is running well, and those who think things are off on the wrong track also feel that the political system needs changes.

Those voters who are the most satisfied with the status quo are those who support the party in the White House:

* Republicans
* high income voters
* northern white Protestants
* voters under 25

Also satisfied with the way things are going are: Jews, Eastern Seaboard residents (New England, Mid-Atlantic), and members of the intelligentsia. Though they are not what one would call die-hard Republicans or Reaganites, they are more likely to be fairly well-off economically.

Those who are the least satisfied with the way things are going are the most Democratic and the least financially secure elements of society:

* Democratic party identifiers
* blacks
* women
* low income whites
* voters over 55
* residents of the Midwest

The least satisfied of these voters are blacks, 64% of whom think things are on the wrong track and 66% of whom feel that the political system needs changes.

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One interesting finding comes from Mountain state residents. Though a 49% to 41% plurality feel things are going well in the country, a 58% to 40% majority nonetheless feel that the political system needs changes.

When those who reply that the political system needs significant changes were asked what kinds of changes are needed, very few offer any systemic changes. Most responses are related to issues:

"The deficit/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control"	7%
"Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/ Need fair taxation"	4
"Less foreign aid/Stay out of countries"	4
"Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work"	4

All told, 23% mention social domestic policy issues, 18% mention economic issues, and 15% mention foreign policy.

Some responses related to the way leaders respond to the people:

"More concern for people/Interaction with people instead of issues"	4%
"Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majority's opinions"	3
"More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values"	3

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Only 7% of the voters who want changes, and 3% of the total electorate, offer systemic changes. Those few who do mention the need for systemic change respond with the following suggestions:

"The judicial system needs to be changed/ Supreme Court overhaul"	2%
"Our political system/Need a new system/ Not a well-balanced system"	2
"No one in office more than 6 years/Let legislature run for 1 term, not 2"	1
"The way they run Congress/The administration/Relationship between Congress and the President"	1

So, even though 43% of the nation's voters want to see "significant changes," not very many actually want our system of government to change. Rather, they want the deficit reduced, the tax system reformed, less money spent on national defense and foreign aid, and more concern for people from government officials and elected representatives.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Things in this country												
Right direction	50%	66%	40%	36%	54%	57%	45%	46%	48%	49%	49%	50%
Wrong track	39	25	44	52	32	34	43	46	38	40	41	39
Don't know/Refused	11	9	16	11	14	9	12	8	14	11	11	11
Our political system												
Working fairly well	53	70	41	40	63	55	51	50	51	55	40	54
Need significant changes	43	28	51	56	33	41	46	50	45	40	58	43
Don't know/Refused	3	2	8	4	4	3	3	1	4	6	2	3

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Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
Things in this country								
Right direction	50%	62%	52%	49%	43%	39%	57%	43%
Wrong track	39	30	39	40	45	45	32	46
Don't know/Refused	11	8	10	12	12	15	10	11
Our political system								
Working fairly well	53	62	53	54	52	45	60	46
Need significant changes	43	35	44	43	45	49	36	50
Don't know/Refused	3	4	3	4	3	6	3	4

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks	Protestant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
Things in this country												
Right direction	50%	71%	60%	52%	37%	60%	46%	27%	55%	51%	52%	53%
Wrong track	39	23	33	37	47	28	41	64	35	36	40	36
Don't know/Refused	11	7	7	11	16	13	13	9	11	13	8	11
Our political system												
Working fairly well	53	68	62	54	46	64	49	30	53	57	55	59
Need significant changes	43	30	37	42	48	32	48	66	44	39	43	37
Don't know/Refused	3	2	1	4	5	4	3	4	3	4	2	4

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The Reagan Administration

Public approval of both President Reagan and Vice-President Bush is high — President Reagan enjoys a 68% to 26% approval rating, Vice President Bush a 57% to 17% rating.

Perceptions of President Reagan, naturally, are more well-formed than those of Bush. Only 6% have no opinion of Reagan's job performance, while 26% have no opinion of Bush's performance.

President Reagan enjoys nearly universal approval among the nation's Republicans — 90% approve and only 8% disapprove of the job he is doing as President. Democrats, on the other hand, are evenly divided in their opinions of Reagan -- 47% approve, 46% disapprove. Independents side with the Republicans, as 70% approve of Reagan and only 19% disapprove.

Demographically, Reagan is well-liked among all but the most Democratic voters — blacks and Jews. He is well-liked among all other voter groups, especially:

* voters under 25
* Southern whites
* Hispanics
* high income whites
* middle class whites
* West North Central state residents

The oft-commented upon gender gap is currently 9 points. Men approve of Reagan by a 73% to 23% margin, women by a 64% to 30% margin.

The fact that young voters and Southern whites are included in the "high on Reagan" group is an indication that at least part of their new-found attraction to the Republican Party is because of their warm feelings and support for President Reagan. It will be doubly important, then, to profile their issue attitudes to uncover what issues are attracting and can keep them in the Republican Party.

Vice-President Bush is also well-liked among his own partisans. Republicans approve of Bush by a 74% to 7% margin. Democrats approve by a less positive 42% to 28% margin, although 30% could offer no opinion. Likewise, Independent voters approve of Bush by a 53% to 14% margin, but 34% have no opinion.

Geographically, Bush gets his highest marks in the West North Central, Mountain, and Border South states, where 68%, 61%, and 60%, respectively, approve of the job he is doing as Vice-President. New Englanders give him both the lowest marks and the most undecideds -- 48% approve, 19% disapprove, and 35% have no opinion.

Demographically, Bush receives his highest marks from the same voter groups that applaud Reagan, with the following exception: older voters like Bush better than younger voters. Voters aged 55 to 64 approve of Bush by a 62% to 16% margin, and those 65 and older approve by a 61% to 14% margin. Eighteen to twenty-four year olds only approve by a 53% to 16% margin. The difference between the two age extremes is due to less familiarity with Bush among younger voters. While only 22% and 24% of the two older age groups have no opinion of Bush, fully 30% of those under 25 are undecided about Bush.

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In summary, voter perceptions of the direction of the country and their evaluations of the Reagan administration are both positive. Only the most Democratic elements of society want to change the status quo and give the Reagan administration a thumbs-down.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Ronald Reagan												
Strongly approve	34%	57%	30%	13%	27%	36%	26%	40%	37%	39%	31%	31%
Somewhat approve	34	32	40	35	41	31	36	35	31	32	30	38
Somewhat disapprove	12	5	11	19	9	13	16	9	11	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	15	3	8	27	16	17	18	13	9	11	20	16
Don't know/Refused	6	2	10	7	8	4	4	3	10	6	9	4
Collapsed												
Approve	68	90	70	47	67	67	62	75	69	71	63	69
Disapprove	26	8	19	46	25	30	33	23	20	22	29	27

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
Ronald Reagan								
Strongly approve	34%	29%	32%	37%	38%	36%	38%	30%
Somewhat approve	34	44	36	35	26	27	35	33
Somewhat disapprove	12	15	13	7	14	9	11	13
Strongly disapprove	15	7	14	16	20	19	12	17
Don't know/Refused	6	5	6	5	3	8	5	7
Collapsed								
Approve	68	73	68	72	64	63	73	64
Disapprove	26	22	27	23	34	28	23	30

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelli-gentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	His-panics	Blacks	Prot-estant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
Ronald Reagan												
Strongly approve	34%	50%	38%	37%	31%	26%	27%	9%	41%	29%	29%	45%
Somewhat approve	34	31	31	36	38	25	51	28	33	42	35	33
Somewhat disapprove	12	8	12	10	12	19	11	21	9	10	15	9
Strongly disapprove	15	10	15	11	12	30	6	32	13	15	16	8
Don't know/Refused	6	2	6	5	6	2	5	10	4	5	5	6
Collapsed												
Approve	68	80	69	74	69	51	78	37	74	71	64	78
Disapprove	26	18	26	21	24	47	17	54	22	24	31	17

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush												
Strongly approve	22%	37%	13%	11%	19%	23%	19%	23%	25%	26%	19%	19%
Somewhat approve	35	37	40	32	29	34	33	44	34	34	43	37
Somewhat disapprove	8	4	5	13	10	8	11	5	7	9	4	9
Strongly disapprove	9	3	9	15	9	9	10	7	4	9	9	10
Don't know/Refused	26	19	34	30	35	26	28	20	30	22	25	25
Collapsed												
Approve	57	74	53	42	48	57	52	68	58	60	61	56
Disapprove	17	7	14	28	19	17	21	13	11	18	13	19

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
George Bush								
Strongly approve	22%	19%	17%	25%	26%	31%	25%	20%
Somewhat approve	35	35	38	33	37	31	36	35
Somewhat disapprove	8	11	9	8	7	7	8	8
Strongly disapprove	9	6	11	10	8	7	8	10
Don't know/Refused	26	30	25	26	22	24	24	27
Collapsed								
Approve	57	53	56	58	62	61	60	55
Disapprove	17	16	19	17	16	14	16	18

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks	Protestant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
George Bush												
Strongly approve	22%	33%	23%	23%	23%	13%	30%	5%	24%	23%	19%	29%
Somewhat approve	35	35	42	36	34	28	33	31	40	34	34	36
Somewhat disapprove	8	6	5	7	12	8	3	16	5	8	12	7
Strongly disapprove	9	6	7	7	7	17	6	19	8	8	9	6
Don't know/Refused	26	21	24	28	24	35	27	29	23	27	26	12
Collapsed												
Approve	57	68	66	59	56	42	63	36	64	57	53	65
Disapprove	17	12	12	14	19	23	10	36	13	16	21	13

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CHAPTER 3: BASIC ISSUE ATTITUDES IN THE ELECTORATE

In past national opinion studies, Market Opinion Research has explored the underlying basic issue attitudes and beliefs that govern public opinion. MOR has uncovered eight basic issue attitudes that tap into the major issue areas on the public issue agenda today. Exploring how the electorate is arrayed on these attitudinal dimensions gives a better sense of the fundamental beliefs held by the American public. With this base, public opinion on topical questions is better understood.

The seven basic attitudinal dimensions are:

* gunboat diplomacy/interventionism
* America first
* traditional values
* government assistance
* government welfare
* union agenda
* black agenda
* protectionism

To uncover these dimensions, a long series of agree-disagree statements were read to the adults being interviewed for earlier studies. For this study, the two questions with the best explanatory power on each dimension were used. The eighth dimension, protectionism, is looked at in Chapter 5.

An analysis of each dimension will help develop the what and how of the Republican party coalition -- what attitudes are most strongly held by Republican partisans and how the Party can, through issues, solidify younger voters and Southerners as more permanent members of the coalition.

Gunboat Diplomacy

There are two foreign policy dimensions at work in the American public. The first is a combative one, which taps voter sentiment on our military involvement around the world. The two statements which make up this dimension are, "The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely" and "Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world." Voters agree by a 73% to 23% margin that our security would suffer if we did not use military troops, and a more evenly divided 51% to 40% disagree that we should never send troops to foreign countries.

The largest share of the electorate falls into the "gunboater" category. Gunboaters disagree that the U.S. should never send troops, and they agree that our national security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests. Forty-four percent (44%) of the electorate falls into this category. At the other extreme are anti-interventionists, who number 23%. They are against the U.S. sending troops abroad. In the middle, with mixed opinions, is the remaining third (33%) of the electorate.

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The most interventionist elements of the electorate are:

* Republicans
* Southern whites
* voters aged 25 to 39

The most anti-interventionist groups in the electorate are:

* New England and Pacific Coast residents
* senior citizens
* Jews

This, then is a good issue for Republicans and one that can solidify Southern whites.

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Composition and Distribution of Gunboat Diplomacy Attitude Scale

The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	6%	1%	3%	5%	22%
Somewhat agree	6	7	1	4	2	19
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	4	4	1	1	*	9
Somewhat disagree	9	10	1	4	1	25
Strongly disagree	15	5	1	2	2	26
Total	41	32	5	13	10	100%

		Distribution
Anti-interventionists	.000	5%
	.125	5
	.250	5
	.375	9
Mixed	.500	20
	.625	12
	.750	15
	.875	15
Gunboaters	1.000	15
Total		100%
Average		.62

Combined

Anti-interventionists	23%
Mixed	33
Gunboaters	44

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Voter Attitudes on Gunboat Diplomacy Scale

		Gunboat Diplomacy			
	Total	Anti-Inter-ventionists	Mixed	Gunboaters	Number of Cases
Total	100%	23%	33%	44%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	20	30	50	(659)
Independent	100%	19	42	39	(144)
Democrat	100%	26	34	40	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	39	28	34	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	24	32	44	(246)
East North Central	100%	27	32	41	(263)
West North Central	100%	22	32	48	(111)
Border South	100%	17	36	47	(118)
Deep South	100%	17	33	50	(392)
Mountain	100%	18	46	36	(80)
Pacific	100%	28	30	42	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	23	37	41	(237)
25-39	100%	20	30	50	(531)
40-54	100%	19	33	47	(313)
55-64	100%	25	34	40	(189)
65+	100%	33	33	34	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	25	30	46	(726)
Female	100%	21	36	43	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	24	27	49	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	24	37	38	(163)
Middle class	100%	23	31	47	(458)
Lower end	100%	18	36	46	(275)
Jews	100%	40	23	36	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	37	40	(63)
Blacks	100%	21	36	42	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	22	35	43	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	28	32	41	(202)
Northern white union	100%	28	27	44	(209)
Southern whites	100%	18	33	49	(395)

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America First

The second foreign policy dimension taps voter sentiment about the U.S. as a member of the "world community." It is more aid-related than intervention-related. The questions that make up this dimension are, "We should help only those countries which are for us and not help those which are against us," to which a 62% to 30% majority agrees, and "Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries." A 56% to 39% majority agrees with that statement.

As there is an inherent dissonance in those two responses, a plurality of the voters (41%) has mixed opinions. The remainder of the electorate divides 33% America First, 25% internationalist.

The strongest America First-ers in the electorate are:

* voters over 55
* lower end whites
* Jews

Younger voters, members of the intelligentsia, high income voters, and West North Central residents have a greater share of internationalist sentiment. This issue is non-partisan; there is no significant difference in opinion between Democrats and Republicans. Both are mixed, but lean toward the America First view.

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Composition and Distribution of America First Attitude Scale

We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	6%	10%	2%	8%	15%	41%
Somewhat agree	4	10	1	4	3	21
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	2	1	1	1	8
Somewhat disagree	5	9	*	3	1	19
Strongly disagree	5	3	1	1	1	11
Total	22	34	5	17	21	100%

		Distribution
Internationalist	.000	5%
	.125	9
	.250	12
	.375	7
Mixed	.500	21
	.625	13
	.750	8
	.875	11
America First	1.000	15
Total		100%
Average		.55

Combined

Internationalist	25%
Mixed	41
America First	33

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Voter Attitudes on America First Scale

	Total	America First: Internationalist	America First: Mixed	America First: America First	Number of Cases
Total	100%	25%	41%	33%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	24	42	34	(659)
Independent	100%	23	44	33	(144)
Democrat	100%	27	40	33	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	29	46	25	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	26	41	33	(246)
East North Central	100%	27	42	31	(263)
West North Central	100%	31	32	37	(111)
Border South	100%	22	49	29	(118)
Deep South	100%	23	41	37	(392)
Mountain	100%	24	46	30	(80)
Pacific	100%	26	40	33	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	42	25	(237)
25-39	100%	26	43	31	(531)
40-54	100%	26	39	35	(313)
55-64	100%	20	42	39	(189)
65+	100%	19	41	40	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	27	44	29	(726)
Female	100%	24	39	37	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	32	39	29	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	37	41	22	(163)
Middle class	100%	25	41	34	(458)
Lower end	100%	16	41	42	(275)
Jews	100%	26	32	40	(53)
Hispanics	100%	17	52	30	(63)
Blacks	100%	29	43	28	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	27	37	36	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	27	43	30	(202)
Northern white union	100%	25	42	33	(209)
Southern whites	100%	22	43	35	(395)

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Traditional Values

The third dimension taps people's beliefs in traditional values. The two statements used to form this dimension are "It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer" and "A woman should have the legal right to an abortion if she wants one." Abortion and school prayer are at the heart of the difference between traditionalists and non-traditionalists, but a large share of the electorate is divided. On the issue of school prayer, a 75% to 20% majority favor letting prayer into public schools, but on the issue of abortion, a 66% to 30% favor allowing women to have an abortion if they choose.

Thus, a 51% majority of the electorate has mixed views on the traditional values dimension. Twenty-nine percent (29%) have consistent traditional values, 20% have consistently anti-traditional values. So, though it is an area which has received a great deal of attention in recent years, relatively few voters are diehard traditionalists as it relates to these two issues. It must be said, though, that when the issues of marijuana reform, gay rights, and pornography are included in the scale, as they were in the earlier study, the dimension polarizes somewhat. In that instance, 49% were classified as traditionalists and 17% were anti-traditionalist.

Those voter groups who are more traditionalist than the electorate at large are:

* Southern whites
* West North Central residents
* voters over 40

Anti-traditionalists are more likely to be:

* Pacific and Mid-Atlantic residents
* under 40
* Jews
* high income whites

This issue dimension is non-partisan. There is very little difference between the parties on the dimension. It is a good issue dimension with which to attract Southern whites, but not a good one to attract younger voters. This is largely because of the abortion issue. Younger voters strongly favor a woman's right to an abortion, Southern whites are less supportive. Both of these groups favor prayer in schools, however.

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Composition and Distribution of Traditional Values Attitude Scale

	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one					
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	20%	10%	3%	3%	19%	55%
Somewhat agree	10	5	1	2	2	20
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	3	1	*	*	1	5
Somewhat disagree	3	2	*	1	1	7
Strongly disagree	10	1	*	1	1	14
Total	46	19	5	6	24	100%

		Distribution
Anti-traditional values	.000	10%
	.125	5
	.250	5
	.375	11
Mixed	.500	28
	.625	13
	.750	5
	.875	5
Traditional values	1.000	19
Total		100%
Average		.55

Combined

Anti-traditional values	20%
Mixed	51
Traditional values	29

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Voter Attitudes on Traditional Values Scale

	Total	Traditional Values: Anti-Traditional Values	Mixed	Pro-Traditional Values	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**20%**	**51%**	**29%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	**100%**	**16**	**53**	**31**	**(659)**
Independent	**100%**	**17**	**58**	**24**	**(144)**
Democrat	**100%**	**24**	**48**	**28**	**(695)**
Political Region					
New England	**100%**	**16**	**61**	**23**	**(79)**
Mid-Atlantic	**100%**	**28**	**49**	**22**	**(246)**
East North Central	**100%**	**21**	**52**	**27**	**(263)**
West North Central	**100%**	**20**	**46**	**35**	**(111)**
Border South	**100%**	**12**	**53**	**35**	**(118)**
Deep South	**100%**	**13**	**53**	**35**	**(392)**
Mountain	**100%**	**16**	**53**	**31**	**(80)**
Pacific	**100%**	**28**	**48**	**24**	**(210)**
Age					
18-24	100%	27	49	24	(237)
25-39	100%	24	54	23	(531)
40-54	100%	16	50	35	(313)
55-64	100%	14	53	33	(189)
65+	100%	13	51	36	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	21	53	25	(726)
Female	100%	18	49	33	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	25	58	17	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	25	42	33	(163)
Middle class	100%	15	55	30	(458)
Lower end	100%	10	49	41	(275)
Jews	100%	60	36	4	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	51	25	(63)
Blacks	100%	23	48	29	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	20	53	27	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	15	47	38	(202)
Northern white union	100%	19	59	22	(209)
Southern whites	100%	11	53	36	(395)

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Government Assistance

There are two government action/domestic policy dimensions. The first one, government assistance, taps voter attitudes on how much the government should do to ensure quality of life. It differs from the government welfare dimension in that government assistance is seen to help everyone, while government welare is directed at the low income groups in the electorate. The two statements that comprise the government assistance dimension are "If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need" and "The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living." The public supports the first statement by a 63% to 31% margin but is evenly divided, 50% agree to 47% disagree on the second. When the two are combined to form the index, 42% are pro-government assistance, 32% are anti-government assistance, and 26% are mixed.

This index is highly partisan. A 43% to 32% plurality of the nation's Republicans are anti-government assistance, and a 53% to 20% majority of the Democrats are pro-government assistance.

Other groups who agree with Republicans that less government assistance is best are:

* voters over 55
* Mountain state residents
* high income, intelligentsia voters
* Southern whites
* Northern white Protestants

On the "more is better" side of the coin are:

* Eastern Seaboard (New England & Mid-Atlantic) and Pacific residents
* Blacks
* Hispanics
* Jews
* women
* lower end whites

Again, this agenda item is an attraction for Southern whites, but not for younger voters.

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Composition and Distribution of Government Assistance Attitude Scale

If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	19%	8%	1%	6%	5%	39%
Somewhat agree	5	8	1	7	4	24
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	1	1	1	2	6
Somewhat disagree	2	3	*	5	5	15
Strongly disagree	2	2	*	3	10	16
Total	30	21	3	22	25	100%

		Distribution
Anti-government assistance	.000	9%
	.125	8
	.250	7
	.375	7
Mixed	.500	17
	.625	9
	.750	11
	.875	13
Government assistance	1.000	19
Total		100%
Average		.58

Combined

Anti-government assistance	32%
Mixed	26
Government assistance	42

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Voter Attitudes on Government Assistance Scale

	Total	Government Assistance: Anti-Government Assistance	Mixed	Pro-Government Assistance	Number of Cases
Total	100%	32%	26%	42%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	43	25	32	(659)
Independent	100%	32	28	39	(144)
Democrat	100%	20	27	53	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	23	20	57	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	23	27	50	(246)
East North Central	100%	32	23	45	(263)
West North Central	100%	32	35	33	(111)
Border South	100%	32	28	39	(118)
Deep South	100%	34	27	39	(392)
Mountain	100%	43	33	25	(80)
Pacific	100%	35	20	45	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	15	32	52	(237)
25-39	100%	27	27	46	(531)
40-54	100%	41	21	38	(313)
55-64	100%	42	23	36	(189)
65+	100%	40	26	34	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	35	26	39	(726)
Female	100%	28	26	46	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	50	26	25	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	43	26	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	35	27	39	(458)
Lower end	100%	23	25	52	(275)
Jews	100%	25	32	43	(53)
Hispanics	100%	13	22	63	(63)
Blacks	100%	8	28	65	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	41	23	35	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	29	25	47	(202)
Northern white union	100%	30	31	40	(209)
Southern whites	100%	40	27	34	(395)

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Government Welfare

The next government involvement/domestic policy dimension deals with government welfare, which is a separate area in voters' minds from government assistance. This is a very one-sided dimension, a majority or plurality of all voter groups are anti-government welfare.

The statements that comprise this dimension are "Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated, most people receiving assistance truly need it," which garners 47% agreement and 45% disagreement, and "Tighter controls are needed in the federal good stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them," to which a strong 77% to 18% majority agree. All told, 58% of the electorate is anti-government welfare, 22% are pro-government welfare, and 21% have mixed opinions.

Though all voters are anti-government welfare, those most strongly opposed are:

* Republicans
* Mountain state residents
* Southern whites
* middle class whites

Those the least opposed include:

* Blacks
* Jews
* Democrats
* New England and East North Central residents

Attitudes about government welfare do not vary significantly by age or gender.

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Composition and Distribution of Government Welfare Attitude Scale

	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.						
Strongly agree	7%	4%	1%	3%	5%	20%
Somewhat agree	9	10	2	4	2	27
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	4	2	1	*	*	8
Somewhat disagree	11	6	*	1	1	19
Strongly disagree	22	3	*	1	1	27
Total	53	24	5	9	9	100%

		Distribution
Anti-government welfare	.000	22%
	.125	13
	.250	10
	.375	12
Mixed	.500	21
	.625	7
	.750	6
	.875	4
Pro-government welfare	1.000	5
Total		100%
Average		.36

Combined

Anti-government welfare	58%
Mixed	21
Pro-government welfare	22

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Voter Attitudes on Government Welfare Scale

	Total	Government Welfare: Anti-Government Welfare	Mixed	Pro-Government Welfare	Number of Cases
Total	100%	58%	21%	22%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	67	18	15	(659)
Independent	100%	59	20	21	(144)
Democrat	100%	49	23	28	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	54	19	27	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	55	24	22	(246)
East North Central	100%	52	22	26	(263)
West North Central	100%	59	23	19	(111)
Border South	100%	55	21	24	(118)
Deep South	100%	62	19	19	(392)
Mountain	100%	70	13	18	(80)
Pacific	100%	59	20	20	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	52	24	24	(237)
25-39	100%	60	18	22	(531)
40-54	100%	57	19	24	(313)
55-64	100%	57	23	20	(189)
65+	100%	62	23	16	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	58	22	20	(726)
Female	100%	58	19	23	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	54	21	25	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	53	21	25	(163)
Middle class	100%	66	16	19	(458)
Lower end	100%	60	23	17	(275)
Jews	100%	51	21	28	(53)
Hispanics	100%	49	25	24	(63)
Blacks	100%	41	28	31	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	63	18	19	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	51	24	24	(202)
Northern white union	100%	58	20	23	(209)
Southern whites	100%	65	17	18	(395)

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Labor Unions

Public opinion on the usefulness of and necessity for labor unions is another major attitudinal dimension in the electorate. This dimension does not predict attitudes on the right of labor unions to exist, but to what extent they have more power and influence than they should. The electorate leans against labor unions in that regard by a 42% to 35% margin, with 23% mixed. The statements which are combined to form this dimension are "Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country," to which a 65% to 30% majority agree, and "Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man," to which a nearly equal 66% to 31% majority agree.

As expected, this is a highly partisan dimension. Republicans are anti-union by a 54% to 25% margin, Democrats are pro-union by a 44% to 32% margin. Age, region, status, and race are also divided on the union dimension. Besides Republicans, these voters are anti-union:

* Mountain state residents
* senior citizens
* northern white Protestants
* Southern whites

Siding with Democrats on the union dimension are:

* northern white union members
* voters under 25
* Jews
* Hispanics
* Blacks

This, again, could attract Southern whites, but is not a good arena in which to attract blue collar or young votes.

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Composition and Distribution of Labor Union Attitude Scale

Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man: Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	14%	1%	8%	12%	42%
Somewhat agree	6	12	1	4	1	23
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	2	1	1	1	6
Somewhat disagree	7	5	*	2	1	15
Strongly disagree	11	2	*	1	1	15
Total	31	35	3	16	16	100%

		Distribution
Anti-labor union	.000	12%
	.125	9
	.250	5
	.375	16
Mixed	.500	23
	.625	9
	.750	6
	.875	9
Pro-labor union	1.000	11
Total		100%
Average		.49

Combined

Anti-labor union	42%
Mixed	23
Pro-labor union	35

Voter Attitudes on Labor Union Scale

	Total	Labor Union: Anti-Labor Union	Mixed	Pro-Labor Union	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**42%**	**23%**	**35%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	**100%**	**54**	**21**	**25**	**(659)**
Independent	**100%**	**40**	**23**	**37**	**(144)**
Democrat	**100%**	**32**	**24**	**44**	**(695)**
Political Region					
New England	**100%**	**38**	**24**	**39**	**(79)**
Mid-Atlantic	**100%**	**37**	**23**	**40**	**(246)**
East North Central	**100%**	**43**	**21**	**36**	**(263)**
West North Central	**100%**	**40**	**24**	**37**	**(111)**
Border South	**100%**	**37**	**22**	**40**	**(118)**
Deep South	**100%**	**46**	**26**	**28**	**(392)**
Mountain	**100%**	**56**	**16**	**28**	**(80)**
Pacific	**100%**	**40**	**20**	**39**	**(210)**
Age					
18-24	100%	29	29	43	(237)
25-39	100%	41	24	35	(531)
40-54	100%	46	17	37	(313)
55-64	100%	44	20	37	(189)
65+	100%	52	26	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	42	22	36	(726)
Female	100%	42	24	34	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	48	15	37	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	48	23	29	(163)
Middle class	100%	48	24	28	(458)
Lower end	100%	45	23	32	(275)
Jews	100%	34	21	43	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	22	54	(63)
Blacks	100%	18	25	57	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	54	22	24	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	40	26	35	(202)
Northern white union	100%	31	19	51	(209)
Southern whites	100%	52	24	24	(395)

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Black Agenda

Race is one of the major sociological divisions of the electorate. On the black agenda dimension one finds blacks at one end and everyone else at the other. This is not to say that non-blacks are anti-black or anti civil rights, but are against special treatment or privileges for blacks. The two items that make up this dimension are the statement that "Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them" and the 0° to 100° thermometer rating of Jesse Jackson. Blacks agree by a 60% to 38% margin to the statement and give Jackson a 77° rating. All other voters, however disagree with the statement by a 74% to 22% margin and give Jackson only a lukewarm 43° rating. In total, 60% of the electorate are anti-black agenda, 17% are pro-black agenda, and 23% are mixed.

The strongest sentiment against the black agenda is found among:

* Republicans
* senior citizens
* Southern whites
* lower end whites
* Jews
* Mountain state residents

Only among blacks is there a majority (54%) in favor of the black agenda, and only the following groups top 20% pro-black agenda:

* Democrats (24%)
* Hispanics (24%)
* voters under 25 (22%)

Non-black America is definitely against giving special consideration to blacks because of past discrimination.

In summary, there are eight attitudinal dimensions which account for most of the variance in opinions on major issues of the day. The seven dimensions which are described in this chapter are: gunboat diplomacy, America first, traditional values, government assistance, government welfare, union agenda, and black agenda. Each is listed below with the major voter groups the conservative position on the dimension attracts:

Gunboat diplomacy:	Southern whites, voters aged 25 to 39
America first:	voters over 55, lower end whites, Jews (non-partisan)
Traditional values:	Southern whites, West North Central, over 40 (non-partisan)
Government assistance:	over 55, Mountain, Southern whites, Northern white Protestants, high income, intelligentsia
Government welfare:	Mountain, middle class, Southern whites
Labor unions:	Mountain, over 65, northern white Protestant, Southern white
Black agenda:	over 65, Southern white, lower end, Jews, Mountain

Comparing the Republican and Democratic coalitions on these dimensions shows that Republicans are significantly more conservative than Democrats on the black agenda (25 pts.), labor unions (22 pts.), government assistance (23 pts.), government welfare (18 pts.), and gunboat diplomacy dimensions (10 pts.), while there is little difference between the two parties on the traditional values (3 pts.) and America first (1 pt.) dimensions.

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Composition and Distribution of Black Agenda Attitude Scale

	Thermometer Rating of Jesse Jackson			
	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Total
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.				
Strongly agree	6%	3%	2%	11%
Somewhat agree	8	4	4	15
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	1	1	1	4
Somewhat disagree	10	7	8	25
Strongly disagree	11	10	24	45
Total	36	25	39	100%

		Distribution
Anti-black agenda	.000	18%
	.125	11
	.250	15
	.375	17
Mixed	.500	14
	.625	9
	.750	7
	.875	5
Pro-black agenda	1.000	4
Total		100%
Average		.38

Combined

Anti-black agenda	60%
Mixed	23
Pro-black agenda	17

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Voter Attitudes on Black Agenda Scale

	Total	Black Agenda: Anti-Black Agenda	Black Agenda: Mixed	Black Agenda: Pro-Black Agenda	Number of Cases
Total	100%	80%	23%	17%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	72	19	9	(659)
Independent	100%	69	17	14	(144)
Democrat	100%	47	28	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	51	30	20	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	62	22	17	(246)
East North Central	100%	61	21	19	(263)
West North Central	100%	59	24	16	(111)
Border South	100%	58	25	18	(118)
Deep South	100%	60	22	17	(392)
Mountain	100%	74	21	6	(80)
Pacific	100%	59	24	17	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	53	24	22	(237)
25-39	100%	56	27	18	(531)
40-54	100%	64	20	16	(313)
55-64	100%	65	21	15	(189)
65+	100%	70	18	12	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	61	21	18	(726)
Female	100%	60	25	16	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	62	23	15	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	67	19	13	(163)
Middle class	100%	66	23	10	(458)
Lower end	100%	70	20	10	(275)
Jews	100%	75	17	8	(53)
Hispanics	100%	48	29	24	(63)
Blacks	100%	12	34	54	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	68	18	15	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	58	26	16	(202)
Northern white union	100%	65	25	11	(209)
Southern whites	100%	72	20	8	(395)

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of discussion in the 1986 and 1988 campaigns and is an important area for the Republican Party and its candidates to understand.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. This points out the desire on the part of the public that the government take an active role in trying to reduce terrorism around the world, including both military and diplomatic action.

One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors, in general, taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, however, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englanders, women,

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Democrats, and senior citizens are the most anti-interventionist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

Comparing the Republican and Democratic coalitions on this scale shows the Republicans to have a 2.1 average on the scale and the Democrats a 1.6. Independent voters echo the national average of 1.9.

Despite their sentiments in favor of retaliatory action against terrorists, Americans also feel that the U.S. government should negotiate with terrorists if they are holding American hostages. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of the public supports negotiation, while 34% say the government should stand steadfast and refuse to negotiate.

Refusal to negotiate is more prevalent among Republicans, Mountain state residents, Jews, men, high income voters, and members of the intelligentsia. It is not, therefore, entirely a "shoot first, ask questions later" group. Many of these voters surely believe that negotiating with terrorists will only act to encourage future terrorist actions.

Americans are of a mind, then, that the U.S. government can and should act tough to discourage terrorism, but that when American lives are in the balance, there should be efforts made to save them.

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Public Opinion on Terrorism Issues

	Total	Party ID: Republican	Independent	Democrat
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)
Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?				
Not much government can do	36%	37%	39%	35%
Government can significantly reduce	57	57	51	58
Don't know/Refused	7	6	10	7
Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?				
Favor	73%	77%	74%	68%
Oppose	19	15	15	24
Don't know/Refused	8	8	11	8
If oppose U.S. taking military action against terrorists, don't know or refused:				
Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?				
Favor	43%	48%	44%	40%
Oppose	40	36	30	44
Don't know/Refused	18	16	27	16

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Public Opinion on Terrorism Issues

(cont'd.)

		Party ID		
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat
If favor U.S. taking military action against terrorists:				
Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?				
Favor	35%	42%	32%	29%
Oppose	40	37	38	43
Don't know/Refused	9	8	15	9
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19
Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?				
Favor against suspected terrorists	28%	33%	33%	23%
Favor only as retaliation	47	47	37	49
Favor neither	4	3	6	4
Don't know/Refused	6	5	10	5
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19
Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?				
Favor	36%	43%	34%	31%
Oppose	40	37	39	42
Don't know/Refused	8	7	12	9
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19

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Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	|12|	|2.1|	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	|24|	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	|30|	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	|27|	11	|2.1|	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	(80)
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(210)
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237)
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531)
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	|14|	|2.0|	(313)
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(189)
65+	100%	|24|	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225)
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	|28|	|13|	|2.1|	(726)
Female	100%	|20|	|30|	27	18	5	|1.6|	(774)
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(228)
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(163)
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	|1.9|	(458)
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	|27|	|12|	|2.1|	(275)
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	|16|	|2.1|	(53)
Black	100%	|27|	26	20	20	6	1.5	(63)
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	|29|	4	|2.0|	(154)

#Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index*

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.8	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	—

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#Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Our government negotiate with terrorists												
Should negotiate	59%	54%	52%	65%	61%	61%	64%	59%	53%	61%	45%	55%
Refuse to negotiate	34	42	32	27	28	36	30	35	31	33	44	38
Don't know/Refused	7	4	16	7	12	4	6	6	17	6	11	6
Believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of. . .												
Individual/Small groups	27	27	24	28	29	27	32	32	25	23	20	28
Foreign government	66	66	67	65	65	67	62	60	63	70	66	66
Don't know/Refused	8	7	9	8	6	5	7	8	13	7	14	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Our government negotiate with terrorists															
Should negotiate	59%	68%	58%	55%	58%	58%	55%	63%	50%	48%	59%	61%	42%	62%	81%
Refuse to negotiate	34	28	37	37	31	33	40	28	46	42	33	31	51	38	15
Don't know/Refused	7	4	6	8	12	9	5	9	5	10	8	7	8	--	4
Believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of. . .															
Individual/Small groups	27	30	30	25	26	21	26	28	34	33	30	16	36	21	23
Foreign government	66	66	62	67	67	71	67	64	60	61	63	76	55	78	67
Don't know/Refused	8	4	8	7	8	9	7	8	7	7	7	7	10	--	11

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CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

The eighth master issue dimension uncovered in earlier research is protectionism. Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. Protectionism to most Americans, though, means "fair trade" rather than "no trade." The public's lack of knowledge about trade issues fosters some ambivalence on this issue, however.

A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that foreign trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy. It is also the case, however, that a small 34% plurality of voters believe that there should be less trade with other countries than there is now. Thirty-one percent (31%) believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. In addition, fully 51% say that there should be fewer imports in the next few years than there is now. Thirty-six percent (36%) say it should stay the same, and only 9% feel there should be more foreign imports. Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist" to some degree, 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only

from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries, the "fair trade" position. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- Democrats
- mid-Atlantic state residents
- women
- blacks
- middle class lower end whites
- those with no college education

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign competition than are free traders. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free

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traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt. Other than protectionists, those most likely to know of a local business that has been hurt by foreign imports are New England and East North Central residents, men, high income voters, and voters aged 40 to 64.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

It is somewhat surprising that Americans are as quick to admit some of the blame lies within the U.S. as to point the finger elsewhere. Indeed, over half of the voters feel that "American industries are blaming the Japanese/Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive costs," while less than a third feel that "the Japanese/Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries." This question, half-sampled to alternate "Japanese" with "European," came out very similar in each case, with a 58% to 32% majority pointing the finger at U.S. industry vis-a-vis the Japanese, and a 55% to 30% majority doing so vis-a-vis the Europeans.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On

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the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

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Where do the parties stand on the protectionism issue? Democrats are more protectionist than Republicans. Fifty-four percent (54%) of the nation's Democrats are protectionist, 19% are free traders, compared to a 40% protectionist, 28% free trader plurality among Republicans. Both voter groups support the notion of fair trade, Republicans to the tune of 56%, Democrats with 49%. More Democrats (32%) than Republicans (24%) favor the across-the-board trade restriction option, but neither feel that there should be no trade restrictions.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept is generally supported as a policy option. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Foreign Trade												
More	31%	37%	28%	26%	28%	31%	34%	36%	22%	29%	29%	34%
About the same	28	28	29	27	30	26	27	26	30	29	24	27
Less	34	29	30	40	30	37	30	33	39	37	36	29
Don't know/Refused	8	7	13	8	10	6	9	6	9	5	11	10
Foreign Imports												
More	9	9	10	9	14	9	9	6	11	10	6	8
About the same	36	43	35	29	32	35	37	41	31	35	28	41
Less	51	45	49	58	54	53	50	51	53	52	58	44
Don't know/Refused	4	2	7	4	1	4	4	2	5	3	8	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(154)
Foreign Trade															
More	31%	29%	30%	30%	34%	34%	44%	18%	46%	41%	30%	17%	42%	33%	19%
About the same	28	35	29	28	21	22	23	32	32	33	22	27	32	30	31
Less	34	32	35	35	35	32	27	41	18	20	39	46	19	33	45
Don't know/Refused	8	4	6	7	11	12	6	9	4	7	9	9	8	2	4
Foreign Imports															
More	9	8	11	9	9	6	11	7	11	10	7	6	7	22	13
About the same	36	39	34	35	30	41	40	31	51	50	36	26	46	18	20
Less	51	51	52	52	54	46	45	57	34	39	53	64	40	57	63
Don't know/Refused	4	1	3	4	7	7	4	5	4	2	3	4	6	3	4

Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

	Total	Protectionism Index: Protectionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	100%	47%	30%	23%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[56]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[56]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[56]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

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Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

		Country's Foreign Trade Policy				
	Total	(1) No Restrictions	(2) "Fair Trade"	(3) Restrictions	Don't Know/ Refused	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	53%	27%	4%	(1500)
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	17	56	24	3	(659)
Independent	100%	17	57	19	7	(144)
Democrat	100%	15	49	32	4	(695)
Political Region						
New England	100%	16	48	29	6	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	24	52	22	1	(246)
East North Central	100%	12	57	26	5	(263)
West North Central	100%	15	56	25	4	(111)
Border South	100%	14	42	42	1	(118)
Deep South	100%	16	51	29	4	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	50	26	7	(80)
Pacific	100%	15	59	24	3	(210)
Age						
18-24	100%	20	46	32	2	(237)
25-39	100%	15	57	26	3	(531)
40-54	100%	14	57	26	4	(313)
55-64	100%	17	49	30	4	(189)
65+	100%	17	46	26	11	(225)
Sex						
Male	100%	18	56	23	3	(726)
Female	100%	15	49	32	5	(774)

(continued on next page)

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Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(cont'd.)

	Total	Country's Foreign Trade Policy (1) No Restrictions	(2) "Fair Trade"	(3) Restrictions	Don't Know/ Refused	Number of Cases
Status Group						
High income	100%	17%	65%	14%	3%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	16	64	18	2	(163)
Middle class	100%	15	55	28	3	(458)
Lower end	100%	13	44	35	7	(275)
Jews	100%	19	58	23	3	(53)
Hispanics	100%	32	43	25	—	(63)
Blacks	100%	20	35	41	5	(159)

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(1) Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price.

(2) Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries.

(3) Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Public Assessment of Source of Trade Problems (Half-Sampled)

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
First Half-Sample												
The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries	32%	32%	29%	32%	30%	33%	30%	31%	43%	35%	28%	24%
American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	58	61	55	57	63	60	59	54	44	57	64	65
Don't know/Refused	9	7	15	12	7	7	11	15	14	9	8	11
Second Half-Sample												
The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	29	16	34	26	26	33	38	35	31	17	25
American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	55	55	67	52	50	59	57	46	54	52	60	57
Don't know/Refused	16	17	18	15	24	15	10	16	11	16	24	17

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

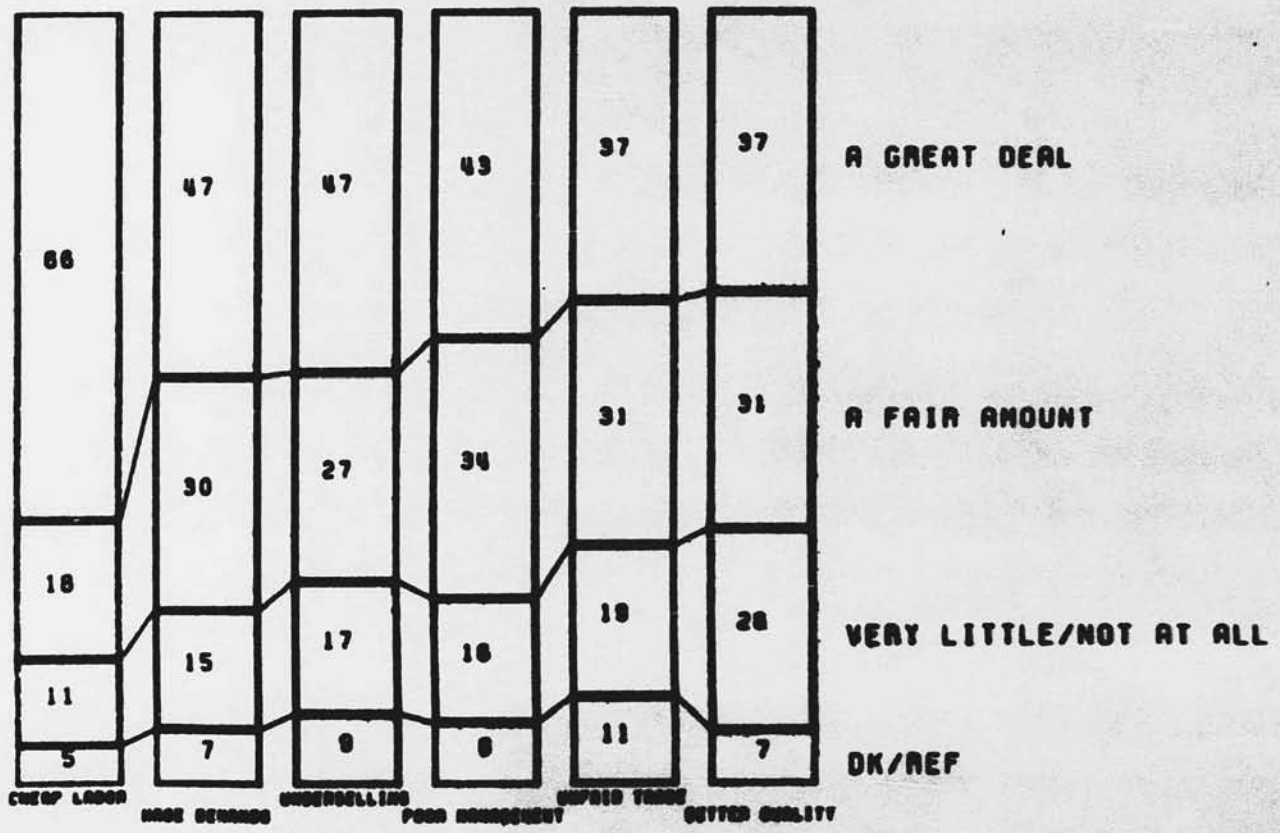
Public Assessment of Source of Trade Problems (Half-Sampled)

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
First Half-Sample															
The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries	32%	35%	23%	31%	37%	46%	28%	36%	27%	25%	32%	42%	30%	28%	31%
American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	58	64	68	59	51	36	63	54	66	67	60	43	61	72	57
Don't know/Refused	9	1	9	10	12	18	9	11	8	8	7	16	9	—	12
Second Half-Sample															
The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	38	22	29	36	33	30	29	20	17	31	43	10	49	33
American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	55	55	64	55	43	43	56	54	57	72	55	44	74	39	57
Don't know/Refused	16	7	14	17	20	24	14	17	22	10	15	13	16	12	10

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



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Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

		Blame for Trade Problems[a]			
	Total	Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	[43]	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	[30]	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	[43]	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

(continued next page)

Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

	Blame for Trade Problems (a)				
	Total	Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)

(a)Composite Index of questions 17-22.

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 4 7 7

CHAPTER SIX: PERCEPTUAL SPACE

Using multidimensional scaling techniques it is possible to construct the underlying attitudes people use to rate political figures. The main advantage of this technique is that allows the data to produce the dimensions; it does not impose predetermined dimensions on the data.

When this technique was first used for the Republican National Committee in 1976, two dimensions were found to account for a significant amount of variance in the thermometer ratings of the prominent political figures that year. The two dimensions were:

* Party affiliation
* Traditional American values

The public first sorted the political figures by Republicans and Democrats. While this initial sort was the most obvious one, subsequent analysis revealed that scales measuring the government's role in the economy was closely associated with the party affiliation dimension. Consequently, the public perceived virtually all the Democrats as economic liberals and virtually all the Republicans as economic conservatives, with some moderate differences within each party grouping.

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To a greater extent the public used the second dimension, traditional American values, to distinguish Democrats from other Democrats, and, similarly, Republicans from other Republicans. This dimension lead to one of the key findings of the 1976 study: that Jimmy Carter was the only Democrat who was clearly perceived as a social conservative. This placed him in the most advantageous place in the 1976 political space: a liberal on government economic activism and a conservative on social issues. This positioning placed him closer to more voters than any other political figure at the time of the study (June, 1986).

The structure of the current political space, as measured in this study, has changed in a significant way from the one found in 1976. The space is much more one-dimensional than it was in 1976. The public still makes an initial sort by Republicans and Democrats, but this initial sort seems to carry with it a greater issue content than in 1976. The power of the first dimension, arbitrarily shown as the horizontal axis in the following pages, in explaining the individual thermometer ratings dominates the space to such an extent that the second dimension, represented by the vertical axis, is little more than a picture of random error differences.

This interpretion would mean that the public perceives more issue differences between the two major parties than in 1976. For one, the traditional American values dimension has collapsed onto the party affiliation dimension. In addition, attitudes about the Black Agenda

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and the Labor Union Agenda, described elsewhere in the report, are now part of the basic party affiliation dimension. In short, the public now perceives a greater variety of issues distinguishing Republicans from Democrats than it did in 1976.

Lastly, there is a simple but very significant difference between the 1976 and 1985 political spaces. In 1976 the average voter (the weighted center point in the space) was closer to the Democratic cluster of names than to the Republican cluster of names. In 1985, the average voter is closer to the Republican cluster.

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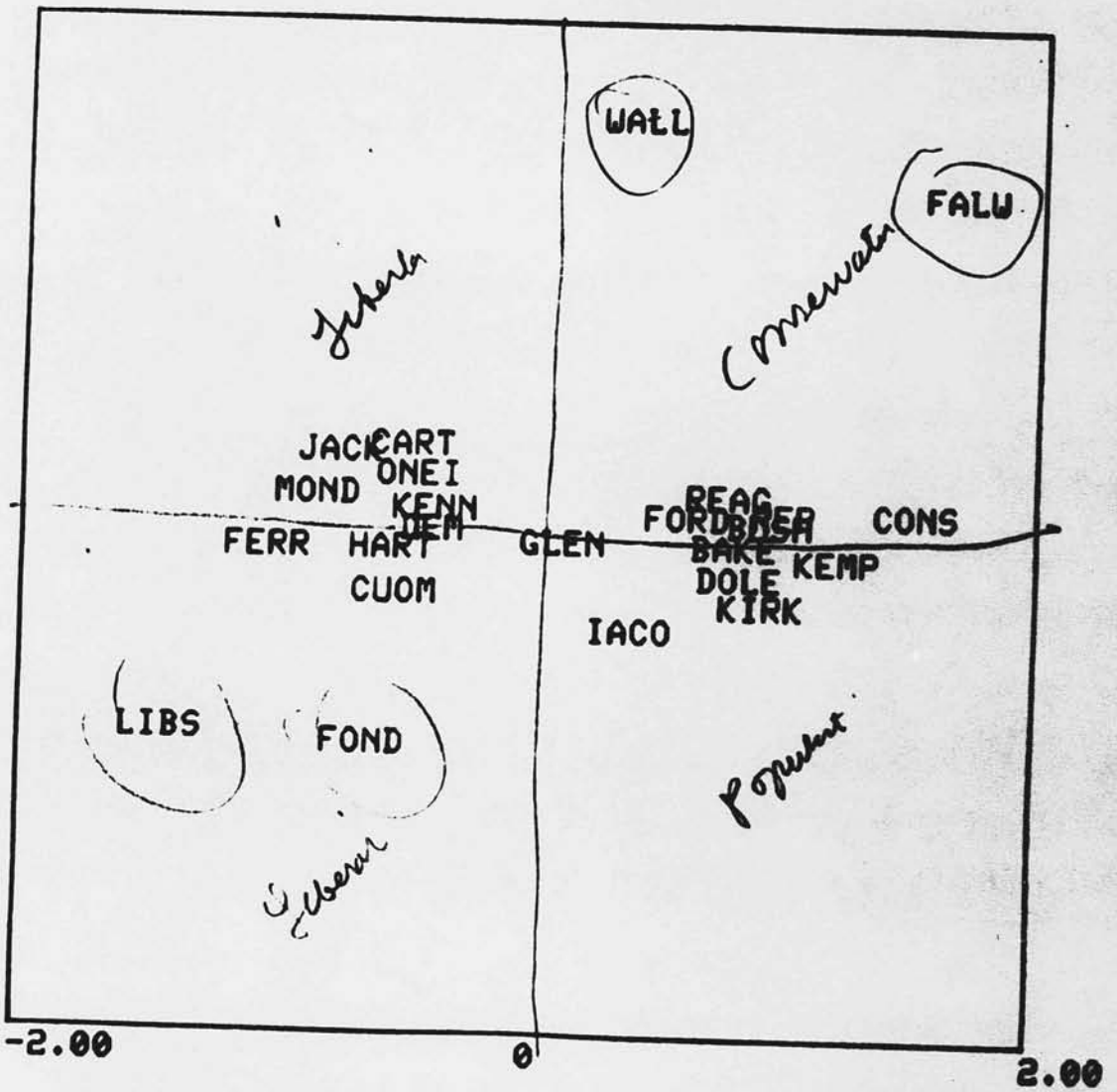
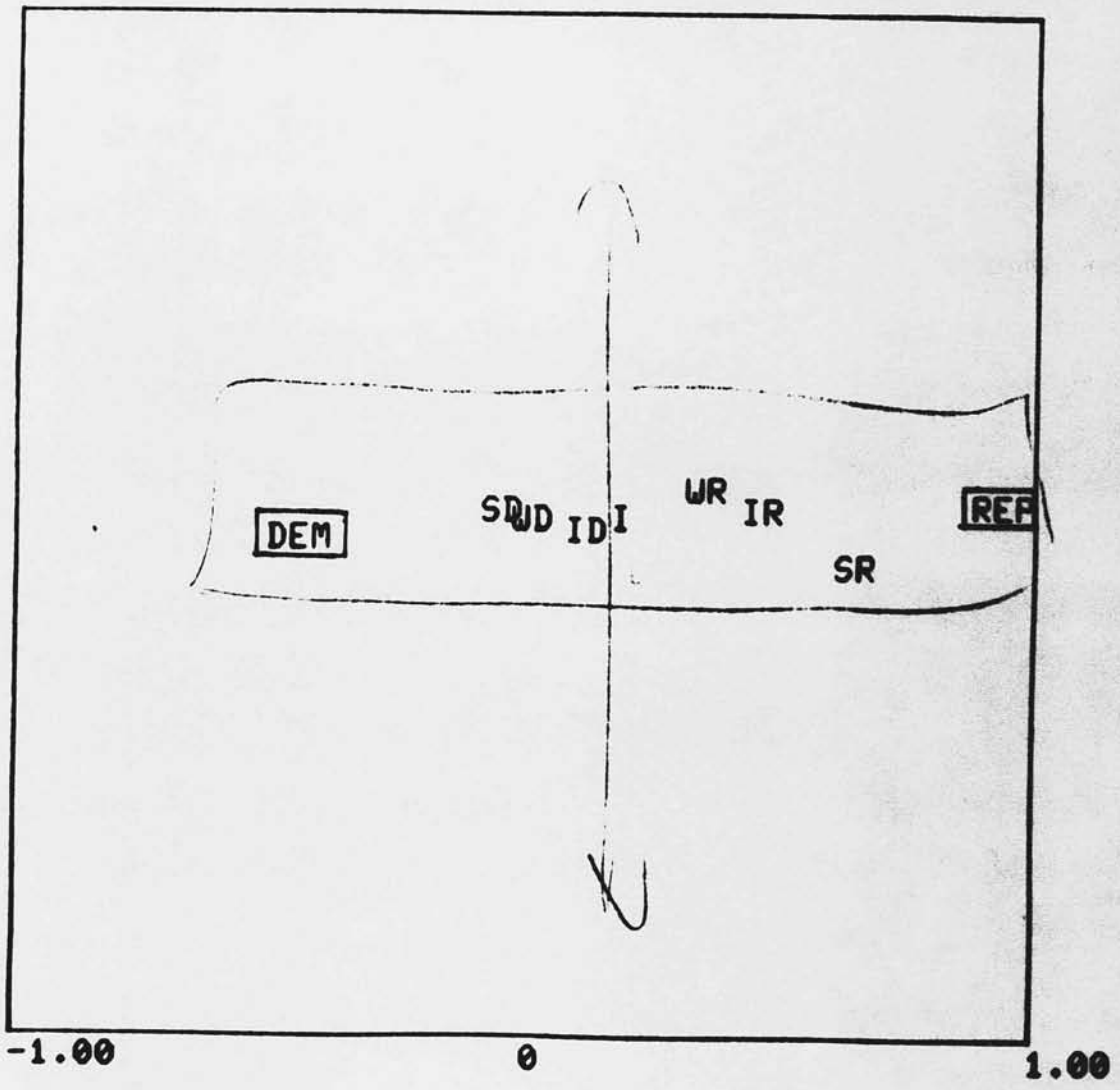
1985 Political Space



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS

Party Identification in the 1985 Political Space



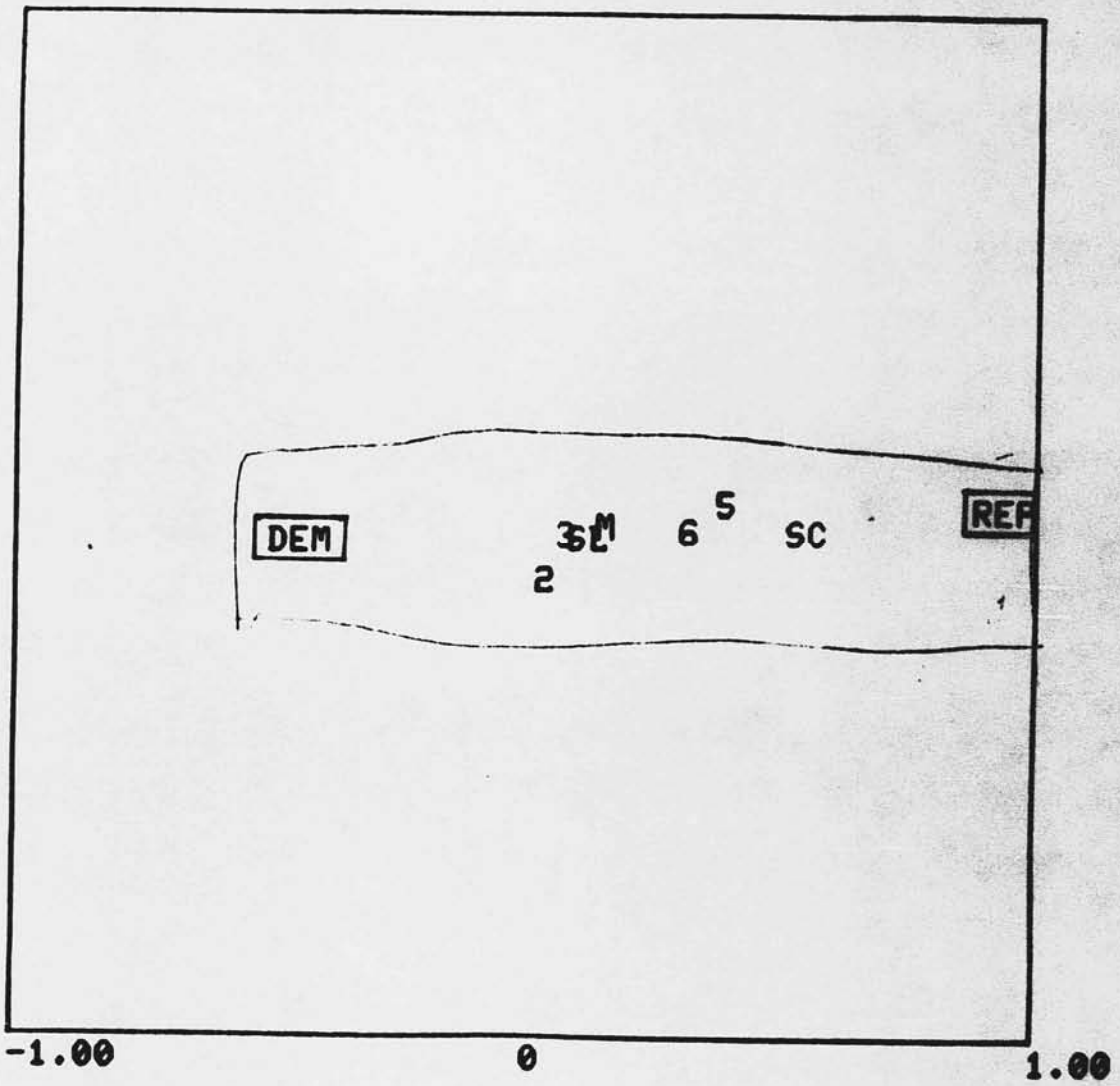
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

SD = Strong Democrat
WD = Weak Democrat
ID = Independent Democrat
I = Independent
IR = Independent Republican
WR = Weak Republican
SR = Strong Republican

Liberal/Conservative Self-Description
in the 1985 Political Space

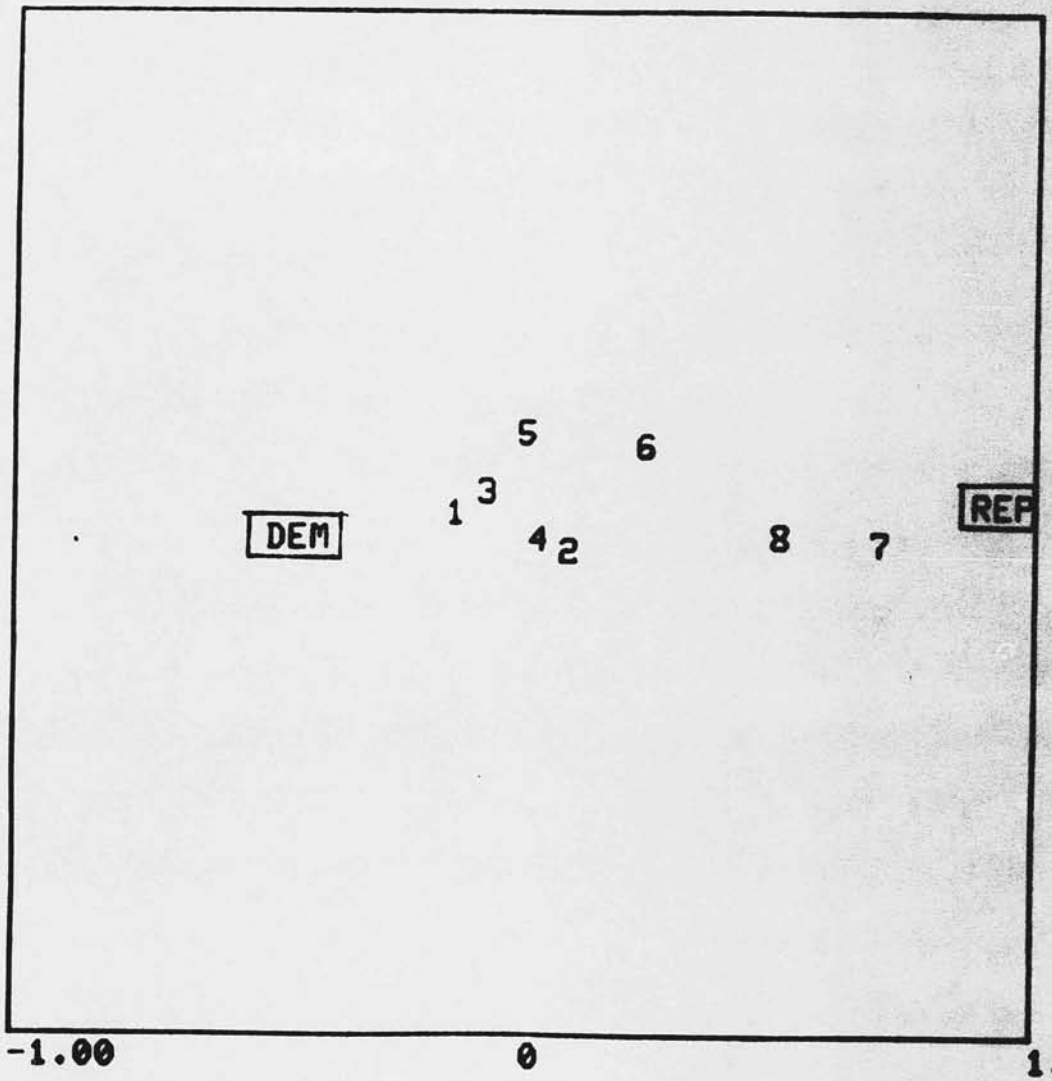


Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
SL = Extremely liberal
2 = Fairly liberal
3 = Slightly liberal
M = Moderate
5 = Slightly conservative
6 = Fairly conservative
SC = Extremely conservative

Presidential Trial Heat Summary Index
in the 1985 Political Space



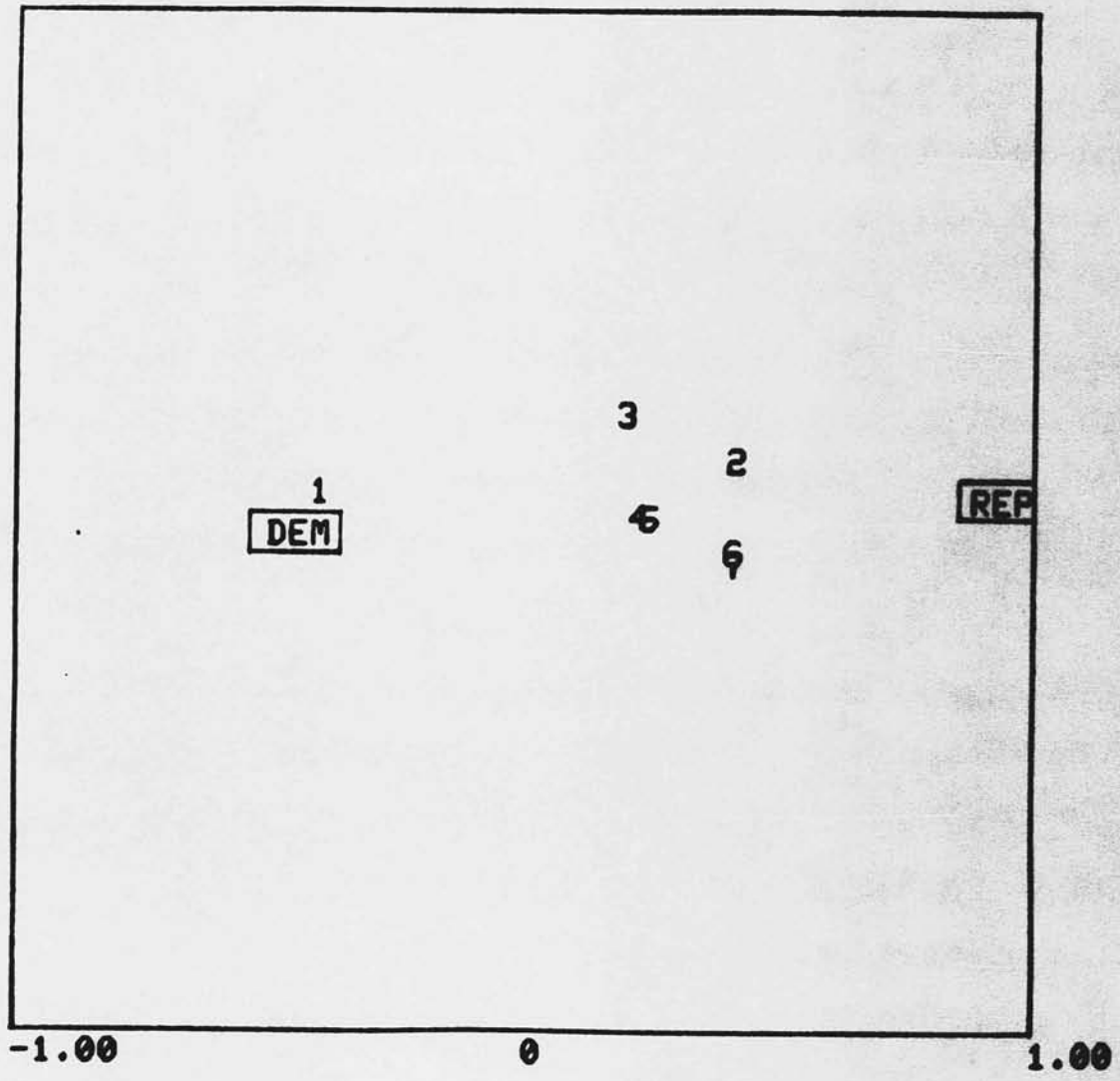
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Core Democrat
2 = Anti-Kennedy Democrats
3 = Anti-Hart Democrats
4 = Anti-Iacocca Democrats
5 = Pro-Kennedy Republicans
6 = Pro-Hart Republicans
7 = Pro-Iacocca Republicans
8 = Core Republican

Status Groups in the 1985 Political Space



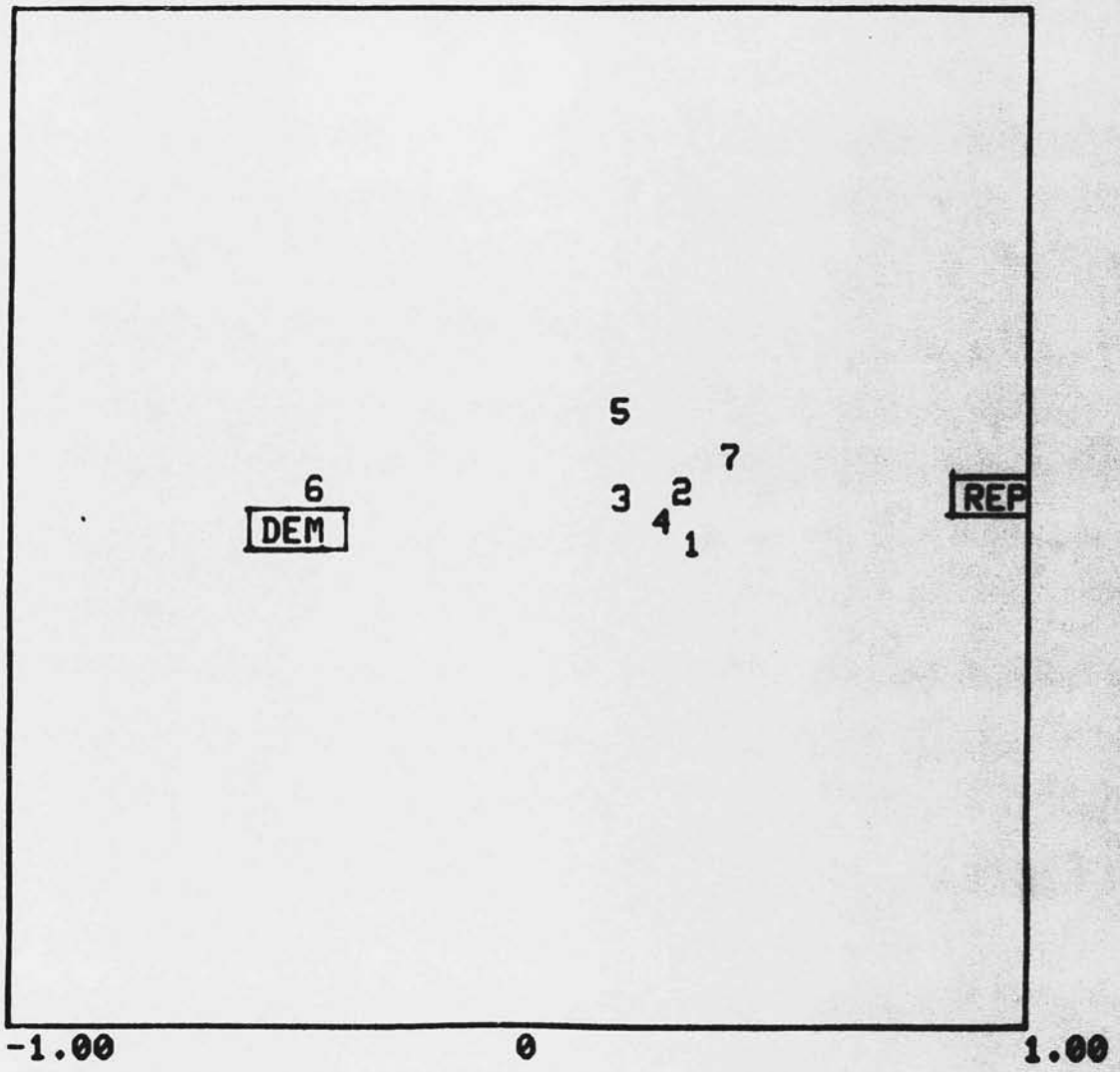
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Blacks
2 = Hispanics
3 = Jews
4 = Lower end whites
5 = Middle class
6 = Intelligentsia
7 = High income

Cultural Groups in the 1985 Political Space



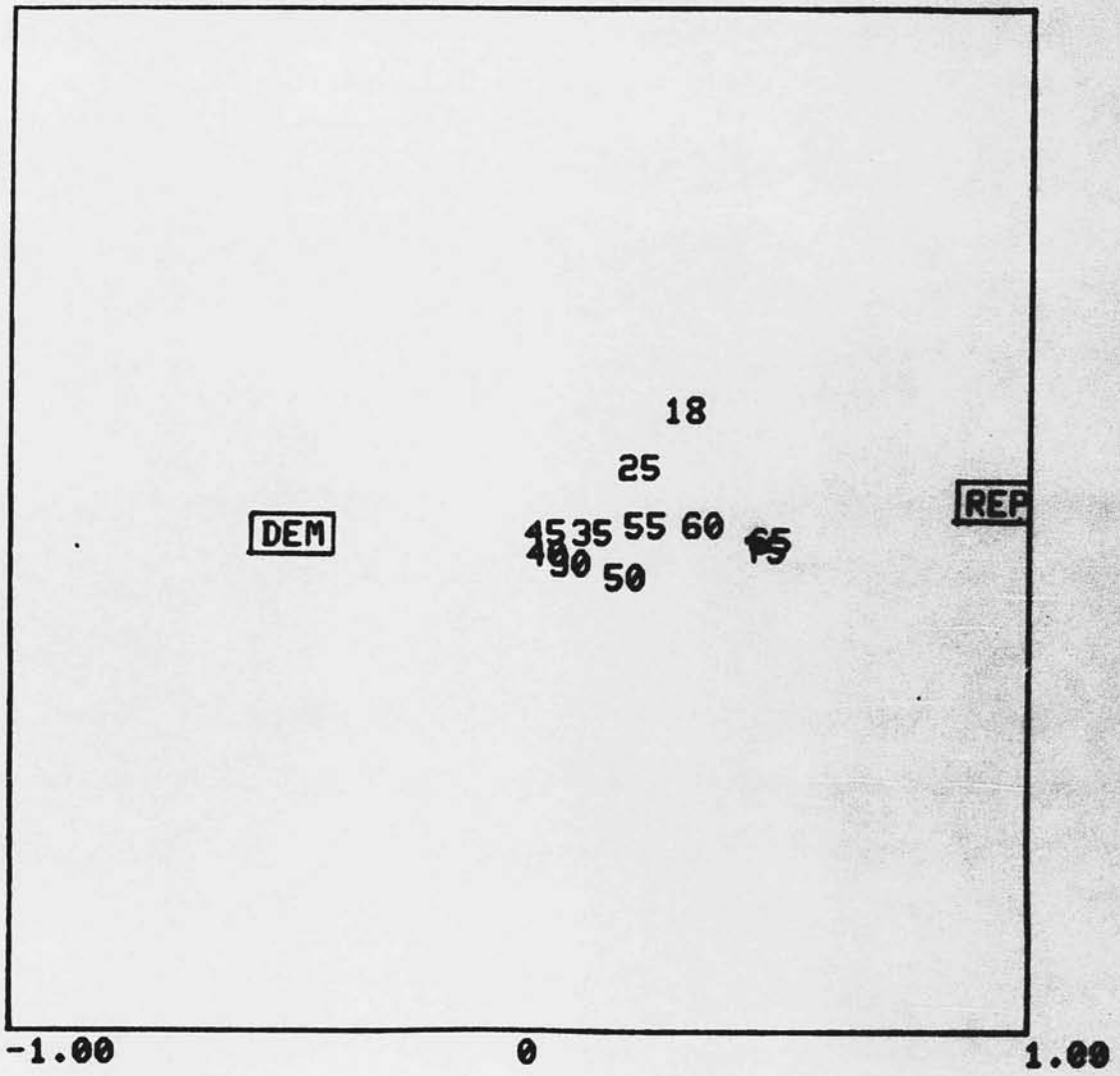
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Northern Protestants
2 = Catholics
3 = Union
4 = Southern whites
5 = Jews
6 = Blacks
7 = Hispanics

Age in the 1985 Political Space



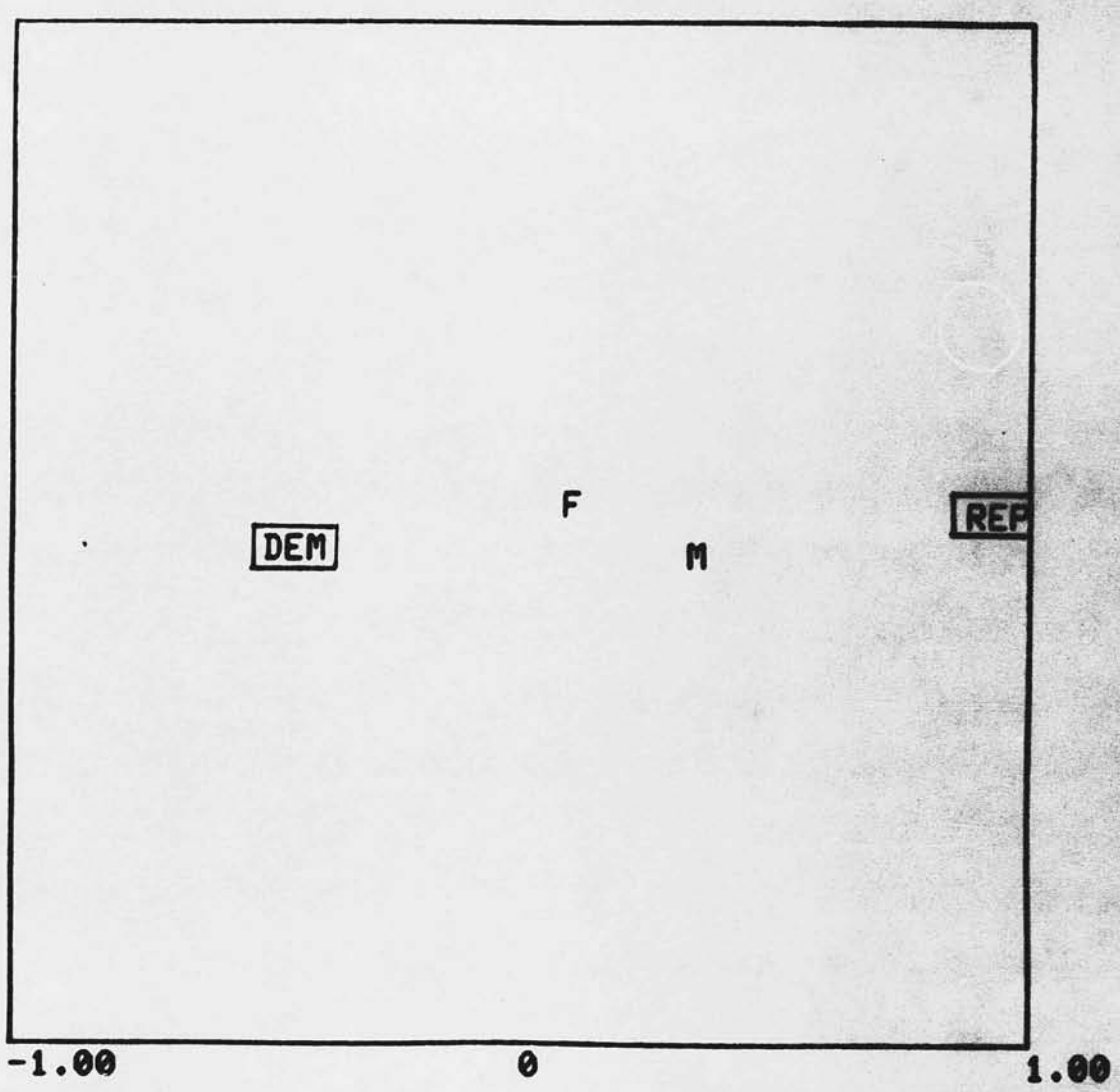
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

18 = 18-24
25 = 25-29
30 = 30-34
35 = 35-39
40 = 40-44
45 = 45-49
50 = 50-54
55 = 55-59
60 = 60-64
65 = 65-74
75 = 75 and over

Gender in the 1985 Political Space



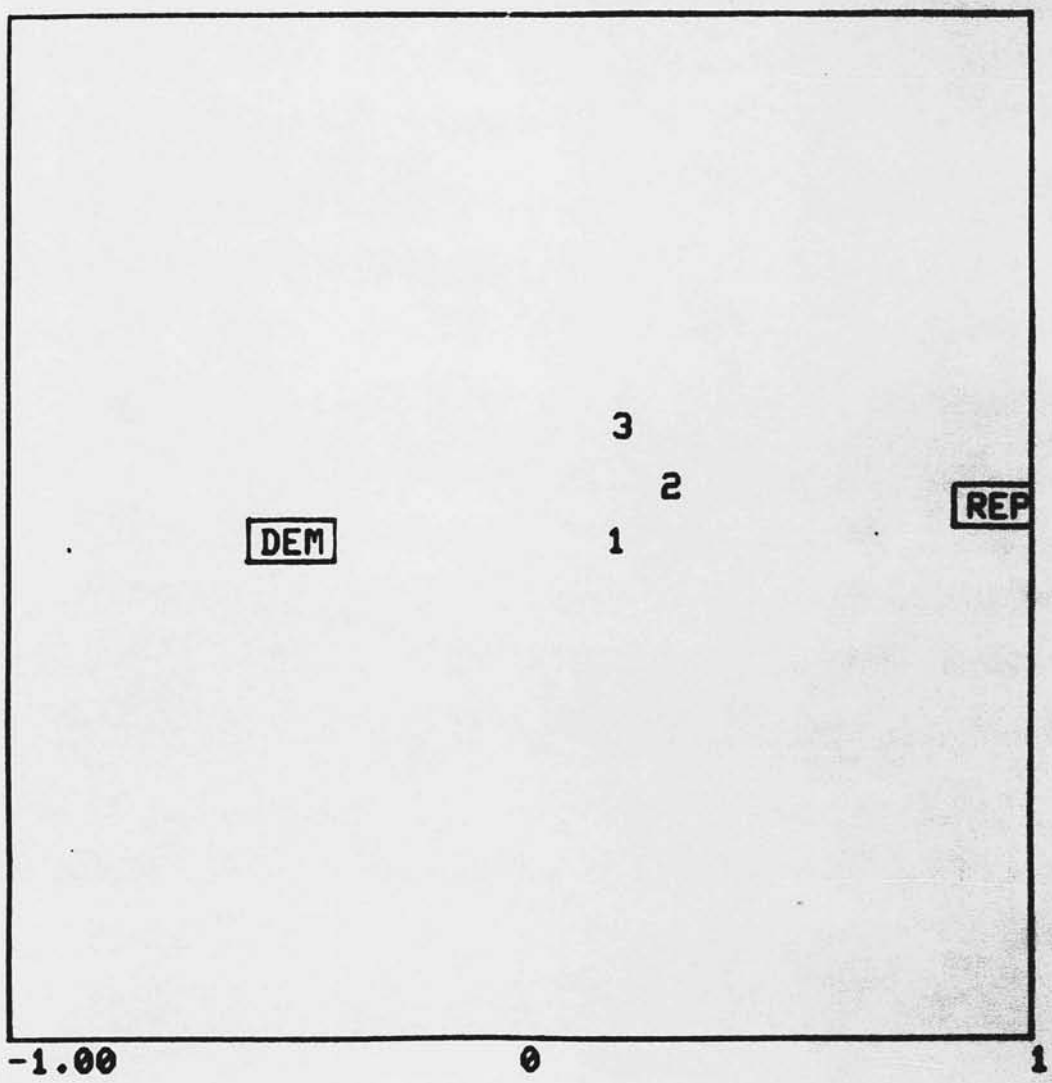
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

M = Males
F = Females

Religion in the 1985 Political Space

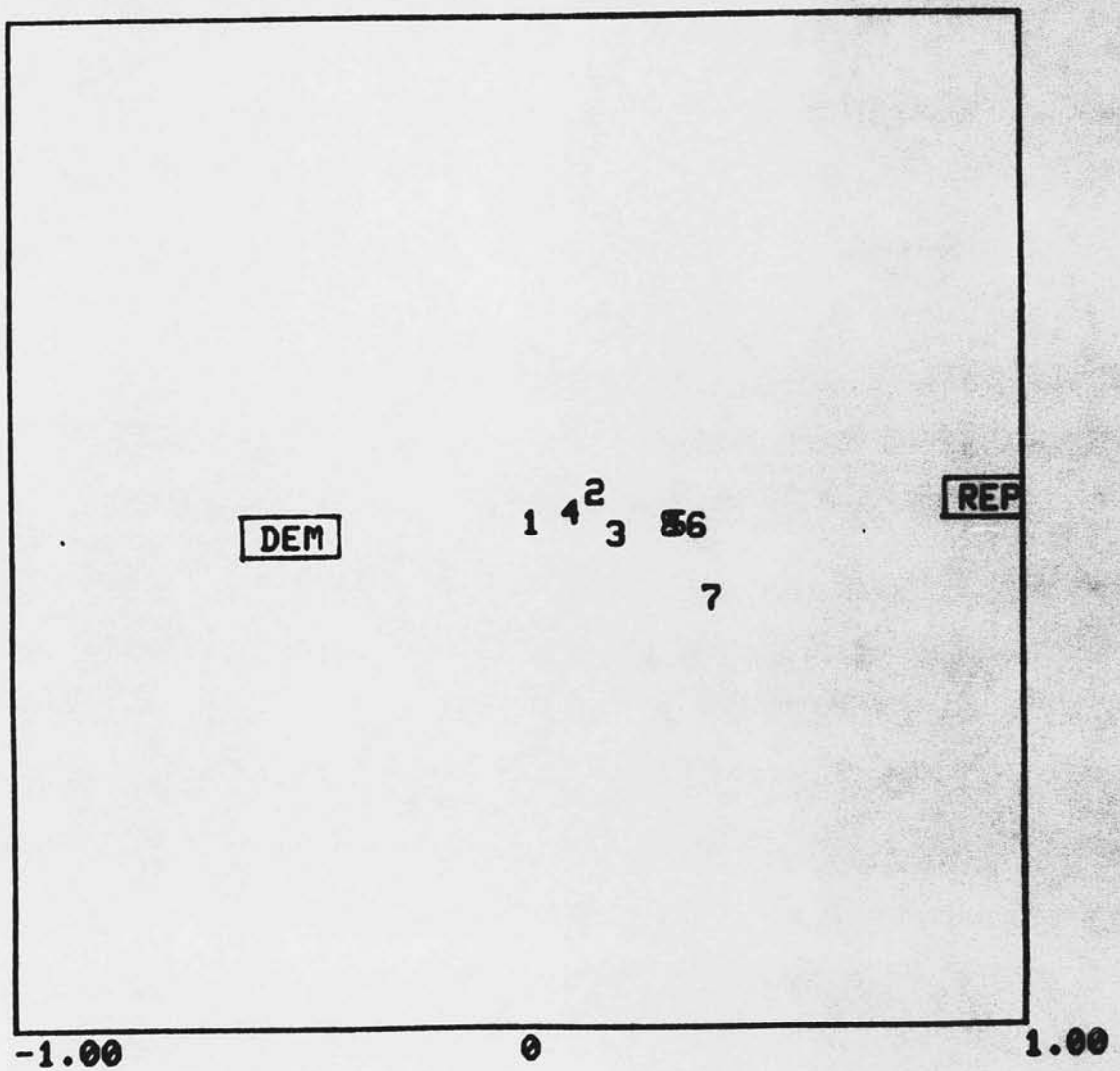


Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means	
1 =	Protestant
2 =	Catholic
3 =	Jew

Income in the 1985 Political Space



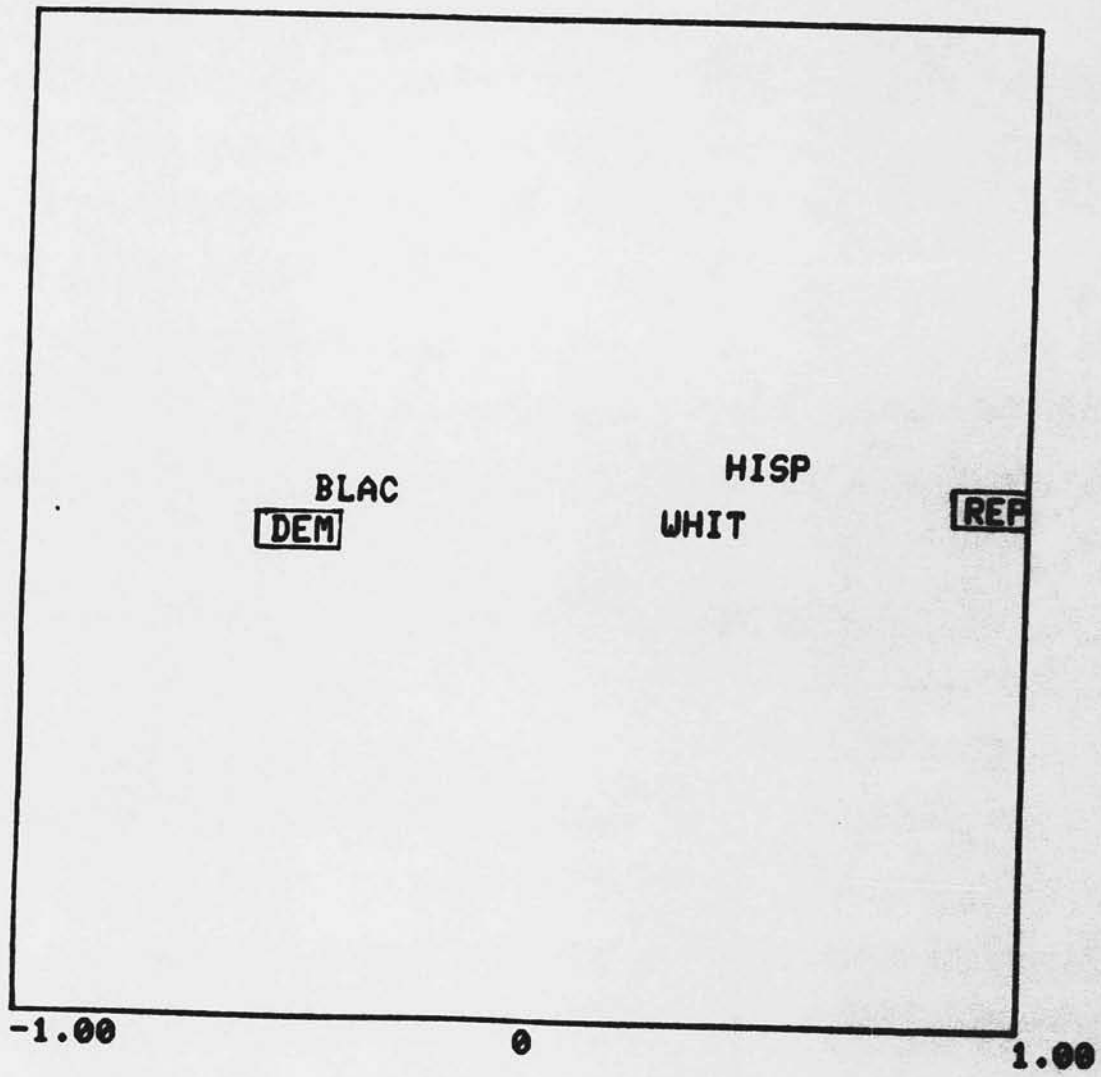
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Under $10,000
2 = $10,000-$15,000
3 = $15,000-$20,000
4 = $20,000-$25,000
5 = $25,000-$30,000
6 = $30,000-$40,000
7 = $40,000-$50,000
8 = $50,000 and over

Race in the 1985 Political Space



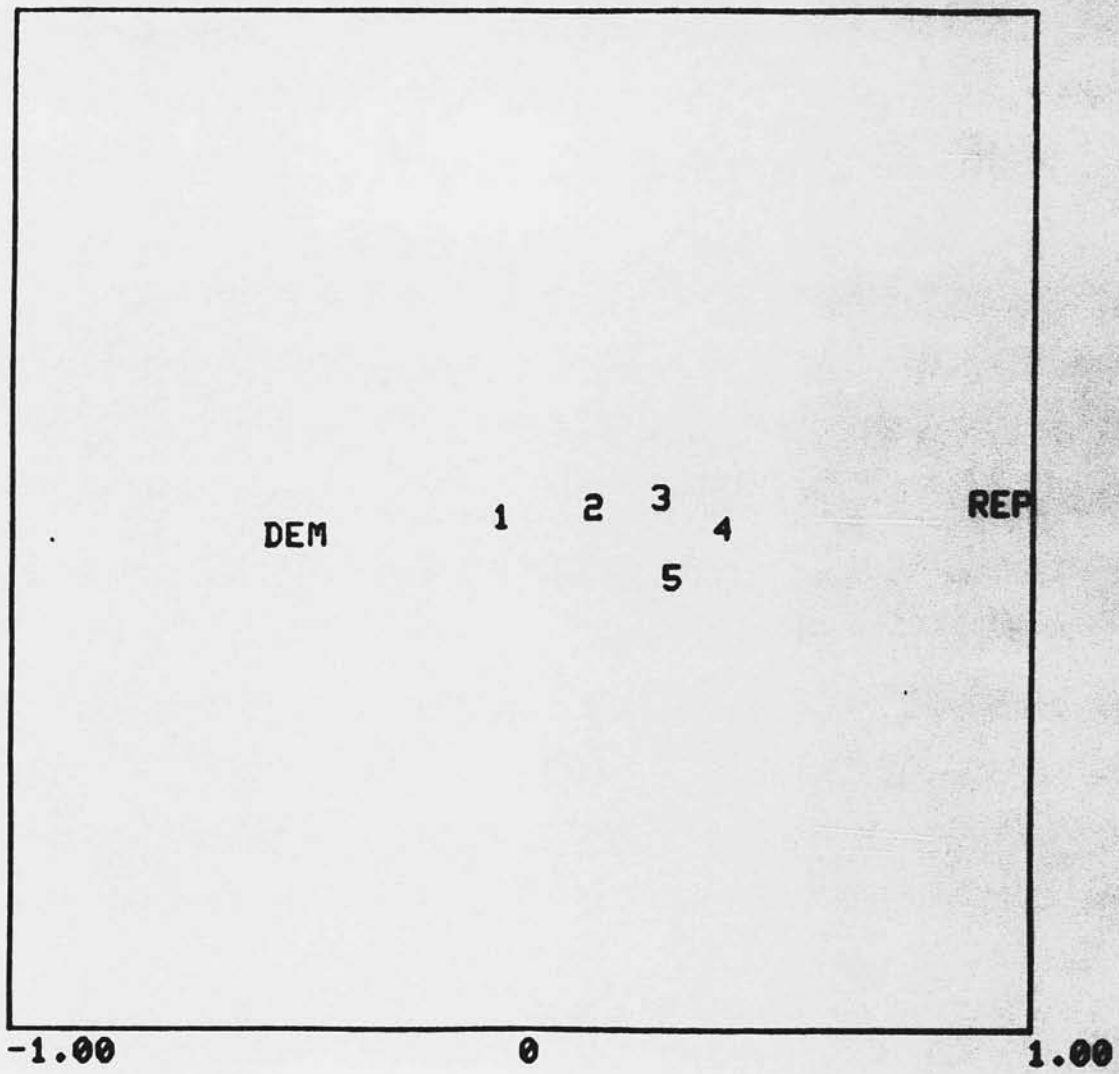
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

Military Action Against Terrorists Scale
in the Political Space



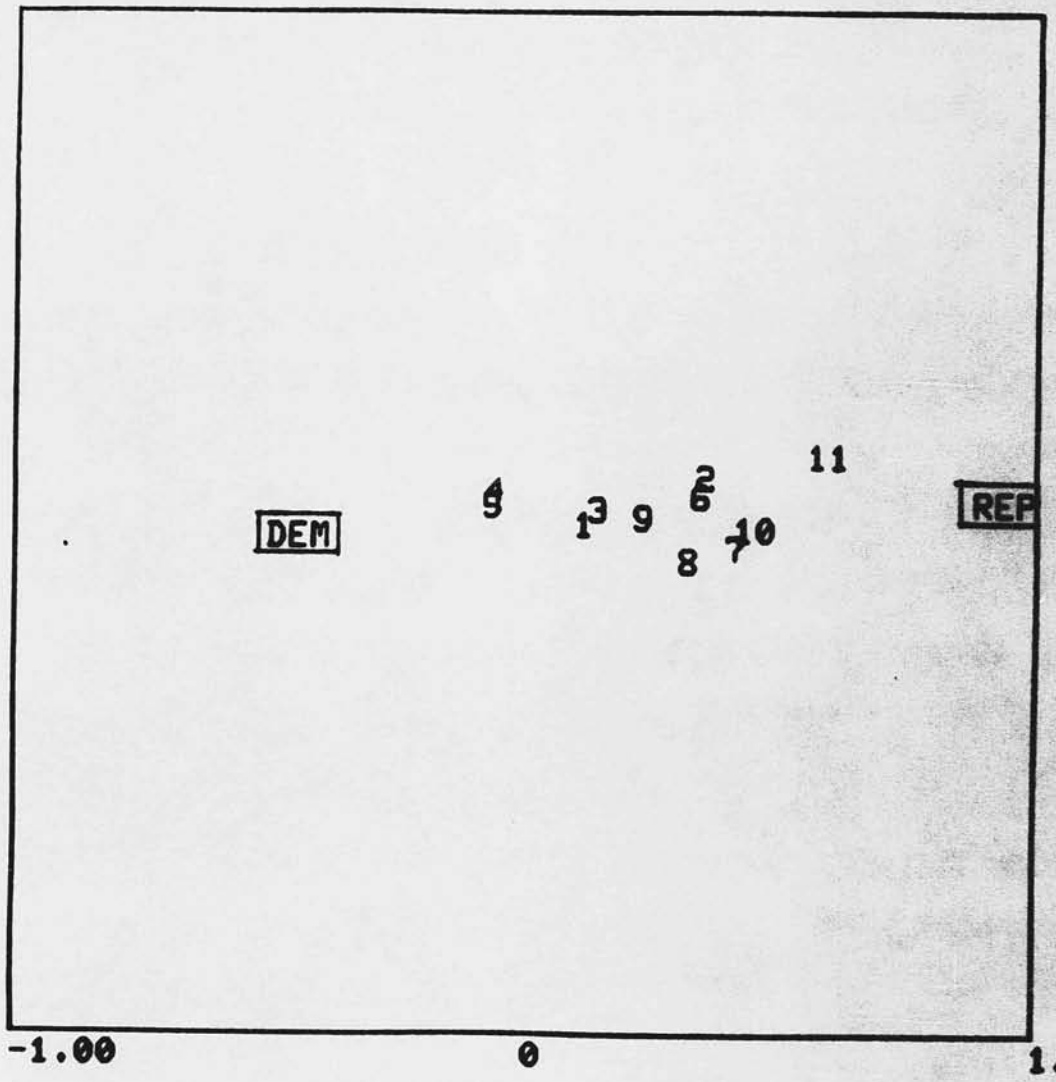
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Oppose any military action
2
3
4
5 = Favor military action in all cases

International Trade Scale #1 in the 1985 Political Space



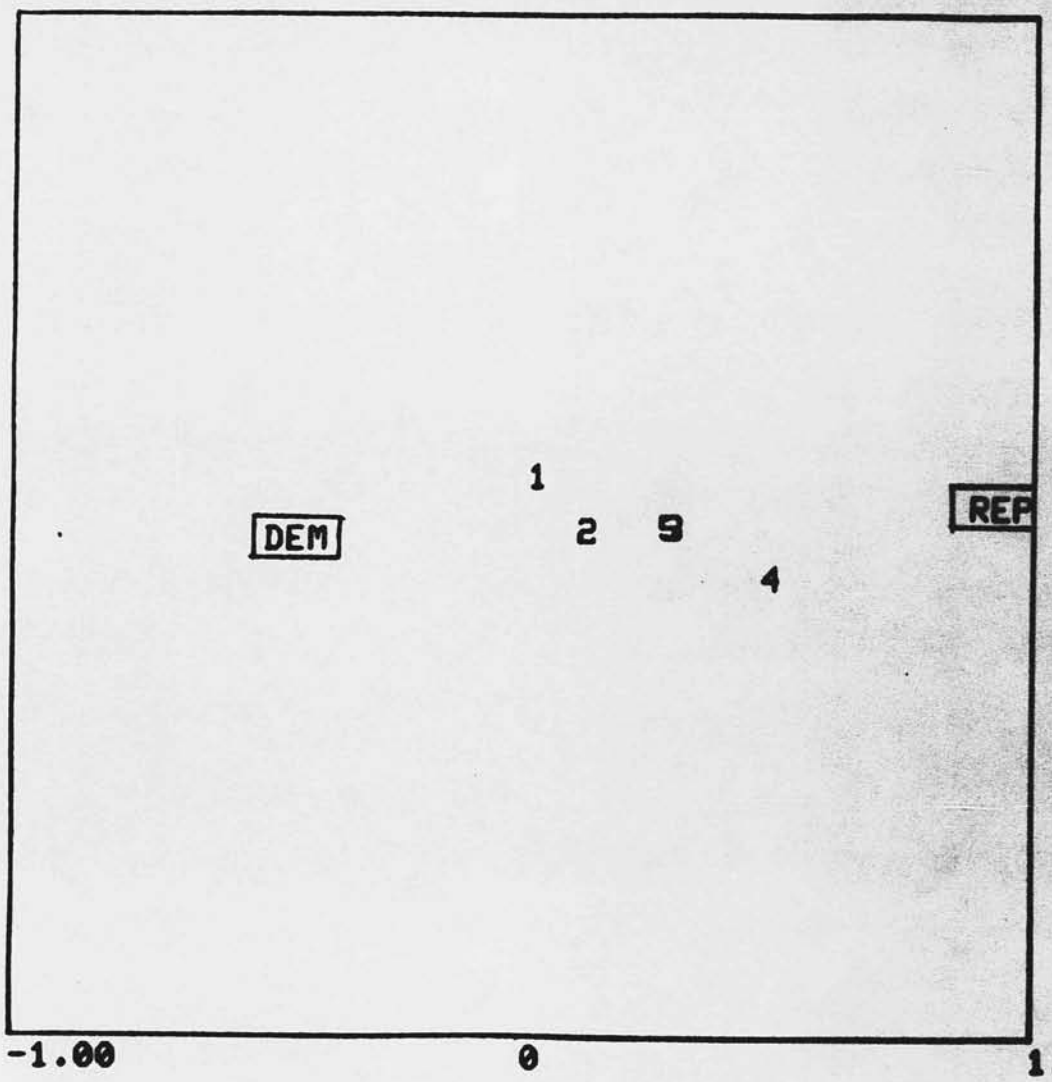
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Pro-Protectionism
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11 = Anti-Protectionism

International Trade Scale #2 in the 1985
Political Space



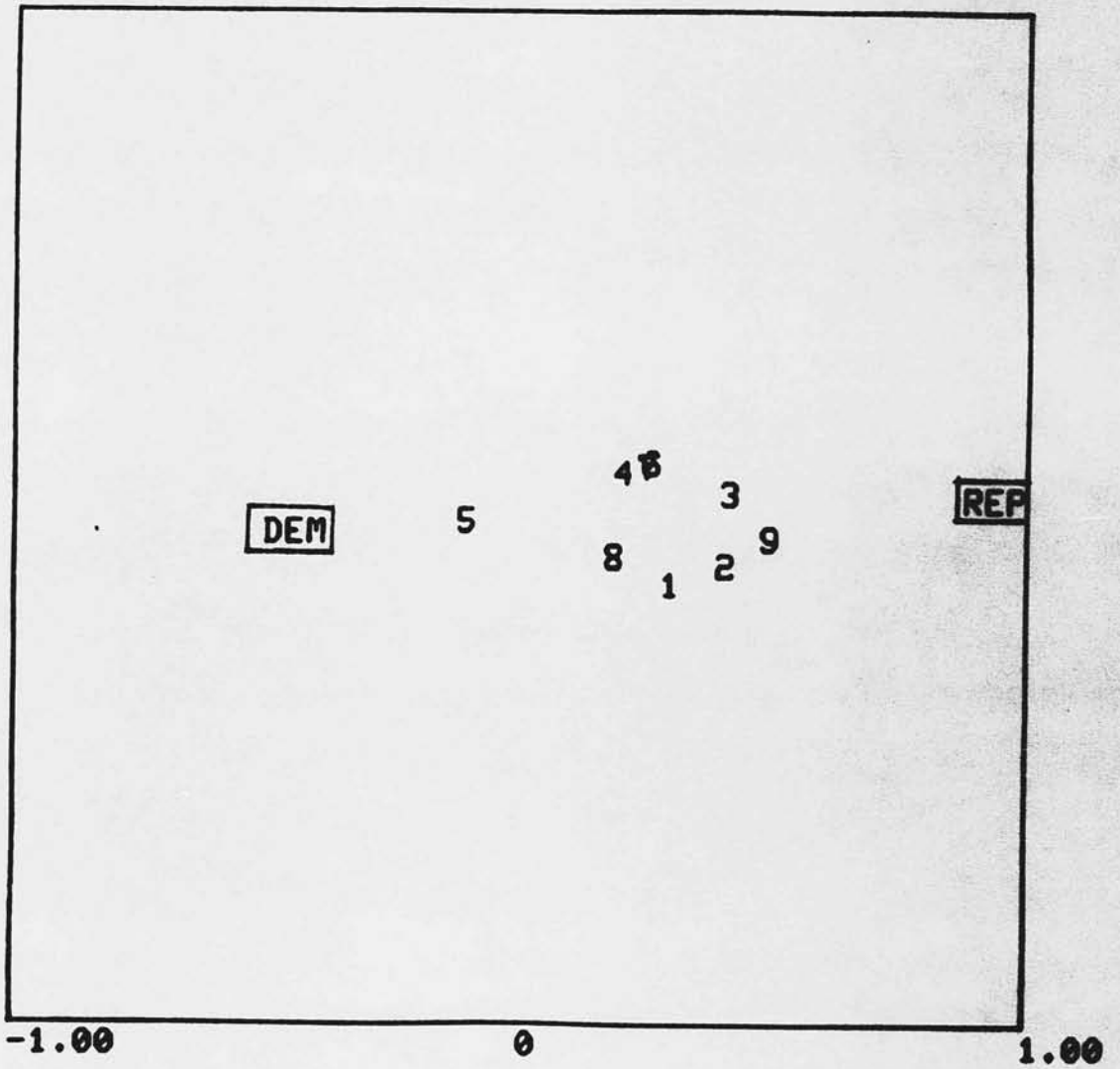
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Protectionists
2
3
4
5 = Free-traders

Gunboat Diplomacy Scale in the 1985 Political Space



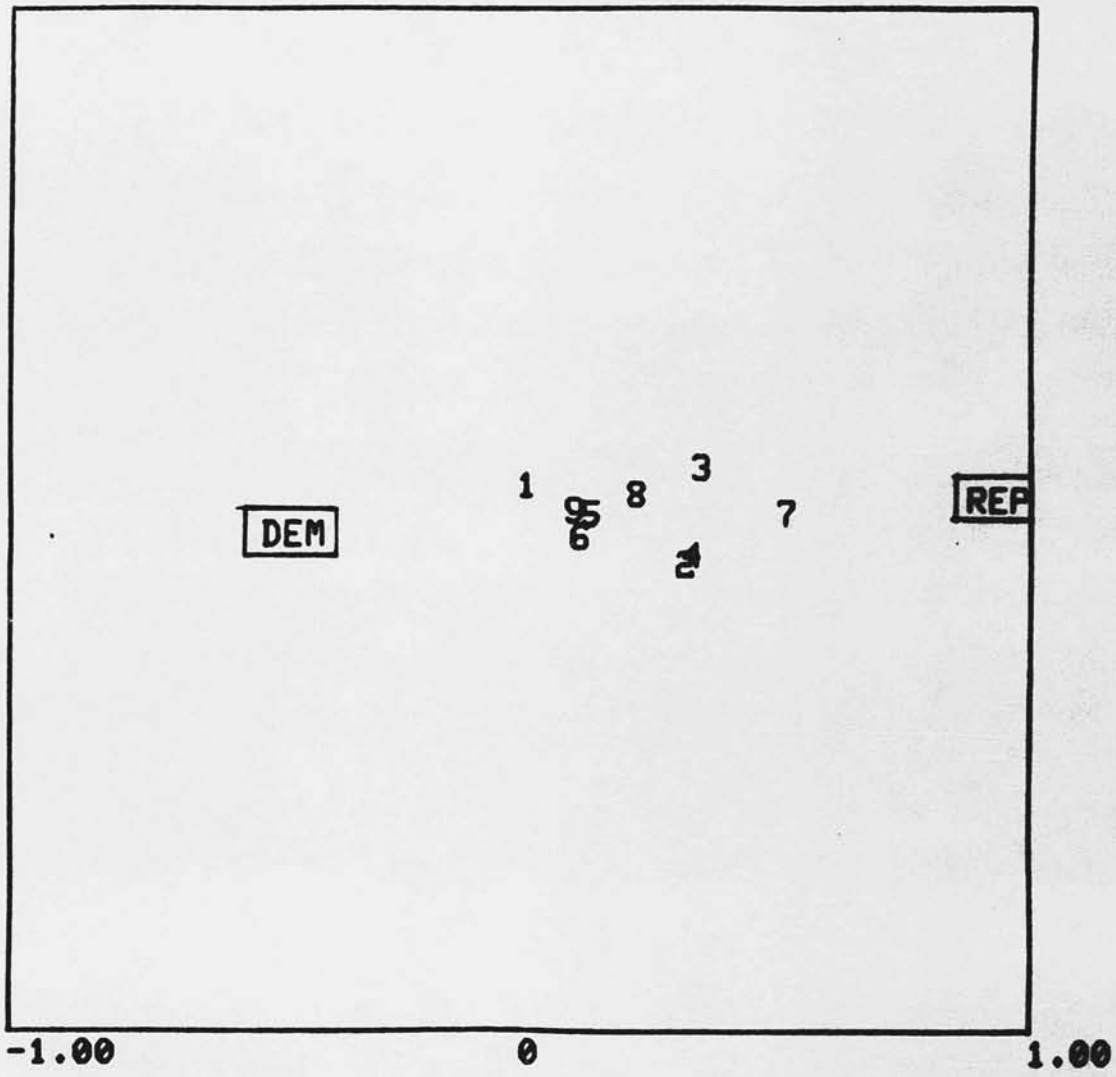
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Partv

Group Means

1 = Extreme Pacifists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme Gunboaters/Nationalists

America Firsters Scale in the 1985 Political Space



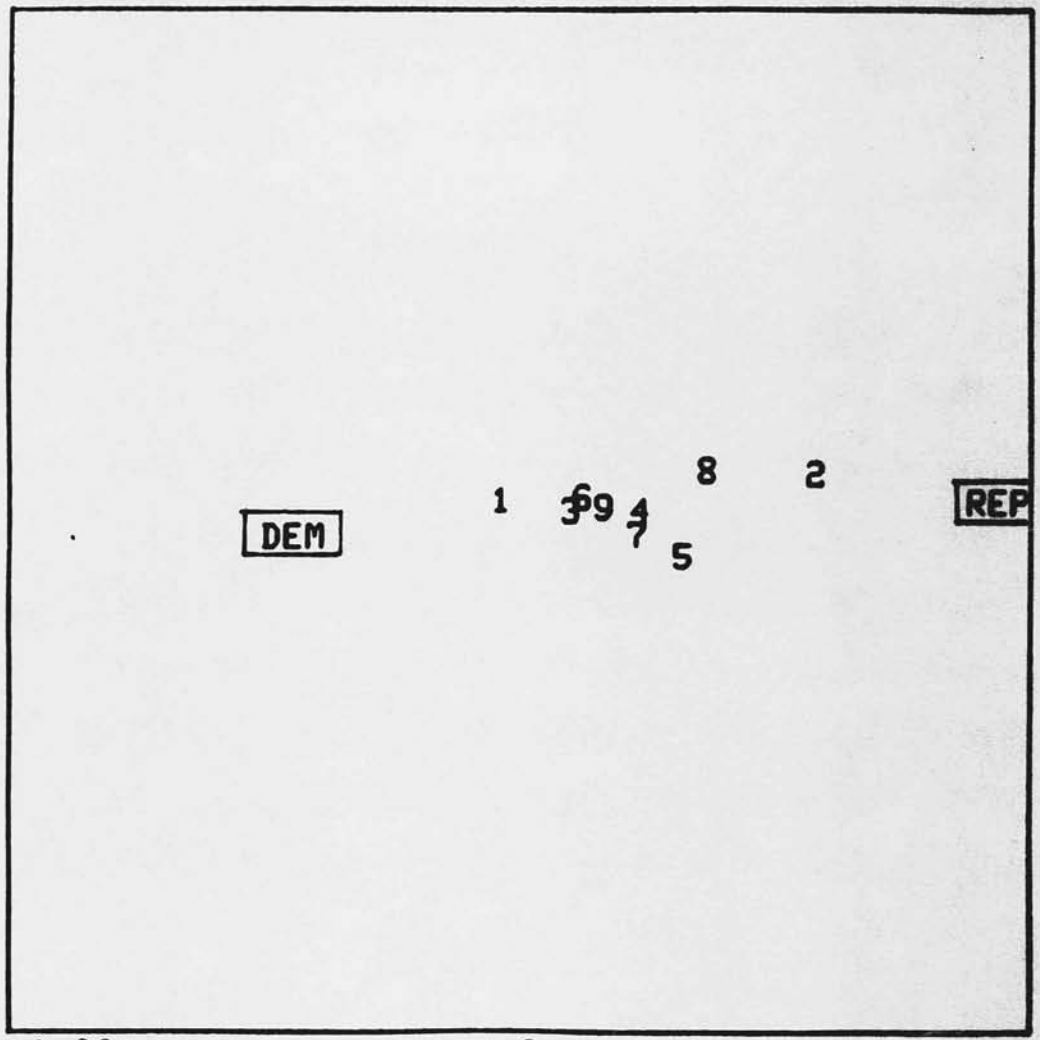
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Internationalists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme America Firsters

Traditional Values Scale in the 1985 Political Space



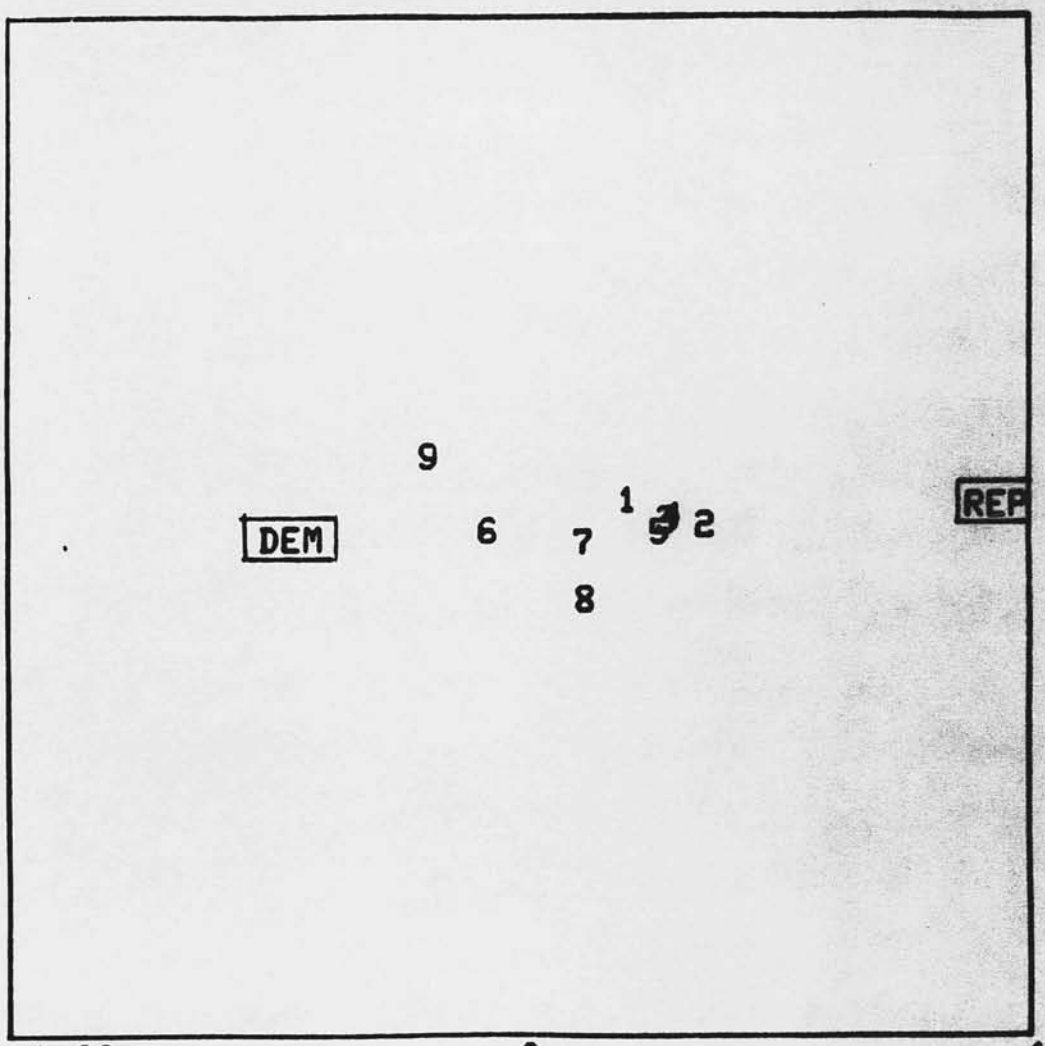
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme civil libertarians
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme traditionalists

Welfare Scale in the 1985 Political Space



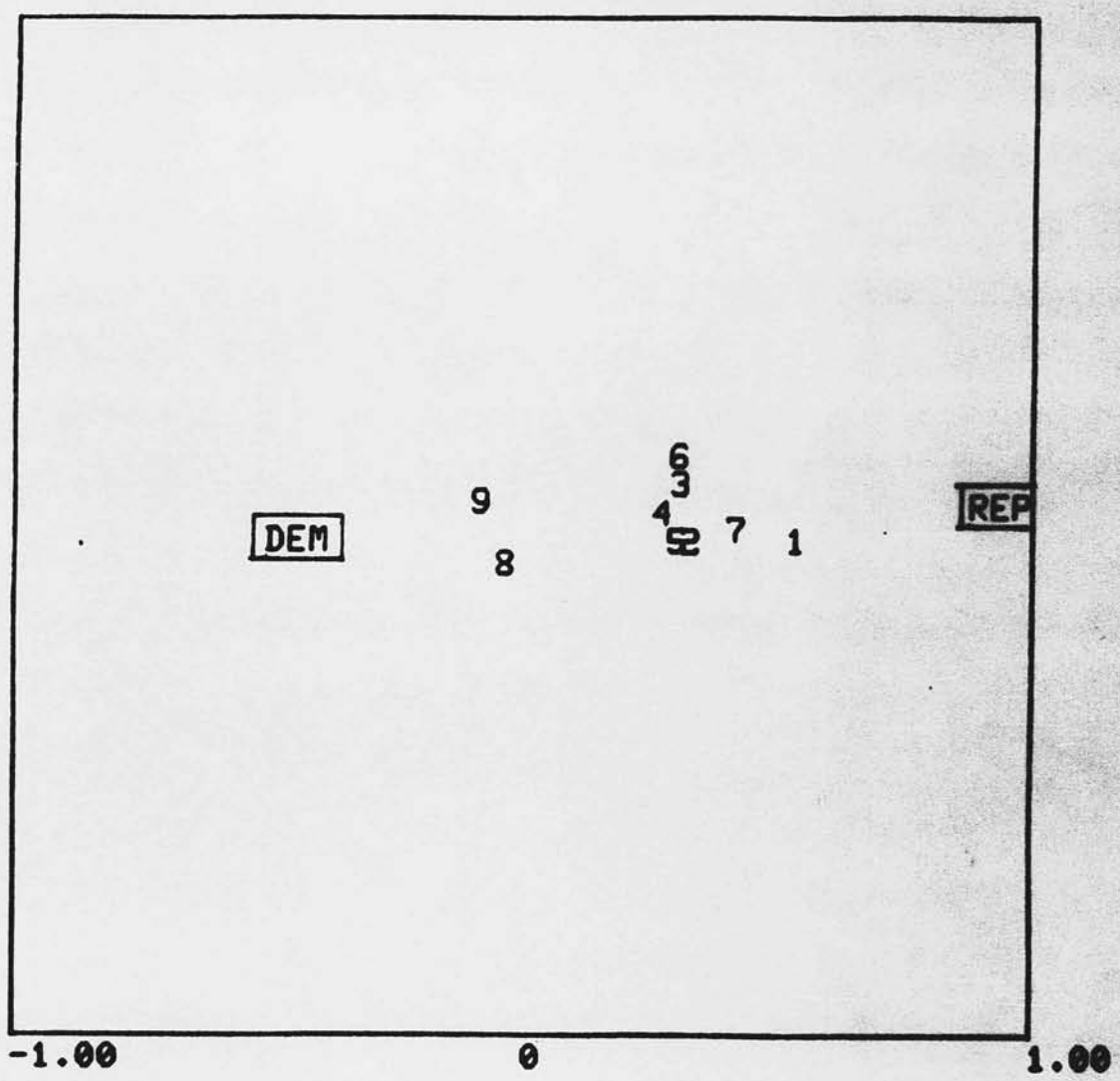
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-welfare
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-welfare

Government Assistance Scale in the 1985 Political Space



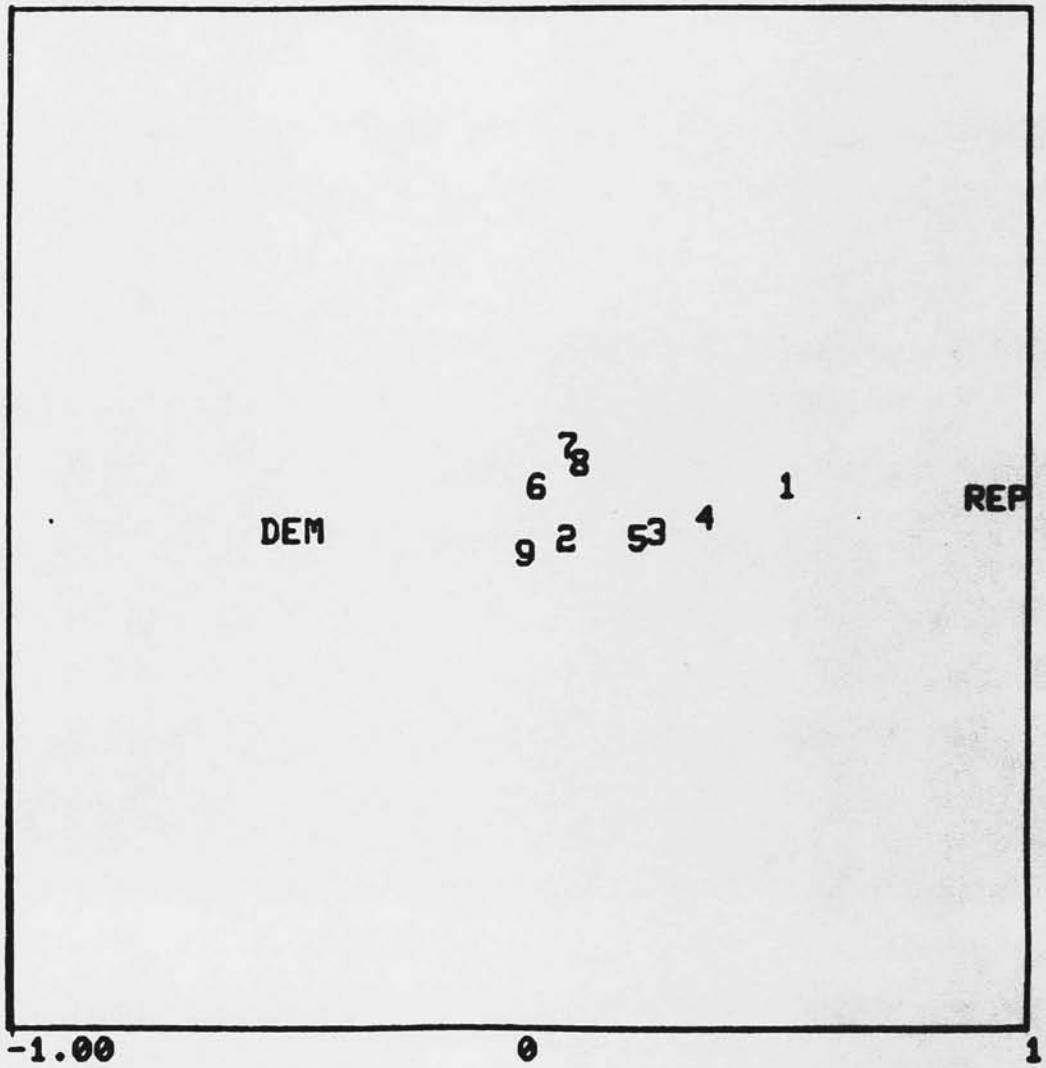
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-assistance
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-assistance

Labor Union Scale in the 1985 Political Space



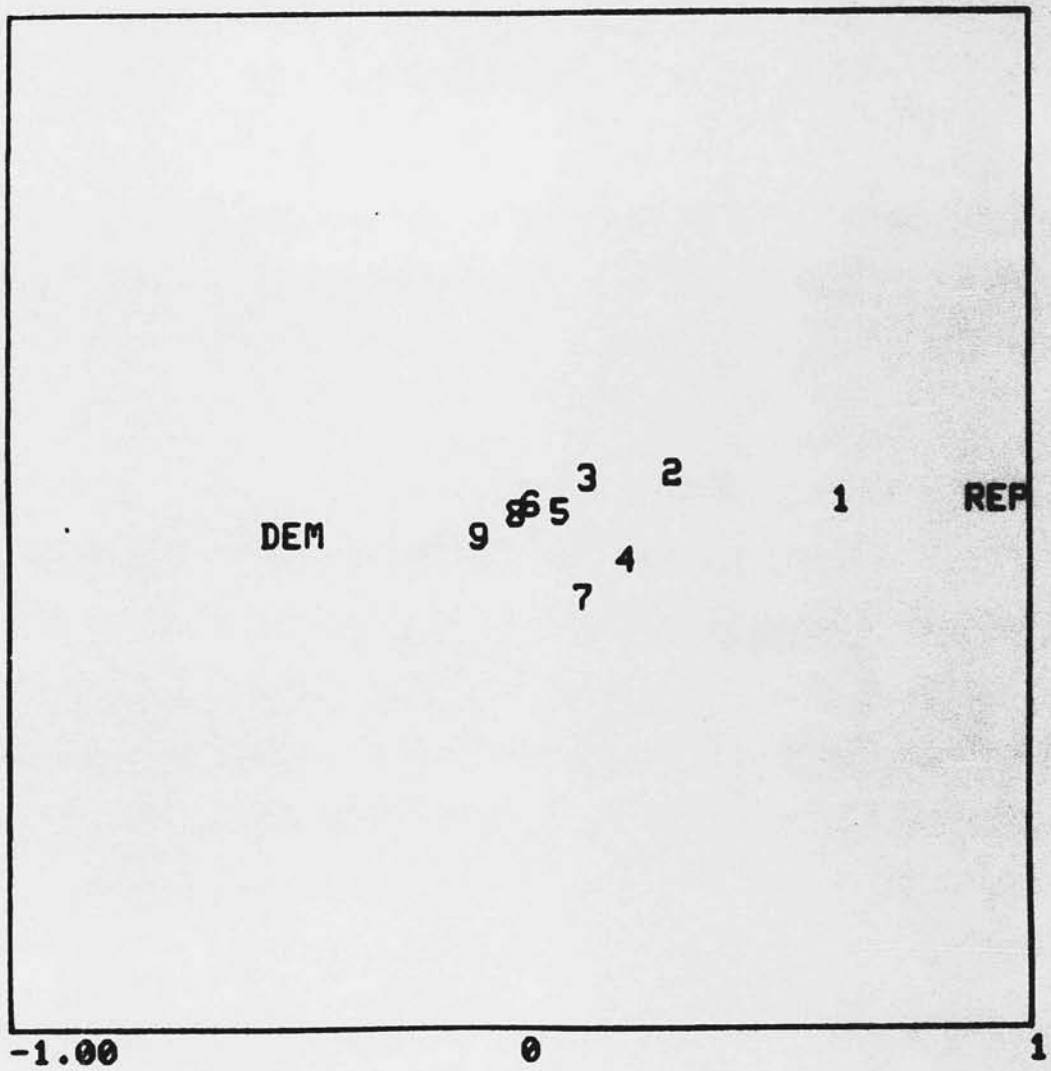
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-labor unions
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-labor unions

Black Agenda Scale in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

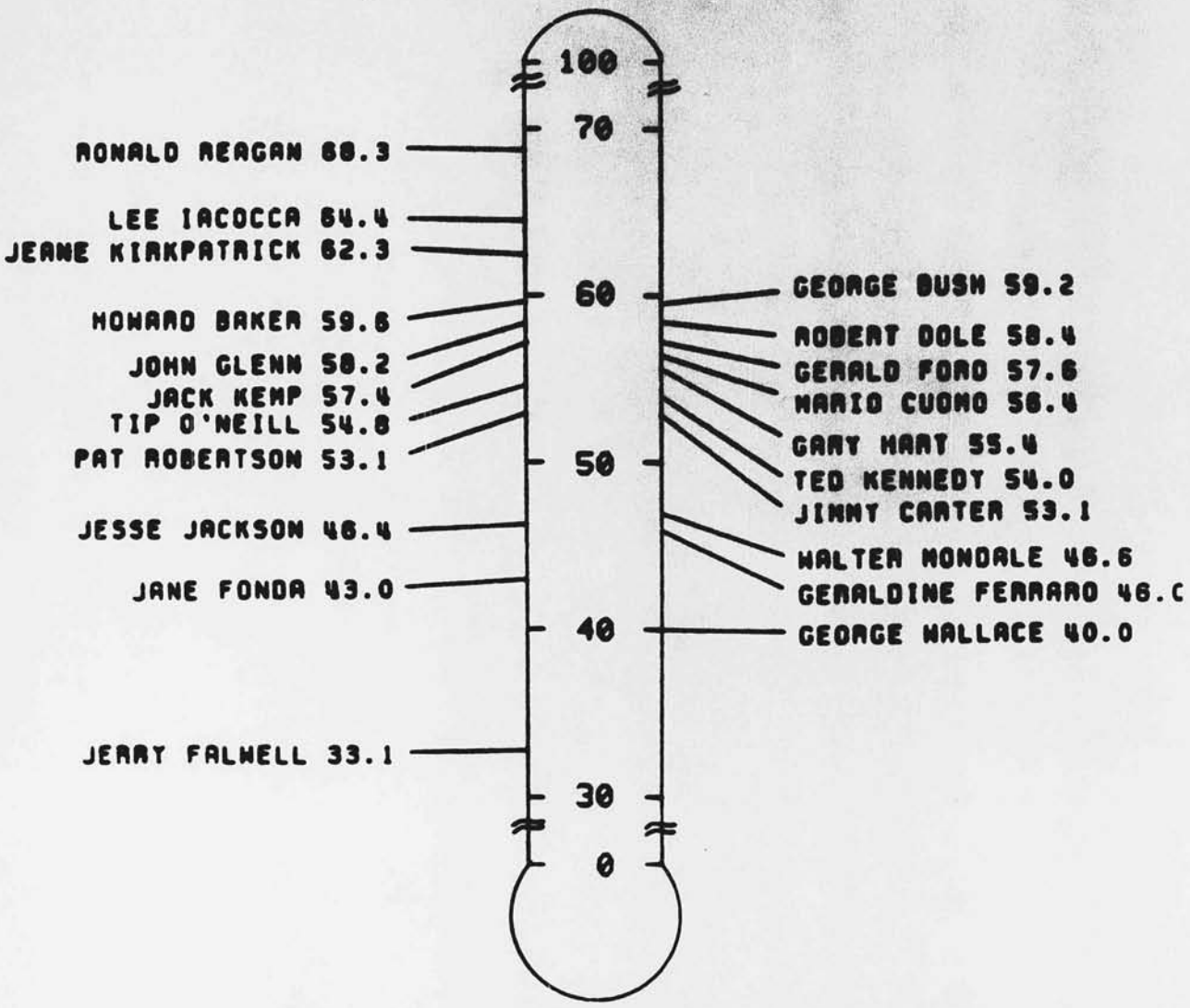
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-black agenda
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-black agenda

SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling

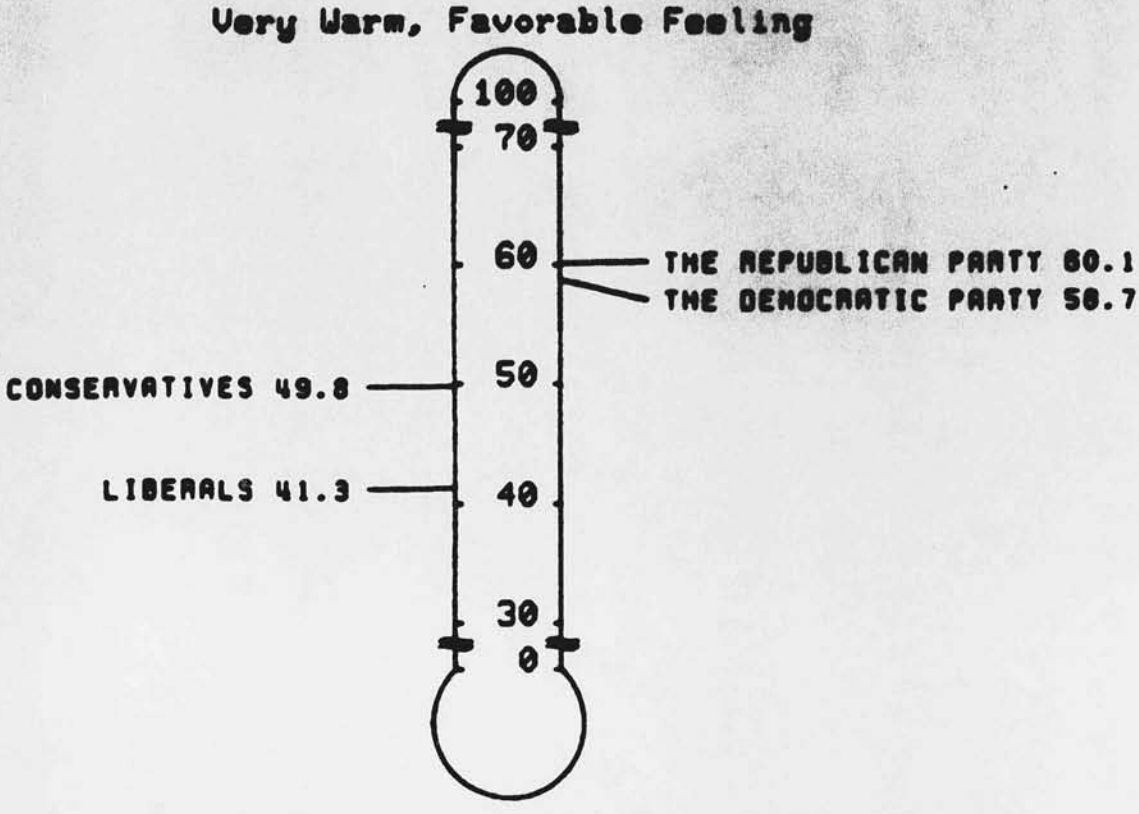


Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

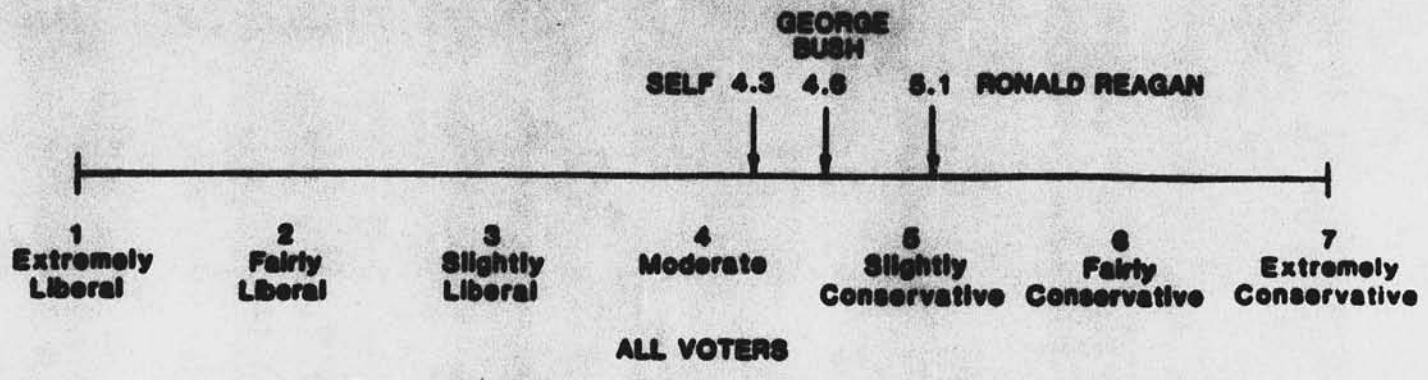
8804071450.2

880407145503

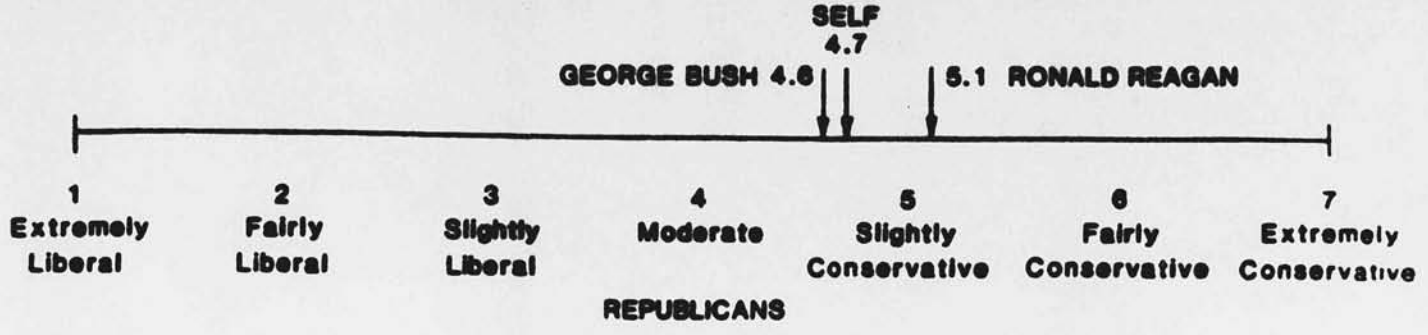
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS



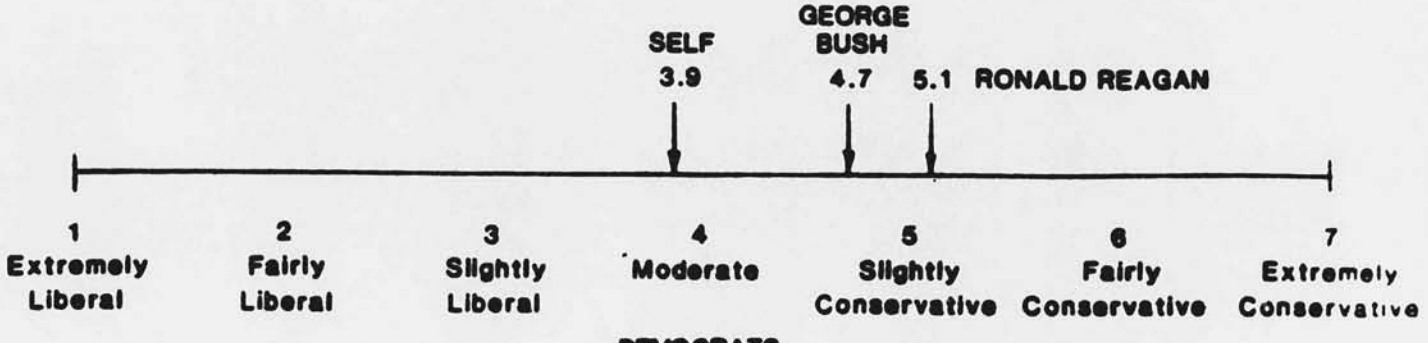
IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN



ALL VOTERS



REPUBLICANS

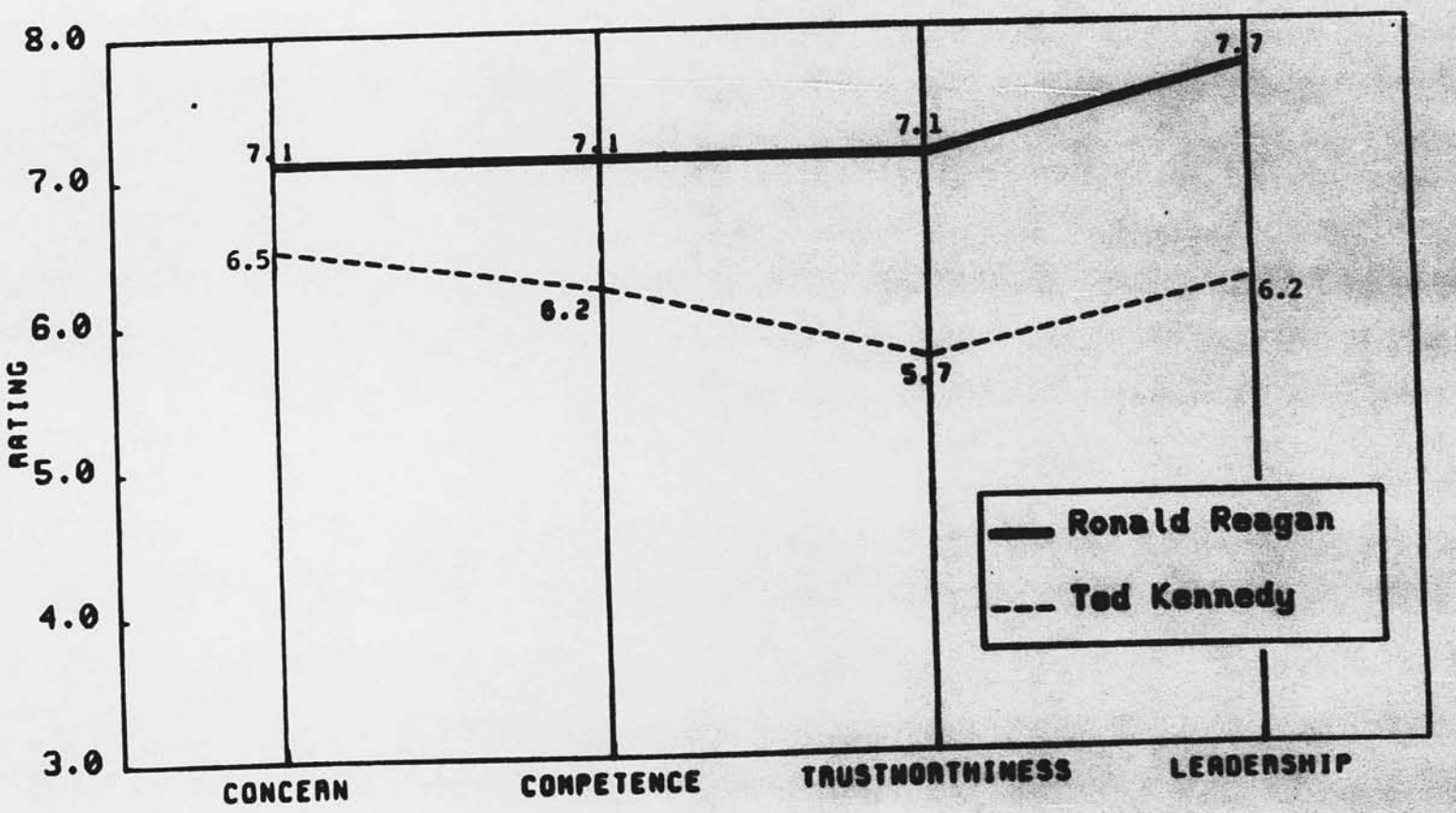


DEMOCRATS

8804071450 4

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS



RECEIVED AT THE FEC
COC#496
86 JUL 21 P12:47

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

243 WEST CONGRESS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226 | (313) 963-2414

July 17, 1986

86 JUL 22 AM:19
GENERAL COUNSEL

Mr. Jonathan Levin
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research Company

Dear Mr. Levin:

To follow up on your July 15th telephone conversation with Mr. Driscoll from Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford, enclosed is another copy of the cost allocation worksheets for the poll Market Opinion Research conducted for the Republican National Committee between September 17 and 25, 1985. You will notice we have gone over some of the numbers in black ink in order to make them more legible.

I hope this will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Teeter
President

Enclosures

cc: George H. Meyer

8804071450 5

Lee 12/12/85 most recent (R. [illegible] date)

12/23/85.

	TOTAL	R	88	B
POLL / D.P.	46655			
	108	76	26	6
	100.000	70.370	24.074	5.556
		(32831)	(11232)	(2592)
w/ selling price:	*48,088	*33,839	*11,577	*2,672
Code	2514			
	5	1	2	2
	100.000	20.000	40.000	40.000
	*2,591	(502)	(1006)	(1006)
		*518	*1,036	*1,036
ANALysis	18745	(18745)		
	100.000			
If split 150 Pages	*19,321	14.0 P		10 P
		93.333		6.667
		(17496)		(1249)
		*18,033		*1,288
estimate:	67914	52078	12238	3598
	100.000	76.682	18.020	5.298
Less "Other"		50,829	12,238	4,847
	100%	74.843%	18.020	7.137%
selling price	*70,000	*52,390	*12,614	*4,996

8800714507

PS FORM 3615
10 IN U.S.A.

12/12/85

	TOTAL	Political R 88 B	Other Clients Other	Demo Other
1) POLL				
4) DP	57153			
	147	120	21	6
	100.000	81.633	14.286	4.082
		(46655)	(8165)	(2333)
2) Code	3519			
	7	5	—	2
	100.000	71.429		28.571
		(2514)		(1005)
3) Analysis	18745	(18745)		
	100.000	100.000		

INCLUDES MAPS

Total	79417	67914	8165	3338
				11503

8804071 45508

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

243 WEST CONGRESS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226 | (313) 963-2414

July 17, 1986

Mr. Jonathan Levin
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research Company

Dear Mr. Levin:

On February 18, 1986, I sent you the Statement of Designation of Counsel form (copy enclosed) appointing Mr. George H. Meyer as our counsel. I would like to amend that Statement to include the law firm of Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford as our counsel and authorized by Market Opinion Research to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on our behalf before the Commission on matters relating to MUR 2133.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Teeter
President

Enclosure

cc: Mr. George H. Meyer

8804071450 9

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2133

NAME OF COUNSEL: Mr. George H. Mayer

ADDRESS: 100 W. Long Lake Road
Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, MI 48013

TELEPHONE: 313-647-5111

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

February 18, 1986
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Mr. Robert M. Teeter

ADDRESS: Market Opinion Research
243 W. Congress, Suite 1000
Detroit, MI 48226

HOME PHONE: 313-769-5677

BUSINESS PHONE: 313-963-2414

8804071451 0

RECEIVED
OF THE
COUNSEL
86 AUG 6 A 9:47

Per Aikens 8-4-86 2p
no enclosure as stated.
Ltr re endorsement delivered 8-6-86
CCC#1136

WILEY & REIN
1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

July 31, 1986

86 AUG 5 P5:23

The Honorable Joan D. Aikens
Chairman
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Madam Chairman:

This office represents The Fund for America's Future and several individuals in the above-captioned matter. This office also represents the Vice President's Exploratory Account.

The purpose of this letter is to advise the FEC that the Vice President's Exploratory Account is prepared to pay the expenses of certain portions of a public opinion poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and produced by Market Opinion Research, Inc. That poll is the subject matter of a complaint which initiated this proceeding.

We believe that there has been no violation of federal election law in this matter. Nevertheless, the Vice President's Exploratory Account is willing to pay for the controversial aspects of this poll for the sole purpose of settling this matter. Enclosed please find a copy of a statement issued by Vice President George Bush on July 10, 1986 which describes the formation of the Vice President's Exploratory Account and its purpose.

It is our hope that this offer of payment by the Vice President's Exploratory Account will form the basis for settlement of all issues in this matter. This offer has been communicated to the RNC and Market Opinion Research, Inc. It is our understanding that the RNC on the basis of our offer will request pre-probable cause conciliation in order to formerly conclude this case. It is my understanding based upon my conversation with Charles N. Steele that the

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appearances of Messrs. Atwater, Fuller and Phillips for their deposition testimony will be stayed pending a decision by the Federal Election Commission regarding the RNC's request for pre-probable cause conciliation. In the event that pre-probable cause conciliation is authorized by the Commission, these depositions will be postponed. Of course, this deposition testimony would be unnecessary if this matter is settled through conciliation.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Enclosure
cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esq.
Charles N. Steele, Esq.
E. Mark Braden, Esq.

8304071451 2

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1986

CONTACT
202/456/6772

STATEMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The delegate selection process now underway in the State of Michigan has served to energize the Republican party and create an impressive new level of political participation in that state. The Fund for America's Future, my multi-candidate political action committee, helped recruit a strong slate of Republican delegates on May 27, 1986. On August 5, many delegates will face opposition in the State primary election. I want to put my full support behind dedicated Republicans seeking these delegate positions. I intend to endorse specific candidates for these delegate positions and to work for their election.

I also want to ensure that the political activity on behalf of delegates, and its financing, complies with all of the Federal election laws. I am, therefore, establishing an exploratory account, known as a "testing the waters account," which will raise money and finance political activities on behalf of contested candidates in Michigan. This will allow me to endorse contested candidates, and provide them support in their campaign efforts.

I am advised by Counsel that the authority of the multi-candidate political action committee is probably inadequate for anyone seeking to support contested candidates in the Michigan primary. I am determined that any political effort with which I am associated will comply with all Federal election laws, especially the reporting of political expenditures. The establishment of an Exploratory Account will accomplish this goal. It is a prudent first step in making any decision concerning my potential candidacy for President in 1988.

The Fund for America's Future will continue to support the Republican party and Republican candidates in the 1986 elections. It will continue to recruit delegates for those positions still vacant in the Michigan primary. I am very proud of the Fund's work throughout this country on behalf of Republicans.

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RECEIVED AT THE FE
CCC#1106
86 AUG 4 P12:05

Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

86 AUG 4 P1:06
RECEIVED
GENERAL COUNSEL

August 1, 1986

The Honorable Joan D. Aikens
Chairman
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

ATTN: Jonathan Levin, Esq.

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Madame Chairman:

This letter is a request of the Republican National Committee (RNC) to the Federal Election Commission for pre-probable conciliation. This request to commence conciliation discussions is made in concert with, and with the knowledge of, the other parties involved in this matter. It is made at this time to settle the matter in the most expeditious manner so that the parties and the Commission may avoid the time and expense involved in extensive discovery activities. The new factors outlined in the July 31, 1986 letter from Jan W. Baran to the Commission provide a basis on which the RNC believes a conciliation agreement can be satisfactorily concluded.

The Republican National Committee is anxious to settle this matter through the conciliation process in a prompt and reasonable manner.

Very truly yours,

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

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RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE SEC
COMMISSION SECRETARY
86 AUG 8 AM : 26

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 8, 1986

SENSITIVE
EXECUTIVE SESSION
AUG 12 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Commission

FROM: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

SUBJECT: Late Submission to the Commission Agenda of August 12, 1986 MUR 2133

The Office of the General Counsel requests that the attached report be added to the Commission's August 12, 1986 agenda. Because the Commission's decision regarding this request for conciliation may affect the depositions scheduled for August 14, 15 and 18, this Office requests this matter be considered on an expedited basis.

8804071451S

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Repulican National Committee Willian J. McManus, as treasurer	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) in connection with testing the waters disbursements for a poll for Vice President Bush. On that same date, the Commission also found reason to believe that Vice President Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) in connection with the acceptance of the poll. In addition, the Commission approved subpoenas for the production of documents and the taking of depositions.

The depositions in this matter were orginially scheduled as follows: (1) July 7, 1986 - Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, the pollster; (2) July 7, 1986 - Craig L. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff; (3) July 8, 1986 - Bill Phillips, formerly of the RNC and now with The Fund for America's Future ("FAF"); (4) July 8, 1986 - William I. Greener, III, of the RNC; and (5) July 9, 1986 - Lee Atwater of FAF. At the request of counsel for the deponents, these depositions were rescheduled, with Mr. Teeter and Mr. Greener to be deposed on July 30 and 31 respectively and Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Phillips to be deposed on August 14, 15, and 18 respectively.

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On July 29 and the morning of July 30, immediately before the first depositions were to take place, this Office was contacted by Roger Moore, General Counsel of the RNC, and Jan W. Baran, counsel for FAF and some of the witnesses to be deposed. They asked that the depositions be postponed pending the receipt of a request for pre-probable cause conciliation. Given the fact that the depositions had already been rescheduled once and had been set at the revised dates for a long period of time, that the phone calls from Mr. Moore and Mr. Baran were last-minute requests, and that no written request for conciliation had been received, the General Counsel explained that the depositions of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Greener should proceed. The General Counsel further explained that, if a written request were received in advance of the remaining three depositions, then this Office would send the request to the Commission and, if entry into conciliation were approved, the depositions would be postponed. The first two depositions of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Greener proceeded on schedule.

On August 4, 1986, this Office received a letter from E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel of the RNC, requesting pre-probable cause conciliation, and stating that "[t]his request to commence conciliation discussions is made in concert with, and with the knowledge of, the other parties involved in this matter." Mr. Braden states that the request "is made at this time to settle the matter in the most expeditious manner so that the parties and the Commission may avoid the time and expense involved in

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extensive discovery activities." He refers to the "new factors" outlined in a July 31 letter from Mr. Baran as providing the basis for a conciliation agreement.

Mr. Baran's July 31 letter was not received by this Office until August 6. Mr. Baran states that, in addition to representing FAF and "several individuals" in this matter, he is representing the Vice President's Exploratory Account. According to Mr. Baran, the Vice President's Exploratory Account, established on July 11 as a "'testing the waters account,'" is prepared to pay the expenses of certain portions of the poll. Mr. Baran says that his clients believe that no violation of the Act has been committed but that the Exploratory Account "is willing to pay for the controversial aspects of this poll for the sole purpose of settling this matter." He states that his clients hope that this offer "will form the basis for settlement of all issues in this matter."

After receipt of this letter, this Office called Mr. Baran to determine whether he was representing the Vice President, who is also a respondent in this matter. Mr. Baran was out of the office, but after contacting him, his associate, Mr. Potter, conveyed Mr. Baran's response to this Office. Mr. Baran states that he does not represent the Vice President in this matter and has not been designated as the Vice President's counsel; that he has no knowledge of the Vice President's wishes concerning entry into conciliation; and that the letters of Mr. Braden and

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Mr. Baran are independent of what the Vice President may or may not want to do.

II. ANALYSIS

At present, this Office has received the responses to all of the document requests and has taken two depositions. Although this Office has not received the transcripts of the testimony, notes taken by staff members indicate possible conflicts in the relevant facts gleaned from the testimony of Mr. Teeter, the testimony of Mr. Greener, and affidavits received in response to the complaint. These possible conflicts concern the responsibility for payment for the poll, the arrangements for payment for the poll, and whether the RNC was aware of the contents of the poll questionnaire prior to the conducting of the survey. Testimony from the three remaining witnesses will be necessary to further clarify the facts pertaining to these issues. Furthermore, certain aspects important to the determination of this matter may be fully explained only by testimony from the three remaining witnesses. Although this Office has deposed the pollster and the entity commissioning the poll, it has yet to depose any person working for other persons or groups integrally involved in this matter, i.e., representatives of the Vice President and The Fund for America's Future.

This Office does not believe that Mr. Baran's representation that the Exploratory Account will pay for the "controversial aspects" of the poll will fully resolve the issues in this

8040714519

matter.*/ The Exploratory Account's payment for portions of the poll at this time would not address the issue of the violations that may have occurred during the period that payments for the poll remained outstanding. This fact, coupled with Mr. Baran's representation that he does not believe a violation has occurred, makes it doubtful that the Commission and the parties could negotiate a satisfactory agreement at this time.

Finally, it appears that there has been no conciliation request from the Vice President. This Office has received no written notice from the Vice President designating Mr. Baran to speak for him and Mr. Baran does not purport to speak for him. Therefore, it appears that a request has come from only one of the parties, the Republican National Committee. Any settlement based upon the offer stated in the letters received by this Office would still leave the matter open as it pertained to the Vice President. Consequently, further investigation is still necessary.

Based on the forgoing analysis, the Office of the General Counsel recommends that the Commission decline to enter into pre-probable cause conciliation with the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, pending further investigation.

8304071520

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*/ It is unclear what counsel means by "controversial aspects of the poll."

III. RECOMMENDATION

1. Decline to enter into conciliation with the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, at this time.

2. Approve the attached letter.

8 August 1986
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachment
1. Letter from E. Mark Braden, dated August 1, 1986.
2. Letter from Jan Baran, dated July 31, 1986.
3. Proposed letter to E. Mark Braden.

8304071 45521

[redacted] SENSITIVE

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARY

86 AUG 11 P 4:58

August 11, 1986

MEMORANDUM

EXECUTIVE SESSION

AUG 12 1986

TO: The Commission

FROM: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

SUBJECT: Additional Document for Consideration in MUR 2133

The Office of the General Counsel requests that the attached document be circulated for the Commission's consideration along with the previously circulated report in MUR 2133. The attached document was just received on August 11, 1986 at 4:09 P.M.

8804071452 2

Rec. Aikens 8-11-86

MCM # 1180

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 AUG 11 Pd.

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING
1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

August 11, 1986

86 AUG 11 PM 4:28

Honorable Joan D. Aikens
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Madam Chairman:

On July 31, 1986 I wrote to you a letter regarding the above-captioned matter. At that time I indicated that the Vice President's Exploratory Account is willing to pay for the controversial aspects of a poll which is the subject matter of the complaint in this proceeding.

On August 1, 1986 the Republican National Committee by letter to you expressed its desire to enter into discussions with the FEC to settle this matter by conciliation agreement prior to any probable cause proceedings. I hereby make a similar request on behalf of Vice President George Bush who has designated this office as counsel by letter of August 11, 1986, a copy of which is enclosed.

In light of the offer by the Vice President's Exploratory Account, any disagreement regarding the financing of the poll should be eliminated. Resolution of this case now, on this basis would save both the parties and the FEC continued expense and unnecessary use of resources. While none of the parties believes that any statute has been violated, we have offered to pay for the poll in this fashion in order to expedite mutual resolution of this case.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Enclosure
cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire
Charles N. Steele, Esquire
Jonathan Levin, Esquire

3804071523

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1986

Jan W. Baran, Esq.
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jan:

The purpose of this letter is to designate you as counsel to appear on my behalf before the Federal Election Commission in a pending proceeding which is denominated Matter Under Review 2133. I understand that this designation will authorize you to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission. I also designate Edith Holiday as co-counsel.

Sincerely,

George Bush

8804071 45524

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee	)	
William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of August 12, 1986, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 5-1 to take the following actions in MUR 2133:

1. Decline to enter into conciliation with any of the respondents at this time.

2. Direct the Office of General Counsel to send appropriate letters.

Commissioners Elliott, Harris, Josefiak, McDonald, and McGarry voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens dissented.

Attest:

8-12-86
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

8804071 4525

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 13, 1986

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1). On August 1, 1986, you sent the Office of the General Counsel a letter requesting pre-probable cause conciliation in the above-captioned matter. In addition, Jan Baran sent a letter, referred to by you, outlining the basis for the request.

Because of the need to complete the investigation in this matter, the Commission, on August 12, 1986, denied your request to enter into conciliation at this time. When the investigation is complete, the Commission will reconsider your request for pre-probable cause conciliation.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

8804071452 6

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 13, 1986

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush

Dear Mr. Baran:

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that your client, Vice President George Bush, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). On August 11, 1986, you sent the Office of the General Counsel a letter requesting pre-probable cause conciliation in the above-captioned matter on behalf of the Vice President.

Because of the need to complete the investigation in this matter, the Commission, on August 12, 1986, denied your request to enter into conciliation at this time. When the investigation is complete, the Commission will reconsider your request for pre-probable cause conciliation.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

8804071 45527

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 18, 1986

George H. Meyer, Esquire
Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford
100 West Long Lake Road
Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Meyer:

The Office of the General Counsel has received your letter, dated September 8, 1986, requesting that certain references to Market Opinion Research clients be omitted from the transcript of Robert Teeter's deposition and from documents provided by Market Opinion Research.

With respect to the references that you have requested to be deleted from the deposition transcript, this Office will delete the references when the file is prepared for the public record. With respect to the documents that you have requested to be omitted, this Office will delete the references to your clients appearing on the documents, but will not omit the documents themselves.

This Office wishes to call your attention to the fact that these deletions apply only to our preparation of the file in this matter for the public record. If a person files a request pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (5 U.S.C. §552) and seeks to inspect or copy the deleted references, the Commission's Freedom of Information Act Officer will make a determination at that point as to any exemptions that may apply to the deleted references. See 11 C.F.R. § 4.7.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

8804071 4528

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 4, 1986

HAND DELIVERED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Baran:

Enclosed please find the transcripts of the depositions of your clients, Craig L. Fuller, Harvey Leroy Atwater, and Bill R. Phillips. As agreed during the depositions, each client is to review the transcript of his deposition for signature, and the transcripts are then to be returned to the Office of the General Counsel. Please return these transcripts within ten days of your receipt of this letter.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

Enclosures
Deposition of Craig L. Fuller
Deposition of Harvey Leroy Atwater
Deposition of Bill R. Phillips

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RECEIVED AT THE FEC
GCC# 2145
86 DEC 2 P12:03

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

December 1, 1986

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 DEC 2 P3:33

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

This is to confirm our recent telephone conversations regarding review and signature of deposition transcripts by Mssrs. Atwater, Phillips and Fuller in connection with the above-captioned matters. These depositions were conducted in August 1986 and transcripts were provided on November 3, 1986.

Our clients are reviewing their respective transcripts. I expect to have them returned to you by Friday, December 5, 1986.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

cc: Edith E. Holiday, Esquire

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CCC# 2196

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

December 5, 1986

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
GENERAL COUNSEL
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HAND DELIVERED

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

I hereby transmit the enclosed, signed deposition transcripts of Messrs. Atwater, Phillips and Fuller in connection with the above captioned matter.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Enclosures

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 9, 1985, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1985 whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than October 9 for preliminary report.

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate

3. *Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information*

The interpretive report of the survey shall become the property of client after delivery of the report to client by MORC and the payment to MORC of the full fee provided in paragraph 2. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least two years and give client reasonable access to them. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising and public relations, the information obtained in the survey or included in the interpretive report without the written consent of client, provided, however, if the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by client or anyone else acting for client or on its behalf, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the method of obtaining the interviews including the size and design of the sample and the basis of the data if the sample is less than the total sample, the dates and times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the client's name. Client agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report that client or such other person will first notify MORC in writing and that there will also be stated in the release, speech or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by MORC. Client [illegible] during the term of this Agreement and thereafter, to keep in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of MORC and not to disclose or make known such knowledge or information to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of MORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by MORC. Client further understands and agrees that the names or addresses of interviewers used by MORC and the names and addresses of persons sampled are confidential and will not be made available to client.

Client may cancel this survey [illegible] days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event written notice of cancellation is received by MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, all deposits or payments made by the client with respect to said survey shall be refunded to it. In the event that the written notice of cancellation of a survey is received by MORC [illegible] days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, MORC shall be entitled to [illegible]

MORC

Phillips Deposition FEC Ex. No. 2

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5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client
Mr. William Greener
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

If to MORC
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
Suite 1000
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Attn: Robert Teeter

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

7. *Additional provisions*

Client is a political committee with a chairman and a treasurer at least one of whom has authorized this expenditure by said committee as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and, as such, client has assured MORC that it will account for and disclose the cost of this survey as an expenditure as required by said Act and otherwise comply with any other applicable Federal or State law in connection with this matter.

MORC reserves the right to use the findings from this survey in anonymous form as to the specific population and client for purposes of aggregate and comparative analysis to be made available to other clients of MORC or publications.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

BY _____

_____
(Client)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

BY _____

Its _____
MORC

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SENSITIVE

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee	)	MUR 2133
Willian J. McManus, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE FEC
COMMISSION SECRETARY
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GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) in connection with testing the waters disbursements for a poll for Vice President Bush. On that same date, the Commission also found reason to believe that Vice President Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) in connection with the acceptance of the poll. In addition, the Commission approved subpoenas for the production of documents and the taking of depositions.

Depositions in this matter occurred on the following dates: (1) July 29, 1986 - Robert M. Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), the pollster; (2) July 30, 1986 - William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Political Operations for the RNC; (3) August 14, 1986 - Craig L. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff; (4) August 15, 1986 - Lee Atwater, advisor to the Vice President and Chairman of Fund for America's Future ("FAF"); and (5) August 18, 1986 - Bill Phillips, formerly RNC Chief of Staff and presently Executive Director of FAF.

On August 4, 1986, this Office received a letter from the Chief Counsel of the RNC requesting pre-probable cause conciliation,

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and stating that "[t]his request to commence conciliation discussions is made in concert with, and with the knowledge of, the other parties involved in this matter." The Chief Counsel stated that the request "is made at this time to settle the matter in the most expeditious manner so that the parties and the Commission may avoid the time and expense involved in extensive discovery activities." He refers to the "new factors" outlined in a July 31 letter from counsel for FAF as providing the basis for a conciliation agreement. (See Attachments 1 and 2).

The July 31 letter from counsel for FAF was not received by this Office until August 6. Counsel stated that, in addition to representing FAF and "several individuals" in this matter, he is representing the Vice President's Exploratory Account. According to counsel, the Vice President's Exploratory Account, established on July 11, 1986, as a "'testing the waters account,'" "is prepared to pay the expenses of certain portions" of the poll. Counsel says that his clients believe that no violation of the Act has been committed but that the Exploratory Account "is willing to pay for the controversial aspects of this poll for the sole purpose of settling this matter." He stated that his clients hope that this offer "will form the basis for settlement of all issues in this matter." (See Attachment 2).

On August 8, 1986, this Office sent a report to the Commission recommending that the Commission decline to enter into pre-probable cause conciliation with the Republican National

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Committee at that time because of the need to obtain testimony from the three witnesses still to be deposed. The report contained no recommendation with respect to the Vice President because no request had been received on his behalf. On August 1, this Office received a designation of Counsel letter from the Vice President. An accompanying letter from the designated counsel also requested pre-probable cause conciliation on behalf of the Vice President. (See Attachment 3).

On August 12, 1986, the Commission, after considering the report of August 8 and the Vice President's request, determined to decline to enter conciliation with the RNC and the Vice President at that time. The three remaining depositions took place as scheduled.

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II. ANALYSIS

The depositions and review of the requested documents attempted to cover the sequence of events from the first conversation in which the poll was mentioned, i.e., a conversation between Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and Vice President George Bush, until the filing of the responses to the complaint.

The depositions and documents indicate three basic elements relevant to whether a violation occurred. These elements pertain to: (1) the assumption by the persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC; (2) the knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that this poll would contain questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush; and

(3) the acceptance of poll results by Vice President Bush. Each of these elements is discussed below:

(1) The testimony as a whole indicates that those involved in the development of this poll considered this poll to be a project of the RNC, to be paid for by the RNC, prior to the surfacing of the controversy on December 3, 1986, and the reporting of the controversy in The Washington Post and other newspapers starting on December 4, 1985. This controversy centered around the discovery that the RNC had apparently commissioned a poll that contained a substantial number of questions about the Vice President and the revelation of this discovery to The Washington Post.

Before the controversy surfaced, Mr. Teeter had billed the RNC. FAF and the Vice President were not billed before or after that point. In addition, the testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller indicate that the RNC was to pay for this poll in its entirety. During his testimony, Mr. Teeter discussed an early meeting involving Mr. Atwater, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Teeter. When questioned as to whether he knew at this point that the RNC would be paying for this poll, Mr. Teeter said "Yes" and that "[i]t was an RNC proposal clearly." (Deposition of Teeter, p. 32-33) Toward the end of the deposition, Mr. Teeter was questioned about a forward to the analysis for Vice President Bush that had stated that the survey "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee," and that

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had been characterized as erroneous by the RNC and representatives of the Vice President when the controversy surfaced. Insisting during his testimony that the forward was not erroneous, Mr. Teeter stated that, even though two clients would be receiving information, the RNC was the entity to whom the contract was sent and the RNC was going to pay for the poll. Mr. Teeter stated that the first time he "became aware" that the RNC was not going to pay for all of the poll was December 3, 1985. (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 137-138)

Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, is quite emphatic as to his belief, prior to December 3, that the RNC would be paying for the entirety of the poll. Prior to the fielding of the poll, Mr. Teeter showed Mr. Fuller a copy of a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President and his presidential prospects that were included in the final questionnaire. Significantly, Mr. Fuller testifies that, even after receiving this questionnaire, it was his impression that the RNC would pay for all of the questions. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 25) At subsequent points in his testimony, Mr. Fuller reiterated that this was his understanding. He stated that "the survey had been requested by the RNC and Market Opinion Research had done the survey for the RNC." (Deposition of Fuller, p. 47)

During their testimony, Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips each discussed statements made by Mr. Atwater to the effect that, if Mr. Fahrenkopf was criticized "for doing a poll predominantly for

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one potential 1988 candidate," the Fund for America's Future might be able to pay for some of the poll questions. The statements were made during the summer of 1985 in a conversation involving Atwater, Teeter, and Phillips at the Capitol Hill Club and during the autumn of 1985 in a conversation involving Atwater, Greener, and Teeter at the Golden Palace. Mr. Atwater testified that he was making the tentative offer only with respect to questions that FAF could pay for, not with respect to questions dealing specifically with the 1988 elections. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 23-24) He testified that he was speaking "on [his] own" and that he would use any influence he had at FAF to try to get FAF to pay for questions if FAF needed to pay for questions. (Deposition of Atwater, p. 34) Mr. Atwater further testified that "nothing ever came of this offer" and that, until December 3, 1985, he assumed that the RNC would be paying for the poll. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 34 and 52) Mr. Phillips stated that after the meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, it was still his understanding that the RNC would be paying for the poll. (Deposition of Phillips, p. 62)

The only view diverging from the basic understanding that the RNC was to pay for this poll was the view of Mr. Greener. Mr. Greener claims that in the middle of the summer of 1985, Mr. Atwater called him and asked if it was possible for "us" to place questions in the poll. Interpreting "us" to mean "the interests of the Vice President," Mr. Greener according to his testimony, said that he did not think that there would be a

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problem with placing such questions, and that he would get back to Mr. Atwater. He claims that he mentioned this to Bill Phillips and that Mr. Phillips consented to it. Mr. Greener testifies that, when he called Mr. Atwater back, it was his understanding that this poll was a standard piggy-backing arrangement, i.e., certain questions for the RNC would appear on the poll and certain questions as to "the interest of the Vice President" would appear on the poll and the RNC would not see the Vice Presidential questions, obtain the results from such questions, or pay for such questions. (Deposition of Greener, p. 20)

In the context of his testimony, as well as the testimony of others, Mr. Greener's expressed viewpoint is not particularly probative, however. No mention is made by Mr. Atwater or Mr. Phillips in their depositions of a call by Mr. Atwater in mid-summer asking for the insertion of questions for the Vice President. Furthermore, Mr. Greener is far from certain as to what this piggy-back arrangement was to entail. Mr. Greener states that, in conversations on December 3, involving him and other persons involved with the poll in preparation for press inquiries, there was a discussion as to whether or not the trade and terrorism questions were to be paid for by FAF or were part of the questions that the RNC intended to fund all along. They eventually resolved that the RNC should pay for the trade and terrorism questions but, from Mr. Greener's notes of that day and his deposition testimony, it appears that extensive discussion

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was necessary. In addition, although Mr. Greener, who ostensibly received the phone call in mid-summer upon which this determination was based, discusses the possibility of payment either by the RNC or by FAF of trade and terrorism questions, his testimony indicates that he was not as certain during his conversation with Mr. Atwater as to who was to pay for questions not paid for by the RNC. He did not think about the question of whether FAF or some other representative of the Vice President would pay for such questions. (Deposition of Greener, p. 21)

Mr. Greener's contention that, prior to December 3, there was to be a standard piggy-backing arrangement may be consistent with the accounts provided for the newspaper stories on December 4,[1/] but this contention is belied by the preponderance of the testimony provided in this matter. It appears from the testimony that, until the controversy surfaced, the RNC was the paying client for this poll. Even taking into account Mr. Atwater's offers to attempt to have FAF pay for some of the

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1/ Proponents of the theory that this poll was a piggy-backing operation may wish to point to the fact that the analysis presented to the Vice President contains only analysis pertaining to the political prospects of the Vice President while the analysis presented to the RNC contained analysis pertaining predominantly to prospects for the party and information on public perceptions of issues. However, according to Mr. Teeter's testimony, the analysis for the RNC was changed as a result of the controversy. He testifies that he and Mr. Greener met after December 3, 1985, but prior to the presentation of the analysis to the RNC, to review the questionnaire and to determine what questions the RNC would pay for. Mr. Teeter had intended to include in the RNC analysis "a substantial share" of the analysis already presented to the Vice President. Because it appeared to Mr. Teeter that the RNC would not pay for most of the questions pertaining to the Vice President, he eliminated the analysis of those questions from his report to the RNC.

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questions, it appears that these offers were conditional upon his ability to get FAF to pay for these questions and that FAF would not pay for questions pertaining to 1988.

(2) The testimony indicates that the participants were aware, prior to December 3, that there would be questions on the poll pertaining to the political perceptions of the Vice President. Although some of the witnesses claim that, prior to December 3, they did not think the poll would contain questions pertaining to 1988, the evidence indicates other witnesses knew that questions pertaining to 1988 were on the poll.

Mr. Teeter believed that he had been authorized to place questions concerning 1988 in the poll. An examination of the testimony as to the early arrangements for the poll indicates the basis for such a conclusion. The testimony of the witnesses as a whole indicates that during the early part of 1985, Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President discussed a poll to be commissioned by the RNC and to be conducted by MOR. Two of the witnesses, Mr. Teeter and Mr. Phillips, were told by the Vice President and Mr. Fahrenkopf respectively, about the initial conversation shortly after it occurred. Mr. Teeter states that, according to the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to "include any questions or areas of interest to the Vice President." (Deposition of Teeter, p. 20) Mr. Phillips states that, according to Mr. Fahrenkopf, Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to have the RNC conduct a poll that "was to pertain to the Vice

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President." According to Mr. Phillips' testimony, Mr. Fahrenkopf indicated that the Vice President and he "had discussed the 1984 elections and the impact that it had had on the image and perceptions of the Vice President, which resulted in the offer to commission a poll to see what impact there had been." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 20)

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Teeter spoke to Mr. Fahrenkopf. Mr. Fahrenkopf referred to his offer to the Vice President to include any areas of interest and also referred to a discussion of the measurement of "the level of [the Vice President's] political support" after the 1984 campaign. (Deposition of Teeter, p. 22)

Mr. Teeter stated his understanding after this was that the poll should contain questions as to voter perceptions of the Vice President. He, therefore, understood that questions pertaining to 1988 were appropriate. This understanding is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, reviewed the draft questionnaire containing these questions and approved of the poll. Mr. Fuller commented on the draft by calling it "[a] great questionnaire" and even making a suggestion to augment one of the questions pertaining to Bush and the 1988 elections. He made no comment, however, questioning the presence of such questions. Mr. Teeter's understanding is further confirmed by the fact that when he presented his analysis of the poll results to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater

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in the Vice President's office twenty days prior to the surfacing of the controversy, none of the participants questioned the existence of questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. According to Mr. Atwater's testimony, comments were made about the questions pertaining to 1988 to the effect "that he was out ahead of everyone and looked pretty good." (Deposition of Atwater, p. 43)

Although the testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller indicates that they knew that the poll would contain questions pertaining to a Bush presidential candidacy in 1988, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Atwater claim that they did not know that the poll would contain such questions. Nevertheless, the testimony of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Atwater disclosed that they both were concerned about questions pertaining to the Vice President appearing on the poll.

With respect to Mr. Phillips, the evidence is as follows. Shortly after Mr. Fahrenkopf had the initial conversation with the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf informed Mr. Phillips of the decision to commission a poll. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Phillips expressed his concern to Mr. Fahrenkopf that their might be "objections to conducting a poll for a single individual." Mr. Fahrenkopf replied that "it would be along the lines of practice of the Republican National Committee to conduct a poll on behalf of the Vice President." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 23) Mr. Phillips reiterated his concern at the aforementioned meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, at which point Mr. Atwater said that possibly FAF could pay for some questions. (Deposition of

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Phillips, p. 39 and Deposition of Atwater, p. 34) Upon examination by his counsel during the deposition, Mr. Phillips stated that his understanding was that the poll was "to measure public perception of the Vice President's role as Vice President and how [the public] felt about his job and his job performance." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 62) Nevertheless, it appears that Mr. Phillips was concerned about a possible relationship of the poll to the 1988 presidential race. In response to his counsel's questions, he testified he was concerned that, because the Vice President is perceived as a possible presidential candidate, other possible candidates might question "why the RNC would do a poll for him." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 63)

With respect to Mr. Atwater, who was present at the Capitol Hill Club meeting, it is significant that, although Mr. Atwater has asserted that he did not have questions pertaining to 1988 in mind when he offered the possibility of FAF payment, he had no objection to the appearance of such questions when the poll analysis was presented to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller and him.

Mr. Greener claims that when Mr. Atwater asked him if it were possible for "us" to include questions, he did not think specifically enough as to whether these questions would pertain to 1988 or not. Consistent with Mr. Greener's version, i.e., that this poll was a piggy-backing arrangement, he might have expected that the poll would include questions pertaining to prospects for Vice President Bush in the 1988 elections.

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Based on the evidence presented in the testimony, it appears that, prior to December 3, most of the participants in the arrangements for the poll knew that the poll would or did contain questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. Only Mr. Phillip's testimony indicates that he may never have had such knowledge prior to December 3, but even he expressed concern that this poll might be construed as relevant to the 1988 elections.

(3) The testimony indicates that the Vice President and his agents accepted poll results pertaining to a testing the waters effort for the 1988 presidential elections. At a meeting in the Vice President's office on November 13, 1985, Mr. Teeter presented a written analysis of the poll to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater. The analysis contains a discussion of the public's perceptions of the Vice President, the 1988 primary election, the 1988 general election, and the issues of trade and terrorism. It appears that the entirety of this analysis is related to the prospects for the Vice President in the 1988 primary and general elections and that the analysis ties almost all of the questions in the poll to this theme.

In his testimony, Mr. Atwater provided the most detailed account of the meeting. He states that those present at the meeting discussed the information in the analysis and related it to "how the Vice President should be scheduled over the next several months as based on -- as a result of this." In addition, as stated before, those present commented on the apparent strength of the Vice President's possible presidential candidacy

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as evidenced in the results from the 1988 questions. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 42-43)

During his examination of Mr. Atwater, counsel for Mr. Atwater attempted to make the point that the meeting on November 13 was nothing out of the ordinary and did not constitute acceptance of the poll. He had Mr. Atwater repeat a prior statement that he periodically receives poll results from a number of pollsters and discusses them with the Vice President. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 45 and 67) Mr. Fuller stated, in his testimony, that for the past six years, he has "been briefed periodically by consultants to the RNC on polls that are taken for the RNC" and that, within the past year, he and the Vice President began to be briefed together on such polls. (Deposition of Fuller, pp. 48-49)

It appears, however, that further testimony, ignored by counsel for the witnesses in his examination, along with other circumstances already dicussed, illustrates that this was not an ordinary meeting and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. According to the testimony of both Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater, this was the first time that the Vice President, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Fuller had ever met together to receive a poll analysis. In fact, Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller had never before received an analysis together, either. In addition, it should be noted that this was a poll largely devoted to questions pertaining to the Vice President and involving arrangements for the poll by the Vice President and his agents, even to the point

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of Mr. Fuller receiving and commenting upon a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President that appeared on the final poll. These facts, along with the aforementioned fact that a formal meeting took place where the results pertaining specifically to the Vice President and 1988 were presented and commented upon, indicate that there was an acceptance by the Vice President of the poll results.

In summation, the evidence presented indicates that a poll, which prior to December 3 was to be paid for by the RNC, was taken; that persons involved in those polls knew prior to December 3 that one of the purposes of this poll was to test the waters for the Vice President for a possible 1988 presidential candidacy; and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. It appears that, but for the fact that the controversy about this poll surfaced on December 3, 1985, this would have continued to be the arrangement.

In addition to the factual issues pertaining to the making of a disbursement for testing the waters purposes and the acceptance of such disbursements, the Commission must resolve the issue of the amount of the violation. In response to the complaint, Mr. Teeter presented figures purporting to be a division of the costs of the poll. This division was calculated by Mr. Teeter after the controversy surfaced. According to Mr. Teeter $52,390 would be paid by the RNC, $4,996 by FAF, and $12,614, the amount construed as related to a 1988 Bush candidacy, would be absorbed by MOR. Mr. Teeter also submitted a

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copy of the poll questionnaire with marginal notations denoting how MOR would allocate questions among the RNC, FAF, and MOR. Subsequently, in response to the subpoena for documents, Mr. Teeter submitted a chart documenting the basis for the division of the costs of the poll. This division is based primarily on the allocation of questions among the RNC, FAF, and MOR, with adjustments for data processing, coding, and analysis; the cost to data process, code, and analyze was greater for some questions than for others.

In his allocation of questions and, hence, in his division of costs, Mr. Teeter has separated the questions and cost for FAF and the questions and cost pertaining to a possible Bush candidacy in 1988. However, a review of the analysis presented to the Vice President indicates that those questions ostensibly allocated to FAF were used for analyzing George Bush's strength in connection with the 1988 presidential election. It appears, therefore, that to determine the amount to be attributed to a testing the waters effort, the costs for FAF ($4,996) should be added to the costs that Mr. Teeter intended to attribute for questions pertaining to a Bush candidacy in 1988 ($12,614). Consequently, the sum attributable to a testing the waters effort, i.e., the sum accepted by the Vice President, is $17,610.[2/]

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2/ As stated above, the analysis presented to the Vice President tied in almost of all of the questions in the poll. Those questions allocated by Mr. Teeter to the RNC, however, appear to pertain more to areas not related to a testing the waters effort by the Vice President.

Based on the information obtained during the investigation, this Office has drafted conciliation agreements containing the facts of this matter. This Office recommends that the Commission approve the agreements and enter into conciliation negotiations with the respondents.

III. DISCUSSION OF CONCILIATION AGREEMENT AND CIVIL PENALTIES

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IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Enter into pre-probable cause conciliation with the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer.

2. Enter into pre-probable cause conciliation with Vice President George Bush.

3. Approve the attached conciliation agreements.

4. Approve the attached letters.

10 Dec 1986
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Letter from E. Mark Braden, dated August 1, 1986
2. Letter from Jan Baran, dated July 31, 1986
3. Letter from Jan Baran, dated August 11, 1986
4. Letter and proposed conciliation agreement to Mr. Baran
5. Letter and proposed conciliation agreement to Mr. Braden

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES N. STEELE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS /CHERYL A. FLEMING

DATE: DECEMBER 12, 1986

SUBJECT: OBJECTION TO MUR 2133 - GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT SIGNED DECEMBER 10, 1986

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Wednesday, December 10, 1986 at 4:00 P.M.

Objections have been received from the Commissioners as indicated by the name(s) checked:

Commissioner Aikens X
Commissioner Elliott _____
Commissioner Josefiak _____
Commissioner McDonald _____
Commissioner McGarry _____
Commissioner Thomas _____

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for Tuesday, January 6, 1986.

8804071452

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES N. STEELE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS /CHERYL A. FLEMING

DATE: DECEMBER 12, 1986

SUBJECT: OBJECTION TO MUR 2133 - GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT SIGNED DECEMBER 10, 1986

8804071453

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Wednesday, December 10, 1986 at 4:00 P.M.

Objections have been received from the Commissioners as indicated by the name(s) checked:

Commissioner Aikens	X
Commissioner Elliott	X
Commissioner Josefiak	X
Commissioner McDonald	
Commissioner McGarry	
Commissioner Thomas	

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for Tuesday, January 6, 1986.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of January 6, 1987, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2133:

1. Enter into pre-probable cause conciliation with the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer.

2. Enter into pre-probable cause concilition with Vice President George Bush.

3. Approve the conciliation agreements attached to the General Counsel's report dated December 10, 1986.

4. Approve the letters attached to the General Counsel's report dated December 10, 1986.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision.

Attest:

January 7, 1987
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

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GGCft 2467
RECEIVED AT THE FEC

87 JAN 12 P12:34

PATRICIA A. MINSON, PRESIDENT
LU ANNE DAWSON, VICE PRESIDENT

MILTON, DAWSON & MINSON, INC.
OFFICIAL REPORTERS
SUITE 309, 515 WYTHE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314
(703) 836-2020

January 8, 1987

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, Northwest
Ninth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20463

MUR 2133

- JAN 12 P4:3

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

Dear Mr. Levin:

Upon a year-end review of our records, it has come to my attention that our invoice number 817 in the amount of $264.00 for the Deposition of Harvey Leroy Atwater has not been paid.

I have attached a copy of the original invoice as sent and also a new one in case you never received it.

If you could please take care of this matter at your earliest convenience, it would be greatly appreciated. Happy New Year and thank you for using us as your official reporters.

Very truly yours,

Tessa-Marie Minson

Tessa-Marie Minson
Secretary/Treasurer

tmm

Enclosures

8804071455

Milton, Dawson & Mineon, Inc.
Official Reporters
515 WYTHE STREET, SUITE 200
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314
(703) 836-2620

Notary Public
D.C. - Va. - Md.

Tax ID. No. 54-0149017

August 20, 1986

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20463

P.O. No. _____

In remitting refer to Invoice No. 817

Date		
10/15/86	RE: MUR 2133 - Deposition of Harvey Leroy Atwater	
	Original and One Copy Pages: 1 through 74	
	74 Pages @ $3.50 per page	$ 259.00
	Delivery Charge	5.00
	REMIT TO: Post Office Box 26368 Alexandria, Virginia 22313-6368	
		Total $ 264.00

WHITE-FOR YOUR FILE CANARY-RETURN WITH REMITTANCE PINK-OFFICE COPY

8804071456

Milton, Dawson & Minson, Inc.
Official Reporters
515 WYTHE STREET, SUITE 309
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314
(703) 836-2020

Notary Public
D.C. - Va. - Md.

Tax ID. No. 54-3149017

August 20, 1990

Jonathan [illegible]n, Esquire
Federal [illegible]ion Commission
999 E St[illegible] [illegible]Northwest
Washingt[illegible] .C. 20463

P.O. No. _____

In remitting refer to Invoice No. [illegible]17

Date		
8/2[illegible]	RE: 2133 - Deposition of Harvey Leroy Atwater	
	inal and One Copy	
	s: 1 through 74	
	ages @ $3.50 per page	[illegible].00
	ivery Charge	5.00
		Total $ 264.[illegible]

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plan

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 13, 1987

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that your clients, the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). At your request, the Commission determined on January 6, 1987, to enter into negotiations directed towards reaching a conciliation agreement in settlement of this matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

Enclosed is a conciliation agreement that the Commission has approved in settlement of this matter. If your clients agree with the provisions of the enclosed agreement, please have the agreement signed and return it, along with the civil penalty, to the Commission. In light of the fact that conciliation negotiations, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, are limited to a maximum of 30 days, you should respond to this notification as soon as possible. If you have any questions or suggestions for changes in the agreement, or if you wish to arrange a meeting in connection with a mutually satisfactory conciliation agreement, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

3804071 4558

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 13, 1987

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 2133
Vice President
George Bush

Dear Mr. Baran:

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that your client, Vice President George Bush, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). At your request, the Commission determined on January 6, 1987, to enter into negotiations directed towards reaching a conciliation agreement in settlement of this matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

Enclosed is a conciliation agreement that the Commission has approved in settlement of this matter. If your client agrees with the provisions of the enclosed agreement, please have him sign and return it, along with the civil penalty, to the Commission. In light of the fact that conciliation negotiations, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, are limited to a maximum of 30 days, you should respond to this notification as soon as possible. If you have any questions or suggestions for changes in the agreement, or if you wish to arrange a meeting in connection with a mutually satisfactory conciliation agreement, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

9804071459

6CC 3185

RECEIVED AT THE FEC

501 CHURCH ST., N.E.
VIENNA, VA 22180
(703) 938-4450, 938-4451

HOWARD PHILLIPS, Chairman
DAVID G. SANDERS, Treasurer
JACK ABRAMOFF, Executive Director

MUR 2132

April 21, 1987

RECEIVED
87 APR 23 P3:25
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
GENERAL COUNSEL

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Sir:

On January 22, 1986, we sent you a Letter of Complaint concerning a possible violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, by The Republican National Committee.

Your January 31 response, describing the Comission's procedures, states that after 15 days, the office of General Council shall report to the Commission making a recommedation that A) the comission find reason to investigate or B) that the Comission find no possible violation, therefore closing the file.

We have yet to hear from you on this matter, and would greatly appreciate a response.

Very truly yours,

Charles Orndorff
CO/br

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Paid for by TCCPAC; not by any candidate, committee, or candidate's committee.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 29, 1987

Charles Orndorff, Secretary
The Conservative Caucus Political
Action Committee
501 Church St., N.E.
Vienna, VA 22180

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Orndorff:

This is in response to your letter dated April 21, 1987, in which you request information pertaining to a complaint filed by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee on January 22, 1986, with the Federal Election Commission.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission, prior to closing the file in the matter, unless the parties being investigated have agreed in writing that the matter be made public. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A). Because there have been no written agreements that the matter be made public, we are not in a position to release any information at this time. As you were informed by letter dated January 31, 1986, we will notify you as soon as the Commission takes final action on the complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble

Lawrence M. Noble
Acting General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 12, 1987

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On January 13, 1987, this Office sent a letter notifying you that the Commission had determined to enter into negotiations directed toward reaching a conciliation agreement in settlement of the above-captioned matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe. Enclosed with that letter was a conciliation proposal approved by the Commission.

The Office of the General Counsel and you have been unable to reach an agreement in this matter. In light of the fact that the time period for conciliation negotiations prior to a finding of probable cause has elapsed, such negotiations are now terminated. This Office will proceed to the next stage in the enforcement process.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
Acting General Counsel

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MUR 2132
Louis

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

87 AUG 32 AM 11:20

HOWARD PHILLIPS, Chairman
DAVID G. SANDERS, Treasurer
JACK ABRAMOFF, Executive Director

450 Maple Avenue, East
Vienna, Virginia 22180
703-893-1550

August 13, 1987

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT
87 AUG 31 PM 4:20

Hon. Scott E. Thomas
Chairman, Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20563

Dear Sir:

On January 22, 1986, we filed an inquiry concerning a possible violation of law on the part of Vice President Bush and/or committees acting on his behalf. An extraordinarily long time has elapsed since the submission of our inquiry, yet we have received no indication that it has been addressed by the FEC.

We have begun to receive a number of media inquiries concerning this complaint and would appreciate any guidance you can give us concerning the apparent failure of the FEC to act in a timely manner.

Many thanks for your consideration.

With personal best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Howard Phillips
Chairman

HP:pnw

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Paid for by TCCPAC; not by any candidate, committee, or candidate's committee.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 3, 1987

Howard Phillips, Chairman
The Conservative Caucus Political
Action Committee
450 Maple Avenue, East
Vienna, Virginia 22180

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Phillips:

This is in response to your letter received on August 31, 1987, in which you request information pertaining to a complaint filed by The Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee ("TCC-PAC") on January 22, 1986, with the Federal Election Commission.

As stated in this Office's letter to TCC-PAC's Secretary, Charles Orndorff, on April 29, 1987, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission, prior to closing the file in the matter, unless the parties being investigated have agreed in writing that the matter be made public. See 2 U.S.C.§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A). Because there have been no written agreements that this matter be made public, we cannot release any information at this time. As noted in a letter to TCC-PAC dated January 31, 1986, and in the April 29 letter to Mr. Orndorff, we will notify TCC-PAC as soon as the Commission takes final action on the complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble (LD)
Lawrence M. Noble
Acting General Counsel

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT
87 NOV -6 PM 4:23

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

SENSITIVE

November 6, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Commission

FROM: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

SUBJECT: MUR 2133

Attached for the Commission's review are briefs stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the above-captioned matter. Copies of these briefs and letters notifying the respondents of the General Counsel's intent to recommend to the Commission findings of probable cause to believe were mailed on November 6, 1987. Following receipt of the respondents' replies to these notices, this Office will make a further report to the Commission.

ATTACHMENTS
1. Letter and brief for Vice President George Bush
2. Letter and brief for the Republican National Committee

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 6, 1987

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

Based on a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 22, 1986, and information supplied by you, the Commission, on June 3, 1986, found that there was reason to believe that the Republian National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1), and instituted an investigation of this matter.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of the General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred. The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendation.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within 15 days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (10 copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. (Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, if possible.) The General Counsel's brief and any brief which you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote of whether there is probable cause to believe a violation has occurred.

If you are unable to file a responsive brief within 15 days, you may submit a written request for an extension of time. All requests for extension of time must be submitted in writing five days prior to the due date, and good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

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Should you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
Republican National Committee) MUR 2133
William J. McManus, as treasurer)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. STATEMENT OF THE CASE

A. Complaint

On January 24, 1986, the Office of the General Counsel received a complaint filed by Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders on behalf of the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee against the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and William J. McManus, as treasurer. Enclosed with the complaint were a number of newspaper articles, some of which are referred to by the complainants.

The complaint pertained to a poll apparently commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research ("MOR"). This poll, according to a Washington Post article referred to by the complainants, was conducted for the purpose of determining "voter support" for Vice President Bush in both the presidential primary elections and general election in 1988. The complaint referred to the article further, quoting passages indicating that the poll was designed to explore Vice President Bush's strengths and weaknesses among the electorate, to rate him against other possible contenders for the Republican nomination, to examine how Vice President Bush can use certain issues to build support, and to make certain points related to a

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possible strategy for Vice President Bush. The article also stated that MOR delivered a copy of the poll to Fund for America's Future ("FAF"). The complaint also cited a number of other articles, including one in Human Events, which stated that the poll specifically stated that Mr. Bush is the clear front-runner. Based on these articles, complainants classified the poll as an effort to "test the waters."

Complainants stated that "the reports are conflicting" as to who is paying or will pay for the poll. One article referred to the RNC commissioning and financing the poll. Complainants stated that the article

> is consistent with reports that officials of the Republican National Committee planned the poll in the spring of 1985; that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee invited Vice President Bush to suggest some questions for inclusion in the poll; and, that additional questions were developed by William Phillips, who was then an employee of the Republican National Committee.

Subsequent articles stated that the RNC, MOR, and FAF will share the cost of the poll. Complainants summarized by stating that it appears that the poll will be paid for either by the RNC alone or by some allocation among the RNC, MOR, and FAF.

Complainants cited 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1). They stated that, although these regulations indicate that the terms "contribution" and expenditure" do not include receipts and disbursements for "testing the waters," they do provide for proper recordkeeping and for treatment of the receipts and

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disbursements as contributions and expenditures if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate. Based on those regulations and the limitations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a, complainants asserted that various violations were about to take place. Complainants referred to the newspaper reports, stating that they indicate that MOR delivered "a full copy of the poll" to FAF and that MOR intended to deliver a "very different version" of the poll to the RNC. Complainants stated that, if the RNC pays more than $5,000 of the cost of the poll delivered to FAF, the RNC will have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a and "if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President," any payment to MOR by the RNC or FAF in excess of $5,000 will violate section 441a. They further stated that Vice President Bush will be allowed to pay only up to $50,000 from personal funds if he becomes a candidate receiving matching funds. The complainants concluded from these assertions that, because the RNC can pay only $5,000, FAF can pay only $5,000, the Vice President can pay only $50,000, and the cost of the poll, according to newspaper articles, was $75,000, this would leave $15,000 unpaid for if the respondents complied with the limits. Complainants concluded, therefore, that an excessive or prohibited contribution would result. Complainants stated that, in order to avoid such a result and to avoid the "concomitant need" for Vice President Bush to prematurely establish a campaign committee, "there is some nonsensical talk" about allocating the cost between the RNC and FAF based upon the number of questions

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requested by each with MOR absorbing some of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Complainants maintained that, because the full poll was accepted by FAF and because it related entirely to a Bush Presidential candidacy, no such allocation was possible. They further maintained that the suggestion that MOR inserted questions on its own is "ridiculous," stating that those requesting the poll would review the format and the questions, and any questions not specifically requested would be the "usual demographic questions included in every poll."

B. Responses to the Complaint

The RNC responded on March 6, 1986, by submitting an affidavit from William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC. He stated that the RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a poll related to various issues such as terrorism and international trade, but not to issues related to a possible presidential candidacy by Vice President Bush. Mr. Greener claimed that "[i]nformation from this survey and analysis has been made available to members of the Administration, members of the Republican National Committee, and the general public through the press."

Mr. Greener claimed that, "in the late summer of 1985," he was approached by Lee Atwater from FAF. Mr. Atwater, according to Mr. Greener, asked him if "questions of interest" to FAF could be added to the survey. Mr. Greener stated that he agreed to

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such questions "with the express statement the Republican National Committee would not pay for, nor see, any of the work done in this regard."

Mr. Greener concluded by stating that "MOR has proposed that the RNC pay $52,390 for the survey and analysis which the RNC has commissioned" and that the RNC will pay MOR this sum upon receipt of an invoice.

On April 23, 1986, this Office received an additional letter from counsel for the RNC reiterating Mr. Greener's contention that the RNC did not authorize a poll of voter support for the Vice President in the 1988 elections. He stated that the RNC commissions numerous polls, that the RNC commissions polls regularly on behalf of the President and the Administration, that data from such polls is made available to principal Administration figures, that RNC personnel "regularly consult with various Administration officials for their input as to issues to be examined," and that issues of particular interest to Administration officials are included in requests to pollsters.

Counsel stated that this poll, like a number of other RNC polls, involved "piggybacking," i.e., "when a committee intends to conduct a survey and make the polling procedure available to another committee to add separate questions of unique interest to it" and where the additional cost "is absorbed by the separate organization."

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The response of MOR contained a letter from counsel and an affidavit from Robert M. Teeter, MOR's president. The letter summarized the contents of the affidavit. Mr. Teeter stated that, early in 1985, the Vice President told him that he should expect a call from Frank Fahrenkopf, the RNC Chairman, concerning a poll to be commissioned by Mr. Fahrenkopf that would include questions of interest to the Vice President, but that the Vice-President had said nothing indicating that a poll was being commissioned at his request. Mr. Teeter further stated that, several days later, Mr. Fahrenkopf asked him to conduct a poll for the RNC and to follow up on details with Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff. Mr. Fahrenkopf indicated that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that Teeter "should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll."

The affidavit further stated that, a "couple of weeks or so" later, Mr. Teeter, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Atwater (whom Mr. Teeter describes as "a volunteer adviser to the Vice President") met "to discuss a variety of items, including a poll." They decided to delay the poll until the fall to avoid "any lingering effects" from the 1984 election.

Mr. Teeter stated that, in the late summer, when MOR and the RNC agreed that the polling should proceed, he asked Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, what issues he wanted to include in the poll and Mr. Fuller replied that the

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poll should cover trade and terrorism. At that time, Mr. Atwater, who was by then a consultant for FAF, asked that the poll include "whatever questions [Mr. Teeter] thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President." In early September, 1985, Mr. Teeter asked his staff to draft the poll questionnaire with five "issues," one of which was "to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush." Mr. Teeter stated that, "during the questionnaire design stage," he gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to the Vice President's Chief of Staff, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller discussed the questions "with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues." (FAF's response indicates that Mr. Fuller received the draft on September 6, 1985). A few days later, Mr. Fuller suggested "a change to a trade question, the addition of names to a list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next president." (FAF's response indicates that Mr. Fuller suggested two names for a thermometer question on public figures.) MOR "accepted" "some" of the suggestions. After completion of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter told Mr. Greener that the poll would cost $70,000, the "customary" rate.

The affidavit maintained that questions relating to the 1988 election, "including the 'head on head' questions" were included

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because Mr. Teeter and his staff "believed them to be appropriate." MOR believed that these questions "were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor FAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election."

Mr. Teeter stated that MOR conducted the polling interviews from September 17 to September 25, 1985, and sent a $70,000 invoice to the RNC on September 19. He stated that, when the poll was completed, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one to be given to the Vice President and his staff and the other to be given to the RNC. According to Mr. Teeter, the first analysis "emphasized the perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issues and other national issues." The second analysis "emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues." Copies of the first analysis were presented by Mr. Teeter to Vice President Bush, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater at a meeting on November 13, 1985. Mr. Greener did not receive a copy of the second analysis until December 19.

Mr. Teeter stated that, in December, 1985, [when the news stories referred to by the complainants appeared or were about to appear] the RNC advised MOR that it would not pay for "the

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portion of the poll related to the 1988 election since [it] had not authorized that portion." According to Mr. Teeter, FAF informed MOR that it would pay "for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since [FAF] had not authorized those questions. This was the first time MOR became aware that [FAF] would be paying anything for the poll." He stated that FAF also asked MOR to prepare a revised analysis to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates in the 1986 campaign.

Mr. Teeter stated that he had negotiating sessions with the RNC and FAF to attempt to resolve the question of payment. MOR proposed that the RNC pay for 74.8% of the poll, i.e., $52,390, and that FAF pay for 7.1% of the poll, i.e., $4,996. Mr. Teeter stated that the 18.1% balance of the poll ($12,614) "will have to be absorbed by MOR." These allocations and the proposed settlement were, according to MOR, consistent with MOR's "normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial."

The response of FAF and the Vice President contained a detailed letter from its counsel, affidavits from Lee Atwater and Craig Fuller, and a letter from Vice President Bush. The letter and affidavits contain some details additional to those presented by Mr. Teeter.

Counsel indicates that during the first conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf stated

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that "he was commissioning MOR to conduct a poll and that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President." He stated that "the Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for the RNC." Mr. Fahrenkopf then contacted Mr. Teeter and asked him "to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll." Counsel asserted that the "questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions."

Mr. Atwater stated that in the late summer of 1985, Mr. Phillips "indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC." Mr. Atwater claimed that he "therefore indicated to Mr. Phillips that the Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll" if the addition of questions of such issues, i.e., "questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perceptions of leading Republicans, including the Vice President, would create a problem for the RNC." Mr. Atwater stated, however, that it was still his impression at that time that the RNC would include the questions and pay the full cost for the poll.

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Counsel claimed that Mr. Fuller "was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested." He stated that Mr. Fuller is occasionally consulted by professional pollsters "seeking his reaction to questions they ask" and "thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of questions relating to the Vice President."

Counsel stated that Mr. Teeter presented an analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985. Counsel pointed out that there was a "cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC" and that "[i]t was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC."

Counsel asserted that neither the Vice President, Mr. Atwater, nor Mr. Fuller requested or authorized the poll, and that no one outside of the RNC or MOR authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections. Counsel maintained, therefore, that the Vice President was not testing the waters with respect to this poll and that any recently expressed willingness by FAF to pay for "questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) did not constitute authorization by the Vice President for testing the waters expenditures.

On March 17, 1986, this Office received a copy of the poll questionnaire from MOR. The questionnaire contained marginal

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notations by MOR denoting which questions MOR intended to allocate to the RNC, which questions MOR intended to allocate to FAF, and which questions were not to be allocated. There were 107 non-demographic questions. (Although the last question is numbered 104, there are two sets of question 23 and two sets of questions 81 and 82; each set is labeled as "Half Sample A" or "Half Sample B").

MOR designated seventy-seven questions, i.e., 72% of the questions, to be allocated to the RNC. These questions included general questions about the state of the nation and the government, questions about the performance of the President and the Vice President, 35 issue questions, 22 of which pertained to trade or terrorism, questions pertaining to general feelings about political figures, one of whom was George Bush, attitudes toward both major parties and toward liberals and conservatives, four sets of questions pertaining to attitudes toward the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy with only the references to the President and Senator Kennedy being attributed to the RNC, and questions pertaining to an ideological characterization of the person being polled, the President, and the Vice President.

Six questions, i.e., 5.5% of the questions, were designated as allocable to FAF. These questions pertained to perceptions of George Bush. Two of these questions referred to the Vice President alone. Four were part of the four sets of questions

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referring to the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy. The remaining twenty-five questions, i.e., 23.4% of the questions, were not allocated. These questions all pertained to George Bush and the 1988 election.

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the RNC and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) by making testing the waters disbursements for a poll for Vice President Bush. In addition, the Commission approved subpoenas for the production of documents and the taking of depositions.

Depositions in this matter occurred on the following dates: (1) July 29, 1986 - Robert M. Teeter; (2) July 30, 1986 - William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations for the RNC; (3) August 14, 1986 - Craig L. Fuller; (4) August 15, 1986 - Lee Atwater, the Vice President and Chairman of FAF; and (5) August 18, 1986 - Bill Phillips, formerly RNC Chief of Staff and, as of the beginning of December, 1985, Executive Director of FAF.

II. ANALYSIS

At the time of the reason to believe finding, the positions of the RNC, the Vice President, and Mr. Teeter were as follows:

The RNC asserts that this poll was a simple piggybacking operation in which the RNC planned to pay for questions applying to the RNC and the representatives of FAF or the Vice President would pay for questions in which they had an interest.

The Vice President asserts that the RNC authorized the poll; that the Vice President was invited by the RNC to have "questions

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of interest" to the Vice President in the poll for the purposes of the RNC; that Mr. Atwater stated that FAF might be able to pay for some questions but that it was still thought that the RNC was to pay the full cost of the poll; that Mr. Fuller did not approve the poll but merely offered suggestions in his capacity as the Vice President's Chief of Staff, i.e., as a person occasionally consulted by pollsters and as one who might naturally comment on questions related to the Vice President; and that it was assumed by the Vice President and his staff that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

Robert Teeter, a key witness and coordinator of the poll, asserts that the Vice President told him that the RNC was going to commission a poll that was to include questions of interest to the Vice President; that the RNC commissioned such a poll; that he was instructed by the RNC to receive input from the Vice President's staff; that he received such input and that he believed that he had acted within the authority granted to MOR when he included questions pertaining to the Vice President and 1988; that he wrote two separate analyses for the poll, one for the Vice President and one for the RNC; that he presented the first analysis to the Vice President on November 13, 1985, and the second analysis to Mr. Greener on December 19, 1985; and that after the RNC stated that it would not pay for certain questions, he attempted to allocate questions between the RNC and FAF.

The depositions and review of the requested documents attempted to cover the sequence of events from the first conversation between Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and

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Vice President George Bush, until the filing of the responses to the complaint.

A. Facts

The depositions and documents indicate three basic elements relevant to whether a violation occurred. These elements pertain to: (1) the assumption by the persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC; (2) the knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that this poll would contain questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush; and (3) the acceptance of poll results by Vice President Bush. Each element is discussed separately below.

(1) The testimony as a whole indicates that those involved in the development of this poll considered this poll to be a project of the RNC, to be paid for by the RNC, prior to the surfacing of the controversy on December 3, 1986, and the reporting of the controversy in The Washington Post and other newspapers starting on December 4, 1985. This controversy centered around the discovery that the RNC had apparently commissioned a poll that contained a substantial number of questions about the Vice President and the revelation of this discovery to The Washington Post.

Before the controversy surfaced, Mr. Teeter had billed the RNC on September 9, 1985, and October 18, 1985 in the amount of $70,000. FAF and the Vice President were not billed before or after that point. In addition, the testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller indicate that the RNC was to pay for this poll in its

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entirety. During his testimony, Mr. Teeter discussed an early meeting involving Mr. Atwater, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Teeter. When questioned as to whether he knew at this point that the RNC would be paying for this poll, Mr. Teeter said "Yes" and that "[i]t was an RNC proposal clearly." (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 32-33) Toward the end of the deposition, Mr. Teeter was questioned about a forward to the analysis for Vice President Bush that had stated that the survey "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee," and that had been characterized as erroneous by the RNC and representatives of the Vice President when the controversy surfaced. Insisting during his testimony that the forward was not erroneous, Mr. Teeter stated that, even though two clients would be receiving information, the RNC was the entity to whom the contract was sent and the RNC was going to pay for the poll. Mr. Teeter stated that the first time he "became aware" that the RNC was not going to pay for all of the poll was December 3, 1985. (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 137-138)

Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, is quite emphatic as to his belief, prior to December 3, that the RNC would be paying for the entirety of the poll. Prior to the fielding of the poll, Mr. Teeter showed Mr. Fuller a copy of a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President and his presidential prospects that were included in the final questionnaire. Significantly, Mr. Fuller testifies that, even after receiving this

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questionnaire, it was his impression that the RNC would pay for all of the questions. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 25) At subsequent points in his testimony, Mr. Fuller reiterated that this was his understanding. He stated that "the survey had been requested by the RNC and Market Opinion Research had done the survey for the RNC." (Deposition of Fuller, p. 47)

During their testimony, Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips each discussed statements made by Mr. Atwater to the effect that, if Mr. Fahrenkopf was criticized "for doing a poll predominantly for one potential 1988 candidate," the Fund for America's Future might be able to pay for some of the poll questions. The statements were made during the summer of 1985 in a conversation involving Atwater, Teeter, and Phillips at the Capitol Hill Club and during the autumn of 1985 in a conversation involving Atwater, Greener, and Teeter at the Golden Palace. Mr. Atwater testified that he was making the tentative offer only with respect to questions that FAF could pay for, not with respect to questions dealing specifically with the 1988 elections. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 23-24) He testified that he was speaking "on [his] own" and that he would use any influence he had at FAF to try to get FAF to pay for questions if FAF needed to pay for questions. (Deposition of Atwater, p. 34) Mr. Atwater further testified that "nothing ever came of this offer" and that, until December 3, 1985, he assumed that the RNC would be paying for the poll. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 34 and 52) Mr. Phillips who was the Chief of Staff at the RNC until a few

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days before the controversy surfaced, stated that, after the meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, it was still his understanding that the RNC would be paying for the poll. (Deposition of Phillips, p. 62)

The only view diverging from the basic understanding that the RNC was to pay for this poll was the view of Mr. Greener. Mr. Greener claims that in the middle of the summer of 1985, Mr. Atwater called him and asked if it was possible for "us" to place questions in the poll. Interpreting "us" to mean "the interests of the Vice President," but not thinking specifically whether this meant the Vice President's interests in 1986 or 1988, Mr. Greener, according to his testimony, said that he did not think that there would be a problem with placing such questions, and that he would get back to Mr. Atwater. He claims that he briefly mentioned this to Bill Phillips and that Mr. Phillips consented to it. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 18-21) Mr. Greener testifies that, when he called Mr. Atwater back, it was his understanding that this poll was a standard piggy-backing arrangement, i.e., certain questions for the RNC would appear on the poll and certain questions as to "the interest of the Vice President" would appear on the poll and the RNC would not see the Vice Presidential questions, obtain the results from such questions, or pay for such questions. (Deposition of Greener, p. 19)

Mr. Greener's viewpoint on this issue, however, is not supported by the other evidence presented in this matter. In their depositions, no mention is made by Mr. Atwater or

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Mr. Phillips, Mr. Greener's superior at the RNC, of a call by Mr. Atwater in mid-summer asking for the insertion of questions for the Vice President. Furthermore, Mr. Greener is far from certain as to what this piggy-back arrangement was to entail. Mr. Greener states, in conversations on December 3 involving him and other persons involved with the poll in preparation for press inquiries, that there was a discussion as to whether or not the trade and terrorism questions were to be paid for by FAF or were part of the questions that the RNC intended to fund all along. They eventually resolved that the RNC should pay for the trade and terrorism questions but, from Mr. Greener's notes of that day and his deposition testimony, it appears that extensive discussion was necessary. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 96-100) In addition, although Mr. Greener, who ostensibly received the phone call in mid-summer upon which this determination was based, discusses the possibility of payment either by the RNC or by FAF of trade and terrorism questions, (Deposition of Greener, p. 96-100), his testimony indicates that he was not as certain during his conversation with Mr. Atwater as to who was to pay for questions not paid for by the RNC. He did not think about the question of whether FAF or some other representative of the Vice President would pay for such questions. (Deposition of Greener, p. 21)

It appears from the testimony, therefore, that, until the controversy surfaced, the RNC was the paying client for this poll. Even taking into account Mr. Atwater's offers to attempt

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to have FAF pay for some of the questions, it appears that these offers were conditional upon his ability to get FAF to pay for these questions and that FAF would not pay for questions pertaining to the 1988 election.

(2) The testimony indicates that the participants were aware, prior to December 3, that there would be questions on the poll pertaining to the political perceptions of the Vice President. Although some of the witnesses claim that, prior to December 3, they did not think the poll would contain questions pertaining to 1988, the evidence indicates other witnesses knew that questions pertaining to 1988 were on the poll.

Mr. Teeter believed that he had been authorized to place questions concerning 1988 in the poll. An examination of the testimony as to the early arrangements for the poll indicates that there was a reasonable basis for such a conclusion. The testimony of the witnesses as a whole indicates that during the early part of 1985, Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President discussed a poll to be commissioned by the RNC and to be conducted by MOR. Two of the witnesses, Mr. Teeter and Mr. Phillips, were told by the Vice President and Mr. Fahrenkopf respectively, about the initial conversation shortly after it occurred. Mr. Teeter states that, according to the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to "include any questions or areas of interest to the Vice President." (Deposition of Teeter, p. 20) Mr. Phillips states that, according to Mr. Fahrenkopf, Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to have the RNC conduct a poll that "was

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to pertain to the Vice President." According to Mr. Phillips' testimony, Mr. Fahrenkopf indicated that the Vice President and he "had discussed the 1984 elections and the impact that it had had on the image and perceptions of the Vice President, which resulted in the offer to commission a poll to see what impact there had been." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 20)

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Teeter spoke to Mr. Fahrenkopf. Mr. Fahrenkopf referred to his offer to the Vice President to include any areas of interest and also referred to a discussion of the measurement of "the level of [the Vice President's] political support" after the 1984 campaign. (Deposition of Teeter, p. 22)

Mr. Teeter stated his understanding after this was that the poll should contain questions as to voter perceptions of the Vice President. He, therefore, understood that questions pertaining to the 1988 election were appropriate.[1/] This understanding is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, reviewed the draft questionnaire containing these questions and approved of the poll. Mr. Fuller commented on the draft by calling it "[a] great questionnaire" and even making a

[1/] In meetings with this Office, counsel for the RNC has argued that the RNC never authorized a poll that would include questions pertaining to a possible presidential candidacy of George Bush in 1988. Although there may not have been a specific request for questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in the 1988 elections, it appears from the above mentioned conversations involving RNC Chairman Fahrenkopf, including the Chairman's contact both with Mr. Teeter and with the Vice President, that Mr. Teeter reasonably concluded he had been authorized to develop the poll he ultimately fielded.

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suggestion to augment one of the questions pertaining to Bush and the 1988 elections. He made no comment, however, questioning the presence of such questions. Mr. Teeter's understanding is further confirmed by the fact that when he presented his analysis of the poll results to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater in the Vice President's office twenty days prior to the surfacing of the controversy, none of the participants questioned the existence of questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. During questioning as to what transpired during the November meeting, the following colloquy between counsel for OGC and Mr. Atwater took place.

Q. Did anyone comment on the fact that there were questions related to the Vice President and possible prospects for '88 in the poll?

A. Well, that was certainly discussed. The '88 portion of the poll was discussed.

Q. And what was said about that?

A. Well, that he looked -- that he was out ahead of everyone and looked pretty good.

Q. Anyone asked why these questions were in the poll?

A. No.

(Deposition of Atwater, pp. 43-44)

Although the testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller indicates that they knew that the poll would contain questions

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pertaining to a Bush presidential candidacy in 1988, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Atwater claim that they did not know that the poll would contain such questions prior to its fielding. Nevertheless, the testimony of Mr. Phillips discloses that he was concerned about questions pertaining to the Vice President appearing on the poll. The testimony of Mr. Atwater discloses that he was aware before December 3, 1985, that the poll contained such questions.

With respect to Mr. Phillips, the evidence is as follows. Shortly after Mr. Fahrenkopf had the initial conversation with the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf informed Mr. Phillips of the decision to commission a poll. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Phillips expressed his concern to Mr. Fahrenkopf that there might be "objections to conducting a poll for a single individual." Mr. Fahrenkopf replied that "it would be along the lines of practice of the Republican National Committee to conduct a poll on behalf of the Vice President." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 23) Mr. Phillips reiterated his concern at the aforementioned meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, at which point Mr. Atwater said that possibly FAF could pay for some questions. (Deposition of Phillips, p. 39 and Deposition of Atwater, p. 34) Upon examination by his counsel during the deposition, Mr. Phillips stated that his understanding was that the poll was "to measure public perception of the Vice President's role as Vice President and how [the public] felt about his job and his job performance." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 62) Nevertheless, it appears that Mr. Phillips was concerned about a possible relationship of the

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poll to the 1988 presidential race. In response to his counsel's questions, he testified he was concerned that, because the Vice President is perceived as a possible presidential candidate, other possible candidates might question "why the RNC would do a poll for him." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 63)

With respect to Mr. Atwater, who was present at the Capitol Hill Club meeting, it is significant that, although Mr. Atwater has asserted that he did not have questions pertaining to 1988 in mind when he offered the possibility of FAF payment, he had no objection to the appearance of such questions when the poll analysis was presented to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and him.

Mr. Greener claims that when Mr. Atwater asked him if it were possible for "us" to include questions, he did not think specifically whether these questions would pertain to the Vice President's interests in the 1988 election. (Deposition of Greener, p. 21) However, Mr. Greener's claim that this was a "piggyback" arrangement appears to entail an assertion that the RNC would pay for certain issues of interest to the Vice President but would not pay for question of more particular political interest to the Vice President.

Based on the evidence presented in the testimony, it appears that, prior to December 3, most of the participants in the arrangements for the poll knew that the poll would or did contain questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. Only Mr. Phillips' testimony is that he may never have had such

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knowledge prior to December 3, but even he expressed concern that this poll might be construed as relevant to the 1988 elections.

(3) The testimony indicates that the Vice President and his agents accepted poll results pertaining to a testing the waters effort for the 1988 presidential elections. At a meeting in the Vice President's office on November 13, 1985, Mr. Teeter presented a written analysis of the poll to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater. The analysis contains a discussion of the public's perceptions of the Vice President, the 1988 primary election, the 1988 general election, and the issues of terrorism and trade. It appears that the entirety of this analysis is related to the prospects for the Vice President in the 1988 primary and general elections and that the analysis ties almost all of the questions in the poll to this theme.

In his testimony, Mr. Atwater provided the most detailed account of the meeting. He states that those present at the meeting discussed the information in the analysis and related it to "how the Vice President should be scheduled over the next several months as based on -- as a result of this." In addition, as stated before, those present commented on the apparent strength of the Vice President's possible presidential candidacy as evidenced in the results from the 1988 questions. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 43-44)

During his examination of Mr. Atwater, counsel for Mr. Atwater attempted to make the point that the meeting on November 13 was nothing out of the ordinary and did not constitute acceptance of the poll. He had Mr. Atwater repeat a prior statement that he periodically receives poll results from a

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number of pollsters and discusses them with the Vice President. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 45 and 67) Mr. Fuller stated, in his testimony, that for the past six years, he has "been briefed periodically by consultants to the RNC on polls that are taken for the RNC" and that, within the past year, he and the Vice President began to be briefed together on such polls. (Deposition of Fuller, pp. 48-49)

It appears, however, that further testimony during the examination by OGC counsel, not rebutted by counsel for the witnesses in his examination, along with other circumstances already discussed, illustrates that this was not an ordinary meeting and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. According to the testimony of both Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater, this was the first time that the Vice President, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Fuller had ever met together to receive a poll analysis. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 49 and Deposition of Atwater, pp. 45-46). In fact, according to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater and he had never before received an analysis together either. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 49). In addition, it should be noted that this was a poll largely devoted to questions pertaining to the Vice President and involving arrangements for the poll by the Vice President and his agents, even to the point of Mr. Fuller receiving and commenting upon a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President that appeared on the final poll. These facts, along with the aforementioned fact that a formal meeting took place where the results pertaining

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specifically to the Vice President and 1988 were presented and commented upon, indicate that there was an acceptance by the Vice President of the poll results.

In summation, the evidence presented indicates that a poll, which prior to December 3, 1985, was to be paid for by the RNC and not by the Vice President of FAF, was taken; that persons involved in that poll knew prior to December 3 that one of the purposes of this poll was to obtain information pertaining to a possible 1988 presidential candidacy by the Vice President; and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. It appears that, but for the fact the controversy about this poll surfaced on December 3, 1985, this would have continued to be the arrangement.

In addition to the factual issues pertaining to the making of a disbursement for purposes of obtaining information pertaining to a possible 1988 presidential candidacy by the Vice President and the acceptance of such disbursements, the Commission must resolve the issue of the amount of the disbursement. In response to the complaint, Mr. Teeter presented figures purporting to be a division of the costs of the poll. This division was calculated by Mr. Teeter after the controversy surfaced. According to Mr. Teeter, $52,390 would be paid by the RNC, $4,996 by FAF, and $12,614, the amount construed as related to a 1988 Bush candidacy, would be absorbed by MOR. Mr. Teeter also submitted a copy of the poll questionnaire with marginal notations denoting how MOR would allocate questions among the

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RNC, FAF, and MOR. Subsequently, in response to the subpoena for documents, Mr. Teeter submitted a chart documenting the basis for the division of the costs of the poll. This division is based primarily on the allocation of questions among the RNC, FAF, and MOR, with adjustments for data processing, coding, and analysis; the cost to data process, code, and analyze was greater for some questions than for others.

In his allocation of questions and, hence, in his division of costs, Mr. Teeter has separated the questions and cost for FAF and the questions and cost pertaining to a possible Bush candidacy in 1988. However, a review of the analysis presented to the Vice President indicates that those questions ostensibly allocated to FAF were used for analyzing George Bush's strength in connection with the 1988 presidential election. It appears, therefore, that to determine the amount to be attributed to a testing the waters effort, the costs for FAF ($4,996) should be added to the costs that Mr. Teeter intended to attribute for questions pertaining to a Bush candidacy in 1988 ($12,614). Consequently, the sum attributable to a testing the waters effort, i.e., the sum accepted by the Vice President, is $17,610.[2/]

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II. Law

Section 100.8(b)(1) of the Commission Regulations provides that the term "expenditure" does not include "payments made

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2/ As stated above, the analysis presented to the Vice President tied in almost all of the questions in the poll. Those questions allocated by Mr. Teeter to the RNC, however, appear to pertain more to areas not related to a testing the waters effort by the Vice President.

solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," i.e., funds and payments for testing the waters. This section states that examples of testing the waters activities are "conducting a poll, telephone calls, and travel." The section further states, however, that "[o]nly funds permissible under the Act may be used for such activities." In addition, the section provides that, if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate, the payments made are subject to the reporting requirements of the Act.

Section 441a(a)(2)(A) of Title 2 prohibits a multicandidate committee from making contributions in excess of $5,000 to any candidate and his authorized committees with respect to a federal election. Therefore, a disbursement of funds for testing the waters purposes that exceed the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) would be in violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

In this matter, the RNC incurred an obligation for a poll containing questions as to a possible candidacy of Vice President Bush in the 1988 presidential elections. The results of this poll were presented to the Vice President and his agents. As stated above, the circumstances surrounding the poll and the way in which the poll was received indicate that this was not a routine review akin to the review by a member of the Vice President's staff of various polls that normally come in to the Vice President's office. The Commission Regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) outline the circumstances under which the purchase of poll results and the receipt of poll results constitute a

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contribution by the purchaser and an acceptance of poll results by the recipient candidate. The Regulations state:

> (b) The purchase of opinion poll results by a political committee or other person not authorized by a candidate to make expenditures and the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate or a candidate's authorized political committee or agent or by another unauthorized political committee is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser to the candidate or other political committee and an expenditure by the candidate or other political committee. Regarding the purchase of opinion poll results for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate, see 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).3/ The poll results are accepted by a candidate or other political committee if the candidate or the candidate's authorized political committee or agent or the other unauthorized political committee--
>
> (1) Requested the poll results before their receipt;
>
> (2) Uses the poll results; or
>
> (3) Does not notify the contributor that the results are refused.
>
> (c) The acceptance of any part of a poll's results which part, prior to receipt, has been made public without any request, authorization, prearrangement, or coordination by the candidate-receipient, shall not be treated as a contribution in-kind and expenditure under paragraph (b) of this section.

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) and (c).

In this matter, the RNC incurred an obligation of $17,610 for that part of the poll pertaining to a 1988 testing the waters effort. The Vice President and his agents received the results

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3/ Section 100.7(b)(1) extends the coverage of this provision to non-candidates conducting "testing the waters" activity.

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before any results were made public and they never notified the RNC of the refusal of these results. Thus, this is a situation in which the RNC has made a disbursement in the form of poll results which would be a contribution if the Vice President were a candidate and, without such candidacy, is still subject to the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A).

By making an in-kind testing the waters disbursement in the form of poll results to Vice President Bush an amount in excess of the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A), the RNC exceeded the limit that is permissible under 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1). This Office, therefore, recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that the RNC and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

III. RECOMMENDATION

Find probable cause to believe that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

11/6/87
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 6, 1987

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

RE: MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush

Dear Mr. Baran:

Based on a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 22, 1986, and information supplied by you, the Commission, on June 3, 1986, found that there was reason to believe that your client, Vice President Bush, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), and instituted an investigation of this matter.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of the General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred. The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendation.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within 15 days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (10 copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. (Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, if possible.) The General Counsel's brief and any brief which you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote of whether there is probable cause to believe a violation has occurred.

If you are unable to file a responsive brief within 15 days, you may submit a written request for an extension of time. All requests for extension of time must be submitted in writing five days prior to the due date, and good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

Should you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
) MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. STATEMENT OF THE CASE

A. Complaint

On January 24, 1986, the Office of the General Counsel received a complaint filed by Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders on behalf of the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee against Vice President George Bush. Enclosed with the complaint were a number of newspaper articles, some of which are referred to by the complainants.

The complaint pertained to a poll apparently commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research ("MOR"). This poll, according to a Washington Post article referred to by the complainants, was conducted for the purpose of determining "voter support" for Vice President Bush in both the presidential primary elections and general election in 1988. The complaint referred to the article further, quoting passages indicating that the poll was designed to explore Vice President Bush's strengths and weaknesses among the electorate, to rate him against other possible contenders for the Republican nomination, to examine how Vice President Bush can use certain issues to build support, and to make certain points related to a possible strategy for Vice President Bush. The article also stated that MOR delivered a copy of the poll to Fund for

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America's Future ("FAF"). The complaint also cited a number of other articles, including one in Human Events, which stated that the poll specifically stated that Mr. Bush is the clear front-runner. Based on these articles, complainants classified the poll as an effort to "test the waters."

Complainants stated that "the reports are conflicting" as to who is paying or will pay for the poll. One article referred to the RNC commissioning and financing the poll. Complainants stated that the article

> is consistent with reports that officials of the Republican National Committee planned the poll in the spring of 1985; that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee invited Vice President Bush to suggest some questions for inclusion in the poll; and, that additional questions were developed by William Phillips, who was then an employee of the Republican National Committee.

Subsequent articles stated that the RNC, MOR, and FAF will share the cost of the poll. Complainants summarized by stating that it appears that the poll will be paid for either by the RNC alone or by some allocation among the RNC, MOR, and FAF.

Complainants cited 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1). They stated that, although these regulations indicate that the terms "contribution" and expenditure" do not include receipts and disbursements for "testing the waters," they do provide for proper recordkeeping and for treatment of the receipts and disbursements as contributions and expenditures if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate. Based on those regulations and

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the limitations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a, complainants asserted that various violations were about to take place. Complainants referred to the newspaper reports, stating that they indicate that MOR delivered "a full copy of the poll" to FAF and that MOR intended to deliver a "very different version" of the poll to the RNC. Complainants stated that, if the RNC pays more than $5,000 of the cost of the poll delivered to FAF, the RNC will have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a and "if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President," any payment to MOR by the RNC or FAF in excess of $5,000 will violate section 441a. They further stated that Vice President Bush will be allowed to pay only up to $50,000 from personal funds if he becomes a candidate receiving matching funds. The complainants concluded from these assertions that, because the RNC can pay only $5,000, FAF can pay only $5,000, the Vice President can pay only $50,000, and the cost of the poll, according to newspaper articles, was $75,000, this would leave $15,000 unpaid for if the respondents complied with the limits. Complainants concluded, therefore, that an excessive or prohibited contribution would result. Complainants stated that, in order to avoid such a result and to avoid the "concomitant need" for Vice President Bush to prematurely establish a campaign committee, "there is some nonsensical talk" about allocating the cost between the RNC and FAF based upon the number of questions requested by each with MOR absorbing some of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Complainants

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maintained that, because the full poll was accepted by FAF and because it related entirely to a Bush Presidential candidacy, no such allocation was possible. They further maintained that the suggestion that MOR inserted questions on its own is "ridiculous," stating that those requesting the poll would review the format and the questions, and any questions not specifically requested would be the "usual demographic questions included in every poll."

B. Responses to the Complaint

The RNC responded on March 6, 1986, by submitting an affidavit from William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC. He stated that the RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a poll related to various issues such as terrorism and international trade, but not to issues related to a possible presidential candidacy by Vice President Bush. Mr. Greener claimed that "[i]nformation from this survey and analysis has been made available to members of the Administration, members of the Republican National Committee, and the general public through the press."

Mr. Greener claimed that, "in the late summer of 1985," he was approached by Lee Atwater from FAF. Mr. Atwater, according to Mr. Greener, asked him if "questions of interest" to FAF could be added to the survey. Mr. Greener stated that he agreed to such questions "with the express statement the Republican National Committee would not pay for, nor see, any of the work done in this regard."

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Mr. Greener concluded by stating that "MOR has proposed that the RNC pay $52,390 for the survey and analysis which the RNC has commissioned" and that the RNC will pay MOR this sum upon receipt of an invoice.

On April 23, 1986, this Office received an additional letter from counsel for the RNC reiterating Mr. Greener's contention that the RNC did not authorize a poll of voter support for the Vice President in the 1988 elections. He stated that the RNC commissions numerous polls, that the RNC commissions polls regularly on behalf of the President and the Administration, that data from such polls is made available to principal Administration figures, that RNC personnel "regularly consult with various Administration officials for their input as to issues to be examined," and that issues of particular interest to Administration officials are included in requests to pollsters.

Counsel stated that this poll, like a number of other RNC polls, involved "piggybacking," i.e., "when a committee intends to conduct a survey and make the polling procedure available to another committee to add separate questions of unique interest to it" and where the additional cost "is absorbed by the separate organization."

The response of MOR contained a letter from counsel and an affidavit from Robert M. Teeter, MOR's president. The letter summarized the contents of the affidavit. Mr. Teeter stated that, early in 1985, the Vice President told him that he should

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expect a call from Frank Fahrenkopf, the RNC Chairman, concerning a poll to be commissioned by Mr. Fahrenkopf that would include questions of interest to the Vice President, but that the Vice-President had said nothing indicating that a poll was being commissioned at his request. Mr. Teeter further stated that, several days later, Mr. Fahrenkopf asked him to conduct a poll for the RNC and to follow up on details with Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff. Mr. Fahrenkopf indicated that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that Teeter "should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll."

The affidavit further stated that, a "couple of weeks or so" later, Mr. Teeter, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Atwater (whom Mr. Teeter describes as "a volunteer adviser to the Vice President") met "to discuss a variety of items, including a poll." They decided to delay the poll until the fall to avoid "any lingering effects" from the 1984 election.

Mr. Teeter stated that, in the late summer, when MOR and the RNC agreed that the polling should proceed, he asked Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, what issues he wanted to include in the poll and Mr. Fuller replied that the poll should cover trade and terrorism. At that time, Mr. Atwater, who was by then a consultant for FAF, asked that the poll include "whatever questions [Mr. Teeter] thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President." In

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early September, 1985, Mr. Teeter asked his staff to draft the poll questionnaire with five "issues," one of which was "to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush." Mr. Teeter stated that, "during the questionnaire design stage," he gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to the Vice President's Chief of Staff, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller discussed the questions "with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues." (FAF's response, indicates that Mr. Fuller received the draft on September 6, 1985). A few days later, Mr. Fuller suggested "a change to a trade question, the addition of names to a list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next president." (FAF's response indicates that Mr. Fuller suggested two names for a thermometer question on public figures.) MOR "accepted" "some" of the suggestions. After completion of the questionnaire, Mr. Teeter told Mr. Greener that the poll would cost $70,000, the "customary" rate.

The affidavit maintained that questions relating to the 1988 election, "including the 'head on head' questions" were included because Mr. Teeter and his staff "believed them to be appropriate." MOR believed that these questions "were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor FAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election."

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Mr. Teeter stated that MOR conducted the polling interviews from September 17 to September 25, 1985, and sent a $70,000 invoice to the RNC on September 19. He stated that, when the poll was completed, MOR wrote two separate analyses of the poll, one to be given to the Vice President and his staff and the other to be given to the RNC. According to Mr. Teeter, the first analysis "emphasized the perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issues and other national issues." The second analysis "emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues." Copies of the first analysis were presented by Mr. Teeter to Vice President Bush, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater at a meeting on November 13, 1985. Mr. Greener did not receive a copy of the second analysis until December 19.

Mr. Teeter stated that, in December, 1985, [when the news stories referred to by the complainants appeared or were about to appear] the RNC advised MOR that it would not pay for "the portion of the poll related to the 1988 election since [it] had not authorized that portion." According to Mr. Teeter, FAF informed MOR that it would pay "for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election

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since [FAF] had not authorized those questions. This was the first time MOR became aware that [FAF] would be paying anything for the poll." He stated that FAF also asked MOR to prepare a revised analysis to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates in the 1986 campaign.

Mr. Teeter stated that he had negotiating sessions with the RNC and FAF to attempt to resolve the question of payment. MOR proposed that the RNC pay for 74.8% of the poll, i.e., $52,390, and that FAF pay for 7.1% of the poll, i.e., $4,996. Mr. Teeter stated that the 18.1% balance of the poll ($12,614) "will have to be absorbed by MOR." These allocations and the proposed settlement were, according to MOR, consistent with MOR's "normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial."

The response of FAF and the Vice President contained a detailed letter from its counsel, affidavits from Lee Atwater and Craig Fuller, and a letter from Vice President Bush. The letter and affidavits contain some details additional to those presented by Mr. Teeter.

Counsel indicates that during the first conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf stated that "he was commissioning MOR to conduct a poll and that he was desirous of including questions of interest to the Vice President." He stated that "the Vice President, in the course of a more general conversation, informed Mr. Teeter that he understood Mr. Fahrenkopf would be calling him about a poll for

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the RNC." Mr. Fahrenkopf then contacted Mr. Teeter and asked him "to consult the Vice President's staff for suggestions concerning the RNC poll." Counsel asserted that the "questions of interest to the Vice President were to be included only because Mr. Fahrenkopf, for his own purposes, had instructed Mr. Teeter to include such questions."

Mr. Atwater stated that in the late summer of 1985, Mr. Phillips "indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC." Mr. Atwater claimed that he "therefore indicated to Mr. Phillips that the Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll" if the addition of questions of such issues, i.e., "questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perceptions of leading Republicans, including the Vice President, would create a problem for the RNC." Mr. Atwater stated, however, that it was still his impression at that time that the RNC would include the questions and pay the full cost for the poll.

Counsel claimed that Mr. Fuller "was not asked to approve the poll, and he did not do so, but merely offered suggestions as requested." He stated that Mr. Fuller is occasionally consulted by professional pollsters "seeking his reaction to questions they ask" and "thus was not surprised to receive the draft RNC survey, especially in light of the fact that it contained a number of

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questions relating to the Vice President."

Counsel stated that Mr. Teeter presented an analysis to the Vice President and his staff on November 13, 1985. Counsel pointed out that there was a "cover notation that the analysis was drawn from a poll commissioned by the RNC" and that "[i]t was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC."

Counsel asserted that neither the Vice President, Mr. Atwater, nor Mr. Fuller requested or authorized the poll, and that no one outside of the RNC or MOR authorized the inclusion of questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections. Counsel maintained, therefore, that the Vice President was not testing the waters with respect to this poll and that any recently expressed willingness by FAF to pay for "questions of interest to the Fund (including only those which measure the public perception of the Vice President, the Fund's founder and Honorary Chairman) did not constitute authorization by the Vice President for testing the waters expenditures.

On March 17, 1986, this Office received a copy of the poll questionnaire from MOR. The questionnaire contained marginal notations by MOR denoting which questions MOR intended to allocate to the RNC, which questions MOR intended to allocate to FAF, and which questions were not to be allocated. There were 107 non-demographic questions. (Although the last question is numbered 104, there are two sets of question 23 and two sets of

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questions 81 and 82; each set is labeled as "Half Sample A" or "Half Sample B").

MOR designated seventy-seven questions, i.e., 72% of the questions, to be allocated to the RNC. These questions included general questions about the state of the nation and the government, questions about the performance of the President and the Vice President, 35 issue questions, 22 of which pertained to trade or terrorism, questions pertaining to general feelings about political figures, one of whom was George Bush, attitudes toward both major parties and toward liberals and conservatives, four sets of questions pertaining to attitudes toward the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy with only the references to the President and Senator Kennedy being attributed to the RNC, and questions pertaining to an ideological characterization of the person being polled, the President, and the Vice President.

Six questions, i.e., 5.5% of the questions, were designated as allocable to FAF. These questions pertained to perceptions of George Bush. Two of these questions referred to the Vice President alone. Four were part of the four sets of questions referring to the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy. The remaining twenty-five questions, i.e., 23.4% of the questions, were not allocated. These questions all pertained to George Bush and the 1988 election.

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On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that Vice President Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) by accepting an in-kind disbursement by the RNC in the form of poll results. In addition, the Commission approved subpoenas for the production of documents and the taking of depositions.

Depositions in this matter occurred on the following dates: (1) July 29, 1986 - Robert M. Teeter; (2) July 30, 1986 - William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations for the RNC; (3) August 14, 1986 - Craig L. Fuller; (4) August 15, 1986 - Lee Atwater, the Vice President and Chairman of FAF; and (5) August 18, 1986 - Bill Phillips, formerly RNC Chief of Staff and, as of the beginning of December, 1985, Executive Director of FAF.

II. ANALYSIS

At the time of the reason to believe finding, the positions of the RNC, the Vice President, and Mr. Teeter were as follows:

The RNC asserts that this poll was a simple piggybacking operation in which the RNC planned to pay for questions applying to the RNC and the representatives of FAF or the Vice President would pay for questions in which they had an interest.

The Vice President asserts that the RNC authorized the poll; that the Vice President was invited by the RNC to have "questions of interest" to the Vice President in the poll for the purposes of the RNC; that Mr. Atwater stated that FAF might be able to pay

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for some questions but that it was still thought that the RNC was to pay the full cost of the poll; that Mr. Fuller did not approve the poll but merely offered suggestions in his capacity as the Vice President's Chief of Staff, i.e., as a person occasionally consulted by pollsters and as one who might naturally comment on questions related to the Vice President; and that it was assumed by the Vice President and his staff that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC.

Robert Teeter, a key witness and coordinator of the poll, asserts that the Vice President told him that the RNC was going to commission a poll that was to include questions of interest to the Vice President; that the RNC commissioned such a poll; that he was instructed by the RNC to receive input from the Vice President's staff; that he received such input and that he believed that he had acted within the authority granted to MOR when he included questions pertaining to the Vice President and 1988; that he wrote two separate analyses for the poll, one for the Vice President and one for the RNC; that he presented the first analysis to the Vice President on November 13, 1985, and the second analysis to Mr. Greener on December 19, 1985; and that after the RNC stated that it would not pay for certain questions, he attempted to allocate questions between the RNC and FAF.

The depositions and review of the requested documents attempted to cover the sequence of events from the first conversation between Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and Vice President George Bush, until the filing of the responses to the complaint.

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A. Facts

The depositions and documents indicate three basic elements relevant to whether a violation occurred. These elements pertain to: (1) the assumption by the persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC; (2) the knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that this poll would contain questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush; and (3) the acceptance of poll results by Vice President Bush. Each element is discussed separately below.

(1) The testimony as a whole indicates that those involved in the development of this poll considered this poll to be a project of the RNC, to be paid for by the RNC, prior to the surfacing of the controversy on December 3, 1986, and the reporting of the controversy in The Washington Post and other newspapers starting on December 4, 1985. This controversy centered around the discovery that the RNC had apparently commissioned a poll that contained a substantial number of questions about the Vice President and the revelation of this discovery to The Washington Post.

Before the controversy surfaced, Mr. Teeter had billed the RNC on September 9, 1985, and October 18, 1985 in the amount of $70,000. FAF and the Vice President were not billed before or after that point. In addition, the testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller indicate that the RNC was to pay for this poll in its

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entirety. During his testimony, Mr. Teeter discussed an early meeting involving Mr. Atwater, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Teeter. When questioned as to whether he knew at this point that the RNC would be paying for this poll, Mr. Teeter said "Yes" and that "[i]t was an RNC proposal clearly." (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 32-33) Toward the end of the deposition, Mr. Teeter was questioned about a forward to the analysis for Vice President Bush that had stated that the survey "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee," and that had been characterized as erroneous by the RNC and representatives of the Vice President when the controversy surfaced. Insisting during his testimony that the forward was not erroneous, Mr. Teeter stated that, even though two clients would be receiving information, the RNC was the entity to whom the contract was sent and the RNC was going to pay for the poll. Mr. Teeter stated that the first time he "became aware" that the RNC was not going to pay for all of the poll was December 3, 1985. (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 137-138)

Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, is quite emphatic as to his belief, prior to December 3, that the RNC would be paying for the entirety of the poll. Prior to the fielding of the poll, Mr. Teeter showed Mr. Fuller a copy of a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President and his presidential prospects that were included in the final questionnaire. Significantly,

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Mr. Fuller testifies that, even after receiving this questionnaire, it was his impression that the RNC would pay for all of the questions. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 25) At subsequent points in his testimony, Mr. Fuller reiterated that this was his understanding. He stated that "the survey had been requested by the RNC and Market Opinion Research had done the survey for the RNC." (Deposition of Fuller, p. 47)

During their testimony, Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips each discussed statements made by Mr. Atwater to the effect that, if Mr. Fahrenkopf was criticized "for doing a poll predominantly for one potential 1988 candidate," the Fund for America's Future might be able to pay for some of the poll questions. The statements were made during the summer of 1985 in a conversation involving Atwater, Teeter, and Phillips at the Capitol Hill Club and during the autumn of 1985 in a conversation involving Atwater, Greener, and Teeter at the Golden Palace. Mr. Atwater testified that he was making the tentative offer only with respect to questions that FAF could pay for, not with respect to questions dealing specifically with the 1988 elections. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 23-24) He testified that he was speaking "on [his] own" and that he would use any influence he had at FAF to try to get FAF to pay for questions if FAF needed to pay for questions. (Deposition of Atwater, p. 34) Mr. Atwater further testified that "nothing ever came of this offer" and that, until December 3, 1985, he assumed that the RNC would be

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paying for the poll. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 34 and 52) Mr. Phillips who was the Chief of Staff at the RNC until a few days before the controversy surfaced, stated that, after the meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, it was still his understanding that the RNC would be paying for the poll. (Deposition of Phillips, p. 62)

The only view diverging from the basic understanding that the RNC was to pay for this poll was the view of Mr. Greener. Mr. Greener claims that in the middle of the summer of 1985, Mr. Atwater called him and asked if it was possible for "us" to place questions in the poll. Interpreting "us" to mean "the interests of the Vice President," but not thinking specifically whether this meant the Vice President's interests in 1986 or 1988, Mr. Greener, according to his testimony, said that he did not think that there would be a problem with placing such questions, and that he would get back to Mr. Atwater. He claims that he briefly mentioned this to Bill Phillips and that Mr. Phillips consented to it. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 18-21) Mr. Greener testifies that, when he called Mr. Atwater back, it was his understanding that this poll was a standard piggy-backing arrangement, i.e., certain questions for the RNC would appear on the poll and certain questions as to "the interest of the Vice President" would appear on the poll and the RNC would not see the Vice Presidential questions, obtain the results from such questions, or pay for such questions. (Deposition of Greener, p. 19)

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Mr. Greener's viewpoint on this issue, however, is not supported by the other evidence presented in this matter. In their depositions, no mention is made by Mr. Atwater or Mr. Phillips, Mr. Greener's superior at the RNC, of a call by Mr. Atwater in mid-summer asking for the insertion of questions for the Vice President. Furthermore, Mr. Greener is far from certain as to what this piggy-back arrangement was to entail. Mr. Greener states, in conversations on December 3 involving him and other persons involved with the poll in preparation for press inquiries, that there was a discussion as to whether or not the trade and terrorism questions were to be paid for by FAF or were part of the questions that the RNC intended to fund all along. They eventually resolved that the RNC should pay for the trade and terrorism questions but, from Mr. Greener's notes of that day and his deposition testimony, it appears that extensive discussion was necessary. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 96-100) In addition, although Mr. Greener, who ostensibly received the phone call in mid-summer upon which this determination was based, discusses the possibility of payment either by the RNC or by FAF of trade and terrorism questions, (Deposition of Greener, p. 96-100), his testimony indicates that he was not as certain during his conversation with Mr. Atwater as to who was to pay for questions not paid for by the RNC. He did not think about the question of whether FAF or some other representative of the Vice President would pay for such questions. (Deposition of Greener, p. 21)

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It appears from the testimony, therefore, that, until the controversy surfaced, the RNC was the paying client for this poll. Even taking into account Mr. Atwater's offers to attempt to have FAF pay for some of the questions, it appears that these offers were conditional upon his ability to get FAF to pay for these questions and that FAF would not pay for questions pertaining to the 1988 election.

(2) The testimony indicates that the participants were aware, prior to December 3, that there would be questions on the poll pertaining to the political perceptions of the Vice President. Although some of the witnesses claim that, prior to December 3, they did not think the poll would contain questions pertaining to 1988, the evidence indicates other witnesses knew that questions pertaining to 1988 were on the poll.

Mr. Teeter believed that he had been authorized to place questions concerning 1988 in the poll. An examination of the testimony as to the early arrangements for the poll indicates that there was a reasonable basis for such a conclusion. The testimony of the witnesses as a whole indicates that during the early part of 1985, Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President discussed a poll to be commissioned by the RNC and to be conducted by MOR. Two of the witnesses, Mr. Teeter and Mr. Phillips, were told by the Vice President and Mr. Fahrenkopf respectively, about the initial conversation shortly after it occurred. Mr. Teeter states that, according to the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to "include any questions or

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areas of interest to the Vice President." (Deposition of Teeter, p. 20) Mr. Phillips states that, according to Mr. Fahrenkopf, Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to have the RNC conduct a poll that "was to pertain to the Vice President." According to Mr. Phillips' testimony, Mr. Fahrenkopf indicated that the Vice President and he "had discussed the 1984 elections and the impact that it had had on the image and perceptions of the Vice President, which resulted in the offer to commission a poll to see what impact there had been." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 20)

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Teeter spoke to Mr. Fahrenkopf. Mr. Fahrenkopf referred to his offer to the Vice President to include any areas of interest and also referred to a discussion of the measurement of "the level of [the Vice President's] political support" after the 1984 campaign. (Deposition of Teeter, p. 22)

Mr. Teeter stated his understanding after this was that the poll should contain questions as to voter perceptions of the Vice President. He, therefore, understood that questions pertaining to the 1988 election were appropriate.[1/] This understanding is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, reviewed the draft questionnaire containing these questions and approved of the poll. Mr. Fuller commented on the

1/ In meetings with this Office, counsel for the RNC has argued that the RNC never authorized a poll that would include questions pertaining to a possible presidential candidacy of George Bush in 1988. Although there may not have been a specific request for questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in the 1988 elections, it appears from the above mentioned conversations involving RNC Chairman Fahrenkopf, including the Chairman's contact both with Mr. Teeter and with the Vice President, that Mr. Teeter reasonably concluded he had been authorized to develop the poll he ultimately fielded.

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draft by calling it "[a] great questionnaire" and even making a suggestion to augment one of the questions pertaining to Bush and the 1988 elections. He made no comment, however, questioning the presence of such questions. Mr. Teeter's understanding is further confirmed by the fact that when he presented his analysis of the poll results to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater in the Vice President's office twenty days prior to the surfacing of the controversy, none of the participants questioned the existence of questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. During questioning as to what transpired during the November meeting, the following colloquy between counsel for OGC and Mr. Atwater took place.

Q. Did anyone comment on the fact that there were questions related to the Vice President and possible prospects for '88 in the poll?

A. Well, that was certainly discussed. The '88 portion of the poll was discussed.

Q. And what was said about that?

A. Well, that he looked -- that he was out ahead of everyone and looked pretty good.

Q. Anyone asked why these questions were in the poll?

A. No.

(Deposition of Atwater, pp. 43-44)

Although the testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Fuller indicates that they knew that the poll would contain questions

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pertaining to a Bush presidential candidacy in 1988, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Atwater claim that they did not know that the poll would contain such questions prior to its fielding. Nevertheless, the testimony of Mr. Phillips discloses that he was concerned about questions pertaining to the Vice President appearing on the poll. The testimony of Mr. Atwater discloses that he was aware before December 3, 1985, that the poll contained such questions.

With respect to Mr. Phillips, the evidence is as follows. Shortly after Mr. Fahrenkopf had the initial conversation with the Vice President, Mr. Fahrenkopf informed Mr. Phillips of the decision to commission a poll. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Phillips expressed his concern to Mr. Fahrenkopf that there might be "objections to conducting a poll for a single individual." Mr. Fahrenkopf replied that "it would be along the lines of practice of the Republican National Committee to conduct a poll on behalf of the Vice President." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 23) Mr. Phillips reiterated his concern at the aforementioned meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, at which point Mr. Atwater said that possibly FAF could pay for some questions. (Deposition of Phillips, p. 39 and Deposition of Atwater, p. 34) Upon examination by his counsel during the deposition, Mr. Phillips stated that his understanding was that the poll was "to measure public perception of the Vice President's role as Vice President and how [the public] felt about his job and his job performance." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 62) Nevertheless, it appears that Mr. Phillips was concerned about a possible relationship of the poll to the 1988 presidential race. In response to his counsel's

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questions, he testified he was concerned that, because the Vice President is perceived as a possible presidential candidate, other possible candidates might question "why the RNC would do a poll for him." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 63)

With respect to Mr. Atwater, who was present at the Capitol Hill Club meeting, it is significant that, although Mr. Atwater has asserted that he did not have questions pertaining to 1988 in mind when he offered the possibility of FAF payment, he had no objection to the appearance of such questions when the poll analysis was presented to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and him.

Mr. Greener claims that when Mr. Atwater asked him if it were possible for "us" to include questions, he did not think specifically whether these questions would pertain to the Vice President's interests in the 1988 election. (Deposition of Greener, p. 21) However, Mr. Greener's claim that this was a "piggyback" arrangement appears to entail an assertion that the RNC would pay for certain issues of interest to the Vice President but would not pay for question of more particular political interest to the Vice President.

Based on the evidence presented in the testimony, it appears that, prior to December 3, most of the participants in the arrangements for the poll knew that the poll would or did contain questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. Mr. Phillips' testimony is that he may never have had such knowledge prior to December 3, but even he expressed concern that this poll might be construed as relevant to the 1988 elections.

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(3) The testimony indicates that the Vice President and his agents accepted poll results pertaining to a testing the waters effort for the 1988 presidential elections. At a meeting in the Vice President's office on November 13, 1985, Mr. Teeter presented a written analysis of the poll to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater. The analysis contains a discussion of the public's perceptions of the Vice President, the 1988 primary election, the 1988 general election, and the issues of terrorism and trade. It appears that the entirety of this analysis is related to the prospects for the Vice President in the 1988 primary and general elections and that the analysis ties almost all of the questions in the poll to this theme.

In his testimony, Mr. Atwater provided the most detailed account of the meeting. He states that those present at the meeting discussed the information in the analysis and related it to "how the Vice President should be scheduled over the next several months as based on -- as a result of this." In addition, as stated before, those present commented on the apparent strength of the Vice President's possible presidential candidacy as evidenced in the results from the 1988 questions. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 43-44)

During his examination of Mr. Atwater, counsel for Mr. Atwater attempted to make the point that the meeting on November 13 was nothing out of the ordinary and did not constitute acceptance of the poll. He had Mr. Atwater repeat a

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prior statement that he periodically receives poll results from a number of pollsters and discusses them with the Vice President. (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 45 and 67) Mr. Fuller stated, in his testimony, that for the past six years, he has "been briefed periodically by consultants to the RNC on polls that are taken for the RNC" and that, within the past year, he and the Vice President began to be briefed together on such polls. (Deposition of Fuller, pp. 48-49)

It appears, however, that further testimony during the examination by OGC counsel, not rebutted by counsel for the witnesses in his examination, along with other circumstances already discussed, illustrates that this was not an ordinary meeting and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. According to the testimony of both Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater, this was the first time that the Vice President, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Fuller had ever met together to receive a poll analysis. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 49 and Deposition of Atwater, pp. 45-46). In fact, according to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater and he had never before received an analysis together either. (Deposition of Fuller, p. 49). In addition, it should be noted that this was a poll largely devoted to questions pertaining to the Vice President and involving arrangements for the poll by the Vice President and his agents, even to the point of Mr. Fuller receiving and commenting upon a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President that appeared on the

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final poll. These facts, along with the aforementioned fact that a formal meeting took place where the results pertaining specifically to the Vice President and 1988 were presented and commented upon, indicate that there was an acceptance by the Vice President of the poll results.

In summation, the evidence presented indicates that a poll, which prior to December 3, 1985, was to be paid for by the RNC and not by the Vice President of FAF, was taken; that persons involved in that poll knew prior to December 3 that one of the purposes of this poll was to obtain information pertaining to a possible 1988 presidential candidacy by the Vice President; and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. It appears that, but for the fact the controversy about this poll surfaced on December 3, 1985, this would have continued to be the arrangement.

In addition to the factual issues pertaining to the making of a disbursement for purposes of obtaining information pertaining to a possible 1988 presidential candidacy by the Vice President and the acceptance of such disbursments, the Commission must resolve the issue of the amount of the disbursement. In response to the complaint, Mr. Teeter presented figures purporting to be a division of the costs of the poll. This division was calculated by Mr. Teeter after the controversy surfaced. According to Mr. Teeter, $52,390 would be paid by the RNC, $4,996 by FAF, and $12,614, the amount construed as related to a 1988 Bush candidacy, would be absorbed by MOR. Mr. Teeter also submitted a copy of the poll questionnaire with marginal

8804071462 7

notations denoting how MOR would allocate questions among the RNC, FAF, and MOR. Subsequently, in response to the subpoena for documents, Mr. Teeter submitted a chart documenting the basis for the division of the costs of the poll. This division is based primarily on the allocation of questions among the RNC, FAF, and MOR, with adjustments for data processing, coding, and analysis; the cost to data process, code, and analyze was greater for some questions than for others.

In his allocation of questions and, hence, in his division of costs, Mr. Teeter has separated the questions and cost for FAF and the questions and cost pertaining to a possible Bush candidacy in 1988. However, a review of the analysis presented to the Vice President indicates that those questions ostensibly allocated to FAF were used for analyzing George Bush's strength in connection with the 1988 presidential election. It appears, therefore, that to determine the amount to be attributed to a testing the waters effort, the costs for FAF ($4,996) should be added to the costs that Mr. Teeter intended to attribute for questions pertaining to a Bush candidacy in 1988 ($12,614). Consequently, the sum attributable to a testing the waters effort, i.e., the sum accepted by the Vice President, is $17,610.[2/]

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2/ As stated above, the analysis presented to the Vice President tied in almost all of the questions in the poll. Those questions allocated by Mr. Teeter to the RNC, however, appear to pertain more to areas not related to a testing the waters effort by the Vice President.

B. Law

Section 100.7(b)(1) of the Commission Regulations provides that the term "contribution" does not include "[f]unds received solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," i.e., funds and payments for testing the waters. This section states that examples of testing the waters activities are "conducting a poll, telephone calls, and travel." The section further states, however, that "[o]nly funds permissible under the Act may be used for such activities." In addition, the section provides that, if the individual subsequently becomes a candidate, the payments made are subject to the reporting requirements of the Act.

Section 44la(a)(2)(A) of Title 2 prohibits a multicandidate committee from making contributions in excess of $5,000 to any candidate and his authorized committees with respect to a federal election. Therefore, an acceptance of funds for testing the waters purposes that exceed the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 44la(a)(2)(A) and 44la(f) would be in violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

In this matter, the RNC incurred an obligation for a poll containing questions as to a possible candidacy of Vice President Bush in the 1988 presidential elections and this poll was presented to the Vice President and his agents. As stated above, the circumstances surrounding the poll and the way in which the poll was received indicate that this was not a routine review akin to the review by a member of the Vice President's staff of various polls that normally come in to the Vice President's

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office. The Commission Regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(6) outline the circumstances under which the purchase of poll results and the receipt of poll results constitute a contribution by the purchaser and an acceptance of poll results by the recipient candidate. The Regulations state:

> (b) The purchase of opinion poll results by a political committee or other person not authorized by a candidate to make expenditures and the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate or a candidate's authorized political committee or agent or by another unauthorized political committee is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser to the candidate or other political committee and an expenditure by the candidate or other political committee. Regarding the purchase of opinion poll results for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate, see 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).3/ The poll results are accepted by a candidate or other political committee if the candidate or the candidate's authorized political committee or agent or the other unauthorized political committee--
>
> (1) Requested the poll results before their receipt;
>
> (2) Uses the poll results; or
>
> (3) Does not notify the contributor that the results are refused.
>
> (c) The acceptance of any part of a poll's results which part, prior to receipt, has been made public without any request, authorization, prearrangement, or coordination by the candidate-receipient, shall not be treated as a contribution in-kind and expenditure under paragraph (b) of this section.

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) and (c).

3/ Section 100.7(b)(1) extends the coverage of this provision to non-candidates conducting "testing the waters" activity.

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In this matter, the RNC incurred an obligation of $17,610 for that part of the poll pertaining to a 1988 testing the waters effort. The Vice President and his agents received the results before any results were made public and they never notified the RNC of the refusal of these results. Thus, this is a situation in which Vice President Bush has accepted a disbursement in the form of poll results which would be a contribution if the Vice President were a candidate and, without such candidacy, is still subject to the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A).

By accepting an in-kind testing the waters disbursement in the form of poll results from the RNC, in an amount in excess of the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A), Vice President Bush has accepted a disbursement in an amount that is impermissible under 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). This Office, therefore, recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

III. RECOMMENDATION

Find probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

11/6/87
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

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QCC#4778

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

87 NOV 16 PM 4:32

Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

November 16, 1987

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

87 NOV 17 AM 10:02

Mr. Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

ATTN: Jonathan Levin

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Noble:

On November 10, I received a letter indicating that the Office of General Counsel is preparing to recommend to the Federal Election Commission that it find probable cause to believe that the Republican National Committee (RNC) has violated 11 CFR Sec. 100.8 (b)(1).

Your letter indicates that within fifteen (15) days of receipt, the RNC may file a brief stating its position on the issues involved in this matter. This letter is to request an additional twenty (20) days in which the Republican National Committee may file a brief in response to the General Counsel's position. Fifteen days is insufficient time for the RNC to provide the Commission with an adequate and full response to the allegations contained in the General Counsel's brief. Individuals intimately involved with the issues arising in this complaint are no longer employed by the RNC and no longer reside in the Washington area. Additional time will be required to contact and discuss these issues with them. Also, the response period falls during the holiday season in which scheduling is most difficult.

A comparison of the elapsed time during which the General Counsel's Office has considered this matter, and the time afforded the RNC to respond, clearly illustrates the basic equity of an expansion of the RNC's response period. The initial

3804071463 2

complaint in this matter was filed on January 22, 1986. Prior to your recent letter, the last communication that the RNC received from the Office of General Counsel was February 5, 1987. The RNC's request for additional time is only a fraction of that used by the General Counsel's Office to develop its brief.

If you should have additional questions regarding this request, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Very truly yours,

Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

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plan

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

19 November 1987

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

This is in response to your letter dated November 16, 1987, which we received on November 17, 1987, requesting an extension of 20 days to respond to the General Counsel's Brief in the above-captioned matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by close of business on December 15, 1987.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

87 NOV 27 AM 10: 15

Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
87 NOV 27 PM 12: 39

November 23, 1987

Jonathan Levin, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

After reviewing the General Counsel's brief on MUR 2133, I have found that, in order to file a full and adequate statement of the Republican National Committee's position on this matter, I must review all of the depositions which the General Counsel's Office has taken in this matter.

I request from your office copies of the following depositions:

Robert M. Teeter	July 29, 1986
Craig L. Fuller	August 14, 1986
Lee Atwater	August 15, 1986
Bill Phillips	August 18, 1986

These depositions are vital to the Republican National Committee's ability to respond to the allegations contained in the General Counsel's brief.

I will be happy to arrange for the pick up of the depositions during the week beginning November 30, 1987.

If you wish to discuss the details, or make other arrangements in regard to this matter, please contact my office. I look forward to your cooperation, as in the past, in this matter. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd

MUR 2133 # 4833

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

November 24, 1987

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
87 NOV 24 PM 5:45

Lawrence M. Noble, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Noble:

We are in receipt of the General Counsel's letter of November 6, 1987 and accompanying Brief, recommending that the Commission find probable cause to believe that our client, Vice President George Bush, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) in this matter. Because the General Counsel's Brief relies extensively upon the deposition transcripts of William I. Greener, III and Robert M. Teeter, which transcripts we have never seen, we hereby request that the Commission provide us with a copy of these transcripts. These are necessary in order for us to begin preparing the Respondent's Brief.

In view of the fact that these transcripts have not yet been made available to us, of the coming public holidays, and of the fact that our client has an extensive travel schedule which will make it difficult for us to confer with him on this matter, we also respectfully request an extension of time within which to file the Respondent's Brief. Since we received the General Counsel's letter and Brief on November 12, 1987, our fifteen day period in which to file a Brief concludes November 27, 1987. We hereby request an extension of forty-five days, up to and including Monday, January 15, 1987. We appreciate that this requested extension exceeds the time period customarily granted. However, we believe the fact that we have not yet even seen the deposition transcripts upon which much of the General Counsel's Brief is based, as well as the existence of three public holiday periods, and of our client's travel commitments, makes this an unusual situation. This request for a forty-five day extension presumes that the transcripts

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discussed above are made available to us shortly, so that we may begin to prepare our Brief.

Your favorable responses to these requests, which I discussed by telephone yesterday with Mr. Jonathan Levin of your office, will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Trevor Potter

JWB:jrb

88040714637

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/JOSHUA MCFADDEN

DATE: DECEMBER 7, 1987

SUBJECT: COMMENTS TO MUR 2133 - General Counsel's Report Signed December 4, 1987

Attached is a copy of Commissioner Thomas's vote sheet with comments regarding the above-captioned matter.

Attachment:
copy of vote sheet

8804071463 8

BALLOT

SENSITIVE

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

DATE & TIME TRANSMITTED: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1987 12:00

COMMISSIONER: AIKENS, ELLIOTT, JOSEFIAK, McDONALD, McGARRY, THOMAS

RETURN TO COMMISSION SECRETARY BY TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987 4:00

SUBJECT: MUR 2133 - General Counsel's Report signed December 4, 1987

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
87 DEC -7 AM 11:58

(✓) I approve the recommendation

( ) I object to the recommendation

COMMENTS: As I count, OGC could itself have granted an extension to 1/11/88.

DATE: 12/7/87 SIGNATURE Jack D. Thomas

A DEFINITE VOTE IS REQUIRED. ALL BALLOTS MUST BE SIGNED AND DATED.

PLEASE RETURN ONLY THE BALLOT TO THE COMMISSION SECRETARY.

PLEASE RETURN BALLOT NO LATER THAN DATE AND TIME SHOWN ABOVE.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS /JOSHUA MCFADDEN

DATE: DECEMBER 7, 1987

SUBJECT: OBJECTION TO MUR 2133 - General Counsel's Report
Signed December 4, 1987

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The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Friday, December 4, 1987 at 12:00 P.M.

Objections have been received from the Commissioners as indicated by the name(s) checked:

Commissioner Aikens	_____
Commissioner Elliott	_____
Commissioner Josefiak	X
Commissioner McDonald	_____
Commissioner McGarry	_____
Commissioner Thomas	_____

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for December 15, 1987.

Please notify us who will represent your Division before the Commission on this matter.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

OFFICE OF VICE CHAIRMAN

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
87 DEC -9 AM 11:18

December 9, 1987

TO: Marjorie Emmons,
Commission Secretary

FROM: Commissioner Thomas J. Josefiak

RE: MUR 2133

On December 7, 1987 I voted to object to the General Counsel's Report signed December 4, 1987 and circulated on December 4, 1987 at 12:00 Noon.

I wish to withdraw my objection and be recorded as approving the recommendation.

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT
87 DEC -4 AM 10: 11

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	

SENSITIVE

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

This matter involves the apparent making of testing the waters disbursements by the Republican National Committee ("RNC") in the form of a poll for Vice President George Bush and the apparent acceptance of the poll by Vice President Bush. On November 6, 1987, this Office sent a brief to counsel for the Vice President stating that the General Counsel was prepared to make a recommendation of probable cause to believe that the Vice President violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). On that date, this Office also sent a brief to counsel for the RNC stating that the General Counsel was prepared to make a recommendation of probable cause to believe that the RNC violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

On November 24, 1987, this Office received a letter from counsel for the Vice President requesting the deposition transcripts of William I. Greener, III, and Robert M. Teeter. These are the witnesses not represented by him during the depositions in this matter. Counsel states that the General Counsel's Brief relies extensively on these transcripts and that he has never seen them. He states that they are necessary for his preparation of the response brief.

Counsel also requests an extension of time to file his brief, stating that his request is timely because he did not receive the General Counsel's Brief until November 12. He states

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that, because the two requested transcripts have not yet been made available to him, because of the upcoming holidays, and because his client's extensive travel schedule will make it difficult for counsel to confer with him, he is requesting an extension of time for reply until January 15, 1988.

On November 25, 1987, this Office received a letter from counsel for the RNC requesting transcripts of the depositions of the four witnesses not represented by him during the depositions, i.e., Mr. Teeter, Craig Fuller, Lee Atwater, and Bill Phillips. Counsel states that he needs these transcripts in order to file a "full and adequate" statement of the RNC's position.[1/]

II. ANALYSIS

Pursuant to the Supreme Court's decision in S.E.C. v. O'Brien, 467 U.S. 735 (1984), the Commission is not obligated to provide the respondents with access to the transcripts of other witnesses. However, because this Office has already made reference to and quoted from the deposition transcripts in the General Counsel's Briefs, this Office believes that counsel for the Vice President and the RNC should have access to such transcripts. Therefore, this Office recommends that the requested transcripts be provided to counsel for the respondents.

1/ On November 17, 1987, this Office received a letter from counsel for the RNC requesting an extension of time to file a reply brief until December 15. On November 19, this Office sent a letter granting that request. In his letter requesting transcripts, counsel has not requested a new extension of time. If he should do so, this Office will address the request upon its receipt.

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Because of the time required to obtain and review the transcripts and because of the holiday periods cited by counsel, this Office believes that counsel for the Vice President should be granted most of the extension of time requested by him. Therefore, this Office recommends that counsel for the Vice President be granted an extension until January 5, 1988, to file a reply brief.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Authorize the Office of the General Counsel to provide the requested transcripts to counsel for the Vice President and counsel for the Republican National Committee.

2. Grant an extension of time to counsel for the Vice President until January 5, 1988, to file a reply brief.

3. Approve the attached letters.

12/4/87
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Letter from counsel for the Vice President
2. Letter from counsel for the RNC
3. Proposed letter to counsel for the Vice President
4. Proposed letter to counsel for the RNC

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 2133
Republican National Committee	)	
William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on December 9, 1987, the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2133:

1. Authorize the Office of the General Counsel to provide the requested transcripts to counsel for the Vice President and counsel for the Republican National Committee, as recommended in the General Counsel's report signed December 4, 1987.

2. Grant an extension of time to counsel for the Vice President until January 5, 1988, to file a reply brief, as recommended in the General Counsel's report signed December 4, 1987.

3. Approve the letters, as recommended in the General Counsel's report signed December 4, 1987.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision.

Attest:

12-9-87
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Office of Commission Secretary: Fri., 12-4-87, 10:11
Circulated on 48 hour tally basis: Fri., 12-4-87, 12:00
Deadline for vote: Tues., 12-8-87, 4:00
Objection place on Agenda 12-15-87
Objection withdrawn on 12-9-87 at 11:18 A.M.

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plm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

14 December 1987

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush

Dear Mr. Baran:

This is in response to your letter dated November 24, 1987, requesting the deposition transcripts of William I. Greener, III, and Robert M. Teeter and requesting an extension of time in which to file a response brief.

In order to accommodate your need to review the requested transcripts, the Commission has authorized this Office to provide them to you. Therefore, these transcripts will be made available at this Office on December 11, 1987.

With respect to your request for an extension of time, the Commission has considered the circumstances presented in your letter and has determined to grant most of the extension requested by you. Accordingly, your response is due by close of business on January 5, 1988.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

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plm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

14 December 1987

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

This is in response to your letter dated November 23, 1987, and received on November 25, 1987, requesting the deposition transcripts of Robert M. Teeter, Craig L. Fuller, Lee Atwater, and Bill Phillips. In order to accommodate your need to review the requested transcripts, the Commission has authorized this Office to provide them to you. Therefore, these transcripts will be made available at this Office on December 11, 1987.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
88 JAN -4 PM 3:42

RECEIVED
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SECRETARIAT
87 DEC 23 PM 4:28

Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

December 21, 1987

Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as Treasurer

Dear Chairman Thomas:

I am writing in response to the letter and brief received on November 10 from the Office of General Counsel. That letter indicated that the Office of General Counsel was prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act has occurred.

Attached to this letter is a copy of a responsive brief from the Republican National Committee on this matter. I believe the Commission's review of the responsive brief will clearly demonstrate that the Commission should vote to dismiss and close this matter.

If you should have any additional questions, or if I can be of any other assistance, please contact my office.

Very truly yours,

E. Mark Braden

EMB:jd
Enclosure

cc: Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee	)	MUR 2133
William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	

RESPONDENT'S BRIEF

On January 24, 1986, Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders, on behalf of the Conservative Political Action Committee, filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission (FEC) against (among others) the Republican National Committee (RNC). Attached to the complaint were a number of newspaper articles which purported to provide the factual support for the complainants' allegations.

The basic assertion in the complaint in regard to the Republican National Committee is that the RNC commissioned Market Opinion Research (MOR) of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988." The complainants stated that, "if the RNC pays more than $5,000.00 of the cost of the poll delivered to The Fund for America's Future (FAF), the RNC will have violated 2 USC 441a," and, "Further, by

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reasons of 11 CFR 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1), if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President, any payment to Market Opinion Research by the Republican National Committee, ... in excess of $5,000.00, will violate 2 USC 441a." [1].

On March 6, 1986, the RNC responded to the Commission's notice of the complaint with a very brief letter and affidavit from William I. Greener III outlining the RNC's position "that the Republican National Committee has never commissioned Market Opinion Research (MOR), of Detroit, Michigan, to conduct a poll of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988." [2] This was followed with a slightly expanded letter on April 21, 1986. [3] On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the RNC may have violated provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and began to undertake an investigation pursuant to the Conservative Caucus's complaint. On August 1, 1986, pursuant to a request from attorney Jan Baran, the RNC agreed to seek pre-probable cause conciliation with the Commission. The RNC notified the Commission of its desire to enter into negotiations. On August 15, 1986, the Commission denied the RNC's request to enter into immediate conciliation.

Depositions in this matter occurred on the following dates: (1) July 29, 1986 - Robert M. Teeter (MOR); (2) July 30, 1986 - William I. Greener III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations for the RNC; (3) August 14, 1986 - Craig L.

3804071465O

Fuller, Vice President's Office; (4) August 15, 1986 - Lee Atwater, Chairman of FAF; and (5) August 18, 1986 - Bill Phillips, former RNC Chief of Staff and, as of the beginning of December, 1985, Executive Director of FAF.

On January 6, 1987, the Commission agreed to enter into negotiations on a conciliation agreement. On February 5, 1987, a meeting occurred at the General Counsel's office at the Federal Election Commission to discuss a conciliation agreement at which time the RNC reiterated its firm position that it had not violated any provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act and would enter into no conciliation agreement not expressly indicating that the RNC had not violated provisions of the law. On November 10, 1987, the RNC received a letter from the Office of General Counsel stating that they were prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause that a violation had occurred. On November 23, 1987, counsel for the Republican National Committee wrote to the Commission requesting access to the depositions of Robert Teeter, Bill Phillips, Lee Atwater, and Craig Fuller. On the afternoon of December 11, 1987, copies of the depositions were provided to counsel.

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ANALYSIS

The analysis by the General Counsel's office of the facts and legal issues involved in this MUR are erroneous from the first sentence to the final recommendation. The first sentence of the General Counsel's analysis states:

> "At the time of the reason to believe finding, the positions of the RNC, the Vice President, and Mr. Teeter were as follows: The RNC asserts that this poll was a simple piggybacking operation in which the RNC planned to pay for questions applying to the RNC and representatives of FAF or the Vice President would pay for questions in which they had an interest." [4]

The General Counsel's office inaccurately states the RNC's position.

The RNC's position on this matter has been consistent from the first newspaper inquiries to this brief.

In 1985, the RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a variety of research projects, including a nationwide attitude survey. The nationwide survey was commissioned by the RNC for its own political and fundraising purposes and in support of the Administration's policy and political objectives. The RNC contracts for and directs all polls for the White House and the Administration. The RNC regularly seeks input from members of the Administration, including the Vice President, on matters of interest to them for inclusion in surveys. These questions are not included pursuant to any piggyback theory.

With the first communications from the RNC to the Commission, the RNC stated that it also regularly included in its surveys questions regarding the public perception of various

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political figures, including the President and Vice President. Similar public perception questions have appeared in virtually all of the numerous national surveys for the RNC by different firms since 1981. These public perception questions in reference to the Vice President are brief, general, "thermometer" tests. These are not for the '88 election and the RNC position is that they were not intended as part of any piggyback arrangement. It is the RNC's position that the MOR survey was designed to seek information for the RNC, the Republican Administration, including the Vice President's office, and only those questions of separate, unique political interest to the Vice President or FAF on the poll would be part of a piggyback arrangement. The RNC need not, and would not expect to, have any specific knowledge of separate piggybacked questions of unique interest to others placed on the survey by MOR, whether for a potential political client or for commercial clients who were apparently piggybacked (without RNC knowledge) on the survey. [5]

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The General Counsel's assertion of three basic elements relevant to whether the RNC has violated the FECA is flawed. The General Counsel's elements are:

1. The assumption by the persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC.
2. Knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that this poll would contain questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush, and
3. Acceptance of the poll results by the Vice President. [6]

1. The first element, "the assumption of persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC" is much too wide and imprecise in parameter. The precise relevant parameter of this element is whether the particular section of the survey which the General Counsel concludes relates to "testing the waters" was assumed by the RNC to be an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC.

It is not germane whether the RNC assumed that the whole survey project was its own and would be paid for out of RNC funds if there is no RNC knowledge of 1988 questions. The survey clearly was predominantly for the RNC and the Administration. There is no dispute. The General Counsel's allocation of the questionnaire and accompanying materials indicates that they believe three-fourths of the survey related to matters of interest to the RNC and the Administration. The RNC agrees that at least three-fourths of the survey was for these interests [7], but the RNC is not obligated for parts of the survey about which it has no knowledge or interest. The disputed survey also included two commercial clients. Should their part of the project be paid for by the RNC? If the General Counsel's analysis is determinative, the RNC is "obligated" to pay for the part of the survey for the two commercial clients because some persons involved assumed that the survey was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC. [8]

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2. Did anyone at the RNC have knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that the poll would include questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush? The answer to that is "yes." But, again, the analysis by the Commission's own staff renders the answer to that broad question irrelevant. In 1985, political perception questions not relating specifically to the 1988 election were appropriate for the RNC's own political and fund raising purposes and for the Administration's policy activities. The Office of General Counsel's analysis in this MUR, its allocation of general political perception questions, indicates agreement with this position. The general political perceptions on the survey are not for any "testing of the waters" effort.

The General Counsel fails to articulate an express answer in the text of the brief as to whether anyone at the RNC had knowledge prior to the fielding of the survey that it would contain questions relating to the 1988 Presidential election. Why?

To this key, precise question, the General Counsel answers indistinctly. The brief states:

> "Although some of the witnesses claim that, prior to December 3, they did not think the poll would contain questions pertaining to 1988, the evidence indicates other witnesses knew that questions pertaining to 1988 were on the poll." [9]

The deposition testimony is uncontroverted. No one at

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the RNC was aware that such questions were going to appear in the survey or did appear in the survey. The Commission's investigatory record on this is crystal clear. Bob Teeter indicates that no one at the RNC was made aware of such questions. Craig Fuller indicates that he had no knowledge that anyone at the RNC was aware of such questions. Bill Phillips indicates that no one at the RNC was aware of such questions. Lee Atwater indicates that he has no knowledge that anyone at the RNC was aware of such questions. Bill Greener indicates no knowledge of such questions, and the attached affidavit by Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC), indicates he was not aware such questions would appear or did appear in the survey. [10]

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The so-called "other witnesses" which the evidence indicates knew that questions pertaining to 1988 were on the poll included NO RNC employee or member. No one at the Republican National Committee knew that questions regarding the 1988 Presidential elections would appear in the survey.

The General Counsel states:

> "Based on the evidence presented in the testimony, it appears that prior to December 3, most of the participants in the arrangements for the poll knew that the poll would or did contain questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. Only Mr. Phillips' testimony is that he may never have had such knowledge prior to December 3." [11]

This statement is outrageously wrong. Phillips' testimony is not that he may never have had such knowledge, it is that he did not have such prior knowledge. [12] Only Mr. Phillips testifies to a lack of prior knowledge? Greener had no prior knowledge. Fahrenkopf had no prior knowledge. There is not a single word of testimony stating that anyone at the RNC had prior knowledge of questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988.

Although the General Counsel's brief fails to acknowledge this fact in its text, it does tacitly admit it in a footnote.

> "Although there may not have been a specific request for questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in the 1988 elections, ... Mr. Teeter reasonably concluded he had been authorized to develop the poll he ultimately fielded." [13]

This is not a reasonable conclusion from the RNC's perspective. Such a poll on behalf of a single potential Presidential candidate would:

1. violate the RNC's rules
2. violate RNC public pledges of neutrality
3. potentially violate the FECA and,

possibly, most persuasively,

4. destroy the ability of the RNC to perform its political function.

The only posture from which the RNC can effectively

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perform its prime political functions of conducting the 1988 convention and electing a Republican President is neutrality in the 1988 primary process. The General Counsel's brief would have the Commission conclude that the RNC decided to violate its rules, violate public pledges of neutrality, and violate the law to insert itself in the middle of the 1988 primary fray. Understandably, this is not a reasonable conclusion from the RNC perspective.

General Counsel's brief states:

> "Mr. Teeter states it is his understanding .... that the poll should contain questions as to voter perceptions of the Vice President. He, therefore, understood that questions pertaining to the 1988 election were appropriate. This understanding is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, reviewed the draft questionnaire containing these questions and approved of the poll." [14]

Mr. Fuller does not work for the RNC. Mr. Fuller did not tell anyone at the RNC that he had reviewed the questionnaire or that there were questions relating to the 1988 election. The fact that Mr. Fuller reviewed the questionnaire does not confirm and is of no relevance to determining whether or not the RNC was aware that such questions would appear on the MOR survey.

As indicated in Mr. Greener's deposition, Bill Phillips' deposition, Frank Fahrenkopf's affidavit, and earlier letters from RNC counsel to the Commission, the RNC regularly commissions polls which contain voter perceptions of the President, Vice President, and other Administration officials. The General

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Counsel's staff's own analysis of the poll recognizes that these are questions which can be paid for by the RNC without incurring any contributions or expenditures for "testing the waters" for a potential candidacy. These perception questions have not triggered in other RNC pollsters the conclusion that 1988 Presidential electoral questions are appropriate on their surveys. No other RNC polling firms which have conducted nationwide surveys including political perception of Administration officials (which have, in the past, included the Vice President) have concluded that they should ask 1988 "testing the waters" questions. No greater degree of RNC direction or review of instruments is provided regularly for these other firms. Using the General Counsel's analysis, their failure to ask 1988 questions is unreasonable.

3. On the element of acceptance by the Vice President of any results of the survey, the RNC has no first-hand knowledge. No one at the RNC was present when the poll was presented to the Vice President. No one at the RNC was informed in advance that the poll was going to be presented to the Vice President. No one at the RNC was informed that the poll had been presented to the Vice President until press inquiries were received in early December of 1985. No one at the RNC authorized the presentation of the poll to the Vice President. Whether he accepted the poll or not is a question on which the RNC has only hearsay knowledge and no position.

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FACTS

In early 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf had lunch with the Vice President of the United States. During the luncheon conversation, a brief mention was made of the intention of Chairman Fahrenkopf to commission a nationwide survey with Market Opinion Research (MOR). Not too surprisingly, a year later, when asked to reconstruct the exact wording of the discussion through hearsay, accounts vary to some degree.

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Teeter: "He [Vice President] understood that Fahrenkopf was going to ask us to do a poll for him [Fahrenkopf] and that he offered to include any questions or areas of interest to the Vice President." ppg 20-21. "He [Fahrenkopf] had discussed among other things with Vice President Bush and offered to include any areas of interest to the Vice President that he would like to have covered." [15]

Atwater: "... the Vice President said he had had lunch with Fahrenkopf and Fahrenkopf had offered to include him or some questions about him on an upcoming poll." [16]

Phillips: "He [Fahrenkopf] indicated they had discussed the '84 elections and the impact that it had had on the image and perceptions of the Vice President, which resulted in the offer to commission a poll to see what impact there had been." [17]

The only non third-hand hearsay account comes to the Commission from Frank Fahrenkopf's affidavit.

Fahrenkopf: "In February 1985, I had lunch with the Vice President, George Bush. At that time, I had regularly had lunch with the Vice President, who is a former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to discuss RNC activities and plans, and politics generally. During our general luncheon conversation, I casually mentioned to the Vice Presidenet that I

intended to retain Market Opinion Research (MOR) to conduct a nationwide attitude survey for the Republican National Committee. The purpose of our luncheon was not to discuss my decision to employ MOR nor did we discuss my decision for more than a few moments. I did not mention to the Vice President an intention to include any questions in regard to any potential '88 Presidential campaign since I had no such intention." [18]

The RNC regularly conducts large numbers of polls. There had been some criticism leveled at the RNC that the polling business of the RNC had not been sufficiently shared among the various Republican polling entities, in particular that Decision Making Information (DMI) had been used too exclusively in the conduct of nationwide attitude surveys. For this reason, the Chairman determined to conduct a national attitude survey with MOR.

For a variety of immaterial reasons, the survey which was intended to be fielded initially in the spring or summer was delayed until the early fall.

During the intervening months, brief occasional conversations regarding the survey occurred between Lee Atwater, Bill Greener, Bill Phillips, and Bob Teeter. Again, memories vary as to the number, date, and content of the conversations. This is not surprising because there is agreement that the conversations generally were in a social setting, over food and drinks, and were very brief and general. The parties remember the conversations with similar, but not exact recollections.

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The General Counsel's brief ominously states that the record does not support Mr. Greener's recollection of the conversations. Lee Atwater remembers vaguely that he might have agreed to pay for questions of unique political interest to the Vice President if embarrassing to the RNC. Bill Greener remembers a telephone conversation in which Mr. Atwater said he would pay for all questions of unique political interest to the Vice President pursuant to a standard piggyback-type arrangement. [19] In the deposition of Lee Atwater, the General Counsel's office fails to ask him specifically if he remembers the phone conversation Greener asserts occurred in regard to the piggyback arrangement. Since the General Counsel failed to ask Mr. Atwater about the specific telephone conversation Mr. Greener remembers clearly, it is not possible to determine with assurance whether Mr. Atwater remembers expressly that it did not occur or if he just does not remember whether it occurred. [20] The General Counsel argues the record does not support Mr. Greener's recollection, but Mr. Atwater never clearly states that such a conversation could not, or did occur. What other testimony shows it did not occur? None. Why does the General Counsel's office rely on Mr. Atwater's unclear recollection when Mr. Greener remembers the conversation clearly? Mr. Atwater's memory under oath has already needed correction in regard to discussion on these issues, as demonstrated by the filing of an amended affidavit. The record really only supports that all the

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participants in this matter seem to have the normal imperfect memory exhibited by almost all human beings.

The general guidance on the survey given by Frank Fahrenkopf to Bob Teeter and Bill Phillips was also not identically remembered and/or understood. General direction in contracting may seem suspect to the General Counsel's Office, but reflects the normal and usual course of business between the RNC and the large national polling firms, especially one with whom the RNC has done business for twenty-five years. [21]

This is your classic contractual dispute, familiar to any lawyer involved in contractual litigation. Is it terribly surprising to the Commission that a survey commissioned eight months in advance of its execution with only brief oral guidance provided to the pollster, no written agreement, and input from a variety of different individuals, institutions, resulted in a disagreement over who would pay for what? Any other result would have been surprising.

Apparently, the General Counsel's office believes they have found a conspiracy although they never make that express statement because they realize there is no direct support for that conclusion in any of the depositions. It is not uncommon for prosecutors to believe they have found a conspiracy when all they have found is confusion.

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CONCLUSION

The Commission Regulations at 11 CFR Section 106.4(b) outline the circumstance under which the purchase of poll results constitutes a contribution to a candidate. The RNC has never paid for nor received from MOR any poll or survey for individual "testing the waters" for a 1988 Presidential race. The RNC challenges whether this regulation is applicable to the RNC in this matter. Since the RNC has not paid for nor received such a poll, it has not been purchased. The General Counsel's brief never directly argues that the RNC purchased such a poll. Their brief can only weakly maintain that the RNC is "obligated" for $17,610 for that part of the poll which it concludes pertains to 1988 "testing the waters" efforts. [22]

Even if the Commissioners wish to make an uninvited leap from obligation to purchase, the RNC still has not violated any limits of the FECA because the RNC has no legal obligation to pay $17,610 to MOR. MOR has already agreed not to seek payment from the RNC for any questions which the General Counsel's office refers to as 1988 "testing of the waters." The RNC does not dispute the President of MOR, Bob Teeter's analysis of the confusion surrounding this poll project: "I deserve and am going to take the blame for it." [23] Even if MOR had not publicly and privately expressly recognized that the RNC had no obligation, no

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court would enforce this imagined obligation from the RNC to MOR in this fact situation.

The record unambiguously indicates that as soon as any person at the RNC became aware that there were questions that might pertain to a 1988 "testing of the waters" effort, the RNC stated it would not pay for those questions. [24] The General Counsel argues, but for the fact that a controversy over the poll surfaced in the newspapers on December 3, that the RNC would have paid MOR for the full $70,000 cost billed by MOR. The RNC does not care to undertake speculation as to what would have happened if the RNC had not become aware of possible '88 "testing of the waters" questions. It is clear from Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf's affidavit that the RNC would not have knowingly paid for such survey information. It is unreasonable for the Commission to find probable cause that the RNC violated the Federal Election Campaign Act based upon speculation over events which might have, but did not occur.

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For these reasons, the Commission should reject the recommendation of the General Counsel's office that the Commission find probable cause to believe that the Republican National Committee violated 11 CFR Section 100.8(b)(1).

Dec. 21, 1987
Date

E. Mark Braden
E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee

FOOTNOTES

[1] Conservative Caucus-PAC Complaint, p. 4
[2] William I. Greener III Affidavit, Mar. 6, 1986, Att. A
[3] RNC Counsel's Letter, Att. B
[4] General Counsel's Brief (Analysis), p. 13
[5] Teeter Deposition, July 30, 1986, p. 66
[6] General Counsel's Brief (Facts), p. 15
[7] General Counsel's Brief, p. 28
[8] The General Counsel's office did not even attempt to determine how much of the survey was devoted to the two MOR commercial clients who participated so it is impossible to determine exact allocations. FEC counsel even withholds their names from the RNC. Teeter, p. 66.
[9] General Counsel, p. 20
[10] Fahrenkopf Affidavit, Att. C
[11] General Counsel, ppg. 24-25
[12] Phillips' Deposition, ppg. 41-42
[13] General Counsel, p. 21
[14] General Counsel, p. 21
[15] Teeter Deposition, ppg 20-21
[16] Atwater Deposition, August 15, 1986, ppg 19-20
[17] Phillips' Deposition, August 18, 1986, ppg 19-20
[18] Fahrenkopf Affidavit, par. 5, Att. C
[19] Greener Deposition, July 31, 1986, ppg 18-20
[20] Atwater Deposition, ppg 24-25, 28-29
[21] Greener Deposition, p. 28; Fahrenkopf Affidavit, par. 13
[22] It is interesting to note that even the complaint does not allege a violation by the RNC, but only a potential violation if the RNC should pay MOR for any questions relating to the '88 election. Obviously, the General Counsel's Office is prepared to take a much more expansive view of the law than the complainant imagined possible.
[23] New York Times, Dec. 5, 1985
[24] Greener Deposition, ppg 60-61, Fahrenkopf Affidavit, Teeter Deposition, ppg 107-108

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ATTACHMENT C

AFFIDAVIT

FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF JR.

I, Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., being first duly sworn hereby deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify hereto.

2. I was first elected Chairman of the Republican National Committee on January 28, 1983. Chairman of the Republican National Committee is a fulltime, paid position. As Chairman, I am chief executive officer of the Republican National Committee. The general management of the Republican Party is under the jurisdiction of the Republican National Committee, subject to the direction of the quadrennial Republican National Convention.

3. Republican National Committee's contracting policy is that only the Chairman has actual contracting authority. All written contracts must be signed according to RNC procedure by myself.

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4. I decided to retain MOR for a national attitude survey because I was sensitive to criticism of the Republican National Committee having not shared its national survey business with a variety of Republican survey firms. There was concern in the Republican political community that the RNC was relying too much on Decision Making Information (DMI) for its national survey data. This was the principal reason I employed MOR, and I intended to employ other Republican survey firms for additional work.

5. In February 1985, I had lunch with the Vice President, George Bush. At that time, I had regularly had lunch with the Vice President, who is a former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to discuss RNC activities and plans, and politics generally. During our general luncheon conversation, I casually mentioned to the Vice President that I intended to retain Market Opinion Research (MOR) to conduct a nationwide attitude survey for the Republican National Committee. The purpose of our luncheon was not to discuss my decision to employ MOR nor did we discuss my decision for more than a few moments. I did not mention to the Vice President an intention to include any questions in regard to any potential '88 Presidential campaign since I had no such intention.

6. I contacted Bob Teeter to inform him that I was interested in having MOR conduct a national survey of voter

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attitudes. In particular, I was interested in a survey examining the make up of the Republican coalition. I told Mr. Teeter that he should contact my Chief of Staff, Bill Phillips, and my Political Director, Bill Greener, to work out the details. I did not ask Mr. Teeter to include any questions in regard to any possible '88 candidacies, nor did I believe my instructions would or could be so interpreted.

7. I had no knowledge that the MOR survey would include any questions which might relate to any potential '88 Presidential candidacies. I am not aware of anyone at the RNC who was aware that the poll would contain such questions. I did not authorize MOR to conduct such a poll, and I did not authorize anyone employed by the RNC to contact MOR to request such questions.

8. I did not authorize and was not aware that the survey conducted by MOR would include two commercial clients.

9. Had I known that '88 Presidential questions and/or commercial client questions were to be on the survey, I would not have employed MOR.

10. In a brief conversation, Bill Phillips expressed concern over perceptions which might occur because of the use by the Republican National Committee of a polling firm so closely identified with the Vice President. I indicated to him a desire

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in the future to use a variety of polling firms for RNC activities so as to fairly share our business across the Republican polling spectrum and so it was inevitable that the RNC would use firms associated with individuals who were being publicly discussed as potential aspirants for the '88 Republican presidential nomination. Areas in which I believed the Vice President's office might be interested were trade and terrorism. The Vice President had just been appointed by the President to head a task force on terrorism. There was never any discussion of any potential questions in regard to an '88 "Testing of the Waters" effort, although it was my understanding at this time that pursuant to standard polling practice that there might be questions of unique political interest to the Vice President or individuals politically associated with him which might be piggybacked on this survey. Piggybacked questions would be without RNC review or expense.

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11. I have publicly stated on any number of occasions that the firm policy of the RNC is to remain neutral in the 1988 Republican Presidential nominating process. It is my opinion that the rules of the RNC also require this policy. I have actively sought to maintain absolute RNC neutrality.

12. As soon as I became aware that questions had appeared on the survey which might arguably relate to a potential 1988 candidacy, I stated that the RNC would not pay for those questions. I do not believe that the RNC is legally or morally obligated to pay for such questions.

13. On a regular basis, the RNC conducts national surveys. The RNC is the White House pollster. It has been a common practice for the RNC to have its pollsters seek input from Administration officials as to issues to include on such surveys. Virtually all general national surveys conducted by the RNC include political perception questions regarding a number of Republican officials. These are not questions relating to potential '88 candidacies. Usually specific national survey instruments or questions are not reviewed by myself or RNC staff prior to fielding.

14. Poll information gathered pursuant to a commission from the RNC is regularly made available by the RNC to members of the Administration, including the Vice President's office and other Republican political leaders.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr.

Signed and sworn to before me this 21 day of Dec., 1987.

Notary Public

My commission expires: [illegible].

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January 5, 1988

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
88 JAN -5 PM 4:58

The Honorable Marjorie W. Emmons
Commission Secretary
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Madame Secretary:

Enclosed please find Respondent's Brief and ten copies in the above-captioned matter, filed pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.16(c).

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB:slg

Enclosure

cc: Lawrence M. Noble, Esquire (3 copies)

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush	)	

RESPONDENT'S BRIEF

The Honorable George Bush, Vice President of the United States, by counsel, hereby responds to the General Counsel's Brief of November 6, 1987 in Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2133. The General Counsel's Brief recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that Vice President Bush violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). We urge that the Commission reject this recommendation and find instead that there is no probable cause to believe that the Vice President violated the Act.

I. Summary of Argument

The public opinion poll at issue in this MUR was indisputably commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("RNC") upon the personal instructions of Frank Fahrenkopf, the Chairman of the RNC, within weeks of the January 1985 inauguration. It was intended to be one of a long line of RNC-commissioned polls which measure the Republican Coalition and the evolution of the views of American voters, about which the Vice President is routinely briefed. It was Mr. Fahrenkopf's wish that this poll additionally include questions in substantive areas of

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interest to the Vice President, and that it measure the Vice President's political standing at the beginning of the Reagan administration's second term.

The RNC poll was conducted, and the Vice President was briefed on its results, several years before the 1988 election, and before the Vice President took <u>any</u> steps towards becoming a candidate in that election. Nonetheless, the General Counsel's Brief urges the Commission to find that the poll commissioned by the RNC in February, 1985, and on which Vice President Bush was briefed in November of 1985 was in fact a testing the waters contribution by the RNC to the Vice President in connection with the 1988 Presidential election, and that the Commission should therefore find that the Vice President <u>personally</u> violated the federal election laws by receiving such a briefing.

There are several facts which the Commission should particularly note in connection with the General Counsel's unwarranted recommendation.

<u>First</u>, the Vice President in 1985 was neither a candidate for President nor engaged in "testing the waters" as defined by the Commission's regulations. The Vice President did not even authorize or establish an "exploratory account" to receive and make testing the waters expenditures until July of 1986. In the course of this proceeding, the Vice President has submitted his own signed statement, dated March 13, 1986, that he was not then a candidate for any

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public office, and that he did "not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy" (emphasis added). Further, the Vice President devoted 1985 and 1986 to campaigning on behalf of local, state and federal Republican candidates in the 1986 midterm election. This political activity was largely undertaken through the Fund for America's Future (the "Fund"), a political committee established for this purpose by the Vice President, and whose activities (not called into question here by the General Counsel's Brief) were strictly regulated by the Commission's Advisory Opinion 1986-6 and primarily occurred well after the Vice President was briefed on the poll at issue here. Advisory Opinion 1986-6, which was sought in January 1986 by the Fund for the expressly stated purpose of ensuring that the Fund's activities did not inadvertently cause the Vice President to be "testing the waters", contrary to his explicit intentions, is further proof that Vice President Bush was not testing the waters in 1985.

Although the General Counsel's Brief urges the Commission to find that the Vice President was in fact testing the waters in November of 1985, the Brief offers no evidence to support this conclusion. The Commission is asked to find that Vice President George Bush personally violated the nation's election laws without any explanation beyond the two facts that the Commission's regulations regulate the

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receipt of contributions such as polls by persons who are testing the waters, and that Vice President Bush received the results of a poll on November 13, 1985.

It is not disputed that the Vice President was briefed on a portion of the results of a poll, nor that the Commission's regulations and the Act regulate the receipt of contributions such as political polls by persons who are "testing the waters" in preparation for becoming candidates for federal office. However, a violation of the Act can only be found if Vice President Bush was either a candidate or testing the waters on November 13, 1985, when he received the poll. On this, the only legal issue of any consequence in dispute here, the General Counsel's Brief simply offers no grounds for the Commission to find probable cause to believe the Act was violated.

While persons in public office may contemplate their political future from time to time, federal election law does not hold that all elected federal officials are therefore by definition "testing the waters" from the date they are first elected to office to the date that they may decide to seek re-election or some other federal office. There must be some period in which an office holder, no matter how prominent, may in fact be just a public official, rather than also a candidate. The Commission's own regulations detail ways in which an individual may proceed to test the waters, but the General Counsel's Brief offers no proof that the Vice

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President engaged in these activities at any point in 1985, and the material available to the Commission contains uncontroverted statements that he did not do so, and actively sought not to do so.

Second, in considering the General Counsel's Brief's argument that the Commission should find probable cause that Vice President Bush violated the Act, the Commission should consider the extremely limited extent of the Vice President's involvement with this poll. He neither requested nor commissioned it. He did not see a copy of the questions in advance. He was not consulted about when it would take place, or about any other aspect of this poll. He did not request the briefing which occurred. Neither he nor any authorized campaign committee of his paid for it. He was informed in February of 1985 by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee that the RNC was going to Commission a poll. He was told that the poll would include questions of substantive interest to the Vice President, among other questions, and also some questions designed to measure his political standing in the aftermath of the 1984 Presidential election campaign. Then, in November of 1985, the President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), the polling firm hired by the RNC, came to the Vice President's office and briefed him, his Chief of Staff, and the Chairman of the Fund for America's Future on the results of the poll.

Third, there is no proof that this poll was intended to

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have any connection with the 1988 elections. The General Counsel's Brief concludes that the persons involved in the poll all assumed that "this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC." The record shows precisely that. However, the General Counsel's Brief then argues that the various parties involved in this MUR knew that this RNC poll would contain questions pertaining to the 1988 elections (presumably thereby seeking to demonstrate an intent on the part of the RNC to assist Vice President Bush were he at some future time to test the waters for the 1988 Presidential election).

In fact, the record demonstrates nothing more than a fundamental misunderstanding about what the poll would contain. The RNC, which was paying for it, did not expect "1988 questions." The pollster, who put these questions in the poll, thought they were within his mandate, but now admits they were never actually requested by, or discussed with, the RNC or the Vice President. The record shows that the RNC in fact never saw the poll questionnaire with the 1988 questions until well after the poll was completed, and that this was standard RNC practice. The only outsider who actually did see the questionnaire in advance was the Vice President's Chief of Staff, Mr. Fuller. He is frequently asked to review and comment upon professional polls conducted by Republican pollsters, and on this occasion was requested by the pollster to review the trade and terrorism questions contained in the poll. There is thus plenty of evidence of

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confusion, mixed signals, and mistaken assumptions, but no evidence that either the Vice President or the RNC either intended to, or did commission MOR to do a poll concerning Vice President Bush's prospects in the 1988 election. MOR has conceded as much in deciding not to demand payment for those questions.

Each of these issues will be examined in detail below, but they combine to compel the Commission to conclude that there was no existing testing the waters effort to which the RNC could have made an improper contribution in the form of the poll, and that the poll itself did not constitute a testing the waters effort by the Vice President.

II. Background and Facts

Shortly after George Bush was sworn in to office for a second term as Vice President of the United States on January 21, 1985, Frank Fahrenkopf, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, informed him that the RNC would be commissioning a polling firm (Market Opinion Research) to conduct a poll, and that the RNC would like the Office of the Vice President to suggest questions on substantive issues which were of particular interest to the Vice President. Deposition of Craig L. Fuller in MUR 2133 [hereinafter "Fuller Dep."] at 70-71; see also Deposition of Robert M. Teeter In re: MUR 2133 [hereinafter Teeter Dep.] at 20. Mr. Fahrenkopf also intended the poll to measure "the

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image and perception of the Vice President" in the country in the aftermath of the 1984 Presidential election campaign just concluded. Deposition of Bill R. Phillips In re: MUR 2133 [hereinafter "Phillips Dep."] at 20. Frank Fahrenkopf did commission such a poll shortly thereafter from Robert M. Teeter of Market Opinion Research. Phillips Dep. at 22, 24; Teeter Dep. at 21. Mr. Fahrenkopf instructed Mr. Teeter that the RNC wished to do a poll to measure the "Republican coalition in the country at that time," and that the poll should additionally cover any specific issues of interest to the Vice President. Teeter Dep. at 22. Mr. Teeter said Mr. Fahrenkopf explained to him that the poll should measure what "the Vice President's perception was, the level of his political support, after the 1984 campaign was over. He [the Vice President] had been a major campaigner, and he [Fahrenkopf] told the Vice President if he would like to know anything about that, or some specific issues, he would be happy to include it." Id. The pollster decided, however, to delay this poll until after the dust had settled on the 1984 election campaign. Id. at 24.

Accordingly, the pollster waited until the Summer of 1985 to begin work on the national poll commissioned by the RNC. Id. at 34. While waiting to begin the poll, Mr. Teeter discussed it again with Bill Phillips, the RNC Chief of Staff, and with Lee Atwater, a political consultant who was then associated with the firm of Black, Manafort and Stone

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and with the RNC. Id. at 28-29. At this meeting, Mr. Teeter discussed the fact that:

> "What I was seeking to do in the first instance is do a poll sometime after the 1984 campaign to say how does the Republican Party and its members and coalition and its perception compare at that point to what it was four years and two years ahead of that. Obviously there has been a lot of talk about realignment and I have done a lot of speaking and writing about that subject -- and polling, for that matter. And I thought at that point that was kind of a major thrust of it. Also at this point that we were going to cover the perception of the Vice President . . . ."

Id. at 25-27.

Thereafter, Mr. Teeter drafted a poll questionnaire, which included general "Republican Coalition" questions, and questions about trade and terrorism, as well as about how the Vice President would be viewed as a potential Presidential candidate. Pursuant to his instructions from Mr. Fahrenkopf, he then showed a draft of the poll questionnaire to Mr. Fuller, who made several specific comments, some of which were incorporated into the final questionnaire. Id. at 68, 71, 72; Fuller Dep. at 18-26. The poll was conducted by MOR between the dates September 17th and 25th, 1985, and the data thereafter extensively analyzed by the polling company. Once the polling process was underway, the RNC was billed the full $70,000.00 cost of the poll by MOR: first on September 9, 1985 and again on October 18, 1985. Mr. Teeter then requested an appointment to present an analysis of this poll to the Vice President. On November 13, 1985, he met with

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Vice President Bush, Mr. Fuller,a and Lee Atwater, who by then had become Chairman of the Fund for America's Future (a political action committee designed to assist Republican candidates in the mid-term 1986 elections, of which the Vice President was Honorary Chairman). Teeter Dep. at 81. A second, more complicated, analysis was prepared for RNC officials, and presented to them once Mr. Fahrenkopf had returned to the country from foreign travel. Id. at 91-96.

On July 11, 1986, a year and a half after Frank Fahrenkopf informed the Vice President that the RNC was going to commission a poll, and eight months after the Vice President was briefed on its results, the Vice President established an "exploratory account" (or testing the waters account) as a "prudent first step in making any decision" concerning his potential candidacy for President in 1988. Press Release of Friday, July 11, 1986. Some seven months later, on February 19, 1987, the Vice President authorized the formation of a principal campaign committee, and he formally announced his candidacy for President of the United States in the 1988 election on October 12, 1987.

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III. Discussion

The General Counsel's Brief states that the record in this MUR contains:

> three basic elements relevant to whether a violation occurred. These elements pertain to: (1) the assumption by the

> persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC; (2) the knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that this poll would contain questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush; and (3) the acceptance of poll results by Vice President George Bush.

General Counsel's Brief of November 6, 1987 (hereinafter "Brief") at 15.

Before discussing each of these points, we note that these three basic elements, without more, are insufficient to find that a violation of the Act has occurred. As we will show in the Discussion of Law, Section IV, infra, a violation cannot have occurred unless the Vice President was testing the waters, or a candidate for federal office, at the time he was briefed on the poll. The missing element in the General Counsel's Brief's three points, and indeed in the record itself, is any proof that the RNC's poll was a part of any testing the waters effort, and thus any proof that the RNC has made a "contribution" to any campaign.

As for the three elements identified by the General Counsel's Brief, which would be relevant were the existence of such a testing the waters effort to be shown, they are not supported by the record in several important respects.

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A. The RNC was the client

The General Counsel's Brief concludes that the poll was "a project of the RNC, to be paid for by the RNC." Id. at 15. The RNC conceived of the project, selected the pollster, asked him to do the poll, told him what to include, requested him to speak to others to obtain suggestions for questions, was informed of the poll's initial delay and eventual fielding, and was billed for the final project. The November 13, 1985 analysis stated on its face that it "was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee." Teeter Dep. at FEC Exhibit No. 10; see also Phillips Dep. at 22; Teeter Dep. at 22, 24, 25-26, 33, 35, 69; and Brief at 16.

By contrast, Vice President Bush did none of the above. He did not authorize or commission the poll, review the questionnaire, know what questions it contained, ask for the briefing, or pay for it. Letter from Vice President Bush, attached to Response of Fund for America's Future in MUR 2133 (March 13, 1986); Fuller Dep. at 27; Teeter Dep. at 73.

The only ambiguity in the record is whether the Fund for America's Future was under any obligation to pay for a portion of the poll. The pollster did not think so, given that his complete bill was sent to the RNC in September, and again in October. Brief at 15. Similarly, Mr. Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, assumed at the time he read

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Mr. Teeter's proposed poll, and at the time he was briefed on the results, that the poll was an RNC poll, and was to be paid for solely by the RNC. Fuller Dep. at 25-27, 47-48.

Mr. Atwater, Chairman of the Fund for America's Future, offered to have the Fund pay the RNC for some of the cost of the poll if it were found to present a political problem to the RNC. Mr. Atwater had been told that the RNC was doing a poll which included questions of interest to the Vice President, and that Bill Phillips of the RNC was concerned that other Republican leaders might object to such a poll. Atwater explained his position as follows: "Mr. Phillips expressed concern about possible political fallout . . . [a]nd I said that if there was a problem that I would try to get the Fund for America's Future to pay part of the poll." Deposition of Harvey Leroy Atwater, In Re: MUR 2133 [hereinafter "Atwater Dep."] at 22. Atwater, who never saw a copy of the questionnaire, was asked in his deposition whether he meant to offer to attempt to pay for "1988 questions." He responded that he did not mean to include in this offer "anything dealing specifically with the 1988 presidential sweepstakes," as he "clearly knew that there were certain types [of questions] that we couldn't pay for." Id. at 23-24. However, Atwater continued to assume that only the RNC would be paying for the poll, until the controversy caused by press accounts in December, 1985 caused him to repeat his initial offer. Brief at 17-18.

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Accordingly, the record demonstrates that "the RNC was the paying client for this poll." Brief at 20.

B. MOR Controlled the Questions in the Poll

The record in this MUR also clearly shows that the contents of the questionnaire used in this poll were chosen by the pollster, almost to the complete exclusion of anyone else. Mr. Teeter has stated that he was instructed, in very general terms, by the RNC to do a poll measuring the "Republican Coalition," and to include in that poll questions on issues of particular interest to the Vice President and his staff. Teeter Dep. at 22. Those were virtually the only instructions Mr. Teeter received from his client about the desired contents of the poll throughout the course of his work on this project. The RNC reviewed neither the draft nor the final questionnaire before the poll was conducted. This is in accord with standard RNC practices, as the RNC's chief political officer has testified: "I have never reviewed and I don't know of anybody else reviewing a national voter attitude survey prior to the fielding of the survey." Deposition of William I. Greener, III In re: MUR 2133 (hereinafter "Greener Dep.") at 28.

Mr. Teeter's control of the poll is evident, not only from the manner in which the poll questions were assembled, but from the fact that he took the initiative in deciding on its timing. It was Mr. Teeter who decided that the poll

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should be postponed until after the 1984 election climate had settled down, Teeter Dep. at 24,33, and it was Mr. Teeter who then decided to proceed with the survey, id. at 35.

The record shows that Mr. Teeter had a clear idea of what sort of a poll he expected to do. First, and most significantly, he did not view this poll as a "Bush poll." He has stated that the "express purpose" of the poll was to measure the Reagan/Republican Coalition, and to examine the whole question of a possible "realignment" amongst the national political parties. Id. at 49-50. Mr. Teeter viewed the questions about Vice President Bush's political strength as necessary in determining "where Bush support or lack of it added to [the Reagan/Republican Coalition] or subtracted from it." Id. at 52. As Mr. Teeter explained in his deposition:

> One of the things you try and do is find out what causes people, a voter, to be part of a coalition or not be part of a coalition. I suspect what we were talking about at the time was a fit between whether all the things that contributed or didn't contribute to the Reagan -- to the Republican coalition, one of those being Reagan, and number two being Bush.

Id.

Mr. Teeter's FEC deposition then continued as follows:

Q. So it was clear at this point that Bush was -- I am not going to say a majority part -- but an important part of this poll? In other words, perception [of] the Vice President?

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A. I would say that covering the perception of the Vice President was a part of this poll. I would not say it was a majority part.

Id. at 53.

Second, Mr. Teeter, as a professional pollster with a number of commercial as well as political clients, had issues and questions which he was eager to test in such a nationwide poll. The poll itself was an "omnibus poll," meaning that questions for several of MOR's other clients were included on the poll. Id. at 65-66. As Mr. Teeter explained in his deposition, "[w]e do a regular series of national polls and there are certain kinds of questions you are trying to keep track of in order to develop trend data. I guess we try and measure throughout regular periods of time certain perceptions of the Party and politics in the United States, and issues. We are always trying to explore a little new territory." Id. at 42.

Further, Mr. Teeter saw the occasion of this poll as an opportunity to do further work on "research and development" issues relating to the way people respond to polling questions. Id. at 46-47. Mr. Teeter explained that experts in his field have done research suggesting that voters often "describe political figures with nouns rather than adjectives," id., a fact of professional significance to pollsters. Accordingly, Mr. Teeter discussed with his staff "the possibility of using this RNC general poll as a research and development vehicle to test this methodology and

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technique." Id. Mr. Teeter, with many years of experience with RNC polls, was left largely on his own in designing this one. See id. at 40-60.

The third fact which emerges from a review of the record in this MUR is that Mr. Teeter's organization itself, rather than the RNC, or the Vice President, was responsible for the placement on the questionnaire of the questions at issue here. The record even shows that MOR began discussing "terrorism" questions for inclusion in the poll before it learned from Mr. Fuller that the Office of the Vice President would be interested in terrorism issues. Id. at 50-51. Mr. Teeter has stated that "there was a great deal of thought given by people like us and discussion as to what the political implications of terrorism were, what the public thought about it, how they thought about it. So we were interested in it clearly on the behalf of all kinds of clients." Id. at 57. MOR, after the internal discussions described above about issues, methodology, and specific questions, began to produce a draft questionnaire in July and August of 1985. Id. at 39-60.

While the questionnaire was being drafted, Mr. Teeter, pursuant to his instructions from his client, the RNC, called Mr. Fuller and asked if there were any topics which should be included in the poll. Mr. Fuller replied that "we would specifically like you to think about some questions on trade, international trade, or terrorism." Teeter Dep. at 36.

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Mr. Teeter has testified that there was also a discussion of the "whole question of support for Star Wars or the SDI program." Id. at 36-37. MOR then completed a draft questionnaire which included the questions on the public perception of the Vice President, the 1988 elections, and trade and terrorism. These areas were all included in the questionnaire before Mr. Fuller saw it. See id. at 70-72; Fuller Dep. at 19-25.

Mr. Teeter showed Mr. Fuller a copy of the draft questionnaire and said "look through this and tell me if there are any additions, changes, or deletions that you would like to put in it." Teeter Dep. at 68. Mr. Fuller explained that he is frequently asked by pollsters to review polls which they are preparing "having to do with issues that the administration was involved in." Fuller Dep. at 7. Mr. Fuller stated that "some of those polls and surveys were taken on behalf of the RNC" and that some were outside surveys. Id. He explained that "[f]rom time to time I was asked to suggest questions or areas that the survey might explore." Id. at 7-8. Mr. Fuller's Affidavit in this MUR states as follows:

> As Chief of Staff to the Vice President, I have been consulted by professional pollsters, including other RNC pollsters, concerning questions they intend to ask, and briefed on the results of completed polls. I accordingly was not surprised to be asked to comment on Mr. Teeter's poll for the RNC, and assumed others were being asked to review it as well. I

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> replied to Mr. Teeter in conformity with my standard practice, commenting both on the issues of particular concern to the Vice President (trade and terrorism) and on other questions of more general interest.
>
> In responding to Mr. Teeter's request for comments, I did not intend to promote any possible candidacy of the Vice President, nor did it ever occur to me that my actions should be so construed. The Vice President has advised his staff, including me, that he is not a candidate and has not authorized anyone to take any actions which might make him one. I considered it entirely appropriate for a Republican National Committee poll to test public reaction to issues and to a number of prominent Republicans, with particular attention to the Vice President, the Party's second ranking office holder.

Affidavit of Craig L. Fuller at ¶¶ 4 & 5 (March 13, 1986).

When Mr. Teeter showed Mr. Fuller his draft questionnaire, he specifically asked Mr. Fuller "to review the questions that pertained to trade and terrorism" which the Office of the Vice President's had asked be included in the poll. Fuller Dep. at 22. Mr. Fuller did this, and sent his comments on the poll back to Mr. Teeter. Mr. Fuller has testified under oath that in so reviewing the poll, he believed he was acting as someone "who is familiar with surveys and interested in the two substantive questions [trade and terrorism]," id. at 27, but that he did not believe he was reviewing it on behalf of anyone other than himself, or that his review constituted approval or disapproval of the survey. Id. Additionally, neither the

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Vice President nor the Fund for America's Future knew that Mr. Fuller had reviewed the draft questionnaire. Id.

Mr. Fuller's own opinion of his limited ability to affect MOR's poll for the RNC is borne out by Mr. Teeter's testimony. Mr. Teeter has stated that, upon review of Mr. Fuller's comments (Mr. Fuller suggested three changes), he told Mr. Fuller that MOR would be able to incorporate some of Mr. Fuller's suggestions, but not necessarily all of them. Teeter Dep. at 72. As Mr. Teeter noted in his deposition, "[c]learly, all of these suggestions are not incorporated in the questionnaire." Id.

Following this review of Mr. Fuller's comments, the final questionnaire for the poll was prepared. Mr. Teeter states that this questionnaire was not shown to anyone outside of MOR, including the RNC. Id. at 73.

When asked in his deposition why the poll included questions about the 1988 elections, Mr. Teeter responded that

> I assumed it was our responsibility to write a questionnaire and design a poll that covered three or four different purposes. . . One of those was to measure the perceptions of the Vice President and that we, at Market Opinion, had written a series of questions that we thought did that well and included in those were some questions that referred specifically to 1988, and that there were some specific design reasons for us doing it and we thought it was justifiable.

Teeter Dep. at 103.

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Mr. Teeter confirms that the 1988 questions were never authorized by his client, the RNC, or by anyone else. See Teeter Affidavit at ¶ 15 (March 15, 1986).

C. The Vice President's Briefing Was Customary, Not Unusual

The General Counsel's Brief suggests that there was something unusual in the fact that this poll was commissioned by the RNC and that the Vice President was then briefed on its results in the company of his Chief of Staff and the Chairman of the political action committee he founded. Brief at 26.

The record, however, does not support this contention. To the contrary, the RNC's commissioning of polls which are then shared with high administration officials, including the Vice President and his staff, appears commonplace. Mr. Teeter, the pollster selected by the RNC to do this poll, testified that he has done polls for the RNC since the 1960's, and that in 1985 alone he had several other projects for the RNC. Mr. Teeter stated that, in his experience, he did not regard a poll which measured the "public perception" of an office holder outside of a campaign contest as at all unusual. Teeter Dep. at 31.

"To my knowledge, there are dozens, hundreds, of polls done every year" to measure the public perception of such officeholders, Teeter said. Id. "Sometimes those are related

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specifically to campaigns and sometimes they are not." Id. at 32. People in political life, Teeter testified, "are interested in measuring issues and attitudes. It is something that public officials do regularly and in my experience have for a long time. It is the essence of our business." Id.

Mr. Phillips, Chief of Staff to the Chairman of the RNC, was equally firm that the RNC regarded the provision of support, such as poll briefings, as part of its traditional relationship with a Republican administration. Mr. Phillips stated that Mr. Fahrenkopf, the Chairman of the RNC, told him in February of 1985, when the poll was first commissioned that "it would be along the lines of the practice of the Republican National Committee to conduct a poll on behalf of the Vice President." Phillips Dep. at 23. As Mr. Phillips explained "[t]he RNC, one of the roles it plays when the Republican Party occupies the White House is support of White House activities in the political arena, one of those being polling." Id. at 25. In fact, the briefing of the Vice President which is at issue here was actually requested by the RNC's pollster, Mr. Teeter, on his own initiative and because he thought such a briefing was "inherent" in the process of such an RNC poll. Teeter Dep. at 88. Mr. Teeter accordingly called Mr. Fuller and asked him to set up a meeting with the Vice President for the purpose of briefing

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him on the results of the recently completed RNC survey. Id. at 85.

In terms of Mr. Fuller's comments on the draft questionnaire, Mr. Fuller has testified, as noted above, that he is frequently asked to review polls of potential interest to the administration, and that this includes reviewing draft questionnaires and suggesting questions. Fuller Dep. at 7-8.

The other issue raised by the General Counsel's Brief is the fact that the Vice President was briefed on this poll, by Mr. Teeter, in the company of Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater. The Brief suggests that this meeting was endowed with some special legal significance because this exact combination of persons had not gathered before to review a poll. However, Mr. Fuller has testified that "[f]or six years I've been briefed periodically by consultants to the RNC on polls that are taken for the RNC, and so I thought there was nothing unusual about it." Id. at 48. Mr. Fuller stated that he had been briefed in the company of the Vice President on party polls on six to eight occasions in the previous year alone. Id. at 49.

Mr. Teeter similarly expressed his opinion that it was in the normal course of business for pollsters to brief Vice Presidents on party polls, without the party's participation:

> I think clearly in my experience Presidents and Vice Presidents have polling done on a regular basis, usually paid for by the National Committee of their respective Party, and I think they often receive data

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> confidentially and it may not go to the Party that is paying for it.

Teeter Dep. at 110.

According to Mr. Fuller, "[i]t was always assumed that the results would be made available to us, which is customary with polls the RNC takes" even when the polls did not include material on the Vice President. Fuller Dep. at 43.

Thus, the only aspect of the Vice President's Briefing which was different from earlier practice was the presence of Mr. Atwater, Chairman of the political action committee founded by the Vice President, the Fund for America's Future. Mr. Atwater's presence, though, should not be surprising: Mr. Teeter has testified that he spoke with Mr. Atwater regularly at this time, Teeter Dep. at 83, and Mr. Atwater was the head of the Vice President's new organization formed to aid Republican candidates in 1986. Mr. Atwater has stated that the poll's analysis of the public's perception of the Vice President would be useful in scheduling the Vice President's 1986 appearances for the Fund. See Atwater Dep. at 42-43. It is only logical that the Vice President and Mr. Fuller, who received briefings on such polls frequently, would include the Fund's new Chairman in a poll briefing which was expected to contain material on substantive policy areas of particular interest to the Vice President, and on the Vice President's political standing and effectiveness in the party, and the country at large.

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Thus, there is in fact no mystery, no surprise, and no real departure from routine in the Vice President sitting down with his Chief of Staff and the Chairman of the political committee he founded to be briefed on an RNC poll. The General Counsel's Brief certainly does not show otherwise.

IV. The Law

The General Counsel's Brief concludes that the Commission should find that Vice President Bush personally violated the Act by participating in a briefing by a pollster in November, 1985. It is established that the poll on which he was briefed was an "RNC poll," commissioned and to be paid for by the Republican National Committee. It is established that the poll contained certain questions relating to the public perception of Vice President Bush, and to his political future. These questions included some selected by the pollster which specifically attempted to measure, in the Fall of 1985, the Vice President's current standing in a hypothetical 1988 campaign.

The General Counsel's Brief would have the Commission find that the Vice President thereby "accepted" poll results pertaining to a testing the waters effort for the 1988 presidential elections", Brief at 25, and thus accepted "funds for testing the waters purposes that exceed the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441 a(a)(2)(A) and 441a(f)" and 11 C.F.R. §

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100.7(b)(1). Id. at 29. As we have noted above, however, the General Counsel's Brief does not attempt to establish that the Vice President was a candidate, or was testing the waters, when he received the results: an absolute legal predicate to the violation alleged.

The Commission's Regulations outline the circumstances in which a person who is already a candidate or is "testing the waters" is considered to have accepted a poll as an in-kind contribution to a campaign or testing the waters effort. 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b). These circumstances include a candidate, or a person testing the waters, who "uses the poll results" or "does not notify the contributor that the results are refused." Id. § 106.4(b)(2) & (3). The predicate of this section, however, is that it applies only to a person who is either already a candidate, or who is already testing the waters.

The Commission's Regulations define the "testing the waters" exemption as follows:

> funds received solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate are not contributions. Examples of activities permissible under this exemption if they are conducted to determine whether an individual should become a candidate include, but are not limited to, conducting a poll, telephone calls, and travel.

11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1)(i).

In a series of Advisory Opinions, the Commission has discussed both the purpose and the limits of this "testing

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the waters" exemption. See, e.g., FEC Advisory Opinions 1986-6, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5849 (1986) (Fund); 1985-40, id., ¶ 5842 (1986) (Baker); 1982-3, id., ¶ 5647 (1982) (Cranston); and 1981-32, id., ¶ 5620 (1981) (Askew). In each of these instances the Commission has dealt with a large, organized, and public series of activities expressly designed and intended to determine whether an individual should become a candidate. The Commission has said that the purpose of the "testing the waters" period is "so that an individual would not be discouraged from pursuing a variety of activities to determine whether a candidacy for federal office is feasible," AO 1982-3 at ¶ 5647, and has stated that the Commission regulations "permit an individual to finance a variety of activities to assist in making a determination of whether to become a candidate for Federal office." AO 1981-32 at ¶ 5620.

In these Advisory Opinions the Commission has allowed, under certain circumstances, a very broad range and combination of testing the waters activities. These include:

* Direct mail solicitations to raise funds for testing the waters;
* Hospitality suites at party gatherings;
* Travel of political associates;
* Newsletters;
* Rental of office space and office equipment;

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* Payment for secretarial and accounting services; and

* Organization of steering committees.

Advisory Opinions 1985-40, 1982-3 and 1981-32, supra.

There is no suggestion that the Vice President was engaged in, or intended, any of these testing the waters activities in November of 1985. To the contrary, several months later, in January 1986, the Fund requested an advisory opinion to ensure that its actions did not cause the Vice President to engage in testing the waters activity. Not until July of 1986 did the Vice President establish a testing the waters account for the express purpose of engaging in activities to determine whether to become a candidate. Supra. at 10.

Although the General Counsel's Brief has not addressed the legal issue of when and how the Vice President allegedly began to test the waters, and has presented no evidence that the Vice President was testing the waters in November of 1985, it may be useful to examine the only argument the General Counsel's Brief could have made on this point. The Brief could (indeed must, if it is to allege a violation of the Act without any proof of an ongoing "testing the waters effort") suggest that the bare act of "conducting a poll" is specifically defined by the Commission's regulations as testing the waters in and of itself. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1)(i).

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However, the record here clearly shows that the Vice President did not "conduct a poll." The General Counsel's Brief itself argues that the poll was a "project of the RNC," commissioned by and to be paid for by the Republican National Committee. Brief at 15. Vice President Bush did not authorize or commission the poll, review the questionnaire, know what questions it contained, request the briefing, or receive a bill for any portion of the poll. Supra. at 12. The Vice President himself has submitted a letter to the Commission in this proceeding, stating that he did not "request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy." Supra. at 2-3 (emphasis added). Further, Mr. Fuller's Affidavit in this MUR includes the testimony that the Vice President had told his staff that he was not a candidate, and that no member of his staff was authorized to take any action which might make him one. Fuller Affidavit at 5. The Vice President did not "conduct" a poll, nor engage in any activity intended to "test the waters." He was simply briefed on a party poll, as was customary.

In summary, the law provides that the Vice President's briefing on a poll would only implicate the Act if the Vice President were a candidate or testing the waters. There is no suggestion or assumption that the Vice President was a candidate at the time he was told of the poll results by the RNC's pollster. Although the General Counsel's Brief refers

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to testing the waters "efforts," it provides no proof of any such efforts, nor does the record contain any. As for the possibility that the poll itself was such an "effort," the poll was demonstrably the RNC's, and was conducted by the RNC, not by the Vice President. The Vice President was briefed about a portion of the results of the poll, as other public figures are about similar polls. Such a briefing of an administration official, only months after beginning service of a four year term of elective office, does not in and of itself constitute "testing the waters" for some other office. It is absolutely unprecedented for the Commission to attempt to force an individual to "test the waters" against his will, and on the basis of a single, isolated, incident such as a briefing on a party poll. This is clearly not the same as the organized "activities" which the Commission has previously dealt with in the testing the waters context. Accordingly, there was no candidate or testing the waters activity which could receive an "in-kind testing the waters disbursement in the form of poll results from the RNC in excess of the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A)," as the General Counsel's Brief alleges.

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V. Conclusion

For the above stated reasons, the Commission should find no probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated the Act.

Respectfully submitted,

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Market Opinion Research Co.	)	
	)	
The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Roy G. Hale, as treasurer	)	

SENSITIVE

EXECUTIVE SESSION

MAY 03 1988

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

A. Complaint

On January 24, 1986, the Office of the General Counsel received a complaint filed by Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders on behalf of the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee against Vice President George Bush. Enclosed with the complaint were a number of newspaper articles, some of which were referred to by the complainants.

The complaint pertained to a poll apparently commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research ("MOR"). This poll, according to a Washington Post article referred to by the complainants, was conducted for the purpose of determining "voter support" for Vice President Bush in both the presidential primary elections and general election in 1988. The complaint referred to the article further, quoting passages indicating that the poll was designed to explore Vice President Bush's strengths and weaknesses among the electorate, to rate him against other possible contenders for the Republican nomination, to examine how Vice President Bush can use certain

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issues to build support, and to make certain points related to a possible strategy for Vice President Bush. The article also stated that MOR delivered a copy of the poll to Fund for America's Future ("FAF"). The complaint also cited a number of other articles, including one in Human Events, which stated that the poll specifically stated that Mr. Bush is the clear frontrunner. Based on these articles, complainants classified the poll as an effort to "test the waters."

Complainants, in reviewing the articles attached to this complaint, stated that it appeared that the poll would be paid for either by the RNC alone or by some allocation among the RNC, MOR, and FAF.

Complainants cited 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1). They stated that, although these regulations indicate that the terms "contribution" and "expenditures" do not include receipts and disbursements for "testing the waters," they do provide for proper recordkeeping and for treatment of the receipts and disbursements as contributions and expenditures if the individual subsequently beomes a candidate. Based on those regulations and the limitations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a, complainants asserted that various violations were about to take place. Complainants referred to the newspaper reports, stating that they indicate that MOR delivered "a full copy of the poll" to FAF and that MOR intended to deliver a "very different version" of the poll to the RNC. Complainants stated that, if the RNC pays more than $5,000 of the cost of the poll delivered to FAF, the RNC will have

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violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a and "if Vice President Bush becomes a candidate for President," any payment to MOR by the RNC or FAF in excess of $5,000 will violate section 441a. They further stated that Vice President Bush will be allowed to pay only up to $50,000 from personal funds if he becomes a candidate receiving matching funds. The complainants concluded from these assertions that, because the RNC can pay only $5,000, FAF can pay only $5,000, the Vice President can pay only $50,000, and the cost of the poll, according to newspaper articles, was $75,000, this would leave $15,000 unpaid for if the respondents complied with the limits. Complainants concluded, therefore, that an excessive or prohibited contribution would result. Complainants stated that, in order to avoid such a result and to avoid the "concomitant need" for Vice President Bush to prematurely establish a campaign committee, "there is some nonsensical talk" about allocating the cost between the RNC and FAF based upon the number of questions requested by each with MOR absorbing some of the cost because some questions were requested by neither committee. Complainants maintained that, because the full poll was accepted by FAF and because it related entirely to a Bush Presidential candidacy, no such allocation was possible. They further maintained that the suggestion that MOR inserted questions on its own is "ridiculous," stating that those requesting the poll would review the format and the questions, and any questions not specifically requested would be the "usual demographic questions included in every poll."

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B. Responses to the Complaint

For a complete description of the responses to the complaint, this Office refers the Commission to pp. 4-12 of the General Counsel's Briefs, dated November 6, 1987. A summary of the positions of each of the respondents follows. (This is similar to the summary set out on pp. 13-14 of the briefs.)

The RNC responded on March 6, 1986, by submitting an affidavit from William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC. He stated that the RNC commissioned MOR to conduct a poll related to various issues such as terrorism and international trade, but not to issues related to a possible presidential candidacy by Vice President Bush. Subsequently, according to Mr. Greener, Lee Atwater asked him if questions of interest to FAF could be placed on the poll and Mr. Greener assented to their inclusion provided that the RNC did not pay for or see the questions. In a subsequent letter from counsel for the RNC, received on April 23, 1986, counsel stated that the RNC commissions numerous polls on behalf of the President and the Adminstration, consults with Administration officials for their input, and makes poll data available to Administration figures. Counsel again stated that this poll, like a number of other RNC polls, involved "piggybacking," i.e., "when a committee intends to conduct a survey and make the polling procedure available to another committee to add separate questions of unique interest to it" and where the additional cost "is absorbed by the separate organization."

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The response of MOR, which included a letter from counsel and an affidavit from Robert M. Teeter, MOR's president, was received on March 12, 1986. According to this response, the Vice President told Mr. Teeter that the RNC was going to commission a poll that was to include questions of interest to the Vice President, and that, several days later, Mr. Fahrenkopf asked Mr. Teeter to conduct a poll for the RNC and to follow up on details with Bill Phillips, Mr. Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff. The response stated that Mr. Teeter was instructed by the RNC to receive input from the Vice President's staff, that Mr. Teeter received such input, and that he believed that he had acted within the authority granted to MOR when he included questions pertaining to the Vice President and 1988. MOR wrote two separate analyses for the poll, one for the Vice President and one for the RNC; Mr. Teeter presented the first analysis to the Vice President on November 13, 1985, and the second analysis to Mr. Greener on December 19, 1985. According to the response, after the RNC stated that it would not pay for certain questions, (when the news stories referred to by the complainants appeared or were about to appear), Mr. Teeter attempted to allocate questions between the RNC and FAF and have MOR absorb the costs of questions not allocable to either.

The response of FAF and the Vice President, received on March 13, 1986, contained a detailed letter from counsel, an affidavit from Lee Atwater identifying himself as Chairman of FAF, and an affidavit from Craig L. Fuller, the Vice President's

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Chief of Staff. The response contended that the RNC authorized the poll, wished to include "questions of interest" to the Vice President, and invited the Vice President to have such questions put in the poll for the purposes of the RNC. After Mr. Phillips, in the late summer of 1985, indicated concern as to the awkwardness of inviting the Vice President to "add issues to an RNC poll," Mr. Atwater stated that FAF might be able to pay for certain questions, but it was still his impression that the RNC was to pay the full cost of the poll. The response stated that, although Mr. Fuller reviewed a draft of the poll survey, he was not approving the poll but merely offering suggestions in his capacity as the Vice President's Chief of Staff, i.e., as a person occasionally consulted by pollsters and as one who might naturally comment on questions related to the Vice President. Counsel stated that, when the poll was presented to his clients, "[i]t was assumed that the 1988 Presidential questions had been included at the direction of the RNC." Counsel stated that there had been a "serious but good-faith disagreement between MOR and RNC" as to what was to be included in the poll and, "in order to ease the RNC's position," FAF had agreed "to receive a bill from MOR" for certain questions pertaining to the public perception of the Vice President. According to counsel, such payment would not constitute authorization by the Vice President for testing the waters expenditures.

On March 17, 1986, this Office received a copy of the poll questionnaire from MOR. The questionnaire contained marginal

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notations by MOR denoting which questions MOR intended to allocate to the RNC, which questions MOR intended to allocate to FAF, and which questions were not to be allocated. There were 105 non-demographic questions. (Although the last question is numbered 104, there are two sets of question 23 and two sets of questions 81 and 82; each set is labeled as "Half Sample A" or "Half Sample B." In addition, question 76 is blank and labeled "Not asked.")

MOR designated seventy-five questions, i.e., 71.4% of the questions, to be allocated to the RNC. These questions included general questions about the state of the nation and the government, questions about the performance of the President and the Vice President, 35 issue questions, 22 of which pertained to trade or terrorism, questions pertaining to general feelings about political figures, one of whom was George Bush, attitudes toward both major parties and toward liberals and conservatives, four sets of questions pertaining to attitudes toward the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy with only the references to the President and Senator Kennedy being attributed to the RNC, and questions pertaining to an ideological characterization of the person being polled, the President, and the Vice President.

Six questions, i.e., 5.7% of the questions, were designated as allocable to FAF. These questions pertained to perceptions of George Bush. Two of these questions referred to the Vice President alone. Four were part of the four sets of questions

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referring to the President, the Vice President, and Senator Kennedy. The remaining twenty-four questions, i.e., 22.9% of the questions, were not allocated. These questions pertained to George Bush and the 1988 election.

On June 3, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the RNC and Mr. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) by making an in-kind disbursement in excess of the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) in the form of poll results for Vice President Bush. On that date, the Commission also found reason to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) by accepting the in-kind disbursement by the RNC. Additionally, the Commission determined to take no action at that time with respect to Market Opinion Research and with respect to FAF and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer. Finally, the Commission approved subpoenas for the production of documents and the taking of depositions.

Depositions in this matter occurred on the following dates: (1) July 29, 1986 - Robert M. Teeter; (2) July 30, 1986 - William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations for the RNC; (3) August 14, 1986 - Craig L. Fuller; (4) August 15, 1986 - Lee Atwater, the Vice President and Chairman of FAF; and (5) August 18, 1986 - Bill Phillips, formerly RNC Chief of Staff and, as of the beginning of December, 1986, Executive Director of FAF.

The depositions and review of the requested documents attempted to cover the sequence of events from the first

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conversation between Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and Vice President George Bush, until the filing of the responses to the complaint.

C. The General Counsel's Briefs

On November 6, 1987, this Office sent briefs to counsel for the RNC and counsel for the Vice President, stating that the General Counsel was prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that the RNC and Mr. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) and probable cause to believe that the Vice President violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). This Office refers the Commission to pp. 15-28 of the briefs for an analysis of the depositions and review of documents conducted in this matter. A summary of this Office's analysis follows:

In discussing the circumstances surrounding the poll, this Office divided its analysis into three areas or "elements": (1) the assumption by the persons involved that this was an RNC project to be paid for by the RNC; (2) the knowledge, prior to the fielding of the poll, that this poll would contain questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush; and (3) the acceptance of poll results by Vice President Bush. Each element is discussed separately below.

(1) The testimony as a whole indicates that those involved in the development of this poll considered this poll to be a project of the RNC, to be paid for by the RNC, prior to the surfacing of the controversy on December 3, 1986, and the reporting of the controversy in The Washington Post and other newspapers starting on December 4, 1985.

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Mr. Teeter, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Phillips all testified that it was their assumption that, prior to the surfacing of the controversy, the RNC was to pay for the poll. Mr. Teeter insisted that, even though two clients, the Vice President and the RNC, would be receiving the poll, the RNC was the entity to whom the bills were sent and the RNC was going to pay for the poll. Mr. Fuller, even after reviewing a draft of the questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President and his presidential prospects that were included in the final questionnaire, testified that it was his impression that the RNC would pay for all of the questions.

Lee Atwater and Bill Phillips testified as to Atwater's statements that FAF might be able to pay for some questions in response to Bill Phillips' concern that the RNC might be criticized for doing a poll for only one potential candidate. The statements were made during a conversation involving Atwater, Teeter, and Phillips and during a conversation involving Atwater, Greener, and Phillips. Atwater testified that he was thinking only of questions that FAF could pay for, not questions related to 1988. Both Atwater and Phillips testified that, after these conversations, they still understood that the RNC was to pay for the poll.

Mr. Greener claims that Mr. Atwater had called him and asked if it was possible for "us" to put questions on the poll, that he had asked for and received Mr. Phillips' approval for such an

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arrangement, and that Mr. Greener told Mr. Atwater that this would be a standard piggyback arrangement. Mr. Greener's position is not supported by the other evidence in this matter. Neither Mr. Atwater nor Mr. Phillips made reference to this call. Furthermore, as indicated by Mr. Greener's testimony as to the conversations on December 3, 1985, involving him and other persons involved with the poll in preparation for press inquiries, there was a lack of certainty as to what this arrangement was to entail, i.e, as to what types of questions the RNC had intended to pay for. In addition, Mr. Greener's testimony as to his purported conversation with Mr. Atwater indicates that he was not certain from the conversation, the conversation ostensibly originating the "piggyback" deal, as to whether FAF or some other representative of the Vice President would pay for questions.

(2) The testimony indicates that the participants were aware, prior to December 3, that there would be questions on the poll pertaining to the political perceptions of the Vice President. The evidence also indicates that most of the witnesses knew that the poll would contain questions pertaining to 1988.

The testimony of Mr. Teeter and Mr. Phillips discusses the origins of the poll, including the Vice President's conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf, Mr. Teeter's conversation with the Vice President, and Mr. Teeter's conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf. Mr. Teeter reasonably concluded from such conversations that the

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poll was to contain questions pertaining to the Vice President with respect to the 1988 election. It appears that his understanding is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Fuller reviewed and praised the draft containing questions pertaining to 1988 and did not question the presence of such questions. A further confirmation of Mr. Teeter's understanding is the fact that when he presented his analysis of the poll results to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater twenty days prior to the surfacing of the controversy, none of the participants asked why the questions were on the poll. According to Mr. Atwater's testimony, comments about the 1988 questions were to effect that the Vice President "was out ahead of everyone and looked pretty good."

During examination by his counsel, Mr. Phillips stated that his understanding was that the poll was "to measure public perception of the Vice President's role as Vice President and how [the public] felt about his job and job performance." Nevertheless, Mr. Phillips expressed his concern as to the appearance that the RNC was conducting a poll for one potential candidate.

Mr. Greener claims that when Mr. Atwater asked him if it were possible for "us" to include questions, he did not think specifically whether these questions would pertain to the Vice President's interests in the 1988 election. However, Mr. Greener's claim that this was a "piggyback" arrangement appears to entail an assertion that the RNC would pay for certain

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issues of interest to the Vice President but would not pay for questions of more particular political interest to the Vice President.

(3) The testimony indicates that the Vice President and his agents accepted poll results pertaining to a testing the waters efforts for the 1988 presidential elections. At a meeting in the Vice President's office on November 13, 1985, Mr. Teeter presented a written analysis of the poll to the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater. The analysis contains a discussion of the public's perceptions of the Vice President, the 1988 primary election, the 1988 general election, and the issues of terrorism and trade. It appears that the entirety of this analysis is related to the prospects for the Vice President in the 1988 primary and general elections and that the analysis ties almost all of the questions in the poll to this theme.

The testimony indicates that those present at the meeting discussed the information in the analysis and related it to scheduling the Vice President over the next several months. Those present also commented on the apparent strength of the Vice President's possible 1988 candidacy as evidenced from the poll.

Despite the attempts of counsel for Mr. Awater to portray this meeting as a meeting that was nothing out of the ordinary and, therefore, not an acceptance of the poll, the testimony of Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller indicates that this was the first time that the Vice President and those two men had met together to receive a poll analysis and the testimony of Mr. Fuller indicates

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that this was the first time that Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller had received an analysis together. Furthermore, this was a poll largely devoted to questions pertaining to the Vice President and involving arrangements for the poll by the Vice President and his agents, even to the point of Mr. Fuller receiving and commenting upon a draft questionnaire containing virtually all of the questions pertaining to the Vice President that appeared on the final poll. These facts, along with the aforementioned fact that a formal meeting took place where the results pertaining specifically to the Vice President and 1988 were presented and commented upon, indicate that there was an acceptance by the Vice President of the poll results.

In summation, the evidence presented indicates that a poll, which prior to December 3, 1985, was to be paid for by the RNC and not by the Vice President of FAF, was taken; that persons involved in that poll knew prior to December 3 that one of the purposes of this poll was to obtain information pertaining to a possible 1988 presidential candidacy by the Vice President; and that the Vice President accepted the poll results. It appears that, but for the fact the controversy about this poll surfaced on December 3, 1985, this would have continued to be the arrangement.

During this matter, Mr. Teeter has submitted dollar figures for a division of the costs of the poll (calculated after the controversy surfaced), a copy of the poll questionnaire with marginal notations denoting how MOR would allocate questions

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among the RNC, MOR, and FAF, and a chart displaying the basis for the division of the costs. According to Mr. Teeter, out of the $70,000 already billed to the RNC, $52,390 would be paid by the RNC, $4,996 by FAF, and $12,614, the amount construed as related to a 1988 Bush candidacy, would be absorbed by MOR. A review of the analysis presented to the Vice President indicates that those questions allocable to FAF were used for analyzing George Bush's strength in connection with the 1988 election. Therefore, the amount attributable to a testing the waters effort and, hence, the amount of the in-kind disbursement is $17,610, i.e., the sum of the costs allocable to FAF and the costs to be absorbed by MOR.[1/]

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II. ANALYSIS OF THE REPLY BRIEFS

A. Summary of Responses

On December 21, 1987, counsel for the RNC submitted a reply brief accompanied by an affidavit from RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, stating his version of the origins of the poll. On January 5, 1988, counsel for the Vice President submitted his reply brief.

According to the RNC, the RNC commissioned the poll at issue for its own political and fundraising purposes and, as director of all White House polls, regularly seeks input from members of the Administration on matter of interest to them. Such questions, including public perception questions of

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1/ As stated above, the analysis presented to the Vice President tied in almost all the questions in the poll. Those questions allocated by Mr. Teeter to the RNC, however, appear to pertain more to areas not related to a testing the waters effort by the Vice President.

Administration figures, are not included pursuant to any piggyback theory. The RNC asserts that the poll at issue was a general survey for the RNC and the Administration; only those questions of a separate, unique political interest to the Vice President or FAF would be part of a piggyback arrangement, and the RNC would not have any specific knowledge of those questions.

The RNC responds to the three elements set out in the General Counsel's Brief. With respect to the first element, counsel states that if there was no RNC knowledge of the 1988 questions, it is not germane whether this was assumed to be an RNC project to be paid for out of RNC funds. With respect to the second element, counsel asserts that no RNC employee knew of the presence of the 1988 questions. Counsel further states that although this Office states that Mr. Teeter reasonably concluded he had been authorized to include 1988 questions, this was "not a reasonable conclusion from the RNC's perspective." With respect to the third element, counsel claims that the RNC would have no first-hand knowledge of acceptance of the poll by the Vice President. Counsel states that no one at the RNC authorized the presentation of the poll to the Vice President or was advised that the poll would be presented to him. He states that the RNC was not informed that poll results had been presented until December 3, 1985.

In his enclosed affidavit, the RNC Chairman states that he decided to retain MOR for a national attitude survey because he was sensitive to criticism that the RNC had not shared its

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national survey business with a number of firms and had relied too much on Decision Making Information ("DMI"). He states that, in February, 1985, he had lunch with the Vice President and that he casually mentioned to the Vice President that he intended to retain MOR to conduct a survey for the RNC. He states that he mentioned no intention to include questions pertaining to a 1988 presidential campaign and had no such intention. He states that he then spoke to Bob Teeter, informing him that he was interested in doing a survey examining the makeup of the Republican coalition and that he should contact "[his] Chief of Staff, Bill Phillips, and [his] Political Director, Bill Greener, to work out the details." He asserts that he did not ask Mr. Teeter to include questions referring to potential 1988 candidacies. Mr. Fahrenkopf then states that he had no knowledge that such questions would be on the survey and was not aware of anyone at the RNC who was aware such questions would be on the poll.

Fahrenkopf refers to Bill Phillips' concerns described in the General Counsel's Brief claiming that Mr. Phillips' "expressed concern over perceptions which might occur because of the use by the [RNC] of a polling firm so closely identified with the Vice President." He states that he indicated to Mr. Phillips a desire to use a variety of polling firms in the future and that it was thus inevitable that polling firms associated with potential candidates would be used. Mr. Fahrenkopf states that he had thought that the Vice President's office might be interested in questions on trade and terrorism. He asserts that

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there was never any discussion of questions pertaining to a testing the waters effort but that it was his understanding that "there might be questions of unique political interest to the Vice President or individuals politically associated with him which might be piggybacked on this survey"; they would be "without RNC review or expense." Finally, Mr. Fahrenkopf states that the RNC, as the White House pollster, regularly seeks input from Administration officials, includes questions regarding political perceptions of Republican officials, and makes poll information available to members of the Administration. He states that the RNC usually does not review polls prior to fielding.

Counsel for the Vice President begins his extensive reply with a three-fold summary of argument. The first and most significant point in the summary of argument of counsel is that the Vice President was neither a candidate for President nor engaged in a testing the waters effort at the time of the poll and, therefore, the fact that he was briefed on the poll does not constitute acceptance of a testing the waters disbursement. Counsel also questions proceeding against the Vice President personally by asserting that the Vice President's involvement in the poll was extremely limited. Counsel asserts that the Vice President did not request the poll, did not commission it, did not see a copy of the questions in advance, was not consulted about when it would take place or about any other aspect of the poll, did not request the briefing, and did not pay for the poll. Counsel's third point is that this situation involved nothing

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more than a fundamental misunderstanding of what the poll would contain and that there is no evidence that either the Vice President or the RNC intended to or did commission a poll pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in the 1988 election.

Counsel addresses this matter in terms of the three elements presented by this Office. Counsel first argues that these three elements would only be relevant if a testing the waters effort had existed at the time. As to the first element, counsel agrees that the RNC was the paying client and uses this point to again minimize the Vice President's involvement. As to the second element, counsel states that MOR "controlled the questions in the poll." Counsel states that Mr. Teeter had certain ideas as to the type of poll he wanted and that MOR, not the RNC or the Vice President, was responsible for the placement on the poll of the questions at issue. As to the third element, counsel states that Mr. Teeter requested this meeting because he thought such a briefing was "inherent" in the process of such an RNC poll," and that there is no special significance to the fact that the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater met together to receive the poll results.

Counsel concludes with a legal analysis emphasizing again that the Vice President was not engaged in a testing the waters effort at the time he received the poll results. Counsel further states that, even if this Office were to rely on the concept that "the bare act of 'conducting a poll'" is testing the waters "in and of itself," Vice President Bush "did not 'conduct a poll.'"

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B. Analysis of the Rely Brief of RNC Counsel

In order to analyze the reply brief of the RNC with specificity, this Office will examine the response in terms of the three elements presented in the General Counsel's Brief.

In order to address the point that the persons involved assumed that the RNC would pay for the poll, i.e., the first element, counsel states that the RNC agrees that it should pay for the three-fourths of the questions related to matters of interest to the RNC and the Administration but that the RNC "is not obligated for parts of the survey about which it has no knowledge or interest." The RNC points out that "[t]he disputed survey also included two commerical clients"[2/] and asserts that, under the General Counsel's analysis, the RNC had an obligation to pay for the part of the survey for the two commercial clients.

The RNC analysis is invalid. The chart displaying the basis for the division of the $70,000 cost of the poll (referred to on p. 14) divides the cost on the basis of questions for the RNC, questions pertaining to the Vice President and 1988, and questions pertaining to the Vice President but supposedly not relating to 1988. (Deposition of Teeter, p. 121) It did not include payments to be made for other minor clients for the results of a few of the questions. In making reference to the

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payment of the bill for the entirety of the poll, therefore, the witnesses were making reference to the costs as they pertained to the principal beneficiaries of the poll, not to minor clients.

In his reply brief, counsel makes a number of other arguments pertaining to the first element even though he does not place them specifically within his argument as to that element. Counsel questions this Office's assessment of the testimony as to the conversations among the witnesses as they relate to the issue of who was the paying client. Counsel states that this Office should rely on the veracity of Bill Greener's testimony that Mr. Atwater had called him and asked to have questions of unique political interest to the Vice President placed on the poll pursuant to a piggyback arrangement. Counsel asserts that this Office failed to ask Mr. Atwater specifically about the conversation, that "Mr. Atwater never clearly states that such a conversation could not or did not occur," and that "Mr. Atwater's memory under oath has already needed correction in regard to discussion on these issues, as demonstrated by the filing of an amended affidavit." Counsel for the RNC is referring to the fact that, in Mr. Atwater's first affidavit sent by counsel for the Vice President in response to the complaint, Mr. Atwater referred to his statement that the FAF might be able to pay for some questions if there were a problem and stated that he made this statement to Mr. Greener after Mr. Greener expressed concern about doing a poll for the benefit of one of the potential candidates. Counsel for the Vice President sent a letter and a

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corrected affidavit nineteen days later stating that Mr. Atwater's statements had been to Mr. Phillips after Mr. Phillips had expressed concern.

RNC counsel's assessment of the testimony ignores a number of major points. It is not just the testimony of Mr. Atwater that makes no reference to such a conversation. Mr. Phillips, whom Mr. Greener allegedly spoke to directly after his conversation with Mr. Atwater and from whom Mr. Greener allegedly obtained permission for a piggyback arrangement, also made no reference to such a conversation. Mr. Phillips was Mr. Greener's supervisor at the RNC. Both Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips were questioned carefully by counsel for this Office and asked to recall seriatum all of the contacts that they were involved in or knew of pertaining to the poll. Counsel's argument that Mr. Atwater never clearly states that such a conversation could not occur fails to take into account that the conversation alleged by Mr. Greener is in direct conflict with the testimony of Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips. Mr. Greener claims that Mr. Atwater actively sought to have questions pertaining to the unique interests of the Vice President included in the poll. According to Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips, Mr. Atwater did not actively seek the inclusion of questions; rather, after Mr. Phillips expressed a concern, Mr. Atwater held out the possibility that FAF might be able to pay for some questions if problems occurred.

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Counsel relies on the supposed precision of Mr. Greener's testimony as opposed to the supposed vagueness of Mr. Atwater's testimony. During his testimony, however, Mr. Greener attempted to support his version by pointing to Mr. Atwater's references in draft affidavits to a conversation with William Greener. This reference also appeared in expanded form in the first affidavit submitted by Mr. Atwater to this Office. However, as alluded to by RNC counsel, Mr. Atwater acknowledged his mistake as to the identity of the person to whom he spoke and corrected his affidavit, stating that he spoke to Mr. Phillips. Therefore, it appears that Mr. Greener's attempt to bolster his story by attempting to reconcile his account with that of Mr. Atwater's was questionable. (This Office refers the Commission to pp 118-119 of the Greener Deposition and Exhibit 12 of that deposition for the statements and for one of the documents to which Mr. Greener was referring.)

Counsel begins his argument with respect to the second element by agreeing with the statement that those at the RNC knew that the poll would include questions relating to political perceptions of George Bush. Counsel states, however, that this is irrelevant and that the General Counsel's Brief has not expressly stated whether anyone at the RNC had prior knowledge that there would be questions specifically related to a Bush presidential candidacy in 1988. Counsel maintains that the testimony of five witnesses and the affidavit of Mr. Fahrenkopf indicate that no one at the RNC was aware that such questions

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would appear on the poll. Counsel also maintains that the deposition witnesses who knew that questions pertaining to 1988 were on the poll were not RNC personnel, and he questions our statement that only Mr. Phillips may never have had such knowledge. Counsel states that Mr. Phillips definitely did not have such prior knowledge and that Mr. Greener did not have such knowledge either.

Counsel argues further that for the RNC to have prior knowledge and/or to have approved such questions would have violated the RNC's rules, its pledges of neutrality, and potentially the FECA, and would have destroyed the RNC's ability to perform its political function. Counsel maintains, therefore, that, from the RNC's perspective, Mr. Teeter's conclusion that he had been authorized to ask such questions was not reasonable. He states that the facts surrounding Mr. Fuller's review of the poll are irrelevant to the RNC's awareness of such questions because Mr. Fuller does not work for the RNC and did not inform anyone at the RNC that he reviewed the poll. Counsel further presses his argument that Mr. Teeter's conclusion was not reasonable by contending that the RNC regularly commissions polls that contain "voter perceptions" of Administration officials and that such polls have not included questions relating to testing the waters for 1988, even though "[n]o greater degree of RNC direction or review of instruments is provided regularly for these other firms." In a section titled "Facts," counsel states that, although accounts of Mr. Fahrenkopf's conversation with the Vice

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President vary to some degree, the only non-hearsay account came from the Chairman's affidavit. This affidavit states that the Chairman casually mentioned to the Vice President that he intended to retain MOR to conduct a nationwide attitude survey for the RNC and had no intention to include questions pertaining to a potential 1988 presidential campaign. Although not placed within a discussion of the second element, counsel's reference to the affidavit is relevant to a discussion of that element.

Counsel's discussion of the second element fails for a number of reasons. First, counsel mischaracterizes this Office's position with respect to the second element. Although, this Office refers to the second element as pertaining to the knowledge that questions as to political perceptions of the Vice President would appear on the poll, this Office went further to make the point that most of the participants knew prior to December 3, 1985, that the poll would or did contain questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects in 1988. Second, counsel's further statements that the General Counsel's Brief has not expressly stated whether anyone at the RNC had prior knowledge that there would be such questions and his arguments ensuing from that contention still do not negate the RNC's responsiblity for the poll as determined from the statements made to Mr. Teeter and the course of conduct of the participants.

In order to discuss the RNC's responsiblity for the poll, it is first necessary to examine counsel's declaration that the deposition witnesses who knew that questions pertaining to 1988

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were on the poll were not RNC personnel and that neither Mr. Phillips, Mr. Greener, nor Mr. Fahrenkopf had such prior knowledge. The testimony indicates that Mr. Phillips was concerned that the RNC might be criticized for doing a poll for one potential candidate. Although Mr. Fahrenkopf attempts to address this evidence by claiming that Mr. Phillips was concerned about the use of the Vice President's pollster, not about the conducting of a poll for the Vice President's benefit, the evidence from the testimony of Mr. Atwater confirms Mr. Phillips' version of his expressed concerns. Mr. Greener claims that in mid-summer, 1985, Mr. Atwater asked permission for the inclusion of questions. As stated in our brief, his claim that these would be questions for which the RNC would be responsible apears to entail an assertion that the RNC would not pay for questions of a more particular political interest to the Vice President. Draft letters written after December 3, 1985, and Mr. Greener's notes of discussions by the participants on December 3, 1985, indicate that such questions were supposedly contemplated for the purported "piggyback" arrangement. Mr. Fahrenkopf's affidavit states that it was his understanding at the time of Mr. Phillips' expression of concern that "pursuant to standard polls practice," there "might be questions of unique political interest to the Vice President or individuals associated with him which might be piggybacked." Mr. Fahrenkopf makes this statement despite his apparent intent in his affidavit and despite counsel's apparent intent in his reply brief to minimize the concept of this poll as

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being for the Vice President's benefit, as opposed to being a vehicle to give polling firms, other than DMI, a chance to do a national poll. Mr. Phillips' expression of concern occurred a few days after Mr. Fahrenkopf's initial lunch with the Vice President and, hence, a number of months before Mr. Atwater supposedly called Mr. Greener and asked to have questions included. Therefore, without any apparent suggestion, Mr. Fahrenkopf assumed that this poll might be used as a vehicle to provide questions of narrow political benefit to the Vice President.

It may be argued that, even if RNC personnel were, in fact, aware that questions pertaining to the Vice President's potential candidacy might appear on the poll, this point is irrelevant if the RNC had no intention of paying for them. However, the point of this evidence plus the evidence as to Mr. Phillips' concerns, which continued even under the understanding that the RNC would pay for the entirety of the poll (Deposition of Phillips, pp. 62-63), must be viewed as a factor within the context of the arrangements for the poll, i.e., the authorization to do the poll, the instructions given, and what these instructions meant within the past practice of the persons involved.

As indicated in the General Counsel's Brief, the record contains accounts of the language used at the genesis of the poll. (See General Counsel's Brief, pp 20-21.) This language indicated that the questions pertaining to the political interests of George Bush were to be an important component of this poll, including the level of political support for the Vice

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President after the 1984 campaign. Even Mr. Fahrenkopf, in his account of his conversation with Mr. Phillips, makes reference to the inclusion of questions of unique political interest to the Vice President. (Fahrenkopf Affidavit, ¶10)

When Mr. Teeter spoke to Mr. Fahrenkopf, he was given instructions as to how to proceed. Mr. Fahrenkopf told him that he could contact the Vice President or his staff for input and to "deal with" Mr. Phillips. (Deposition of Teeter, p. 22)[3/] This is precisely what Mr. Teeter did. He contacted Mr. Phillips shortly thereafter and had subsequent contacts with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Greener. Pursuant to his instructions, Mr. Teeter also contacted Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller for input. In August 1985, Mr. Teeter asked Mr. Atwater for suggestions as to areas to cover

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3/ In an apparent effort to bolster the value of Mr. Greener's testimony as opposed to Mr. Phillips' testimony, Mr. Fahrenkopf states that he told Mr. Teeter to contact "[h]is Chief of Staff, Bill Phillips, and [his] Political Director, Bill Greener, to work out the details." A few points should be noted as to Mr. Fahrenkopf's assertion. At the time of this conversation, Mr. Greener, according to his own testimony, was not Political Director. According to Mr. Greener's testimony, he did not assume that position until April 1985, when he became Deputy Chief of Staff. During the time of the Teeter-Fahrenkopf conversation, Mr. Greener was Director of Communications. When asked by this Office whether, as Communications Director, he played a role in the RNC's contacts with those doing polls for the RNC, Mr. Greener said, "Only peripherally, as it referred to communications." (Deposition of Greener, p. 8) In March, 1985, "when it had been decided" that Mr. Greener was going to become Deputy Chief of Staff, he was informed that there would be a national poll using MOR but, unlike Mr. Phillips, was not informed by Mr. Fahrenkopf. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 11-13) Finally, Mr. Greener states that, at the time he was informed of the poll, he was told that "the discussions would principally on the matter be between Mr. Phillips and Mr. Teeter" and that he (Mr. Greener) was the "bookkeeper ... at that point in the process." (Deposition of Greener, p. 13)

and Mr. Atwater gave him the suggestion of "generally politically supporting" and stated that Mr. Teeter "would know better" than Mr. Atwater. (Deposition of Teeter, p. 38) Mr. Teeter asked Mr. Fuller for input, showing him a draft questionnaire containing questions pertaining to the Vice President's prospects for 1988. Mr. Fuller approved of the poll and even suggested language for questions pertaining to the 1988 election. Therefore, based on the evidence, it appears that Mr. Teeter followed the instructions given at the outset of the poll.

An examination of the context in which this poll was authorized is also necessary. The testimony of Mr. Greener and Mr. Phillips indicates that MOR had not been conducting national polls for the RNC. According to Mr. Greener's testimony, the RNC had been using only DMI for its nationwide surveys. (Deposition of Greener, p. 41) Mr. Phillips, who had been RNC Chief of Staff since January 1983, and who was in charge of polling, stated that he did not recall MOR doing a national poll for the RNC. (Deposition of Phillips, p. 17) The testimony of these men also revealed that the RNC often does not review national polls before they are fielded. Mr. Greener stated that he has never seen a national poll before fielding and knew of no one at the RNC who had. He stated that sometimes certain specific questions done by DMI might be read to them or sent to them for review but "more often than not," the RNC will rely on the pollster. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 27-28) Mr. Phillips said that "[s]ometimes questions are reviewed, and sometimes they're not" and that it

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was a "sporadic circumstance." (Deposition of Phillips, pp. 42) The testimony of these men also indicated that MOR had done a number of polls that were not national for the RNC in the past and that the RNC would not see the poll questionnaires before they were fielded. Mr. Phillips said that MOR had done a number of polls and that when the RNC offered to pay for a poll, and MOR was the pollster, MOR would "work out the details of the exact poll, the questions, et cetera." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 17) Mr. Greener stated that the RNC and MOR had a "relationship" whereby MOR would draw up a questionnaire that would be fielded without the RNC seeing it. (Deposition of Greener, p. 96)

Thus, the circumstances surrounding the drafting and fielding of the poll questionnaire were consistent with the past practice of the RNC and the past practice of the RNC in its dealings with Mr. Teeter. Mr. Teeter listened to the statements of Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President, followed through on the instructions given him, and behaved in the manner he was accustomed to with respect to an RNC poll. Counsel contends that no other RNC polling firms conducting nationwide surveys which included political perception questions on Administration officals have concluded that they should ask 1988 testing the waters questions. However, the evidence indicates that MOR had not been doing nationwide surveys for the RNC.[4/] If Mr. Teeter

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4/ Counsel's assertion as to other pollsters on this issue should be scrutinized. The evidence is that, prior to the initiation of this poll project, one pollster had been consistently doing national polls for the RNC and that one of the motivations for the use of MOR was to have other pollsters do
(Footnote continued)

was supposed to have behaved differently on this nationwide survey than he had in the past on the other types of surveys done with the RNC, the RNC made no such statement to him.

With respect to the second element, therefore, it appears that the RNC should be held responsible for the poll. Even if the RNC did not intend to pay for any questions pertaining to a testing the waters effort by the Vice President, the circumstances surrounding this poll, including statements as to the purposes of the poll, statements as to how Mr. Teeter should proceed, and the past practices of the RNC, indicate that Mr. Teeter, who was acting on behalf of the RNC, behaved reasonably in fielding this poll.

With respect to the third element, the acceptance of the poll by the Vice President, counsel states that the RNC has no first-hand knowledge. Counsel uses his reference to the third element to assert that no one at the RNC authorized the presentation of the poll to the Vice President or was advised in advance that the poll would be presented to him. These assertions should be examined in light of the evidence. It is

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(Footnote continued)
such polls. If counsel is referring, instead, to polls fielded since the controversy surrounding this poll emerged, then the assertion is of little value. The controversy surrounding this poll became well known in early December, 1985. Furthermore, the documents submitted by the RNC indicate that a letter was written to the potential 1988 candidates after the controversy emerged referring to the controversy and to the need for the RNC to preserve neutrality with respect to 1988. The pollsters of the potential candidates thus would have been put on notice of the need to avoid placing 1988 questions on RNC polls. Therefore, the context in which the same instructions and review or lack of review of questionnaires occurred would have differed from the context existing in this matter.

true that Mr. Greener, while being questioned with respect to a dinner with Mr. Teeter and Mr. Atwater, stated that he did not know at the time whether Mr. Atwater would also receive a poll analysis and that, as of December 3, 1985, he did not know who "had seen" a poll. (Deposition of Greener, pp. 46 and 57-58) However, other statements by Mr. Greener and by Mr. Phillips indicate that, even if the RNC claims lack of specific knowledge, the RNC should have assumed that the Vice President would be receiving an analysis. Mr. Greener, in his description of discussions in preparation for press inquiries on December 3, 1985, indicated that one of the poll's purposes was to include issues or matters of interest to the Vice President. (Deposition of Greener, p. 96) Mr. Phillips, in his testimony, indicates a knowledge that this poll was being conducted for the Vice President, as well as for the RNC. Mr. Phillips stated that "[h]is understanding of the Teeter project was that there would be a poll conducted, commissioned by the RNC for the Vice President." (Deposition of Phillips, p. 32) Therefore, RNC counsel's reliance on a possible lack of a specific statement to RNC personnel that a poll analysis should be presented to the Vice President or on a possible lack of specific knowledge that such an analysis was to be or had been presented is unavailing.

RNC counsel concludes his response by challenging the applicability of 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) to this matter. This regulatory section outlines the circumstances under which the purchase of poll results constitutes a contribution to a

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candidate or a disbursement under the testing the waters regulations at 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(1) and 100.8(b)(1). Counsel states that since the RNC has not paid for or received such a poll, it has not been purchased.5/ Counsel states that, even if this Office wishes to argue that the RNC is "'obligated'" for $17,610, the RNC has not violated any limits because the RNC has no legal obligation to pay that amount to MOR; MOR has decided not to seek such payment from the RNC. Referring to this Office's statement that, but for the emergence of the controversy, the RNC would have still been obligated for the entire $70,000 payment for the poll, counsel states that Mr. Fahrenkopf's affidavit makes it clear that the RNC would not have knowingly paid for such information. Counsel concludes by stating that it would be unreasonable for a probable cause finding to be based on "speculation over events which might have, but did not occur."

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5/ Counsel's statement that the RNC has not received such a poll apparently refers to the fact that the analysis received by the RNC pertained predominantly to prospects for the party and information on public perceptions of issues rather than to the political prospects of the Vice President in 1988. However, according to Mr. Teeter's testimony, the analysis that was to be presented to the RNC was changed as a result of the controversy. He testifies that he and Mr. Greener met after December 3, 1985, but prior to the presentation of the analysis to the RNC, to review poll questions and to determine what questions the RNC would pay for. Mr. Teeter had intended to include in the RNC analysis "a substantial share" of the analysis already presented to the Vice President. Because it appeared to Mr. Teeter that the RNC would not pay for most of the questions pertaining to the Vice President, he eliminated the analysis of those questions from his report to the RNC. (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 110-111) It appears, therefore, that, but for the emergence of the controversy, the RNC might have received a poll analysis that contained a significant amount of information pertaining to the Vice President's political prospects in 1988.

Counsel's analysis misses the essence of the apparent violation. The obligation to pay for the poll is a component of the apparent violation, but is not the violation itself. The violation is the in-kind disbursement of poll results by the RNC to the Vice President through Mr. Teeter who was working on behalf of the RNC. The RNC was the obligor on the entire $70,000 cost and did not cease to become the obligor for the entirety until after the controversy emerged.

C. Analysis of the Reply Brief of Counsel for the Vice President

In order to analyze the reply brief of the Vice President with specificity, this Office will first reply to counsel's analysis of the three elements. This Office will then reply to the summary of argument, the first point of which appears to subsume counsel's legal argument as to this matter.

With respect to the first element, counsel states that the RNC was the paying client. He states that the RNC "conceived of the project, selected the pollster, asked him to do the poll, told him what to include, requested him to speak to others to obtain suggestions for questions, was informed of the poll's initial delay and eventual fielding, and was billed for the final project." Counsel asserts that the Vice President did none of the above, stating that "[h]e did not authorize or commission the poll, review the questionnaire, know what questions it contained, ask for the briefing, or pay for it."

This Office agrees with the contention that the RNC was the paying client, but questions the attempt to minimize the

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participation of the Vice President. The Vice President was involved in the conversations originating this poll, having spoken to both Mr. Fahrenkopf and Mr. Teeter. He also received the results personally from Mr. Teeter. Furthermore, his Chief of Staff, Mr. Fuller, and his adviser and chairman of his multicandidate PAC, Mr. Atwater, were involved in discussions on the poll and provided input.

With respect to the second element, the knowledge of the participants as to the questions appearing on the poll, counsel for the Vice President asserts that MOR "controlled the questions on the poll." Counsel states that, in accordance with past RNC practice, the RNC did not review a draft or final questionnaire, and that Mr. Teeter chose the contents of the poll.

Counsel claims Mr. Teeter's control is evident in three ways: (1) that he decided the timing of the poll; (2) that he "had a clear idea of what sort of poll he expected to do"; and (3) that Mr. Teeter's organization, rather than the RNC or the Vice President, chose the questions at issue.

If, as the evidence indicates and counsel admits, the lack of review by the RNC was in accordance with past practice, then the fact that Mr. Teeter drafted the questionnaire himself should not negate the RNC's responsibility for the poll. In his threefold argument, however, counsel is attempting to minimize the responsibility of the others involved in this process, including the Vice President and his agents.

With respect to the contention that Mr. Teeter decided the timing of the poll, counsel cites Mr. Teeter's testimony for the

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contention that Mr. Teeter made the decision to delay the poll and restart the poll. A careful examination of the testimony cited indicates that Mr. Teeter sought the agreement of Mr. Phillips when he recommended that the poll be delayed. In addition, when asked who had a "decisive say" in whether to delay the poll, Mr. Teeter said, "I think ultimately Mr. Phillips did." (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 24 and 33) Mr. Phillips does, indeed, say that Mr. Teeter made the decision to delay the poll and that Mr. Teeter did not need his approval to do so (Deposition of Phillips, p. 35) but this was merely consistent with the past practice of the RNC-MOR relationship, rather than evidence that Mr. Teeter had sole control over the timing of this poll.

With respect to the assertion that Mr. Teeter had a clear idea of what he wanted to do, counsel states that Mr. Teeter knew that this poll was a poll to measure the Reagan/Republican coalition and to examine the question of realignment. Counsel states that Mr. Teeter "viewed the questions about the Vice President's political strength as necessary" in determining how George Bush's support added to the Reagan/Republican coalition. This Office agrees with the idea that Mr. Teeter fielded the type of poll he reasonably believed was authorized. Counsel's attempt to minimize the role that political perceptions of George Bush were to play in this poll, however, is not supported by a complete reading of the relevant portion of the Teeter deposition, cited by counsel, and by the accompanying documents. The purposes referred to by counsel were some of the

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major purposes understood by Mr. Teeter to be part of the poll, but Mr. Teeter stated, while referring to documents submitted by him, that the two main purposes of the poll were "Perceptions of Bush" and the "Reagan/GOP coalition." (Deposition of Teeter, p. 53) A further examination of the documents serving as exhibits for the Teeter deposition, particularly Exhibits 3 and 4, negates any attempt to minimize the importance of the issue of the political perceptions and prospects of George Bush.

With reference to Mr. Teeter having a clear idea as to the type of poll he wanted, counsel refers to the fact that Mr. Teeter was eager to test trend questions for a number of commercial, as well as political, clients and that Mr. Teeter saw the poll as an opportunity to test survey techniques. This Office does not dispute the fact that Mr. Teeter used this poll, as well as a number of other polls (Deposition of Teeter, pp 46-47), for the purposes cited by counsel. In the context of the RNC-MOR relationship, this Office does not see how this argument negates or minimizes the responsibility of the RNC for the poll and the role of the Vice President and his agents.

With reference to MOR choosing the questions rather than the RNC, counsel asserts that MOR began discussing questions on terrorism even before learning from Mr. Fuller that the Vice President would be interested in including such questions. The timing of this discussion within MOR is insignificant. This Office notes that terrorism was a major issue in general, and that Teeter was the Vice President's pollster and adviser and knew of areas that interested the Vice President. The document

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being discussed by Teeter in the testimony referred to by counsel lists terrorism with other issues, i.e., tax reform and "star wars." (Deposition of Teeter, Exhibit 3)

Counsel, in emphasizing the concept of MOR's control over the poll questions, attempts to de-emphasize Craig Fuller's role. He asserts that questions on the public perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election, and trade and terrorism were all included in the questionnaire before Mr. Fuller saw it. Counsel further states that Mr. Fuller is frequently asked to look at polls and believed that he was reviewing this poll as someone familiar with surveys and interested in trade and terrorism but not on behalf of anyone other than himself. Counsel states that neither the Vice President nor FAF knew that he had reviewed the questionnaire. Counsel further states that Mr. Teeter told Mr. Fuller that he could incorporate some, but not all, of the suggestions.

Although Mr. Teeter included the questions cited by counsel before Mr. Fuller saw the survey, Mr. Teeter was doing this pursuant to what he believed he was authorized to do and consistent with past RNC-MOR practice. The important factor is that he asked Mr. Fuller to review the questionnaire and sought his input. Despite counsel's statements in this part of his reply that Mr. Fuller believed he was acting merely on his own behalf, counsel in his summary of the facts of the case stated that Mr. Teeter showed a draft questionnaire to Mr. Fuller "[p]ursuant to his instructions from Mr. Fahrenkopf." According

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to the deposition evidence (evidence cited by counsel), these instructions were that Mr. Teeter was to receive input from the Vice President or his staff. (Deposition of Teeter, pp. 20-22 and Deposition of Fuller, pp. 70-71) No specific reference is made to Mr. Fuller as a person to be contacted on his own. Thus, by referring to the instructions of Mr. Fahrenkopf, counsel is stating in another part of his reply that the input of Mr. Fuller was sought as the input of an agent of the Vice President.

Counsel tries to emphasize that Mr. Teeter did not incorporate all of Mr. Fuller's suggestions. However, Mr. Teeter incorporated some of the suggestions including much of the suggested language for at least two questions pertaining to Bush and the 1988 election.

With respect to the third element, counsel claims that, since the briefing of the Vice President was customary, not unusual, there was no acceptance of any disbursement subject to the statutory limitations. Counsel maintains that the briefing by Mr. Teeter of the Vice President was nothing more than a customary briefing by an RNC pollster for an Administration official. In attempting to make this point, counsel states that the fact that the particular group briefed on the poll results had never met before for such a purpose was of no significance. He states that since Mr. Fuller and the Vice President have been briefed together on party polls six to eight times, the only additional factor was the presence of Mr. Atwater. Counsel maintains that, since Mr. Atwater was speaking to Mr. Teeter

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regularly at this time and was "the head of the Vice President's new organization to aid Republican candidates in 1986," his presence was logical. Counsel claims that Mr. Atwater has stated that the poll's analysis of the public perception of the Vice President would be useful in scheduling the Vice President's 1986 appearances for FAF and he cites Mr. Atwater's deposition testimony for this point.

This Office refers the Commission to the analysis presented on pp. 25-27 of the General Counsel's Brief. As stated before, not only was this the first time that the Vice President, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Atwater met together to receive a poll, but according to Mr. Fuller, this was the first time that Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller, both of whom were consulted by Mr. Teeter in connection with this poll, had received an analysis together. Mr. Atwater's presence was indeed logical, not only as a natural result of his association with the Vice President but as a result of his involvement with the poll. Counsel's efforts, however, to limit Mr. Atwater's role in this meeting solely to his frequent contacts with Mr. Teeter and his role with FAF do not conform with the testimony cited by counsel. After Mr. Atwater stated that, at the meeting, he had discussed the scheduling of the Vice President over the next several months, this Office specifically asked if he was speaking on behalf of FAF in this discussion. Mr. Atwater said, "Not particularly. I am giving my own observation, my own judgment." (Deposition of Atwater, pp. 42-43)

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This meeting involved a review of a poll largely devoted to questions pertaining to the Vice President and involving arrangements for the poll by the Vice President and his agents. A formal meeting took place where the results pertaining to the Vice President and 1988 were presented to the Vice President personally, favorable comments were made about such information, and no question was raised as to their appearance on the poll.

Counsel's summary of argument described above at pages 17-18, was presented in three parts. In the second part, he makes the argument that the Vice President's involvement with the poll was extremely limited. This issue is addressed in our analysis of counsel's discussion of the first element. In the third part of his summary, counsel states that "there is no proof that this poll was intended to have any connection with the 1988 elections" (emphasis included) and that there was "nothing more than a fundamental misunderstanding about what the poll would contain." This issue is addressed in our analysis of RNC counsel's discussion of the second element.

In the first part of his summary, counsel presents his principal legal argument, an argument he amplifies in his final section, his legal analysis. Counsel maintains that, as an "absolute legal predicate" to the violation alleged by this Office, it must be established that the Vice President was a candidate or was engaged in a "testing the waters" effort during that time period. Counsel, in effect is arguing that there is a such a concept as a testing the waters status encompassing a series of activities.

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Counsel refers to a number of advisory opinions as setting out the purpose and the limits of the testing the waters exemption and stated that, in each of these instances, the Commission has dealt with "a large, organized, and public series of activities expressly designed and intended to determine whether an individual should become a candidate." Counsel states that these opinions say that the purpose of a testing the waters period is to enable candidates to pursue a variety of activities or a broad range of activities to determine whether to become a candidate, without becoming a candidate yet. Counsel then lists such activities. Counsel states that the Vice President was not conducting any of the activities he lists and did not establish a testing the waters account for the express purpose of engaging in such activities until July, 1986.

Counsel maintains that since no evidence has been presented that the Vice President was already testing the waters in November, 1985, the only argument that this Office could be making is that "the bare 'act' of conducting a poll" is testing the waters "in and of itself." Counsel maintains that, the Vice President did not conduct a poll, stating that he did not commission or authorize the poll, review the questionnaire, know what questions would appear, request a briefing, or receive a bill, and stating that he told his staff he was not a candidate. Counsel states that the poll was the RNC's poll and just because the Vice President received a customary briefing does not mean he was testing the waters.

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Counsel's legal theory of a testing the waters status finds no support in the applicable Commission Regulations or in the Advisory Opinions cited by him. Section 100.7(b)(1) refers to "[f]unds received solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate" and refers to "activities" for this purpose. Under the regulation, the fact that a testing the waters account had not been established does not preclude consideration of the activity in this matter as testing the water activity.

The advisory opinions cited by counsel, AOs 1986-6, 1985-40, 1982-3, and 1981-32, discuss situations that happen to involve a number of activities, but nowhere in these opinions does the Commission state that, in order to test the waters, one must be involved in a variety or range of activities. Indeed, the Commission's analyses of the questions presented focus on the individual activities presented. Thus, one activity may constitute a testing of the waters.

Counsel argues that, even if one activity can constitute testing of the waters, the Vice President did not conduct a poll and, therefore, did not engage in one such activity. Counsel's analysis is flawed in two ways. First, counsel has misconstrued the testing the waters regulation. The regulation refers to "conducting a poll" as an example of testing the waters activity. It does not say that the potential candidate must conduct the poll for the activity to apply. Rather, the regulation contemplates that a potential candidate would be a

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beneficiary and that someone might be making a potential contribution by conducting a poll whose results were accepted by the potential candidate. Second, counsel's effort to disassociate the Vice President from the poll itself has been addressed above and refuted in discussions of the participation of the Vice President and his agents in the origins of the poll, discussions as to the poll, and the receipt of the poll.

D. Summation as to the RNC and the Vice President

The evidence presented indicates that a poll was conducted for which the RNC was to be the paying client.

It appears that some of the persons involved in the poll knew prior to December 3, 1985, the day the controversy as to this poll emerged, that one of the purposes of this poll was to obtain information pertaining to a possible 1988 presidential candidacy by the Vice President. Although it is argued that RNC personnel did not know that questions pertaining to a possible candidacy by the Vice President in 1988 would appear on the poll or intend for such questions to appear, the RNC should be held responsible for the poll and for the in-kind disbursement of poll results to the Vice President. The circumstances surrounding this poll, including statements to Mr. Teeter as to the purposes of the poll, statements as to how Mr. Teeter should proceed, and the past practices of the RNC (including the past course of conduct with MOR) indicate that Mr. Teeter, who was acting on behalf of the RNC, reasonably believed that he was fielding the

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poll he was authorized to field and behaved reasonably in developing and fielding this poll.

Finally, the circumstances surrounding the participation of the Vice President and his agents in the origins of the poll discussions during the development of the poll, and the receipt of the poll indicate that the Vice President accepted poll results pertaining to a possible candidacy in 1988.

Based on the foregoing analysis, this Office recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that the Republican National Commitee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) and probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

III. DISCUSSION OF CONCILIATION AGREEMENTS AND CIVIL PENALTIES

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IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find probable cause to believe that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

2. Find probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

3. Approve the attached conciliation agreements.

4. Approve the attached letters.

4/22/88
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Reply brief of counsel for the RNC
2. Reply brief of counsel for the Vice President
3. Letter and conciliation agreement to counsel for the RNC
4. Letter and conciliation agreement to counsel for the Vice President

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	
	)	
Market Opinion Research Co.	)	MUR 2133
	)	
The Fund for America's Future, Inc., and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer	)	

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CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of May 3, 1988, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 5-0 to continue consideration of MUR 2133 at the executive session of May 24, 1988.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner McDonald was not present at the executive session of May 3, 1988.

Attest:

5/4/88
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Republican National Committee William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Market Opinion Research Co.	)	
	)	
The Fund for America's Future, Inc., and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer	)	

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CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of June 14, 1988, do hereby certify that the Commission took the following actions in MUR 2133:

1. Failed in a vote of 1-5 to pass a motion to -

   a) Find no probable cause to believe that the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1).

   b) Find no probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

   c) Close the file.

(continued)

d) Direct the Office of the General Counsel to send appropriate letters pursuant to the above actions.

Commissioner Aikens voted affirmatively for the motion; Commissioners Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas dissented.

2. Decided by a vote of 5-1 to:

a) Find probable cause to believe that George Bush for President, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

b) Find no probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

c) Take no further action with respect to a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8 (b)(1) by the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer.

d)

Commissioners Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens dissented.

Attest:

6-16-88
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

3804071475 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On June 19, 1986, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients, the Republican National Committee ("the RNC") and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1). Subsequently, an investigation was conducted in this matter. On June 14, 1988, the Commission determined to take no further action with respect to a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) by the RNC and Mr. McManus, as treasurer.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

The Commission reminds you that making in-kind disbursements of poll results to a person for testing the waters purposes appears to be a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1). Your clients should take immediate steps to insure that this activity does not occur in the future.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

3304071475 3

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 23, 1988

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

RE: MUR 2133
Vice President George Bush

George Bush for President, Inc.

Dear Mr. Baran:

On June 14, 1988, the Federal Election Commission found that there is probable cause to believe that your client, George Bush for President, Inc., violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), a provision of the Commission Regulations, in connection with the acceptance of results from a poll authorized by the Republican National Committee pertaining to a possible candidacy by Vice President George Bush in the 1988 presidential election. On that date, the Commission also found no probable cause to believe that Vice President Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

The Commission has a duty to attempt to correct violations of the Commission Regulations for a period of 30 to 90 days by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion, and by entering into a conciliation agreement with a respondent. If we are unable to reach an agreement during that period, the Commission may institute a civil suit in United States District Court.

Enclosed is a conciliation agreement that the Commission has approved in settlement of this matter. If you agree with the provisions of the enclosed agreement, please have your client sign and return it to the Commission within 10 days. I will then recommend that the Commission approve the agreement.

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If you have any questions or suggestions for changes in the enclosed conciliation agreement, or if you wish to arrange a meeting in connection with a mutually satisfactory conciliation agreement, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

3804071475 5

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 23, 1988

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On June 19, 1986, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients, the Republican National Committee ("the RNC") and William J. McManus, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1). Subsequently, an investigation was conducted in this matter. On June 14, 1988, the Commission determined to take no further action with respect to a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) by the RNC and Mr. McManus, as treasurer.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

The Commission reminds you that making in-kind disbursements of poll results to a person for testing the waters purposes appears to be a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1). Your clients should take immediate steps to insure that this activity does not occur in the future.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

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GCC#9719

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

July 8, 1988

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
88 JUL -8 PM 12:55

Lawrence M. Noble, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Jonathan Levin, Esquire

Re: Matter Under Review 2133

Dear Mr. Noble:

This is in response to your letter of June 23, 1988 regarding the above-captioned matter. Enclosed please find the conciliation agreement which the Commission has approved in settlement of this matter and which I have executed on behalf of our client who accepts the agreement without change.

I await formal confirmation by you that this matter has now been closed.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

3804071475 7

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT
88 JUL 14 AM 10: 02

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
George Bush for President, Inc.)
) MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research Co., Inc.)
)
The Fund for America's Future, Inc.)
Roy G. Hale, as treasurer)

SENSITIVE

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

Attached is a conciliation agreement which has been signed by the General Counsel of George Bush for President, Inc. The attached agreement contains no changes from the agreement approved by the Commission on June 14, 1988. This Office recommends approval of the signed agreement.

On June 3, 1986, the Commission voted to take no action at that time against Market Opinion Research Company, Inc. ("MOR") and The Fund for America's Future, Inc. ("FAF") and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer. In the General Counsel's Report being considered by the Commission on that date, this Office had discussed the allocations computed by MOR after the controversy as to the poll emerged and the Republican National Committee ("RNC") stated that it would not pay for certain portions of the poll. In that report, this Office had recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that MOR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) by apparently assuming the costs of questions not allocated to the RNC or FAF in the amount of $12,614. This Office also had recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that FAF and Mr. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8) by not disclosing an apparent debt of $4,996 to MOR for the questions

8804071475 8

allocated to FAF.

The facts and analysis of this matter as set out in the conciliation agreement indicate a disbursement of $17,610, the total of the above figures, by the RNC for testing the waters for Vice President Bush. It appears, therefore, that MOR did not make a contribution and that FAF did not incur a debt to be disclosed in its reports.

Based on the foregoing analysis, this Office recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that MOR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and no reason to believe that FAF and Mr. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). Furthermore, this Office recommends that the Commission close the file in this matter.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Accept the attached conciliation agreement with George Bush for President, Inc.

2. Find no reason to believe that Market Opinion Research Company, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

3. Find no reason to believe that The Fund for America's Future, Inc. and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8).

4. Close the file.

5. Approve the attached letters.

7/13/88
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Agreement signed by counsel for the Bush Committee
2. Proposed letters to respondents
3. Proposed letter to complainants

3804071475 9

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
George Bush for President, Inc.	)	
Market Opinion Research Co., Inc.	)	MUR 2133
The Fund for America's Future, Inc. Roy G. Hale, as treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on July 18, 1988 the Commission decided by a vote of 5-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2133:

1. Accept the conciliation agreement with George Bush for President Inc., as recommended in the General Counsel's Report signed July 13, 1988.

2. Find no reason to believe that Market Opinion Research Company, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

3. Find no reason to believe that The Fund for America's Future, Inc. and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8).

(Continued)

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4. Close the file.

5. Approve the letters, as recommended in the General Counsel's Report signed July 13, 1988.

Commissioners Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens did not cast a vote.

Attest:

7-19-88
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Office of the Commission Secretary: Thurs., 7-14-88, 10:02
Circulated on a 48-hour tally basis: Thurs., 7-14-88, 4:00
Deadline for vote: Mon., 7-18-88, 4:00

3 3 0 4 0 7 1 4 7 6 1

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 20, 1988

E. Mark Braden, Chief Counsel
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 2133
Republican National Committee
William J. McManus, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Braden:

On June 23, 1988, this Office sent a letter informing you that the Commission had determined to tke no further action with respect to a violation of 11 C.F.R § 100.8(b)(1) by the Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer. This is is to advise you that the entire file in this matter has now been closed and will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any legal or factual materials to be placed on the public record in connection with this matter, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

Enclosed please find a Statement of Reasons adopted by the Commission explaining its determination with respect to your clients. This document will be placed on the public record as part of the file of MUR 2133.

Should you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Statement of Reasons

8804071476 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 20, 1988

George H. Meyer, Esquire
Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford
100 West Long Lake Road
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

RE: MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research
Company, Inc.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

On January 31, 1986, the Federal Election Commission notified your client, Market Opinion Research Company, Inc. ("MOR"), of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

By letter dated June 19, 1986, this Office informed you that, on June 3, 1986, the Commission determined to take no action against MOR at that time. On July 18, 1988, the Commission found, on the basis of information in the complaint and information provided by your client, Robert Teeter, and other witnesses, that there is no reason to believe MOR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days. If you wish to submit any materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days. Please send such materials to the Office of the General Counsel.

If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosures
General Counsel's Report

9804071476 3

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 20, 1988

Howard Phillips, Chairman
David G. Sanders, Treasurer
The Conservative Caucus Political
Action Committee
501 Church Street, N.E.
Vienna, VA 22180

RE: MUR 2133

Dear Messrs. Phillips and Sanders:

This is in reference to the complaint you filed with the Federal Election Commission on January 24, 1986, concerning a poll authorized by the Republican National Committee which contained questions as to a possible candidacy of Vice President George Bush in the 1988 presidential election.

After conducting an investigation in this matter, the Commission found that there was probable cause to believe that George Bush for President, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), a provision of the Commission Regulations. On July 18, 1988, a conciliation agreement signed by the respondent was accepted by the Commission and the file in this matter was closed. On that date and during the course of this matter, the Commission also made determinations with respect to other respondents in this matter. On June 14, 1988, the Commission found no probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) and decided to take no further action with respect to a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(1) by the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and William J. McManus, as treasurer. On July 18, 1988, the Commission also found no reason to believe that Market Opinion Research Company, Inc. ("MOR") violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and no reason to believe that The Fund for America's Future ("FAF") and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. 434(b)(8). This Office has enclosed a copy of the conciliation agreement, a copy of a Statement of Reasons explaining the Commission's determinations with respect to George Bush for President, Vice President Bush, and the RNC, and a General Counsel's Report reviewed by the Comimssion before it made its determinations with respect to MOR and FAF.

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If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosures
Conciliation Agreement
Statement of Reasons
General Counsel's Report

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 20, 1988

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

RE: MUR 2133
George Bush for President, Inc.

Vice President George Bush

The Fund for America's Future, Inc.
Roy G. Hale, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Baran:

On July 18, 1988, the Federal Election Commission accepted the signed conciliation agreement submitted by you on behalf of George Bush for President, Inc. in settlement of a violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), a provision of the Commission Regulations. On that date, the Commission also found no reason to believe that your clients, The Fund for America's Future, Inc. ("FAF") and Roy G. Hale, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). The Commission had previously voted, on June 3, 1986, to take no action at that time against FAF and Mr. Hale, as treasurer. Finally, as you were previously informed, the Commission, on June 14, 1988, found no probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

The file in this matter has now been closed. This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

Please be advised that information derived in connection with any conciliation attempt will not become public without the written consent of the respondent and the Commission. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B). The enclosed conciliation agreement, however, will become a part of the public record.

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Enclosed you will find a copy of the fully executed conciliation agreement, a copy of the Statement of Reasons explaining the Commission's determinations with respect to George Bush for President and Vice President Bush, and a copy of the General Counsel's Report reviewed by the Commission before it made its final determination with respect to FAF. If you have any questions, please contact Jonathan Levin, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosures
Conciliation Agreement
Statement of Reasons
General Counsel's Report

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CCC # 9731

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
88 JUL 11 PM 12:53

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
) MUR 2133
George Bush for President, Inc.)

CONCILIATION AGREEMENT

This matter was initiated by a signed, sworn, and notarized complaint by Howard Phillips and David G. Sanders on behalf of the Conservative Caucus Political Action Committee. An investigation was conducted and the Commission found probable cause to believe that George Bush for President, Inc. ("Respondent"), violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) by accepting a disbursement for testing the waters from the Republican National Committee ("RNC") in excess of the limit of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A).

NOW, THEREFORE, the Commission and the Respondent, having duly entered into conciliation pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(A)(i), do hereby agree as follows:

I. The Commission has jurisdiction over the Respondent, and the subject matter of this proceeding.

II. Respondent has had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.

III. Respondent enters voluntarily into this agreement with the Commission.

IV. The pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:

1. Respondent is the successor in interest to Vice President George Bush with respect to the matters set forth in this agreement.

2. The RNC is a multicandidate political committee under 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(4).

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3. In 1985, the RNC authorized Market Opinion Research Company ("MOR") to conduct a poll on its behalf for the benefit of Respondent. This poll contained questions as to a possible candidacy of Vice President George Bush in the 1988 presidential election.

4. The value of the poll referred to in IV, 3 was set by MOR at $70,000.

5. On November 13, 1985, Respondent accepted the results of the poll referred to in IV, 3.

6. Of the amount quoted in IV, 4, $17,610 was allocable to questions pertaining to a possible candidacy by Vice President George Bush in the 1988 presidential election.

7. Section 441a(a)(2)(A) of Title 2, United States Code, a section of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), states that no multicandidate political committee shall make contributions to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for federal office, which, in the aggregate, exceed $5,000. Section 441a(f) of Title 2, United States Code, prohibits a candidate from knowingly accepting any contribution in violation of the provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

8. Section 100.7(b)(1) of the Commission Regulations provides that, although funds received solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate are not contributions, only funds permissible under the Act, may be used for such activities. This section further provides that, if

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the individual subsequently becomes a candidate, the funds received are contributions subject to the reporting requirements of the Act.

V. Because the parties desire an expeditious resolution of this matter, and because Respondent agrees for the sole purpose of resolving this matter to voluntarily treat the poll as "testing the waters" activity, Respondent will not contest the Commission's finding with respect to 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1).

VI. Respondent will conciliate this matter on the basis that it will pay MOR $17,610. This expenditure will be reported by Respondent and will count towards the overall spending limit. Because this payment is $5,000 more than the amount the Commission has treated as impermissibly received by Respondent, no civil penalty will be paid by Respondent.

VII. The Commission, on request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) concerning the matters at issue herein or on its own motion, may review compliance with this agreement. If the Commission believes that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been violated, it may institute a civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

VIII. This agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

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IX. Respondent shall have no more than thirty (30) days from the date this agreement becomes effective to comply with and implement the requirements contained in this agreement and to so notify the Commission.

X. This Conciliation Agreement constitutes the entire agreement between the parties on the matters raised herein, and no other statement, promise, or agreement, either written or oral, made by either party or by agents of either party, that is not contained in this written agreement, shall be valid.

FOR THE COMMISSION:

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

7/20/88
Date

FOR THE RESPONDENT:

Jan W. Baran
as General Counsel
George Bush for President, Inc.

7/11/88
Date

8804071477 1

CCN# 9925

HAND DELIVERED

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
88 JUL 27 AM 9:54

MEYER, KIRK, SNYDER & SAFFORD
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
100 WEST LONG LAKE ROAD, SUITE 100
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICHIGAN 48013
TELEPHONE: (313) 647-5111
TELECOPIER: (313) 647-6079

DETROIT OFFICE
2500 PENOBSCOT BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1261

GEORGE H. MEYER
JOHN M. KIRK
GEORGE E. SNYDER
RALPH R. SAFFORD
PATRICK K. RODE
DONALD H. BAKER, JR.
DAVID D. SHOUP

MARK R. SOLOMON
OF COUNSEL IN TAX MATTERS

July 26, 1988

Mr. Jonathan Levin
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
88 JUL 27 AM 11:10

RE: MUR 2133, Market Opinion Research Company

Dear Mr. Levin:

This letter will confirm your agreement to keep confidential and omit from the public record in this matter all references to MOR clients other than those MOR clients that are named parties to the action. The specific references to be omitted that we are aware of in the transcript of Robert Teeter's deposition are the references to the "National Congressional Campaign Committee", "Seagrams" and the "Las Vegas Convention and Tourism Bureau" found on lines 19 through 22 of page 66. The specific documents to be omitted are the billing memorandums, dated 9/17/85, to MOR clients "NRCC" and "C/M/S" and a "Short Form Estimate of Cost", dated 9/6/85, with an accompanying allocation schedule. Copies of these documents were enclosed solely for your convenience in locating the copies in the public record and should have been destroyed when you located the originals. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

George H. Meyer

George H. Meyer

GHM/ec

cc: Mr. Frederick P. Currier
Mr. Robert M. Teeter
Mr. Jack VandenBerg

VIA FEDERAL EXPRESS

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OGC

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: THE COMMISSION

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/JOSHUA MCFADDEN

DATE: AUGUST 5, 1988

SUBJECT: STATEMENT OF REASONS FOR MUR 2133

Attached is a copy of the signed Statement of Reasons in MUR 2133 received in the Commission Secretary's Office Friday, August 5, 1988 at 3:30 P.M.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Vice President George Bush	)	MUR 2133
	)	
Republican National Committee and William J. McManus, as treasurer	)	

STATEMENT OF REASONS

On January 24, 1986, a complaint was filed with the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") against Vice President George Bush, the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), Market Opinion Research ("MOR") and The Fund for America's Future, Inc., ("the Fund"). The complaint alleged that the RNC provided and the Vice President accepted certain poll results in November of 1985 in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act. The complaint further alleged that the poll was conducted for the purpose of determining "voter support" for Vice President Bush in both the presidential primary elections and the general election in 1988.

In the early part of 1985 immediately after the inauguration, the RNC commissioned Market Opinion Research to conduct a survey and analysis of voter attitudes on a variety of issues, including terrorism and international trade. This poll, however, was not conducted by MOR until September of 1985 and included several questions relating to the Vice President and the 1988 Presidential election.

In November of 1985, George Bush was not a candidate for President of the United States. The Vice President had not, at that time, met any of the requirements of candidacy outlined at 2 U.S.C. Section 431(2) or 11 C.F.R. Section 100.3(a). On numerous occasions, he had in fact specifically denied that he was a candidate for any office.

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In response to the complaint, several affidavits were provided to the Commission by the various respondents. William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations of the RNC, in his affidavit, stated that the RNC had never commissioned MOR to conduct a poll "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988." The affidavit of Lee Atwater, who was then Chairman of the Fund stated, "at no time did I specify, request or authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR." Furthermore, the Vice President, in a letter to the Commission on March 13, 1986, stated, "Although I was aware that the Republican National Committee was conducting a poll, I did not request or authorize any polling relating to the 1988 election or any possible candidacy." Finally, in the sworn statement of Robert M. Teeter, president of MOR, it was established that the specific questions in the poll relating to Vice President Bush and the 1988 election were included by MOR and neither requested by the RNC or the Fund nor authorized by the Vice President.

Based on the above testimony of the affiants and the statement of the Vice President, I could not support the Commission's June 3, 1986 reason to believe (RTB) finding that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. 100.7(b)(1), the "testing the waters" provision of FEC regulations. 1/

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1/ The Commission also voted to find reason to believe that the Republican National Committee violated 11 C.F.R Section 100.8(b)(1) and to take "no action at this time" as to Market Opinion Research and the Fund for America's Future.

On July 11, 1986, the "Vice President's Exploratory Account" ("Exploratory Account") was established as a "testing the waters" account. Counsel for the Exploratory Account sent a letter to the Commission dated July 31, 1986, offering to pay for the controversial aspects of the poll for the sole purpose of settling this matter. The Commission, on the recommendation of its General Counsel, voted to reject Counsel's offer, deny pre-probable cause conciliation and proceed with the investigation.

During the intervening years, an exhaustive investigation was conducted by the FEC including subpoenas to produce documents and numerous depositions. None of the evidence garnered during this investigation and presented in the General Counsel's probable cause brief was, in my opinion, sufficient to support a probable cause finding.

However, on June 14, 1988, three and one half years after this complaint was filed, the Commission determined to find probable cause to believe George Bush for President, Inc., the Vice President's authorized campaign committee and "successor in interest" to the Vice President, violated 11 C.F.R. Section 100.7(b)(1). The majority then voted to find no probable cause to believe that Vice President George Bush violated 11 C.F.R. 100.7(b)(1) and to take no further action with respect to a violation of 11 C.F.R Section 100.8(b)(1) by the RNC and William J. McManus, as treasurer. The accompanying conciliation agreement then required George Bush for President, Inc., to pay MOR $17,610.00, that portion of the cost of the poll at issue. Ironically, this proposed conciliation agreement was based on the exact proposal offered by counsel for the Exploratory Account two years earlier.

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My votes in MUR 2133 were based on a practical as well as a legal application of the law and regulations to the facts of this case. I found it difficult to accept the proposition that a poll taken two and one half years prior to the first primary election and over three years before the general election could be "something of value" regarding those future elections, thereby triggering either the "testing the water" provisions of the regulations or the candidacy requirements of the law.

Furthermore, in response to the complaint, sworn testimony clearly established that neither the Vice President nor his agents authorized the questions at issue. That, combined with the fact that he was not a candidate for any office in November of 1985 should have resulted in a "no reason to believe" finding against George Bush.

Since the intervening investigation produced insufficient evidence to contradict the bases upon which I voted against the reason to believe finding, I could not vote to find probable cause against George Bush for President, Inc., even though I concurred with the eventual no probable cause finding against the Vice President.

Aug. 5, 1988
Date

Joan D. Aikens
Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D C 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 2133

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In re: MUR 2133

Deposition of

Bill R. Phillips

a witness in the above-entitled matter, called for examination by counsel for the FEC, pursuant to notice, taken in the offices of the Federal Election Commission, Sixth Floor, 999 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. beginning at 10:02 a.m. before Lu Anne Dawson, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

On behalf of the Federal Election Commission:

Jonathan Levin, Esq.
Lois Lerner, Assistant General Counsel
Sixth Floor
999 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

On behalf of Mr. Phillips:

Jan Baran, Esq.
Trevor Potter, Esq.
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7330

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Also on Behalf of Mr. Phillips:

Ede Holiday
Fund for America's Future
1200 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Suite 300
Washington, D. C. 20036

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WITNESS:	EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR: THE FEC	MR. PHILLIPS
Bill R. Phillips	(Mr. Levin)	(Mr. Baran)
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E X H I B I T S

MARKED FOR IDENTIFICATION AND ATTACHED:	PAGE:
FEC Exhibit No. 1	28
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Thereupon,

Bill R. Phillips

a witness, was called for examination by counsel for the FEC and, after having been first duly sworn by the Notary, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE FEC

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q State your name, please?

A Bill Phillips.

Q And your business address?

A 1200 18th Street, N. W., Washington.

Q What is there?

A The Fund for America's Future.

Q And your present position?

A Executive Director.

Q Of the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

MR. BARAN: Mr. Levin, we have a matter we would like to address on the record at this time, if I may question Mr. Phillips to discuss the matter?

VOIR DIRE EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR MR. PHILLIPS

BY MR. BARAN:

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Q Mr. Phillips, you received a subpoena from the Federal Election Commission which was for documents. Since responding to that subpoena, have you become aware of any documents which would be responsive to the subpoena?

A Yes.

Q Did you bring copies of such documents with you today?

A Yes.

Q Would you please provide FEC counsel with that document?

(Witness complied.)

BY MR. BARAN:

Q Mr. Phillips, when did you become aware of the documents which you are producing today?

A Last week.

Q How did you become aware of this document?

A In preparation for this morning's deposition.

Q Were you aware of this document at the time that you responded to the FEC subpoena?

A No.

MR. BARAN: I have no further questions.

MS. LERNER: I think we would like to take a few

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minutes off the record to take a look at the document.

MR. BARAN: That is satisfactory to me.

(Whereupon, a short recess ensued.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Phillips, have you ever been deposed before?

A No.

Q I am going to ask you a series of questions. If at any time you do not understand a question I ask, tell me that you do not understand it, and I will either repeat the question or try to rephrase the question so that you do understand it. If you fail to tell me that you do not understand a question, I will assume that you understand it. Is that clear?

A Yes.

MR. BARAN: I don't think he will want you to repeat the question.

(Laughter.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Are you represented by counsel here today?

A Yes.

Q Would you state counsel's name for the record?

A Jan Baran.

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Q Are you represented by any other counsel today?
A Yes.
Q Would you state those names for the record, please?
A Ede Holiday and Trevor Potter.
Q Is Mr. Baran representing you personally?
A Yes.
Q Is Ms. Holiday representing you personally?
A Yes.
Q Is Mr. Potter representing you personally?
A Yes.
Q Have you talked with anyone as to your testimony today?
A Yes.
Q With whom have you spoken?
A Mr. Baran.
Q With anyone else?
A Miss Holiday.
Q And?
A Mr. Potter.
Q Have you talked with anyone else besides counsel as to your testimony today?

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A Yes.

Q With whom was that?

A My wife.

Q Anyone else?

A No.

Q When did you become Executive Director of Fund for America's Future?

A December 1985.

Q Do you remember when in December?

A December 2nd.

Q December 2nd. Was that before any stories had appeared in a newspaper about the controversy we are discussing today?

A Yes.

Q What was your position prior to being Executive Director of Fund for America's Future?

A With the Republican National Committee.

Q What were you at the RNC?

A Chief of Staff.

Q Why did you leave the RNC?

A To join the Fund for America's Future.

Q Was there any other reason?

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A It was an opportunity, a move up.

Q What do you do as Executive Director of Fund for America's Future?

A Coordinate day-to-day activities and to ensure the policy that has been set is carried out.

Q Do you perform any functions pertaining to any polls that may be conducted for the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

Q What are those functions?

A If we were to do one, I would be involved in the project.

Q How, specifically, would you be involved in the project? What would your functions be?

A I would presume I would be more along the lines of making sure that it was paid for; that we carried it out.

Q Would you do any negotiations for the poll?

A Doubtful.

Q Who would do that?

MR. BARAN: I haven't objected up to this point, but I wish to raise an objection, because I believe this entire line of questioning calls for hypothetical responses

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and conjecture on the part of the witness.

MR. LEVIN: I think the witness can answer as to what his functions as Executive Director would be. I assume that he knows what his position entails.

MR. BARAN: Yes, with respect to what his overall responsibilities are and the things that he has, in fact, personally been involved with. But I object to this continuing questioning of a hypothetical nature.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you been involved in any polls for the Fund for America's Future since you became Executive Director?

A No.

Q Have any polls been done for the Fund for America's Future since you have been Executive Director?

A No.

Q I would like you to describe for me how your functions at Fund for America's Future differ from Mr. Atwater's functions at Fund for America's Future.

A Mr. Atwater is a overall strategist as Chairman of the Fund; he is the chief day-to-day policy-maker. As Executive Director, it's my job to ensure that decisions and policies are carried out in our day-to-day operations; to

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coordinate the various employees in their duties.

Q Is Mr. Atwater your superior, then, at the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

Q And you take orders from him?

A Yes.

Q What is the Vice President's exploratory account?

A It's an account that has been set up which would pertain to any possible future endeavors, political endeavors.

Q What kind of endeavors, specifically?

A Presidential.

Q For Vice President Bush?

A Yes.

Q When was this account set up?

A July of this year.

Q Do you perform any functions with respect to this account?

A No.

Q You do not approve expenditures from the account?

A No.

Q You do not solicit any contributions to the

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account?

A No.

Q Do you know who has drawing rights on the account?

A Yes.

Q Who is that?

A The Treasurer.

Q Who is that?

A Robert Holt.

Q Do you know who has the right to approve expenditures from the account?

A No.

Q Do you know who has the right to solicit contributions to the account?

A Yes.

Q Who is that?

A Mr. Holt.

Q Anyone else?

A Not that I know of.

Q Before you were Executive Director of Fund for America's Future, you stated that you were Chief of Staff. You say you were with the Republican National Committee. What did you do at the Republican National Committee?

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A Chief of Staff.

Q What did that entail? What were your functions as Chief of Staff?

A Reported directly to the the Chairman of the National Committee; carried out day-to-day operations of the committee, implementing policy set by the Chairman and the overall Committee.

Q From when to when were you Chief of Staff?

A January 1983 until December 1, 1985.

Q Prior to that, what did you do?

A I was Chief of Staff for Governor of Nevada.

Q As Chief of Staff at the Republican National Committee, did you have any responsibilities pertaining to polls done for the RNC?

A Yes.

Q What were those responsibilities?

A Administrative and budgetary.

Q Could you be more specific as to what you mean by administrative?

A It was my responsibility to oversee day-to-day activities, which would include any polling that might be taking place in terms of its progress, results, reports on

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it.

Q What was your budgetary function?

A Budgetary would be, I was responsible for the budget of the operations of the National Committee, which has polling functions in them.

Q During your time as Chief of Staff, did you have any dealings with a firm known as Market Opinion Research?

A Yes.

Q What were those dealings?

A Polling.

Q From the time that you were Chief of Staff at the RNC until the end of your tenure, how many polls did Market Opinion Research do for the Republican National Committee?

A I don't know.

Q How many polls that you were involved with did the MOR do for RNC?

A I would like to speak with counsel about that.

MR. LEVIN: Okay.

(Discussion held off the record.)

MR. BARAN: I think the problem here is that Mr. Phillips was involved in a number of polls done by MOR for the RNC, but he doesn't know the exact number, and he can

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testify to that effect if you would like to ask him questions in that regard.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Well, do you know a general number, some kind of range?

A Not accurately, no.

Q If I gave you a general range between 10 and 20?

A I don't think I could accurately answer a question that precise.

Q Would it be more than five?

A Over the three-year, I would say yes.

Q What sorts of polls did MOR do for the Republican National Committee?

A Oftentimes, the Republican National Committee would offer as a service to pay for a poll that would be commissioned by, say, a state organization or maybe a special project that would come up, which MOR would be the pollster involved, which is the reason it's hard to say exactly how many polls that MOR may have done for the RNC.

Q You mentioned state polls. Did Market Opinion Research do non-state-related polls, national polls for the Republican National Committee?

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A I do not recall them doing a national poll for the RNC.

Q How would it work when you arranged with the RNC to do a poll? Would the chairman arrange with MOR to do a poll? Would the chairman contact Market Opinion Research or would they contact you? How would that work?

A It would depend on the individual case.

Q What would be the factors that would make it different from case to case?

A Well, okay, as an example, a particular state may traditionally have used a particular polling firm to conduct polling from time-to-time, and the RNC as part of support of that operation would offer to underwrite the cost of the poll and then the organization and, if it is MOR, MOR would work out the details of the exact poll, the questions, et cetera.

Q Is there anything that would differ from the RNC's dealings with MOR as opposed to the RNC's dealings with any other polling firm?

A Yes.

Q What are those differences?

A Since 1981, there has been a contract with a particular polling firm to do the RNC month-to-month polling

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activities.

Q What firm is that?

A Decision Making Information.

Q When you arranged to do polls with Market Opinion Research, was there a contract for each of these polls?

A No.

Q Was there a contract for any of these polls?

A I don't know.

Q You don't recall signing any contracts with Market Opinion Research for a poll?

A I don't recall any contracts.

Q Do you recall anyone at RNC signing any contracts with Market Opinion Research?

A No.

Q With firms other than DMI and other than MOR, did you have contracts with those firms for polls that would be done for the RNC?

A No.

Q The questions to come refer to a poll conducted by Market Opinion Research from September 17th through the 25th for the Republican National Committee and perhaps for the Fund for America's Future which has been the subject of this

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matter unless the question specifically indicates otherwise.

What was the first conversation that you know of pertaining to the poll?

A Approximately February 1985.

Q What was that conversation?

A In regard to my participation or --

Q No, what you heard or what you heard about the poll, either. I mean the conversation, either your participation or what you heard about another, both of them.

A Okay.

MR. BARAN: Can you phrase the question to say, "Who was your conversation with in February of 1985" just to get us started here, Mr. Levin?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q The conversation you are referring to in February 1985, who was that between?

A Myself and Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf.

Q What was said in that conversation?

A He informed me of his decision to commission a poll.

Q What else was said in that conversation?

A He instructed me that it was to be with MOR and it

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was to pertain to the Vice President.

Q Anything else?

A That this was a result of a meeting with the Vice President in which he offered to have the RNC conduct the poll.

Q In which Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to have the RNC conduct the poll?

A Yes.

Q Anything else in this conversation?

A Not that I recall.

Q Did he say anything else as to the conversation that he had had with the Vice President referred to in this February conversation?

A He indicated they had discussed the 1984 elections and the impact that it had had on the image and perceptions of the Vice President, which resulted in the offer to commission a poll to see what impact there had been.

Q Anything else as to the conversation between the Chairman and the Vice President?

A Not that I recall.

Q In your conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf, when did the conversation between the Vice President and Mr.

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Fahrenkopf occur?

A Earlier that day.

Q Did you know in advance that the Chairman and the Vice President would be speaking?

A Yes.

Q How did you know that?

A The Chairman's schedule.

Q Did you speak to anybody about this conversation?

A No.

Q Did you know what the contents of the conversation would be?

A No.

Q Did you have any idea why they were meeting?

A No.

Q Was this a face-to-face meeting or a telephone conversation, the one between the Chairman and the Vice President?

A Face-to-face.

Q Where was that?

A It was on the compound of the White House. I don't recall exactly where.

Q Did Mr. Fahrenkopf give you any instructions

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pursuant to the conversation in which he told you about his conversation with the Vice President?

A He instructed me that a poll would be commissioned; that MOR would conduct the poll; and that I was to arrange with MOR to have the poll done.

Q What did he mean by "arrange"?

A Find out when they would conduct it; to let them know that we were prepared for the bill when it came.

Q Was there any discussion of any questions that would appear on the poll in this conversation?

A By questions, do you mean on the questionnaire?

Q Yes.

A No.

Q What was the next contact or conversation that you know of pertaining to the poll?

A Several days later.

Q What was that contact?

A I visited, revisited with Mr. Fahrenkopf about the poll, conducting the poll to make sure I understood that we were going to do a poll, that it was with MOR.

Q What was said during this conversation?

A He reaffirmed he wanted to conduct the poll.

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Q Why did you go back to Mr. Fahrenkopf about the poll?

A First, it was my practice to reaffirm instructions, and then I had a question to raise about it.

Q What was the question?

A I wanted to ensure that we had looked at the political, the whole political picture of conducting such a poll.

Q What did you mean by "the whole political picture"?

A That would there be any objections to conducting a poll for a single individual versus the administration of the poll.

Q What did Mr. Fahrenkopf say?

A It was his opinion that it would be along the lines of the practice of the Republican National Committee to conduct a poll on behalf of the Vice President.

Q Was there anything else said in this conversation?

A Not that I recall.

Q Do you know of any conversation between the Vice President and Mr. Teeter around this time, February and March of 1985, pertaining to the poll?

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A No.

Q Do you know of any conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf and Mr. Teeter in this same time frame?

A No.

Q What was the next conversation that you know of?

A I had a conversation with Mr. Teeter.

Q When was that?

A Within a few days of my conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf.

Q The second conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf?

A Yes.

Q The one you just referred to?

A Yes.

Q What was said during that conversation?

A I indicated to Mr. Teeter that Mr. Fahrenkopf had offered the RNC services and that we would need to work out details of implementing the request or the instructions. And we agreed that we would follow up on that, that there was no specifics at that time.

Q What did Mr. Teeter say to you other than agreeing to follow up?

A I don't recall.

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Q What did you mean by "offered the RNC services"?

A The RNC, one of the roles it plays when the Republican Party occupies the White House is support of White House activities in the political arena, one of those being polling. The RNC had offered to conduct a poll on behalf of the Office of the Vice President, and that was what I was referring to.

Q Up until now, you have referred to conversations you have been involved in, and you referred to the mention of other conversations, the one between the Vice President and the Chairman. Do you know of any other conversations up until this point pertaining to the poll that you were not involved in?

A No.

Q By that I mean any that you may have subsequently learned of as well as those that you knew of at that time.

A No.

Q What was the next contact that you know of?

A It would have been a number of weeks on into the year, possibly early May.

Q Between the most recent conversation we discussed in some detail and the one in early May, what did you do with

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reference to the poll?

A Nothing.

Q Tell me about this conversation in early May. Who was involved?

A Mr. Fahrenkopf inquired of the status of the poll.

Q Asked you?

A Asked me.

Q What did you say?

A I told him that I knew of none and that I would follow up.

Q Excuse me. You didn't --

A That I knew of no status and that I would follow up to see if there had been any progress.

Q Going back to the conversation that you mentioned prior to the one in May, that one is with Mr. Teeter?

A Yes.

Q What did you do pursuant to that conversation? Were there any instructions that you had to carry out?

MR. BARAN: Objection. You are restating the testimony that he had a conversation with Mr. Teeter in early May?

MR. LEVIN: No, no. I said prior to the one in

8804071480 4

early May.

MR. BARAN: I'm sorry.

MR. LEVIN:

Q I just realize I have misstated the last question. What were the instructions to Mr. Teeter that you may have given during that conversation?

A As I said, I told him of the commissioning of a poll, and as I recall, I requested that he begin implementation of the poll. I did not, in terms of instructions, I didn't give him any specifics.

Q Were there any general instructions?

A I'm sure that I asked him to keep me informed of the progress.

Q Did you discuss what the poll was to cover?

A No.

Q Going back to this conversation in May, correct me if I am wrong, you and Mr. Fahrenkopf discussed the status of the poll and you said none that you knew of. Was there anything else stated during that conversation?

A Not that I recall.

Q It seems like a see-saw.

Back to the conversation

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prior to the one in May, in other words, back to that most recent conversation between you and Mr. Teeter, how would Mr. Teeter know what to cover if you didn't discuss what was to be covered?

MR. BARAN: If you don't know, Mr. Phillips, you may say so.

THE WITNESS: I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Did it appear to you that he knew what to cover?

A Yes.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 1, and I am handing a copy to witness and counsel. It is titled "Memorandum, Republican National Committee".

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 1 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Phillips, have you seen FEC Exhibit 1 before?

MR. BARAN: You may qualify your answer.

THE WITNESS: I have not seen it in this -- with this notation.

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BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Other than these written notations, have you seen this memorandum in this printed form before, FEC Exhibit 1?

A Yes.

Q Are these your initials next to the printed name, Bill Phillips?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall when you saw this?

A No.

Q But you have seen it. What is meant by, "The Teeter project is on schedule", the first line of the exhibit, the memorandum.

A That would be the poll in question.

Q The poll that we are discussing in this deposition?

A Yes.

Q How did you know that the Teeter project was on schedule?

A Well, apparently, I had talked with Mr. Teeter, who indicated that they would be doing it.

Q Is this a different conversation from the ones that you discussed that you had with Mr. Teeter? Is this

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from a different conversation?

A I don't know.

Q The next sentence says, "It probably will be done mid-April, depending on other projects that may be in the field at that time." What is meant by that?

A Oftentimes, a poll will be scheduled but then delayed when you learn that there is another major poll in the field being conducted that would interfere with the answers that you are seeking or information that you are seeking.

Q A major poll by whom?

A A national poll by anyone, if you learn of it. It's common that if you learn that there's a political poll, a national political poll being conducted at a time you intend to do one, you will reschedule.

Q What are the indications that you had that it would be done mid-April?

A Apparently --

MR. BARAN: If you have a specific recollection, testify to that. If you don't recall what you meant then, you ought to be specific about that.

THE WITNESS: I do not recall this specific memo

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or the reference to mid-April. I would presume that Mr. Teeter had indicated he would try to do it within that range.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Did you know of any work that Market Opinion Research had done already on this poll?

A No.

Q Had you heard of any work that had been done already?

A I'm sorry. Repeat the question again.

Q Had you heard of any work that had been done already on the poll in question?

A No.

Q What is meant by, "The effort will be done as an addendum on another project"?

A Oftentimes, a polling firm will combine a project with another project that they're working on, add questions.

Q What other project are we talking about here?

A I don't know.

Q So the conversation you referred to about the status of the poll was then done after this was; it was done in May, the conversation with Mr. Teeter in which you said

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that there was no status that you knew of?

MR. BARAN: Objection. I don't think he has testified to that.

MR. LEVIN: I believe he did.

MR. BARAN: You may be using the --

MR. LEVIN: The word he used was "none". If he wishes to amplify to that --

MR. BARAN: You refer to Mr. Teeter. I don't believe he testified as to a conversation with Mr. Teeter.

MR. LEVIN: I mean Mr. Fahrenkopf. I am sorry. Thank you.

THE WITNESS: Approximately May, Mr. Fahrenkopf and I had a conversation in which I said that I was not aware of any further progress.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Since this memorandum, is that what you meant?

A Well, yes.

Q At the time that you wrote this memorandum, what did you think that the Teeter project would entail?

A Well, my understanding of the Teeter project was that there would be a poll conducted, commissioned by the RNC for the Vice President.

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Q After this May conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf, what was the next contact or conversation you knew of with respect to the poll that you know of?

A I did check on the status of the poll and was informed that it had been delayed, and I reported that back.

Q When was that?

A Immediately.

Q Pursuant to the most recent conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf?

A Yes.

Q This is in May?

A Yes.

Q How did you check on the status of the poll?

A I believe I called Mr. Teeter and asked him the status.

Q What was said in this conversation?

A My recollection is that he explained that there had been some conflicts and that it had been delayed and there had been no further progress at that point.

Q What conflicts was he talking about?

A I don't know.

Q Was there any discussion of a concern of a

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political fall-out from 1984?

A No.

Q Nothing to the effect that it was too soon to do a new poll?

A No.

Q Who made the decision to delay the poll?

A Mr. Teeter.

Q Did he need your approval?

A No.

Q Did you offer any opposition to the delay of the poll?

A No.

Q When did Mr. Teeter believe that the poll should be delayed, to what date, approximately?

A My recollection is that we did not set a date.

Q Did you speak to anybody else about this conversation afterward?

A Mr. Fahrenkopf.

Q What was said?

A I relayed the information Mr. Teeter had given me.

Q What did Mr. Fahrenkopf say?

A I don't recall any specific response.

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Q Did you speak to Mr. Atwater about the delay or the proposed delay?

A No.

Q Did you speak to Mr. Fuller about the proposed delay?

A No.

Q Did you speak to the Vice President about the proposed delay?

A No.

Q Had you, up to this point, now, we are still in, what, the middle of May?

A Approximately.

Q Had you, up to that point, spoken to Mr. Atwater about the poll at all?

A No.

Q Did you know if Mr. Atwater knew about the poll?

A No.

Q Up until this point in mid-May, had you spoken to Mr. Fuller about the poll?

A No.

Q Did you know if Mr. Fuller knew about the poll?

A No.

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Q Did Mr. Fahrenkopf give you any instructions when you discussed the delay of the poll with him? Did he tell you to do anything?

A Keep him informed.

Q Did you do anything pursuant to that conversation?

A No.

Q What was the next contact? Let me clarify. When I say "contact", I am also talking about written contact. So up until this point, have we omitted any written contact?

A Not that I'm aware of.

Q What was the next written contact or conversation that you know of pertaining to the poll? It need not involve you.

A Approximately August of that year.

Q What was that?

A A conversation between myself and Mr. Teeter.

Q Where was that conversation?

A Capitol Hill Club.

Q What was said in that conversation?

A I asked about the progress of the poll.

Q Hadn't there been a decision to delay the poll?

A Yes.

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Q So did you think that anything else had been done on the poll?

A I inquired if there was any new status.

Q What did Mr. Teeter say?

A That it had not been conducted.

Q That it had not been conducted. Did he say that any work had been done on the poll?

A No.

Q What else was said as to the poll in this conversation?

A I raised my concerns about the possible complaint of doing -- the RNC doing a poll for an individual.

Q Where did this concern arise from?

A It was strictly a political concern that we would be -- we would ensure that the National Committee would continue its status of being neutral in giving people service.

Q What gave you cause to think there was cause for concern?

A My own political instinct, certainly.

Q But is there any indication, were there any conversations that you had in which you thought that

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Mr. Teeter might do a poll that would cause you concern?

A I had raised the question of doing a poll strictly for the Vice President as something we should consider from the political standpoint. I raised it with Mr. Fahrenkopf, in which he had said that he had considered that, and I raised it with Mr. Teeter, who acknowledged.

Q When did you raise this?

A With?

Q What you just talked about.

A In the beginning, I raised it.

Q Go on. Complete your explanation.

A I raised the issue that we were doing a -- we were considering a poll on behalf of an individual in which there could be complaints from other political individuals saying that we had favored one over the other.

Q What did Mr. Teeter say?

A I raised it initially with Mr. Fahrenkopf.

Q Right, but then going back to this conversation?

A Oh, Mr. Teeter, he acknowledged that that was a concern that we had to take into consideration in conducting the poll.

Q Was anything else said in this conversation?

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A Yes.

Q What was that?

A The possibility that should there be a problem, that it would be as what is known as a piggy-back arrangement.

Q What was meant by that?

A Piggy-backing is a term for when two clients pay for portions of a poll, each being exclusive to the other.

Q Had you spoken to Mr. Atwater by this point about the poll?

A He was present at that meeting.

Q Who else was present at that meeting?

A That was all.

Q What did Mr. Atwater say?

A Mr. Atwater indicated that should there be questions about any portion of the poll, possibly the Fund could pick up that cost.

Q Was anything else said in this conversation?

A Not that I recall.

Q When was the next conversation that you know of or written contact pertaining to the poll?

A As I recall, in November, approximately

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mid-November.

Q What was that?

A I had agreed to accept a position with the Fund. Mr. Greener, who was Deputy Chief of Staff of Political Operations, within a briefing of projects, I indicated that he needed to follow up on the status of the poll and oversee that.

Q Were you Mr. Greener's supervisor at that point?

A Yes.

Q Was this a conversation you had with Mr. Greener?

A Yes.

Q Where was this?

A At my office.

Q What else went on during this conversation?

A We discussed a number of projects that were pending that he would need to follow up on after my departure.

Q You mentioned before a conversation you had with Mr. Teeter in which a decision was made to delay doing the poll. Did you have a conversation with Mr. Atwater and Mr. Teeter, or was it just you and Mr. Teeter?

A In that conversation?

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Q Well, either that or another conversation.

A The only conversation I recall with the two of them was at the Capitol Hill Club.

Q Did you speak to Mr. Fuller at all about this poll up until November?

A No.

Q Did you hear of any conversations involving Mr. Fuller?

A No.

Q Other than the one that you discussed involving you and Mr. Teeter and Mr. Atwater, did you know of any other contacts or conversations that Mr. Atwater had involving this poll up until November?

A No.

Q Prior to the taking of the poll, did you see any questions, any proposed questions for the poll?

A No.

Q Do you know if anybody did?

A No.

Q Did anyone discuss any possible questions with you prior to the taking of the poll?

A No.

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Q To your knowledge, when was the fist time that anyone at the Republican National Committee was able to look at either proposed questions for the poll or final questions for the poll? Let's take proposed questions for the poll.

A I don't know.

Q When was the first time anyone at the RNC was able to look at the final questions that actually went into the poll questionnaire?

A I don't know.

Q You stated that you have had dealings with polls when you were the Chief of Staff at the Republican National Committee. Does the RNC never review a poll questionnaire before it goes out?

THE WITNESS: I would like to speak with counsel.

MR. LEVIN: The witness is conferring with counsel.

(Discussion held off the record.)

THE WITNESS: Sometimes questions are reviewed, and sometimes they're not.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Under what circumstances would they be reviewed?

A Well, it was a sporadic circumstance. There would

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be occasions; particularly if it were dealing with generic advertising, there would be involvement, direct involvement. If dealing with a national poll on behalf of the White House, then there may or may not be involvement prior to the poll.

Q But you felt as though there was no cause to review this poll?

A No.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 2 and handing a copy to witness and counsel. It is on Market Opinion Research letterhead and it is headed "Agreement".

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 2 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Phillips, have you ever seen this document before?

A No.

Q When was the first time you had heard or seen the $70,000 figure for this poll?

A I do not recall when I heard it. I specifically, I believe it was the November meeting with Greener that that

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came up.

Q Did Mr. Greener say anything about the $70,000 figure?

A As I recall, we both were a little surprised at the price.

Q What do you mean by "surprised"?

A That it was more than we had mentally calculated.

Q Had there been any negotiation over this price?

A No.

Q When you do a poll, who usually drafts the contracts for the poll, if there is a contract?

A Every contract with the RNC is reviewed by legal counsel. Sometimes the vendor does the contract; sometimes the RNC will draft it.

Q What are the factors that that depends on, whether the vendor or the RNC drafts a contract?

A Well, my practice was to rely on counsel on who should draft it.

Q Excuse me. Counsel?

A The RNC counsel.

Q To draft it?

A Well, whether we should draft it or if the

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vendor's contract was acceptable.

Q What were those factors?

A I relied totally on legal counsel to advise me.

Q Was there any constant factor?

A No.

Q Was there a written contract for this poll?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I think the decision to do a poll had been made, and we were proceeding with that, and that we would rely on a billing for payment.

Q Did you ever see any bills for the poll?

A No.

Q Who would have seen the bills for the poll at the RNC?

A A polling bill would go to the political division and then normally, if anything was acceptable, it would be processed through administration for payment.

Q Did Mr. Greener discuss the bills with you or any bills with you?

A On occasion.

Q Did he discuss any bills for this poll with you?

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A My recollection is I asked him if he had any idea of an estimated cost, and then we discussed that the $70,000 that was mentioned.

Q Did you discuss the $70,000 figure as the estimated cost?

A Yes.

Q Why wasn't there a written contract on this poll?

A It was a one-time project which had been agreed upon by the Chairman.

Q Did you contact Mr. Teeter or anyone at Market Opinion Research about the $70,000 figure?

A No, I did not.

Q Did you direct anybody to?

A As I recall, I suggested to Mr. Greener that he might inquire of what that would cover and find out more detail why it was that price.

Q Do you know if he did follow up on that?

A I don't know.

Q What is the next conversation or written contact that you know of pertaining to this poll?

A December.

Q December what?

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A December 3rd.

Q What was that?

A I was at the RNC. I had started work at the Fund but happened to be at the Republican National Committee offices when Mr. Fahrenkopf called in regard to the poll.

Q What did he say?

A He had been asked by Senator Dole during a meeting at the White House why the poll had been conducted. He called to ask how the poll had come about, and as I say, I was there.

Q Excuse me. "He called", Senator Dole called?

A No, Mr. Fahrenkopf called.

Q Okay.

A And asked for the details of how the poll came about. As I said, I happened to be there, and he and I discussed it.

Q What was said?

A I went through the scenario of how it was commissioned, and Mr. Fahrenkopf's memory wasn't total on all the details at that point.

Q What else happened from then on?

A He said that he was leaving the White House and

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coming back to the office and he wanted to have a meeting about it. I said that since I no longer was employed at the Republican National Committee that I didn't feel it would be proper for me to be part of that meeting and that I would leave and go to my then new office; I would be there.

Q Anything else?

A No, that's it.

Q Were you involved in any other meetings or conversations that day?

A Yes.

Q What was that?

A At the Fund with Mr. Atwater and then others throughout the day.

Q What was involved in those contacts? What was said?

A There were a number of conversations throughout the day, but basically, Mr. Fahrenkopf did not recall, did not recollect all the same details as others did on why the poll was commissioned and what was to be in the poll, and so there was a discussion of it.

Q What did Mr. Fahrenkopf recall?

A He initially remembered that there was a poll but

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that he didn't recall that it was specifically for the Vice President.

Q Who was coordinating all of these discussions that day?

A Mr. Atwater.

Q Is there anyone who could be called an action officer?

MR. BARAN: Do you understad the question?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I think I understand the question.

I believe Mr. Atwater was the central figure on the Fund side.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Was there another central figure, then? Are you saying he was the central figure in general?

A As I said, I don't know what was happening at the RNC.

Q Did Mr. Teeter say anything?

A Yes.

Q What did he say?

A Well, he went through his recollection of events, which was basically the same as I have gone through.

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Q Anything else that you recall that was said?
A No.
Q Is this the day the story broke in the newspapers?
A No.
Q How many days are we talking about?
A I believe it was in the following day.
Q Were there any discussions the next day, in other words, the day that the story broke?
A Yes.
Q What were those discussions?
A There was questions about the make-up of the survey, and there was discussion of what the Fund, under the piggy-back scenario, what the Fund would pay for.
Q Did anybody review the questions at that time?
A It was within that week that they were reviewed. I don't remember if it was precisely that day.
Q Who reviewed them?
A That would be Mr. Atwater; Mr. Baran; and Miss Holiday; myself; Mr. Teeter.
Q Did you review them with Mr. Teeter?
A As I recall, it was on the telephone, yes.
Q What was said during this review?

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A There were a number of questions that were reviewed for if it would be appropriate for the Fund to pay for, and the questions, as they were reviewed, it was determined which ones that the Fund would pay.

Q Let's run down this list of who we were dealing with. We have Mr. Atwater; Mr. Teeter; you; possibly counsel; Miss Holiday. Were they all in this conversation together? Was it on the phone?

A There were a number of conversations where people would either be present or they would be on the phone.

Q Is there a multi-party line?

A There were conference calls.

Q Conference calls? When you did the review of these questions, where did you get the copy that you were reviewing?

A I don't recall.

Q Do you know where others got their copies?

A No.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 3 and handing a copy to witness and counsel. The reporter is marking it and handing that copy back to counsel for the FEC.

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(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 3 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you seen this document before, Mr. Phillips?

A Yes.

Q Is this the document that you submitted at the beginning of the deposition as a document you have since found pursuant to the subpoena, since first answering it?

A Yes. Yes.

Q When did you first see this document?

A In December of '85.

Q Was this during that review process?

A Yes.

Q After seeing this document, do you recall from where you got this document?

A No.

Q Mr. Phillips, looking through this document, there are notations. Before I go on, what is this document, Mr. Phillips?

A This is a questionnaire, a poll.

Q When you were reviewing this document in December,

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was it your impression this was the final questionnaire for the poll, the one that actually was used for the survey?

A Yes.

Q In reviewing this document, there are notations on the right-hand side, on your right hand-side, where it says Q 67 or Q 68 or Q 34 or Q 35. In other words, throughout the document, why was that put there?

A Those are the question numbers.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 4.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 4 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

MR. LEVIN: I am handing that copy to witness and counsel. I am handing my copy of FEC Exhibit 3 back to the reporter. It is marked "office copy", and it has Market Opinion Research in the upper left-hand corner.

(Witness perusing document.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you seen this document before, Mr. Phillips?

A No.

Q Do you recall what questions were discussed as

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being allocated for Fund for America's Future?

A Not specifically.

Q I would like to see if maybe I can refresh your recollection. If you would look at page --

MR. BARAN: Which exhibit are you referring to?

MR. LEVIN: Exhibit 4.

MR. BARAN: Mr. Phillips has testified he cannot identify Exhibit 4.

MR. LEVIN: I am saying this may refresh his recollection, however.

MR. BARAN: You can ask him the question.

MR. LEVIN: I am not stipulating anything as saying he has seen this. I am using it for a refresher at this point, because he has said that he doesn't recall which questions Fund for America's Future was looking at for allocation purposes.

MR. BARAN: All right. But if his memory is not refreshed, I will again object to the use of Exhibit 4 for any purposes.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Phillips, I am referring you to pages 20 and 21 of FEC Exhibit 4. The page numbers are marked at the top

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of the page. Do you see the notations on the left-hand side of each of those pages?

A Yes.

Q Does this refresh your recollection as to what FAF considered having allocated to itself?

MR. BARAN: I object to the question, because it presupposes that there has been testimony that FAF had allocated anything to itself.

MR. LEVIN: I used the phrase "considered having allocated".

MR. BARAN: I don't think there is any testimony with regard to that.

MR. LEVIN: I believe there was testimony as to a meeting, a review of the questionnaire as to what the questions were that would be paid for.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Phillips, in this meeting in which you reviewed the questionnaire, did the Fund for America's Future consider paying for certain questions, or did you?

A The topic of the meeting was what questions were being challenged by the RNC that they had not authorized and that what would be the result of that.

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Q Did the Fund for America's Future discuss certain questions that it would consider having allocated to itself? Did either you or Mr. Atwater discuss it?

A The questions in dispute were discussed, and then there was discussion of what would be appropriate for the Fund.

Q Do you recall if these were questions in dispute, the ones on page 20 and 21?

A No, I really don't.

Q Did you have any subsequent meetings with Mr. Teeter in which the question of allocation was discussed?

A No.

Q Did Mr. Atwater have any subsequent meeting with Mr. Teeter in which the question of allocation was discussed?

A I don't know.

Q Had Mr. Atwater had such a meeting already?

A I don't know.

Q Had you?

A No.

Q If you could tell me more what happened during this review process that you are speaking of?

A There was questions that were being challenged by

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the RNC that they had not authorized, and there was an effort to determine settlement of what it was the RNC would be willing to pay, and then what would happen with the others was not determined.

Q Was not determined?

A No; specifically, no.

Q Have you had any discussions with Mr. Teeter in which there was further determination of what may or may not be paid for?

A No.

Q Do you know of any such conversations involving other persons?

A No.

Q By that I mean involving Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater?

A No.

Q And Mr. Teeter, with either of them?

A No.

Q Other than this review process that you are discussing, have you since seen any questionnaire such as FEC Exhibit 3, the one that you submitted to us at the beginning of the deposition? For instance, have you seen this since the review process?

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A Yes.

Q When was that?

A Last week.

Q At any other time have you seen it?

A No.

Q I am going to take you back to early December when there were all those meetings that day, the day before the newspaper story. Did anyone say anything as to the fact that the Vice President or did anyone say anything as to the receipt of an analysis by the Vice President or Mr. Fuller or Mr. Atwater?

A Not that I recall.

Q The fact that they received one already? Did anyone say anything?

A Not that I recall.

Q Did anyone say anything as to the receipt by the RNC of an analysis?

A Yes.

Q What was said?

A Mr. Fahrenkopf said he had not received any analysis at that point.

Q Did he say anything further, other than merely

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commenting that he had not seen it?

A That's all I recall.

Q Did anyone else say anything about the RNC receiving an analysis?

A Not that I recall.

Q Did anyone during these discussions tell or advise Mr. Teeter to exclude analysis pertaining to the Vice President or issues suggested by the Vice President from the analysis that would be submitted, that may be submitted to the RNC?

A I don't know.

Q Did you hear of anyone suggesting that?

A No.

Q Did Mr. Teeter say what he had included in the analysis to the Vice President and Mr. Fuller and Mr. Atwater?

A Not that I know of.

Q Did he say what he was going to include in the Republican National Committee analysis?

A Not that I know of.

Q Did he say that there would be an analysis for the Republican National Committee?

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A Yes.

Q Did he say anything beyond that about this analysis?

A Not that I recall.

Q How did that come up? Did someone ask him?

A I don't know.

Q You had this review process -- am I correct -- are you saying about a week after the story broke? What time frame are we talking about?

A There were a series of meetings over a several-day period. I don't recall exactly what period of time.

Q Has there ever been any figure tentatively agreed upon that the Fund for America's Future would pay?

A Yes.

Q What figure is that?

A Approximately $4,000.

Q Does $4,996 sound correct?

A That's within the range.

Q Had you determined what questions would be paid for pursuant to this tentative agreement?

A I have not.

Q Has anybody?

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A I don't know.

Q Do you know what this $4,996 figure is based on?

MR. BARAN: I object. I withdraw the objection. Excuse me.

THE WITNESS: Well, historically and traditionally, how you pay for specific questions is that there is an overall cost; it's divided up; and a client would pay for his or her portion, and that would be how you would come to a price.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q But you don't know what questions those are?

A I don't.

Q Do you know how many they are?

A I don't know.

Q Do you know who made the determination as to what questions would be included in that $4,996 figure?

A No.

MR. LEVIN: I have no further questions right now. Do you?

MR. BARAN: Can we take our usual break at this point?

(Whereupon, a short recess ensued.)

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EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR MR. PHILLIPS

BY MR. BARAN:

Q Mr. Phillips, in your various discussions with Chairman Fahrenkopf to which you have testified today, did he ever say that the Vice President requested this poll?

A No.

Q To your knowledge, did the Vice President request this poll?

A No.

Q At any time prior to December 1985, did you have any discussion regarding 1988-type questions for this poll?

A No.

Q What was your understanding of what was going to be the subject matter of this poll?

A My understanding was that it was a poll to measure public perception of the Vice President's role as Vice President and how they felt about his job and his job performance.

Q You have testified to a meeting at the Capitol Hill Club with Messrs. Atwater and Teeter. What was your understanding of who would be paying for this poll after that meeting?

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A The Republican National Committee.

Q You have also testified that you, at that meeting and in the discussions with Mr. Fahrenkopf, raised concerns about the poll. Did you ever state a concern that the poll would include 1988 questions?

A No.

Q Why were you concerned about the poll?

A With the 1984 elections behind us, the RNC was entering a new era. It was the first time since, I think, President Eisenhower that there was a second term lame duck President, and so the media attention turned to 1988 politics even before the election. I recall in Dallas at the National Convention, they were already talking about who would be running and who the possible candidates were.

My concern was that the Vice President is perceived as a possible candidate and would other possible candidates raise questions why the RNC would do a poll for him.

Q In your experience as RNC Chief of Staff, was it unusual for the RNC to commission a poll measuring public perceptions about the President or the Vice President of the United States?

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A No.

Q In your experience as RNC Chief of Staff, was it unusual for the RNC to commission a poll and not receive a copy of the questionnaire before going into the field?

A No.

Q In your experience as RNC Chief of Staff, is it unusual for the RNC not to receive the results of a poll for weeks or months after it was concluded?

A No.

Q In your deposition, you have identified FEC Exhibit Number 1. Could you clarify the use of the word "addendum" in that document?

A As I recall, in that conversation, Mr. Teeter had indicated that he would tag the poll onto another one that would be done, another client would be having done, and I used the word "addendum". Another word would be piggy-back.

Q Was it your understanding that the other clients that Mr. Teeter referred to would be the Vice President or the Fund for America's Future?

A No.

Q In your experience as Chief of Staff of the RNC, what polling firms besides MOR and DMI were retained?

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A There would be a number of firms, but the larger ones or the most prominent ones would be Lance Terrence of Houston, Texas and Art Finkelstein of New York.

Q Do you recall how much was budgeted for polling at the RNC on an annual basis when you were Chief of Staff?

A As I recall, it was, in '83 it was approximately $1 million.

Q Did you have any recollection as to the budget figures in 1984 or 1985?

A '84 was approximately $2 million, and '85 was $750,000.

Q Is it accurate to state, Mr. Phillips, that the Republican National Committee traditionally supports the activities of Republican Presidents and Vice Presidents?

A Yes.

Q Can you describe some of these traditional activities?

A Over and above polling, there would be budget items for White House support, and that's broken down into the Office of the President and Vice President, First Lady. This covers various expenses from memorabilia such as cuff links and tie bars, photographs, in some cases, travel. If a

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member of the President's staff appears at a political event, oftentimes, the RNC underwrites the expenses.

MR. BARAN: I have no further questions.

MS. LERNER: Just one question. With regard to Exhibit 1, when we were discussing the term "addendum", did Mr. Teeter tell you who the other client that he was considering piggy-backing the poll onto was?

THE WITNESS: No.

MS. LERNER: That's all.

MR. LEVIN: First I want to remind everyone in this room that this deposition is part of an on-going investigation by the Federal Election Commission and that we are all subject to the confidentiality provisions of 2 USC Section 436(g)(a)(4) and (a)(12). Money seems to get away from me. I am presenting the witness with a check for his witness fee and travel. This deposition is adjourned, not terminated.

MR. BARAN: Obviously, we did not terminate this deposition.

MR. LEVIN: Nor have we adjourned yet.

MS. LERNER: Do you wish to waive signature?

MR. BARAN: No. Is it agreeable that the

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deposition will be sent to me for transmittal to Mr. Phillips to read it and sign the affidavit?

MS. LERNER: Yes.

MR. LEVIN: If there is nothing else, this deposition is now adjourned, not terminated.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the deposition was adjourned.)

* * *

(I have read the foregoing pages 4 through 66, inclusive, which contain a correct transcript of the answers given by me to the questions therein recorded.)

_____

Bill R. Phillips

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Lu Anne Dawson, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me in shorthand and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me; that said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and further that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties thereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

Lu Anne Dawson

Notary Public in and for
the District of Columbia

My Commission Expires:
October 15, 1989

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MEMORANDUM

republican national committee

TO: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FROM: BILL PHILLIPS

DATE: MARCH 15, 1985

****

The Teeter Project is on schedule. It probably will be done mid-April, depending on other projects that may be in the field at that time.

The effort will be done as an addendum on another project.

I don't know what this pertains to.

Phillips Depo.
FEC Ex.
No. 1

88040714847

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 9, 1985, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1985 whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than October 9 for preliminary report

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate

3. *Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information*

The interpretive report of the survey shall become the property of client after delivery of the report to client by MORC and the payment to MORC of the full fee provided in paragraph 2. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least two years and give client reasonable access to them. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising and public relations, the information obtained in the survey or included in the interpretive report without the written consent of client, provided, however, if the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by client or anyone else acting for client or on its behalf, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the method of obtaining the interviews including the size and design of the sample and the basis of the data if the sample is less than the total sample, the dates and times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the client's name. Client agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report that client or such other person will first notify MORC in writing and that there will also be stated in the release, speech or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by MORC. Client [illegible] during the term of this Agreement and thereafter, to keep in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of MORC and not to disclose or make known such knowledge or information to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of MORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by MORC. Client further understands and agrees that the names or addresses of interviewers used by MORC and the names and addresses of persons sampled are confidential and will not be made available to client.

[illegible] days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event written notice of cancellation is received by MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the client with respect to said survey shall be returned to it. In the event that the written notice of cancellation of a survey is received by MORC less than seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, MORC [illegible]

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Phillips Deposition FEC Ex. No. 2

5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client	*If to MORC*
Mr. William Greener Republican National Committee 310 First Street, N.E. Washington, D. C. 20003	Market Opinion Research 550 Washington Blvd. Suite 1000 Detroit, Michigan 48226 Attn: Robert Teeter

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

7. *Additional provisions*

Client is a political committee with a chairman and a treasurer at least one of whom has authorized this expenditure by said committee as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and, as such, client has assured MORC that it will account for and disclose the cost of this survey as an expenditure as required by said Act and otherwise comply with any other applicable Federal or State law in connection with this matter.

MORC reserves the right to use the findings from this survey in anonymous form as to the specific population and client for purposes of aggregate and comparative analysis to be made available to other clients of MORC or publications.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

BY _____

_____
(Client)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

BY _____

Its _____
MORC

8804071 4849

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # 1-4
Area 6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

CALL RECORD SHEET

Morris=1
Paper =2

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1								Q500	16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1								Q501	17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q502	18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q503	19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q504	20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NIN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q505	21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q506	22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q507	23
Respondent Term.(R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q508	24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q509	25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q510	26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q511	27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q512	28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q513	29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q514	30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q515	31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q516	32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q517	33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q518	34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q519	35
Other Disp. (write in) (No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q520	36
	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9 Q521	37

8804071485O

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)

DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

FEC EX. 3

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7. We should help <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

---

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

---

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

---

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

---

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 8 5 3

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit — a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

8804071485 4

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Q23A

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8804071485 5

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23B

8804071485 6

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

- More 3
- About the same 2
- Less 1
- Don't know 8
- Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

- Avoiding a trade war 2
- Allowing fewer imports into country.1
- Don't know 8
- Refused/NA 9

Q25

R8804071 4857

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26. Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27. Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28. A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30. Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31. Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if ... innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39

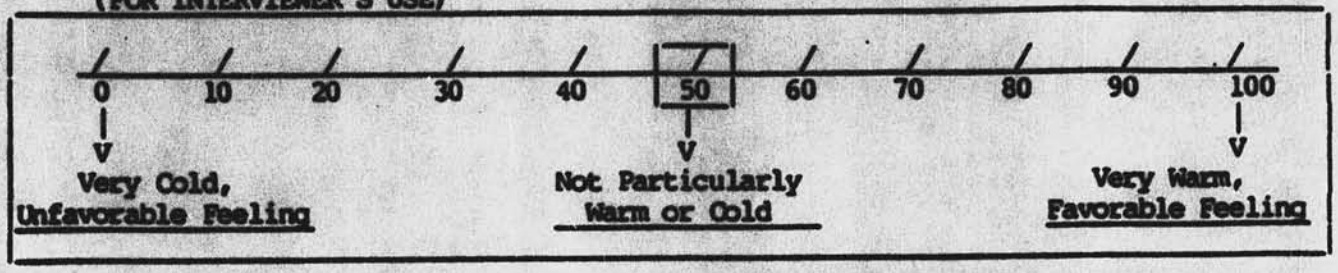
880407148559

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

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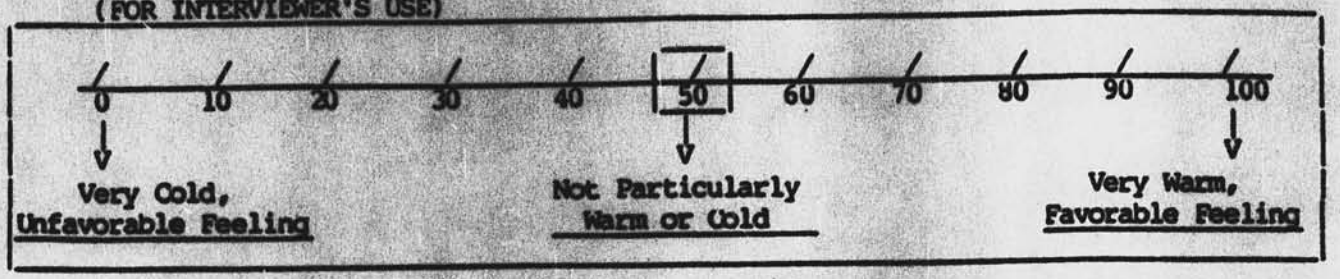
(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)

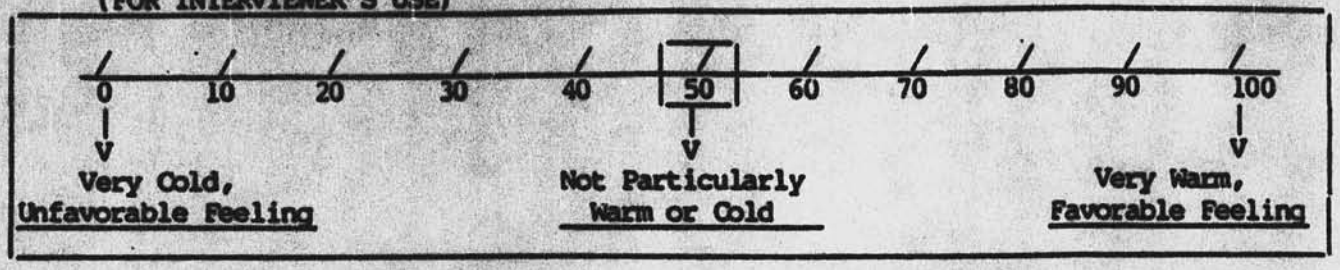


	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
50.	Jesse Jackson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51.	Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52.	Gary Hart	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53.	Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54.	John Glenn	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55.	Jane Fonda	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56.	Jerry Falwell	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57.	Gerald Ford	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58.	Jimmy Carter	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59.	George Wallace	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60.	Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8 9 0 4 0 7 1 4 8 6 1

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
61.	The Republican Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q61
62.	The Democratic Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q62
63.	Liberals	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q63
64.	Conservatives	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q64

8804071486 2

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which <u>one</u> you think is most important for the next president to have?

	66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)	(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a.	Conservative	1	1
b.	Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c.	Is in government now	3	3
d.	Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e.	Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
	None	6	
	No second mention		7
	Don't know	8	8
	Refused/NA	9	9

8804071486 3

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One <u>(read below)</u>
The second <u>(read below)</u>
The third <u>(read below)</u>
And the fourth <u>(read below)</u>

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of <u>reducing</u> government spending and <u>strengthening</u> our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69). 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)
68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of <u>reducing</u> government spending and <u>strengthening</u> our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

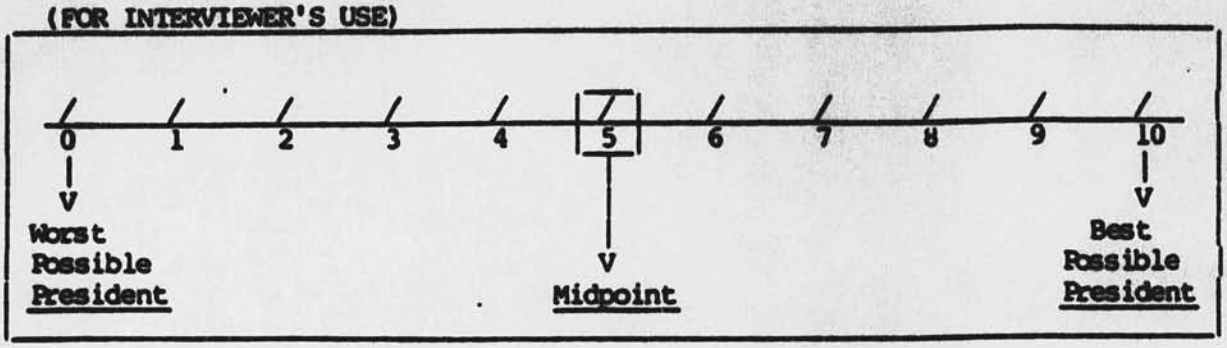
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q72

8804071486 4

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q75

(GO TO Q.78)

(Q.76 Not asked)

8804071486 5

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Ted Kennedy, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q78

79. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Gary Hart, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q79

80. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Lee Iacocca, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q80

8804071486

HALF SAMPLE A

OK

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

OK

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

8804071486

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

HALF SAMPLE B

B81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

BQ81bM1
BQ81bM2
BQ81bM3
BQ81bM4
BQ81bM5

---

82 .What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

BQ82 M1
BQ82 M2
BQ82 M3
BQ82 M4
BQ82 M5

8804071486 8

W/F PAC

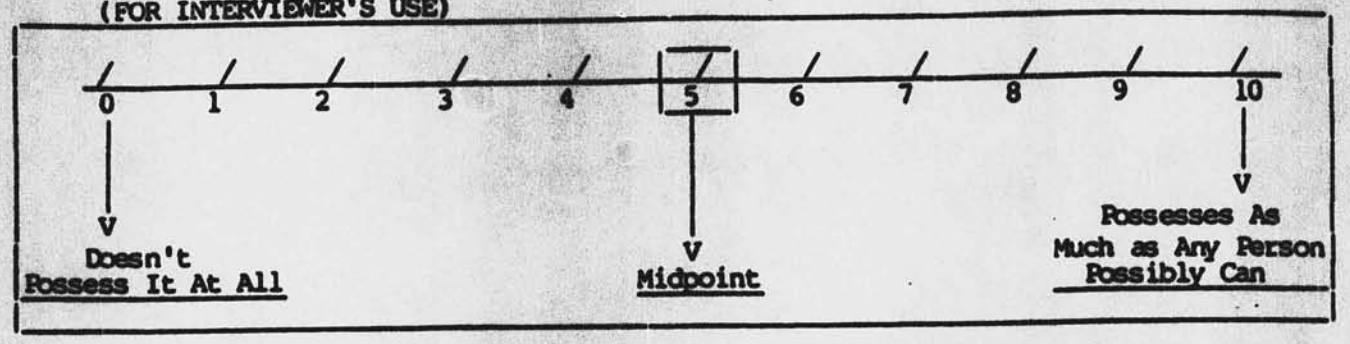
I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

	(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
83.	Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
84.	The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
85.	Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
86.	Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
87.	Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
88.	Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
89.	National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

8304071486 9

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



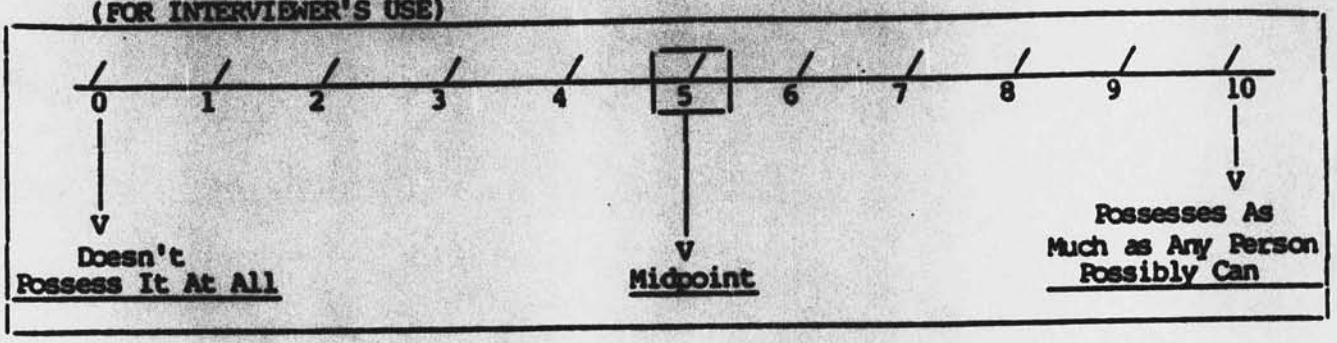
(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)		(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)	
	LEADERSHIP		
96.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q96
97.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q97
98.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q98
	COMPETENCE		
99.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q99
100.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q100
101.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q101

8804071487O

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as <u>any</u> person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
	TRUSTWORTHINESS			
90.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
91.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
92.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
	CONCERN			
93.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
94.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
95.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

8804071487 1

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal	1	
Fairly liberal	2	
Slightly liberal	3	
Moderate	4	
Slightly conservative	5	
Fairly conservative	6	
Extremely conservative	7	Q102
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe <u>Ronald Reagan</u> — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal	1	
Fairly liberal	2	
Slightly liberal	3	Q103
Moderate	4	
Slightly conservative	5	
Fairly conservative	6	
Extremely conservative	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

104. How would you describe <u>George Bush</u> — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal	1	
Fairly liberal	2	
Slightly liberal	3	
Moderate	4	
Slightly conservative	5	Q104
Fairly conservative	6	
Extremely conservative	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- Republican. 1
- Democrat. 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

PARTYID 51

V V

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

- Strong. 1
- Not very strong 2
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

- Republican. 1
- Democratic. 2
- Neither 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

8804071487 3

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	VOTETYPE 57-58
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No	1	
Registered elsewhere	3	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

8804071487 4

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB NO

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10)

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDOFR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKING
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

8804071487 5

D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	
Married	2	MARITAL 92
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWORK 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01	occup 4
Self-employed	.02	
Retired	.03	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04	
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05	
Executive (corporate officer)	.06	
Homemaker	.07	
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08	
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09	
Student	.10	
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11	
Other	.12	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

8804071487 6

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

8804071487

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

- Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1
- Roman Catholic 2
- Jewish 3
- Other Christian 4
- Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5
- Agnostic/Atheist 6
- None 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

RELIGION 110

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year 2
- Never 1
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

- Under $10,000 0
- $10,000-$15,000 (14,999) 1
- $15,000-$20,000 (19,999) 2
- $20,000-$25,000 (24,999) 3
- $25,000-$30,000 (29,999) 4
- $30,000-$40,000 (39,999) 5
- $40,000-$50,000 (49,999) 6
- $50,000 and over 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3
- Oriental 4
- American Indian 5
- Other 6
- Not ascertained 9

RACE 120

8804071487 8

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ ZIP
(V16) 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male . . . . . .1 SEX
Female 2 126

8804071487 9

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

ALLOCATION

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # 1-4
Area 6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

CALL RECORD SHEET

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1	Q500 16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1	Q501 17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q502 18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q503 19
Busy (B)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q504 20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NTN/CB)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q505 21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q506 22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q507 23
Respondent Term. (R-Term.)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q508 24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q509 25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q510 26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q511 27
Non-Working #	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q512 28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q513 29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q514 30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q515 31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q516 32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q517 33
OPEN	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q518 34
OPEN	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q519 35
Other Disp. (write in) (No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q520 36
	[ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3 [ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6 [ ]7 [ ]8 [ ]9	Q521 37

8804071480

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)

DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

FEC Ex. 4

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER END MEETS YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old (male/female) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her?

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1). . 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1) . . . 2
No (GO TO Q.IB) 3
Refused/NA. 9

IB. Are you a citizen of the United States over 18 years of age living at this address?

Yes (GO TO 1) 1
No. 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. Is there any male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1

May I speak with him/her? (After you have ascertained that he/she is an adult citizen of the United States living at that address. (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE). 2
Refused/NA. 9

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER DOES NOT MEET YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm________ calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have the opinions of a male/female who over 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States living at this address.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes . . . . 1 QA
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2 102
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her? QAa 103

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1). 2
No (GO TO Q.IB). 3
Refused/NA 9

IB. Is there any adult (man/woman) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address available at this time?

Yes . . . . 1 QB
No (TERMINATE). 2 104
Refused/NA. 9

a. After you have ascertained that (he/she) is an adult citizen of the United States living at this address (GO TO 1)

QBa 105

106-144 = EXTRA
145-153 SPECIAL
DEMO VARIABLES
(V18) 156-160 WEIGHTS

Q1-Q.64 = RNC

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

RNC

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

8804071488 2

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 8 8 3

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6. The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7. We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

RNC

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

Q16

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8804071488 4

RNC ↓

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit — a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

8804071488 5

RNC

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A

8804071488 6

RNC

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2 Q23B

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8804071488 7

RNC

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

8804071488

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 8 8 9

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

RNC

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33

---

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39

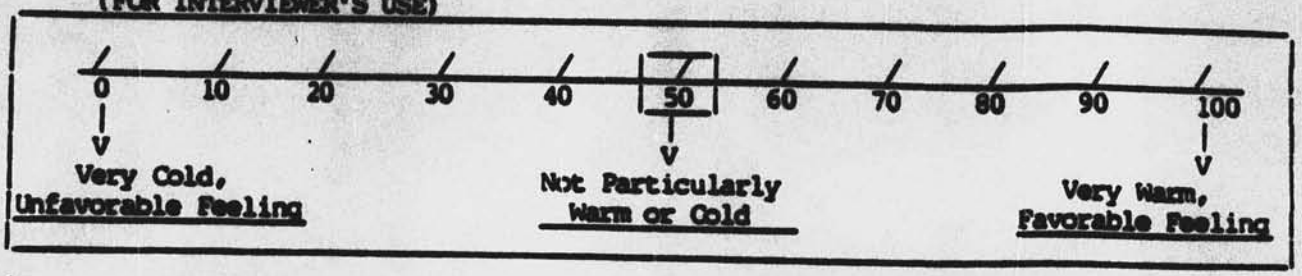
8804071489 0

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



8 8 0 4 0 7 1 4 8 1 RNC

(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40. Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41. George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42. Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43. Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44. Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45. Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46. Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47. Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48. Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49. Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

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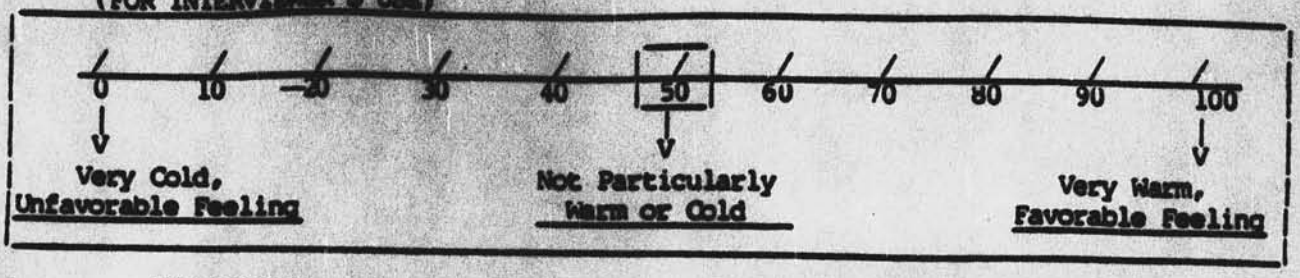
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50. Jesse Jackson	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51. Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52. Gary Hart	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53. Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54. John Glenn	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55. Jane Fonda	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56. Jerry Falwell	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57. Gerald Ford	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58. Jimmy Carter	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59. George Wallace	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60. Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

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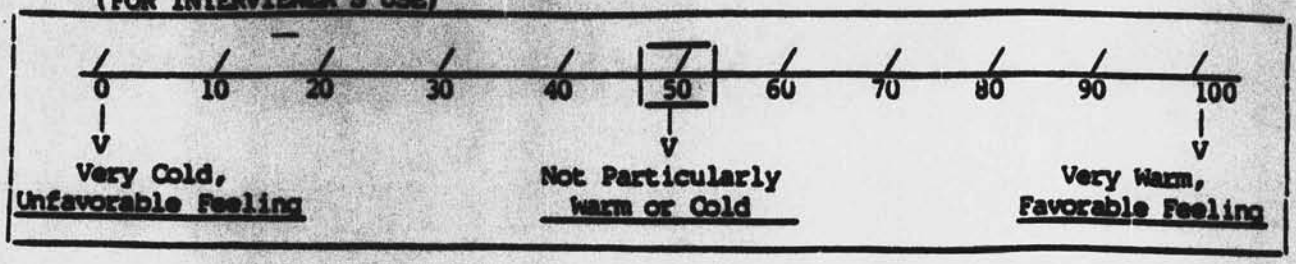
I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)	
61.	The Republican Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q61
62.	The Democratic Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q62
63.	Liberals	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q63
64.	Conservatives	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q64

8804071489 3

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)

		(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a.	Conservative	1	1
b.	Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c.	Is in government now	3	3
d.	Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e.	Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
	None	6	
	No second mention		7
	Don't know	8	8
	Refused/NA	9	9

NA

---

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below)
The second (read below)
The third (read below)
And the fourth (read below)

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	.1
b.	Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	.2
c.	Is a fighter for making major changes in government	.3
d.	Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	.4
	None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69)	.5
	Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69)	.8
	Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69)	.9

Q67

NA

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)

68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

a.	Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	.1
b.	Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	.2
c.	Is a fighter for making major changes in government	.3
d.	Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	.4
	No second choice.	.5
	Don't know.	.8
	Refused/NA.	.9

Q68

NA

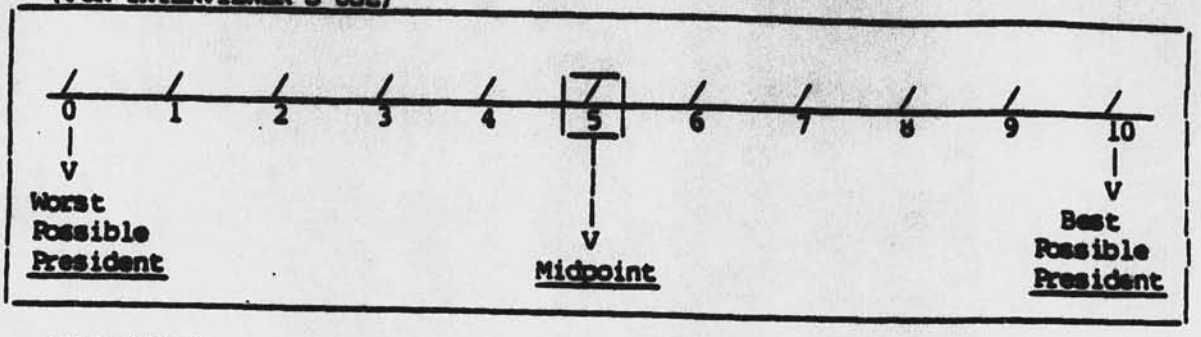
8304078948

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99 069

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99 Q72

8 0 2 4 0 7 3 4 8 9 5

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE:—Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

NA

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

NA

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

NA

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q75

(GO TO Q.78)

(Q.76 Not asked)

8804871489 6

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

NA

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
|— Refused/NA. . . . . N
V

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Ted Kennedy, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q78

79. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Gary Hart, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q79

80. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Lee Iacocca, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q80

8 8 0 4 7 1 4 8 9 7

HALF SAMPLE A

=AF

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804071498

HALF SAMPLE B

Q81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q81bM1
Q81bM2
Q81bM3
Q81bM4
Q81bM5

NA

Q82 What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q82 M1
Q82 M2
Q82 M3
Q82 M4
Q82 M5

NA

8804071499

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

(RANDOMIZE)		Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
83.	Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
84.	The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
85.	Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
86.	Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
87.	Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
88.	Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
89.	National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

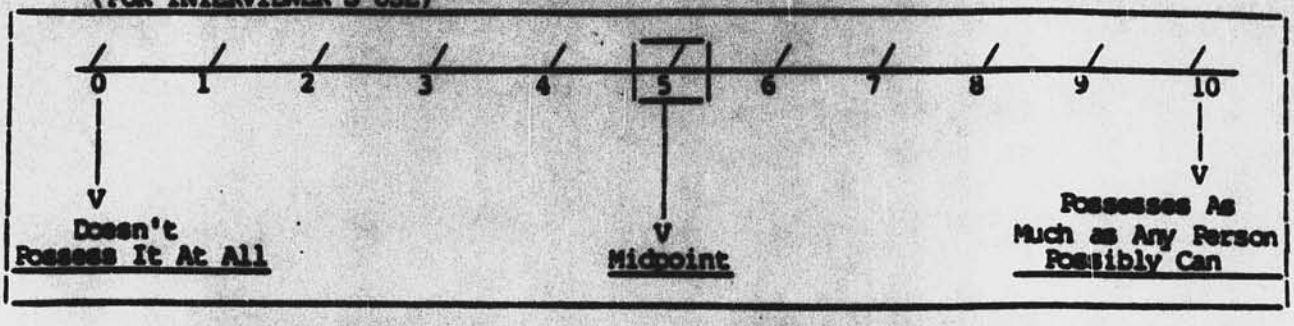
NA ↓

8804071490O

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



		(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
		TRUSTWORTHINESS			
RNC	90.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
AF	91.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
RNC	92.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
		CONCERN			
RNC	93.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
FFAF	94.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
RNC	95.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

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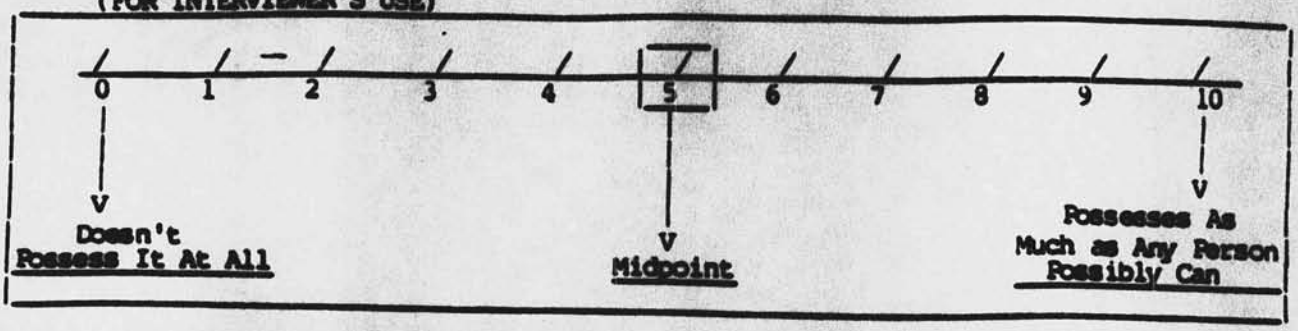
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

96. Ronald Reagan — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 — Refused/NA. . 99 — Q96

97. George Bush — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 — Refused/NA. . 99 — Q97

98. Ted Kennedy — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 — Refused/NA. . 99 — Q98

COMPETENCE

99. Ronald Reagan — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 — Refused/NA. . 99 — Q99

100. George Bush — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 — Refused/NA. . 99 — Q100

101. Ted Kennedy — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 — Refused/NA. . 99 — Q101

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

..NC

Extremely liberal	1	
Fairly liberal	2	
Slightly liberal	3	
Moderate	4	
Slightly conservative	5	
Fairly conservative	6	
Extremely conservative	7	Q102
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe <u>Ronald Reagan</u> — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

Extremely liberal	1	
Fairly liberal	2	
Slightly liberal	3	Q103
Moderate	4	
Slightly conservative	5	
Fairly conservative	6	
Extremely conservative	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

---

104. How would you describe <u>George Bush</u> — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

Extremely liberal	1	
Fairly liberal	2	
Slightly liberal	3	
Moderate	4	
Slightly conservative	5	Q104
Fairly conservative	6	
Extremely conservative	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

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DEMOGRAPHICS

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- Republican 1
- Democrat 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

PARTYID 51

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?	b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?
Strong 1	Republican 1
Not very strong 2	Democratic 2
Don't know 8	Neither 3
Refused 9	Don't know 8
	Refused 9

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

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D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	VOTETYPE 57-58
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats.	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know.	.98	
Refused/NA.	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No.	1	
Registered elsewhere.	3	
Don't know.	8	
Refused/NA.	9	

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SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB N

D8a. What is your approximate age?

(V10) —

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDUCR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKING
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

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D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	MARITAL 92
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWORK 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01	OCCUPAT
Self-employed	.02	
Retired	.03	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04	
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05	
Executive (corporate officer)	.06	
Homemaker	.07	
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08	
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09	
Student	.10	
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11	
Other	.12	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

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D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

880407I49908

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

—	Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1	
—	Roman Catholic. 2	RELIGION 110
	Jewish. 3	
—	Other Christian 4	
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5	
	Agnostic/Atheist. 6	
	None. 7	
	Don't know. 8	
	Refused 9	

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

Every week.	5
Almost every week	4
Once or twice a month	3
A few times a year.	2
Never	1
Don't know.	8
Refused	9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

Under $10,000	.0
$10,000-$15,000 (14,999).	.1
$15,000-$20,000 (19,999).	.2
$20,000-$25,000 (24,999).	.3
$25,000-$30,000 (29,999).	.4
$30,000-$40,000 (39,999).	.5
$40,000-$50,000 (49,999).	.6
$50,000 and over.	.7
Don't know.	.8
Refused	.9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

White	.1
Black	.2
Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano	.3
Oriental.	.4
American Indian	.5
Other	.6
Not ascertained	.9

RACE 120

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D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ ZIP
(V16) 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION) Male . . . . . .1 SEX
Female 2 126

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SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

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Stenographic Transcripts Of

HEARINGS

Before The

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Thursday, August 14, 1986

Washington, D. C.

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
GENERAL COUNSEL

Deposition of:

CRAIG L. FULLER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Thursday, August 14, 1986

Washington, D. C.

Deposition of:

CRAIG L. FULLER

a witness in the above-entitled matter, called for examination by counsel for the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to notice, taken in the offices of the Federal Election Commission, Sixth Floor, 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., beginning at 10:00 a.m. before Irwin L. Coffenberry, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

On behalf of the Federal Election Commission:

LOIS LERNER, ESQ.
Assistant General Counsel
JONATHAN LEVIN, ESQ.
Sixth Floor
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463
(202) 376-8200

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On behalf of the Witness, CRAIG L. FULLER:

JAN W. BARAN, ESQ.
EDE HOLLIDAY, ESQ.
TREVOR POTTER, ESQ.
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7330

- - -

	EXAMINATION BY:	
WITNESS:	MR. LEVIN:	MR. BARAN:
Craig Fuller	3 73	70

EXHIBITS:	FOR IDENTIFICATION
FEC No. 1	18
FEC No. 2	32
FEC No. 3	38
FEC No. 4	57
FEC No. 5	59
FEC No. 6	65
FEC No. 7	68

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Thereupon,

CRAIG L. FULLER

the Deponent, was called for examination by counsel for the Federal Election Commission, and after having been sworn by the Notary, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE COMMISSION

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. State your name please for the record.

A. I'm Craig Fuller.

Q. And your business address?

A. The White House, Washington, D. C.

Q. And what is your position?

A. Chief of Staff to the Vice President.

Q. Mr. Fuller, have you ever been deposed before?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. So you understand that I'm going to ask you a series of questions. And if any time you do not understand a question I ask, tell me that you do not understand it and I'll either repeat the question or try to rephrase the question so that you can understand it. If you fail to tell me that you don't understand a question, I'll assume that you understand it.

A. Okay.

MR. BARAN: Excuse me, Mr. Levin. Can we address one minor clerical thing before we proceed?

You have previously received a designation of counsel form from Mr. Fuller.

MR. LEVIN: Yes.

MR. BARAN: Which indicated that I, my firm, and Ms. Holliday, would be representing Mr. Fuller. But there was also included on that designation of counsel form the name of Mr. John Schmitt. I want to advise the Commission at this time that Mr. Schmitt will not be serving as counsel to Mr. Fuller nor will he be making an appearance in this case.

MR. LEVIN: Thank you.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Fuller, are you represented by counsel here today?

A. Yes.

Q. And would you state the counsels' names for the record?

A. Jan Baran, Ede Holliday and Trevor Potter.

Q. And they are representing you personally?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you consulted with anyone other than your

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attorneys for your testimony here today?

A. No, I haven't consulted with anybody other than the counsel here.

Q. Excuse me?

A. Other than the counsel here, I've not consulted with anybody else.

Q. How long have you been Chief of Staff to the Vice President?

A. I became Chief of Staff on April 1st 1985.

Q. And what position did you hold before you were the Vice President's Chief of Staff?

A. Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs.

Q. And what do you do as the Chief of Staff to the Vice President? What are your functions?

A. Well, I have overall responsibility for the operation of the Office of the Vice President. So I travel with him in his activities around the country, Supervise the work of the assistants to the Vice President in several different areas. Basically have overall responsibility for the operations.

Q. Would this include any functions pertaining to any political campaigning the Vice President might do?

A. Yes, it does.

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Q. What did you do as the Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs?

A. That office was designed to coordinate the work of seven Cabinet counsels and to be the office within the White House that dealt with-- the primary office to deal with the various Cabinet departments and agencies. So I was involved in most of the issues not related to the National Security Counsel. That's a separate office there. I was involved in the work of the Cabinet counsels,involved in working with Cabinet departmentsand agencies on issues that they brought to the White House or events they were involved in with the White House.

Q. And you say that you became Chief of Staff to the Vice President on April 1st 1985. How long before that had you been the Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs? From what date did you commence back?

A. January 20th 1981.

Q. During that time did you perform any political functions? In other words, outside the operations of the Cabinet?

A. Well, again I'm not--

MR. BARAN: Do you understand the question?

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THE DEPONENT: I'm not quite sure what you mean by that. I will say I was a political appointee. But I'm not quite-- maybe you could be more specific.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Well, you said that you performed political functions in relation to your present job. Did you perform any similar functions? I can be clearer than that if you wish, but--

A. I didn't have a role in the campaign in 1984, a formal role. I did have responsibility for setting up events that the President was involved in, some of which people might consider political. But I wasn't a political advisor to the President in a campaign sense.

Q. Did you get involved in any polling situations?

A. I reviewed as Assistant to the President, reviewed polls and surveys that were taken, having to do with issues that the Administration was involved in. Some of those polls and surveys were taken on behalf of the RNC. Some were outside surveys. So I did have occasions in which I reviewed polls, yes.

Q. Were these polls in which the survey had already taken place?

A. No. From time to time I was asked to suggest

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questions or areas that the survey might explore.

MR. BARAN: May I confer with my client for a second?

MR. LEVIN: Sure.

(Whereupon, there was an off-the-record discussion.)

MR. BARAN: Thank you.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Since you became the Chief of Staff to the Vice President, have you done any work for the Fund for America's Future?

A. You'll have to clarify that. I don't work for the Fund for America's Future.

Q. Have you been involved in any of the activities of the Fund for America's Future? That is, perhaps in talking to contributors, in arranging the activities of the committee?

A. I've attended meetings and participated at meetings that were arranged by the Fund for America's Future.

Q. Have you arranged any such meetings yourself?

A. No. I mean, those meetings are really proposed and set up by the Fund and its staff.

Q. Have you chaired any such meetings?

A. No.

Q. Since April 1st 1985, have you done any work for the

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Vice Presidential Exploratory Committee?

A. No. I mean--

MR. BARAN: May I ask for a point of clarification here? I'm not aware of any Vice Presidential Exploratory Committee. There is a Vice Presidential Exploratory Account. Is that what you are referring to?

MR. LEVIN: Well, then that's a clarification.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Do you know what the Vice Presidential Exploratory Account is?

A. I do, yes.

Q. And what is it?

A. Well, my understanding of it is that it is an account set up that will spend money in activities that are considered to be testing the water.

Q. Are there any persons who have responsibility for administering that account or who have drawing rights on that account?

MR. BARAN: I object to the compound question.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Then let's have an answer to the first one as to who was administering the account.

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A. It's administered really in accordance with guidelines established by counsel, Jan Baran and Ede Holliday.

Q. Do you know who has been delegated to administer the Account?

A. Well, they've been delegated to administer the Account in the sense of approving and reviewing proposed expenditures.

Q. And the second question as to drawing rights on the Account, do you know who has drawing rights on the Account?

A. I'm not sure that I have a clear answer to that. I'm not sure. Expenditures are submitted for review. And it's not a process that I'm directly involved in.

Q. And who besides counsel then has to review those expenditures?

MR. BARAN: If you don't know say you don't know.

THE DEPONENT: I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Atwater?

A. I really don't know. It's not a process I'm involved in directly.

Q. The questions to come will refer to the poll conducted by Market Opinion Research from September 17th to the

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25th for the Republican National Committee and perhaps for the Fund for America's Future, which has been a subject of this matter, unless the question specifically indicates otherwise.

Let me ask you this one question going back, and this is one of those questions that does not refer specifically to the poll.

When did the Vice Presidential Exploratory Account come into being?

A. I don't know the date that it was set up.

Q. Do you know an approximate date?

A. Within the last two months, but I don't have the date.

Q. Again, this is referring back to the preface I just gave you.

What was the first conversation that you know of pertaining to the poll? In other words, you didn't have to be involved in it, but that you know of?

MR. BARAN: I object to the question. Mr. Fuller is prepared to testify to his first-hand knowledge.

MS. LERNER: That's all he's asking him.

MR. LEVIN: That's all I'm asking him. I'm asking that he knows of.

MR. BARAN: Well, then, if you're asking him to

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testify to perhaps hearsay testimony then I will object to that.

MR. LERNER: Then the answer will be taken subject to your objection.

MR. BARAN: Would you rephrase the question for Mr. Fuller please, or restate it?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. What was the first conversation that you know of pertaining to the poll? It may or may not have involved you.

A. Well, the first conversation that I know of for sure is the only conversation that involved me, and it was-- I was advised early in 1985 by Bob Teeter that he had been requested by the RNC to take a survey.

Q. Can you pinpoint when in early '85, a month at least?

A. Well, it corresponded with the time I became Chief of Staff, so--

Q. So it was on or about April 1st 1985.

A. (No response.)

Q. Did Mr. Teeter refer to any conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf and the Vice President?

The concern is that when I asked on or about April 1st 1985, whether we got a verbal response.

A. Well, it corresponded with my becoming Chief of

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Staff. I don't have a precise recollection of the conversation or the date, but it would have been in the first half of 1985.

Q. In this conversation that you have just referred to Mr. Teeter telling you about a poll. Did he refer to a conversation between Mr. Fahrenkopf, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee and the Vice President?

A. I don't recall him referring to that kind of conversation, no.

Q. What went on during your conversation with Mr. Teeter?

A. I really only recall being advised that the RNC had requested Market Opinion Research to take a survey.

Q. Was there any statement as to what was to be entailed in this survey?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. Did you speak to the Vice President about this conversation?

A. I don't recall having a conversation with him about the survey, about my conversation with Bob Teeter, no.

Q. Did Mr. Teeter refer to a conversation that he had had with the Vice President?

A. Not that I recall.

Q. Now, did Mr. Teeter refer to a conversation that he

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had had with the Chairman of the Republican National Committee?

A. I don't recall him specifically describing a conversation with the RNC. Just advising me that the RNC was going to retain him, his firm, to take the survey.

Q. What is the next conversation that you know of after that?

MR. BARAN: Regarding what, Mr. Levin?

MR. LEVIN: Regarding the poll. As I said, I would state otherwise unless--

THE DEPONENT: In another conversation, Mr. Teeter asked me if there were areas that we might have an interest in of being covered in the survey. And I indicated to him that we would be interested in questions having to do with two substantive areas, trade issues and terrorism, both of which the Vice President was interested in.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. And when was this conversation?

A. I really don't recall when I had that conversation with him precisely, I don't.

Q. Did Mr. Teeter say why he was asking you about these issues?

A. Well, he indicated that he was in the process of

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formulating a survey and asked if I had any areas that would be useful for him to raise questions about.

Q. Let me just go back a second on this present conversation with Mr. Teeter. You said you didn't know when it occurred precisely. Do you have a general idea of when it occurred?

A. Well, it's obvious that it occurred sometime before September, but I don't know. Summer or fall, I don't know.

Q. And you state that Mr. Teeter was talking about questions of interest to you. Did he mean you on behalf of the Vice President?

A. Certainly. Questions that would have been of interest to what we were engaged in at the time substantively.

Q. What do you mean?

A. We were dealing with the terrorism issue and we were dealing with trade issues and so my interest only reflected matters that we had some interest in in the office.

Q. Was any reference made to the Fund for America's Future?

A. I don't recall any reference to the Fund for America's Future, no.

Q. During this conversation was any reference made to

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Mr. Atwater?

A. I don't recall any reference.

Q. Did Mr. Teeter refer to any other conversations he had with-- and I'll name names here-- with Mr. Bill Phillips?

A. No.

Q. Did he refer to any conversations he had with the Vice President?

A. No.

Q. Did he refer to any conversations he had with Mr. Fahrenkopf?

A. I don't recall one way or another on that. I don't believe so though.

Q. Did he refer to any conversations he had with Mr. Greener, William Greener of the Republican National Committee?

A. No.

Q. Were there any other issues discussed between you and Mr. Teeter in this conversation?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. Was there any discussion of a prospective presidential candidacy for the Vice President?

A. I don't recall any discussion of that, no.

Q. Was there any discussion of the perception of the

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Vice President as it might pertain to his effectiveness in 1986, campaigning for other candidates?

A. No, not in that discussion I don't recall that we discussed that at all.

Q. And when did you discuss that?

A. Actually I don't know that he and I discussed it at all at any point in the development of the survey.

Q. We're referring to the poll.

A. Yes.

Q. And we're referring to two issues pertaining to the Vice President's effectiveness in 1986 campaigning for other candidates.

A. I don't recall discussions specifically with Bob on that subject.

Q. Was there any discussion in this conversation with Mr. Teeter that you had about voter attitudes towards major political figures including the Vice President?

A. Again, when you say "this conversation," I want to make sure you are referring to the conversation which he asked and in which I offered the two substantive issues?

Q. The two substantive issues.

A. No, there was no discussion that I recall of the kind

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you described.

Q. What is the next conversation that you know of?

A. The next conversation that I'm aware of is one that Mr. Teeter had with me early in September when he provided me with a draft of the survey document itself and asked me to give him any reactions that I might have.

Q. Do you recall hearing of a conversation involving Mr. Teeter, Mr. Lee Atwater and Mr. Bill Phillips in which a decision was made to delay doing the poll?

A. No, I have no recollection or any knowledge of that, of such a conversation.

MR. LEVIN: I have exhibits that have been pre-marked. I'm going to ask the Reporter to mark the pre-marked Exhibit No. 1 as FEC Exhibit No. 1, and I'm handing a copy of FEC Exhibit No. 1 to the witness now.

(Whereupon, the document referred to was marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 1.)

MR. LEVIN: It is headed, "Memorandum for Mary Lukens from Kathy Smith. I'll give witness a chance to review that.

THE DEPONENT: Yes.

BY MR. LEVIN:

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Q. And what is it?

A. It's a message that my secretary, Kathy Smith, telecopied to Market Opinion Research.

This is all the same document?

Q. Yes. It is all the same document.

A. And that's the first page. And the remainder is-- there's a draft survey, a questionnaire, that Market Opinion Research gave to me early in September to read.

Q. And the first page contains your comments on the questionnaire?

A. Correct.

Q. When you made these comments-- well, first, do you recall what date you made these comments?

A. By the notation on the corner which is mine, it appears to be September 10th 1985.

MR. LEVIN: For the record, that's on the second page of the document. That page is marked at the bottom, page 1.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. When you made these comments had you seen the entirety of those pages marked at the bottom page 1 through 9 in the document?

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A. Yes.

Q. And how did you obtain pages 1 through 9?

A. I believe-- the best of my recollection it was dropped off at my office for me to read.

Q. At the White House?

A. Right. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. By Bob Teeter.

Q. Personally?

A. That's my recollection.

Q. Did you have a conversation at that point with Mr. Teeter?

A. I don't specifically recall a conversation with him when the survey was dropped off. I do recall a conversation in which he indicated he'd be providing me a copy of the survey and just asked that I read it.

Q. And when was that conversation?

A. I believe it was on the 9th of September, the day before I commented on the survey.

Q. And that was the day before you--

A. I commented on the survey on September 10th. My recollection is that he and I had either a telephone

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conversation or in-person conversation in which he told me I'd be receiving a copy of it, read it and comment, provide him with comments.

Q. What else was said pertaining to the poll in that conversation?

A. I don't recall any discussion of the survey itself other than just being asked to read it and review it.

Q. Was there any discussion of the polling process? By that I mean the work that Market Opinion Research had done already, if it had done any, the issues, any contacts with Mr. Teeter, of any of those three-- any contacts that Mr. Teeter--

MR. BARAN: I object to that compound question.

MR. LEVIN: Okay. Well, let's do it this way.

MR. BARAN: Let's just take it one at a time.

MR. LEVIN: Absolutely.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. And the first time it was on the polling process?

A. Right.

Q. By that I mean work that Market Opinion Research was doing.

A. No, I don't recall any discussion of the process, other than his desire to finalize the survey document itself.

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Q. Were there any discussions of Market Opinion Research-- any contacts-- let me start again. Were there any discussions of any contacts that Market Opinion Research may have had with Mr. Phillips or Mr. Atwater?

A. No.

Q. The next one was any discussion about the issues-- any further discussion about the issues or questions?

A. Well, Mr. Teeter did specifically ask me to review the questions that pertained to terrorism and trade which we requested be included.

Q. Did he preclude your reviewing any other questions?

A. No.

Q. Did he state that you should?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. Did he say anything with reference to that?

A. No. Not that I recall.

Q. Did Mr. Teeter state whether or not he had discussed the questions on pages 1 through 9 with anyone else?

A. I don't recall him indicating he had discussed it with anybody else.

Q. The questions on pages 1 through 9?

A. Correct, yes.

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Q. Did he state whether or not he discussed the general topic of questions with anyone else? The general topic of the types of questions with anyone else?

A. I don't recall any discussion of how he formulated the questions with anybody else.

Q. He did not refer to any conversations with Mr. Atwater?

A. No.

Q. Had you heard of any conversation like that between Mr. Teeter and Mr. Atwater?

A. I don't recall of hearing of any discussion that had taken place on the questions on 1 through 9.

Q. How about the general kinds of questions?

A. No.

Q. Did you discuss the questions on pages 1 through 9 with Mr. Atwater?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you discuss them with Mr. Fuller?

A. I'm Mr. Fuller.

Q. I'm sorry. Mr. Phillips?

A. No, I did not.

Q. I apologize. We're still working with the document

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here. Looking at the first page of the document. In other words, one that does not have a number at the bottom. You notice the bottom two lines?

A. Yes.

Q. And it says, "There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas." Are those your comments?

A. Yes.

Q. And were they meant to be sent to Mr. Teeter?

A. Yes.

Q. By sending it to Mary Lukens, you are sending them to Mr. Teeter?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Atwater that you were going to send this message to Mr. Teeter?

A. No, I don't recall discussing my comments with Mr. Atwater or that I was sending him, Mr. Teeter, this message.

Q. The "Lee" refers to Mr. Atwater, is that correct?

A. Correct. That's correct.

Q. In addition to sending your comments back to Mr. Teeter, did you have any conversation with him about these questions?

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A. No, I don't recall any conversation.

Q. When you reviewed this draft, pages 1 through 9, did you notice Questions 65 through 68 and 70 through 99? I'll give you a chance to look at those again.

A. Would you restate that?

Q. 65 through 68 and 70 through 99.

At the time that you are reviewing this document, who did you think was going to pay for these questions?

A. The Republican National.

Q. Was it your impression that the Republican National Committee would pay for all of these questions?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Did anyone ever tell you of a conversation between Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips in which Mr. Phillips expressed a concern that there were questions pertaining to the Vice President or his interests on the poll, or that there may be such questions on the poll?

A. I don't recall ever have been advised of that conversation.

Q. Now, what time frame are you talking about when you say that?

A. I'm talking about the period up to-- I mean, I'm not

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aware of that conversation. I'm just referring to the time frame in which the survey was being drafted.

Q. Until I asked the question, were you ever aware? In other words, until a few moments ago, were you ever aware of such a conversation?

A. I was not aware of a specific conversation. I have become aware subsequent to the issue of the survey being made public that there may have been some concerns about that.

Q. But you are not aware of any specific conversation and only on my say so would you be aware of one up until a few moments ago?

A. I was not aware of the conversation you mentioned. Your mentioning of the conversation reminded me that I had heard somewhere there were concerns raised about the survey, but I was not aware of those concerns.

Q. And when did you become aware of those concerns?

A. At some point during the public discussion of the survey having been taken.

Q. In other words, correct me if I'm wrong, after the stories broke in the newspaper?

A. That's correct.

Q. When you were reviewing these questions, at the time

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you were reviewing them, for whom did you think you were reviewing these questions?

A. For Bob Teeter.

Q. On whose behalf were you reviewing these questions? On behalf of the Fund for America's Future?

MR. BARAN: Do you understand the question, Mr. Fuller?

MR. FULLER: I think I understand the question. I was reviewing them specifically as somebody who is familiar with surveys and interested in the two substantive questions--I really didn't have the attitude I was reviewing it on behalf of any organization or that I had any authority to approve or disapprove the survey. So I was reviewing it more from a personal standpoint as one who was interested in the survey document.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. At the time you were reviewing it, was the Vice President aware that you were reviewing these questions?

A. I don't believe so, no.

Q. Was anyone at the Fund for America's Future aware that you were reviewing these questions, to your knowledge?

A. No, not to my knowledge.

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Q. At any point up to the present time, has anyone told you of any conversation that Mr. Atwater had with Mr. Teeter in which Mr. Atwater made suggestions for questions?

A. No one's told me and I'm not aware of such a conversation.

Q. And you are not aware of such a conversation?

A. No.

Q. Subsequent to your review of these questions, did you discuss-- and again, I mean the questions on Exhibit 1, pages 1 through 9-- did you discuss those questions with anyone else besides Mr. Teeter?

A. I don't recall discussing the specific questions on 1 through 9 with anybody else other than Mr. Teeter.

Q. Do you recall discussing the questions on the poll then? When you said specific questions--

A. Well, I recall advising the Vice President that the two questions, the two areas that I was suggesting questions, were on trade and terrorism.

Q. And when was that?

A. That I don't specifically recall. I mentioned the conversation in which Mr. Teeter asked me for suggestions. It would have coincided with that, but it was summer or early fall.

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Q. Would that be before September 17th when the poll--

A. Yes. In fact, it would have been before September 10th.

Q. What did the Vice President say in response to that?

A. I don't recall he had any specific comment and he had no additional suggestions.

Q. Do you know if the Vice President knew that there were questions such as those, that there were questions such as those at 65 to 68 and 70 through 99? In other words, questions referring directly to the 1988 campaign?

A. I don't have any reason to believe that he knew anything more about the survey than the fact that I suggested questions be asked on trade and terrorism.

Q. Do you recall if anyone from the Republican National Committee reviewed the draft questions on pages 1 through 9?

A. I have no knowledge as to whether they did or did not.

Q. Do you know if they reviewed any questions such as these? In other words, draft questions or prospective questions?

A. No, I don't. I have no knowledge as to whether they did.

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Q. To your knowledge, when you say you've reviewed polls, to your knowledge, and it's only to your knowledge, is it usual for the RNC to review a poll questionnaire before it goes out, one that they've authorized?

A. I don't have any knowledge about the review process of the RNC at all with regards to polls.

Q. Okay. We worked our way up to mid September. And we've discussed a number of contacts. Are there any other contacts or conversations that you know of pertaining to the poll that occurred before September 17th? It doesn't have to involve you. Or that you are aware of.

A. I guess my problem is-- I mean, I'm aware of what I participated in and I'm not sure how to-- I mean, I'm not clear as to how to characterize other contacts. I don't recall personally being involved in other contacts. I'd had contacts with Mr. Fahrenkopf personally in which I recall him saying to me that he was going to retain Market Opinion Research to do a survey. I guess that would be the only other contact that I'm personally aware of.

Q. Including in your--

A. You are asking for two kinds of contacts.

Q. Exactly. One that you're--

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A. And so the only other contact that I'm aware of in which I participated is a personal discussion with Mr. Fahrenkopf.

Q. What I'm also referring to is any contacts that you may have been told about, that you were not involved in.

A. Okay. I was told that Mr. Fahrenkopf told the Vice President that he was willing to and was going to obtain Market Opinion Research to conduct a survey.

Q. Are there any others?

A. I don't recall being told about any other contact.

Q. Who told you about the most recent one you mentioned of Mr. Fahrenkopf?

A. The Vice President told me that Mr. Fahrenkopf had the conversation with him in which he indicated-- he, Mr. Fahrenkopf, indicated that he was going to retain Market Opinion Research to take a survey.

Q. So to the best of your recollection this is around the time of the genesis of the poll, is that what you're saying? I'm trying to pinpoint.

A. Sure. I don't recall when I specifically had the conversation, that conversation, with the Vice President, although it was early on in the April 1st time frame. His

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conversation, Frank Fahrenkopf's conversation, with the Vice President had occured I recall a few months earlier.

Q. In your recollection then I'm wondering if any of that reminds you if you were told of any conversation between Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips about a concern about the inclusion of questions?

A. I don't have any better recollection.

Q. What date did you receive-- well, let's do it this way, it will make it a lot easier.

MR. LEVIN: I've pre-marked FEC Exhibit No. 2, and I'm handing a copy of FEC Exhibit No. 2 to witness and counsel. It's entitled, "U. S. National #2 Study," dated November 1985

(Whereupon, the document referred to was marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 2.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 2?

A. Yes. It's the report from Market Opinion Research on their survey that was taken in the fall of '85.

Q. Did you receive a copy of this survey prior to this deposition?

A. Yes. I did.

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Q. And when did you receive that copy?

A. I don't remember precisely the time. It was in early November as best as I can recall.

Q. Does November 13th sound correct to you?

A. I'm sorry. I just don't remember the exact date. Early to mid November.

Q. Okay. Between the time that the poll taking ended-- that was September 25th-- and the time you received this analysis, did you have any contact with anyone else, with anyone, pertaining to the poll? Any conversations?

A. No, I don't recall any conversations specifically concerning the poll. I guess the first conversation I recall would be-- I don't recall it specifically, but would have been Mr. Teeter requesting time to come in and review the survey with us.

Q. When was that?

A. Early November.

Q. And when did he make that request?

A. Early November.

Q. Okay. What setting-- were you in a conversation on the phone?

A. I don't specifically recall. I presume it was a

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phone conversation.

Q. Prior to receipt of the poll?

A. I actually don't remember whether it was before I received a copy or after I received a copy. I received a copy to read and following that we set up a meeting to review the survey.

Q. Do you know what the time span was between the receipt of a copy and the meeting?

A. I really don't recall. Less than two weeks.

Q. Less than two weeks. Let me probe this. Do you recall any casual conversations, perhaps with Mr. Teeter, Mr. Atwater, the Vice President, involving all of you?

A. Well, I don't recall any casual conversations either with one or more on the poll, on the survey itself, no. I may not have understood your question.

Q. Well, okay. It was phrased in a difficult manner.

Do you recall just talking with these people you've mentioned and perhaps a reference to the poll coming up?

A. Just to be straightforward about it, I recall being given a copy to read, obviously being told it was finished, being given a copy to read, and receiving a request to set up a meeting to discuss the poll.

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Q. Now, when you had this meeting-- you did have this meeting, correct?

A. Yes.

Q. When you had this meeting, who was there?

A. The Vice President, as I recall, Lee Atwater, Bob Teeter and myself.

Q. And where was this meeting?

A. In the Vice President's office. In the Executive Office Building.

Q. Describe this meeting. What happened? Who said what?

A. It was a meeting that was designed to allow Mr. Teeter to provide the Vice President with a copy of the poll results, the report you have here. And to highlight or to discuss the highlights of the poll. And so as I recall the discussion, it was primarily, I guess it could be characterized as a presentation by Mr. Teeter on the Market Opinion Research poll. I'll leave it at that. It really was a presentation by him of his poll.

Q. What did he say?

A. I didn't take notes and I don't have a specific recollection of the statements he made, except to say that his presentation paralleled what was in the written document itself.

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He talked through his findings and the information that's in the survey. And left it with the group to read in detail.

Q. What did you say during this meeting?

A. I don't recall making any contribution at all to the discussion. I really was there to listen to the presentation.

Q. What did Mr. Atwater say?

A. I don't recall him making any points in the course of the meeting.

Q. What did the Vice President say?

A. I don't recall him making any points. Again, I have to characterize it as a presentation and not really a discussion or a question and answer session.

Q. There were no questions and answers?

A. I don't recall questions being raised specifically of Bob. Again, he presented what was in the survey.

Q. Did anyone make any specific reference to the questions that appear to pertain to 1988, and perceptions of the Vice President?

A. I recall Bob Teeter talking about the findings resulting from those series of questions, yes.

Q. Did you receive any written communication, that is, a letter-- well, let's put it this way-- a bill or an invoice

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or a letter that might constitute a bill or an invoice from Mr. Teeter pertaining to the poll?

A. No.

Q. Did Mr. Atwater, to your knowledge?

A. I do not know. I don't know.

Q. Do you know who received any letters or invoices or bills?

A. No. Let me just add to that last answer.

Q. Sure.

A. I came to find out that the RNC was in possession of a bill subsequent to the delivery of the poll and the public discussion of it, but I--

Q. When did you find that out?

A. Sometime after this issue became public.

Q. After December the 3rd.

A. Correct.

Q. From whom did you find that out?

A. I really don't remember.

Q. Do you recall discussing the receipt by the RNC of this bill with anyone?

A. Well, no, I don't recall a specific discussion of the receipt of the bill. The public discussions and who was

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going to pay for the survey, I remember learning that the RNC had been billed for the service.

MR. LEVIN: I've pre-marked Exhibit 3 and I'm handing a copy of FEC Exhibit 3 to the witness and counsel. This is a Forward to Exhibit 2. It's actually in Exhibit 2.

(Whereupon, the document referred to was marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 3.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. I'm going to refer back to the meeting at which you and the Vice President and Mr. Atwater discussed the FEC Exhibit 2 with Mr. Teeter.

Did anyone say anything about this Forward?

MR. BARAN: Are you referring to--

MR. LEVIN: Exhibit No. 3, FEC Exhibit No. 3.

MR. BARAN: I object. Improper foundation. You haven't asked Mr. Fuller if he can identify this document--

MR. LEVIN: Thank you very much.

MR. BARAN: -- that you've laid before him.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 3?

A. I can identify it as the Forward to the survey. I

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will tell you that I haven't seen this document in this form before. Namely, with notes on the upper right side and underlined. But I did see it as it exists in Exhibit 2.

Q. Well, then, let's refer back to Exhibit 2 and it is the--

MR. BARAN: Can we then clarify for the record. Mr. Fuller, is it your testimony that you cannot identify Exhibit No. 3? That you've not seen this document before?

THE DEPONENT: I have not seen that document before.

MR. BARAN: Okay.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Then let's refer back to Exhibit No. 2 and it would be the fifth sheet of Exhibit 2, marked at the bottom with a small Roman i.

A. Okay.

Q. Did anyone say anything about this Forward at that meeting?

A. I don't recall any discussions of the Forward at the meeting.

Q. Do you recall any subsequent discussions about this Forward?

A. Yes.

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Q. And what were those?

A. I guess you have to be more specific. I'm not quite sure how to answer that question. Or maybe just restate the question.

Q. Did you discuss this Forward with anyone?

A. Yes.

Q. With whom?

A. I can recall a discussion with Mr. Atwater that the Forward had become a matter-- had become public or had been something that the press people and the media were questioning and examining.

Q. And when was this?

A. Sometime in the December, post-November time frame.

Q. Did you discuss the Forward with anyone else?

A. I don't recall any specific discussions of the Forward with anyone else.

Q. That you were involved in, is that what your answer refers to?

A. I don't recall discussions I had with people other than Mr. Atwater concerning the forward.

Q. Did you hear of any discussions that didn't involve you pertaining to the forward? Did you hear of any discussions?

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A. I heard of discussions Mr. Teeter and Mr. Atwater had concerning the Forward.

Q. And what did you hear about the discussions?

A. Again, the discussions were in the context that the press had this and were prepared to write or comment on it. It was creating a-- and that there were going to be press reports on the fact of the survey.

Q. And this was at that same--

A. December.

Q. Any other discussions that you heard of?

A. No, I don't recall any.

Q. Do you know who Ron Walker is?

A. Yes.

Q. And who is he?

A. Ron Walker of Korn Ferry? I know a Ron Walker who is a managing partner of Korn Ferry, International.

Q. Is this the same Ron Walker who has been involved with the Vice President's office at all?

A. Yes. Yes, he's been involved with us.

Q. And what does he do?

A. We asked him to represent the Vice President at a meeting called by Frank Fahrenkopf to discuss issues of interest

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to leading Republicans during the convention and other matters that may have been of interest.

Q. Was he involved with this poll that was taken September 17th to September 25th?

A. I don't recall any involvement he had with the poll, no.

Q. What does he do? I mean, does he have a position or, as you said, did he merely represent the Vice President at this meeting?

A. My recollection is that Frank Fahrenkopf asked the Vice President's office to have someone attend a meeting that he was calling to discuss the convention and other related issues. And we asked Mr. Walker to attend that meeting on our behalf. He has no official role though.

Q. When was this meeting?

A. I honestly don't remember.

Q. I'll refer you back to FEC Exhibit No. 2.

A. Okay.

Q. The poll analysis. When was it first determined that the Vice President or representatives of the Vice President would be receiving a poll analysis from Market Opinion Research?

A. I have no idea. I don't know.

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Q. For you, this was always assumed through the life of the poll, is that correct?

A. Yes. It was always assumed that the results would be made available to us, which is customary with polls the RNC takes involving other pollsters.

Q. Could you elaborate on that? In other words, would that include polls that did not refer to the Vice President?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know that representatives of the RNC would be receiving an analysis of the poll?

A. It was my assumption they would be.

Q. Had anyone stated that to you?

A. No. The details between RNC and the Market Opinion Research was something I was not party to.

Q. Had you heard of any discussions to that effect as to who would be receiving an analysis?

A. No, I don't recall any specific discussions. It was an assumption that people you'd asked for the poll to be conducted would receive a copy of it.

Q. Was there, to your knowledge, was there any discussion of the receipt by you and Mr. Atwater and Vice President Bush prior to the receipt-- let me rephrase that, because that

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gets confusing.

Did you hear of any discussion to the effect that you and Mr. Atwater and the Vice President would be receiving a poll prior to the RNC receiving-- receiving a poll analysis prior to the RNC receiving a poll analysis?

A. I neither heard of a discussion nor was I a party to any discussion on how the poll results would be delivered to any party of interest.

Q. At the time you received the poll analysis, were you aware of whether or not the RNC had received one?

A. I was not aware of whether or not they had received one.

Q. You have referred and so have I referred to the matter becoming public, and that was around the beginning of December, December 3rd or 4th?

A. As I recall, yes.

Q. And how did that become public? I mean, how--

A. I wish I knew.

Q. Let me ask you a sort of leading question. It became public in the newspapers, is that what you're referring to?

A. My first recollection of the fact that it had become public was reporters had been given or sent a portion of the

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survey and were calling and asking questions of the Fund for America's Future about the survey. And it was a day or two days in advance of any publication of stories.

Q. Between the time that you and Mr. Atwater and the Vice President had the meeting with Mr. Teeter and the time that the story became public, do you know of any contacts or conversations during that time involving the poll? Let's start with anyones that you were involved in.

A. I don't recall having any discussions between the meeting with the Vice President and it becoming public nor am I aware of discussions to which I was not a party taking place.

Q. Okay. Now, the story breaks. I'd like you to tell me what happened, what you know of what happened as the story broke.

A. Let me just think a minute. I was preparing to leave-- on the day of the first press inquiries were received, I was preparing to leave town with the Vice President on a trip. I think it was just a one-day trip. And when we were advised that some of the information in the poll had been provided to news organizations, and that calls were coming in to the Fund and to the RNC, I was advised of this by Mr. Atwater.

Since we were leaving town, and did in fact leave

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town, I was not party to discussions that occurred. Once I was advised, I was not a party to discussions that occurred throughout the afternoon.

Q. The afternoon of the story breaking, is that what you mean?

A. That's correct.

Q. Is this the day before it appeared in the newspapers?

A. I believe it was the day before the first story appeared in the newspapers. So I can't really offer very much in terms of what transpired after that, and after just the initial information about the story, I was really advised that there was going to be a story and a likelihood of it appearing the next day.

Q. Do you know of any meetings that occurred on that day? Involving the poll.

A. I'm aware only of a meeting-- only the phone conversation. I can recall a phone conversation with Mr. Atwater and I can recall Mr. Atwater meeting with me in my office before we left. And I don't recall anything else. Mr. Phillips may have been present at that meeting as well.

Q. And what was said during this meeting and the phone conversation? Take the meeting first. Take whatever came

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first.

A. I think first was the phone call and the meeting followed soon thereafter. Again, the only thing I recall is really being briefed on simply what was known at the time which was that portions of the survey had been sent to news organizations and there were questions about the survey, its contents, why it was taken, who was paying for it, and that kind of thing. And that's all I specifically recall. And then I left. And I'm not sure where the meeting went from there, but at that point I was out of it, out of the direct discussion of it.

Q. Who referred to who it was taken for. I mean, was there any kind of discussion, I mean specific resolution of that?

A. Well, in my mind it was very clear that the survey--at the time my understanding was that the survey had been requested by the RNC and Market Opinion Research had done the survey for the RNC. And I left at that point and was not party to the other discussions.

Q. So you say that was your understanding at the time it was for the RNC. Back when you had the meeting with Mr. Teeter along with the Vice President and Mr. Atwater, what was your understanding as to who the poll was for?

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A. The same understanding that it had been taken for the RNC, at the request of the RNC, by Market Opinion Research.

Q. Then why were you and the Vice President and Mr. Atwater also receiving an analysis?

A. For six years I've been briefed periodically by consultants to the RNC on polls that are taken for the RNC, and so I thought there was nothing unusual about it, and it had been my understanding from the beginning that-- particularly since we'd been given the opportunity to provide questions on trade and terrorism, that the results of the survey would be shared with us.

Q. Why have you been briefed for these past six years?

A. They must think I use the information somehow. I am interested in it.

Q. Do you pay for this information?

A. I don't, no. The contract is with the RNC.

Q. Does anyone pay on your behalf for this information?

A. No, to be specific, I'm referring to Mr. Wirthlin, who does survey work for the RNC.

Q. That's Dick Wirthlin?

A. Yes. And his contract. So far as I know, his contract is with the RNC. With the exception of the time he may

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have been under contract to the Reagan-Bush Campaign organization.

Q. Have you ever received an analysis along with Mr. Atwater and the Vice President before?

A. No, I don't believe so.

Q. Have you ever received an analysis with Mr. Atwater before?

A. Not that I recall.

Q. With the Vice President before?

A. Yes.

Q. And when was that?

A. Well, Mr. Wirthlin has briefed the Vice President and me on his surveys conducted on behalf of the RNC on approximately eight occasions, six to eight occasions.

Q. Within the past year or within the past--

A. Within the past year.

Q. So you've testified-- let's go back to this early December period.

A. Okay.

Q. And you have said that you and the Vice President had to leave town that afternoon. This is the day before the story appeared in the newspapers?

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A. Right.

Q. When did you return?

A. I think it was the same night. I think it was late that night.

Q. Did you then talk with anybody or did you hear of any discussions about what had gone on that day?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And what specifically did you hear?

A. Late in the day, I can recall generally a conversation Mr. Atwater and I had to brief me on meetings that had taken place and discussions that had taken place. I'm not sure I can give you-- I don't really specifically recall the exact conversation.

Q. Can you tell me though the substance of the conversation?

A. As best as I can recall, the conversation focused on issues that had been raised by the press as to the poll and as to the purpose, as to who was paying for it.

Q. And what was said? I mean, for instance, what was said about the purpose of the poll?

A. I don't recall the answer. I don't recall the conversation sufficiently to report on that.

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Q. Do you recall in a general sense what was said about the purpose of the poll?

A. Not as it pertains to that conversation. Again, the nature of that telephone conversation, it was generally to brief me on what was developing in the way of a press story, which we then read the next day.

Q. What was said about who was to be paying for the poll?

A. On that particular issue,that conversation or conversations that day was where I learned that there was consideration being given to the Fund paying for a portion of the poll as a result of the concerns of the press by the RNC as to their ability to pay for some of the questions in the poll.

Q. Did you learn when this consideration first surfaced? In other words, was this something that just surfaced that day or had there been some prior expression by someone that the Fund might pay for questions for the poll?

A. I was not aware-- restate the question. I'm not quite--

Q. Okay. You said that the concern-- or maybe I'm just approximating what you're saying, that you became aware of the concern surfacing about payment for the poll.

What I'm asking is was that someone referring to

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something someone had said before or did that concern first surface on December 3rd?

A. I don't recall being aware of the concern surfacing before the conversations on that day. I don't know as to whether it was something that was ever discussed before in conversations to which I was not a party.

Q. No one ever referred to-- did anyone ever refer to a conversation that Mr. Atwater had with Mr. Phillips about that?

MR. BARAN: I object. That question has been asked and answered already two times.

MR. LEVIN: I'm just asking because in these circumstances his recollection may have been prompted.

THE DEPONENT: I still don't recall any knowledge of that kind of conversation.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Okay. So we do have the concern about or the issue of payment being referred to.

A. That's correct.

Q. Did anyone from the RNC state that there were certain questions it would not pay for?

A. I don't recall that I had any discussion with the RNC at that point, and I don't know the answer to that.

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Q. Did Mr. Atwater say that the Fund for America's Future might pay for certain questions?

A. I don't know that he represented that. Maybe I should ask-- I don't know that he said that, no. Now, let me go back. You are asking about the conversations that took place that day?

Q. Right. That you know of.

A. I can't speak for what he represented in the course of the conversations that day. I don't know.

Q. Did anyone say anything about what the Fund for America's Future would or would not pay for?

A. I was not a party to those discussions. I can't answer that.

Q. Did you hear of any such statement?

A. I don't recall any specific statement. I was under the impression that as a result of the information I was given that the Fund had expressed a willingness to consider payment for questions that they could pay for if the RNC had difficulty paying for them. I don't know of any commitment and I was not party to those discussions. But that was my impression based on information I was given.

Q. Was any specific reference made to questions on trade and terrorism?

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A. I don't recall any, no.

Q. Was any specific reference made to questions that you recall, either that you were party of or that you heard of? Was any reference made to questions pertaining to 1988 and the possibility of the Vice President running in 1988?

A. In this early December time frame the only recollection that I have to the singling out of questions was general in nature and they were described as questions the RNC might not be able to pay for. And nobody told me which ones they were or that sort of thing.

Q. Did anyone tell you what the nature of those were though, even if they didn't tell you which ones they were?

A. I don't recall specifically. I assume they had to do with the quote "'88" questions that were in the survey.

Q. Was any reference made to questions that did not refer to 1988, but referred to the Vice President?

A. I don't recall.

Q. Until this point it was assumed that the Republican National Committee would pay for the poll, at least on your part, right?

A. That was my assumption, yes. That was my understanding. It was not my assumption.

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Q. Did you get the sense that that was everyone's understanding from what you recall of the December 3rd meetings?

A. I don't think I can answer the question quite that way. I never was told by anybody that there was another arrangement being considered.

Q. What was your understanding based on the understanding that the RNC would pay for the entirety of the poll?

A. I'm sorry. Would you please restate that?

Q. What was your understanding based on? That is, the understanding that the RNC would pay for the entirety of the poll?

A. Oh. The initial conversation that I was told about that Mr. Fahrenkopf told the Vice President that he was going to retain Mr. Teeter to conduct a survey and my original conversation with Mr. Teeter who told me that the RNC had retained his firm to conduct the survey.

Q. Did anyone express any surprise or concern or any opinion whatsoever with respect to the fact that you and Mr. Atwater and the Vice President had already received an analysis and yet the RNC had not?

A. Nobody in the conversation with me expressed that.

Q. Did you hear of any such expression?

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A. At some point in the early December time frame after this became public, I learned that the RNC had not received a presentation of the survey, and they indicated that they were surprised that we had.

Q. And when was that?

A. That early December time frame.

Q. How were you told about it? How did you find that out?

A. I don't specifically recall.

Q. But it was not a conversation?

A. I don't recall having a conversation with anybody at the RNC, no.

Q. Were you surprised that the RNC had not received an analysis and that you had already received one?

A. No. I confess not to have been surprised. I did not know of the arrangements between the RNC and Market Opinion Research.

Q. Could you repeat that? You did not--

A. I was not aware of exactly what the arrangements were between Market Opinion Research and the RNC with respect to reporting back on the results.

Q. What did Mr. Teeter say during this time period,

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December 3rd? What did you hear?

A. What did I hear? I don't have any specific recollection of conversations I had with Mr. Teeter about the survey.

Q. Do you have any recollection of conversations that Mr. Teeter would have had with those other than you? It need not be specific. It can be general. But as specific as you recall.

A. No. I don't. I don't remember being told the conversations he had with people.

Q. Do you know of any discussions or any correspondence in which Mr. Teeter was told not to include analysis pertaining to the Vice President in the analysis he was going to give to the Republican National Committee?

A. I know of no such discussions.

Q. And no correspondence to that effect?

A. And no correspondence.

MR. LEVIN: The Reporter will mark pre-marked Exhibit 4, FEC Exhibit 4, which I'm handing to witness and counsel. It is a letter dated December 20th 1985.

(Whereupon, the document referred to was marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 4.)

MR. LEVIN: I'll give the witness time to look at the

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letter.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify FEC Exhibit 4 for the record?

A. It's a December 20th 1985 letter that I sent to Frank Fahrenkopf.

Q. And I assume you have seen this letter before?

A. Yes, I have seen the letter before. I have not seen this specific copy with the notations in the upper right corner before.

Q. So you don't get excited about that, we received that from the Republican National Committee.

I'm going to refer you to page 2 of FEC Exhibit 4.

A. Okay.

Q. And the top paragraph, beginning with the word "finally."

A. Okay.

Q. And it refers to in the first sentence a conversation.

A. Yes.

Q. What conversation is this?

A. As best I can recall, and I do not recall when I had the conversation, I spoke by phone with Mr. Fahrenkopf and wanted to make sure that there was-- the phrase "misunderstanding"

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had appeared, as I recall, in a letter he sent asking us to send a representative to this meeting.

Q. Why don't I introduce that?

MR. LEVIN: This is not pre-marked. I'll have the Reporter mark this as FEC Exhibit 5. And I'm showing FEC Exhibit 5 to the witness and counsel.

(Whereupon, the document referred to was marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 5.)

MR. LEVIN: Can you identify it?

MR. BARAN: We haven't finished with it.

MR. LEVIN: Oh, I'm sorry.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can the witness identify FEC Exhibit 5?

A. I can identify it as the letter that was sent to the Vice President by Frank Fahrenkopf, a copy of which was provided to me by the Vice President.

Q. Is FEC Exhibit 5 the letter you are referring to in discussing FEC Exhibit 4?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Okay. I was asking about the conversation that you referred to in FEC Exhibit 4.

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A. Okay.

Q. On top of page 2. And if you'd go on.

A. After receiving the letter from Mr. Fahrenkopf, that's been entered as an exhibit, there were two paragraphs that concerned me. One, the third paragraph, in which he refers to "the unfortunate incident this week involving the mistaken impression that the RNC commissioned and paid for a poll exclusively for one presidential candidate--"

And the second reference on the second page, second paragraph, "The aforementioned misunderstanding concerning polling--"

I felt that those statements in the letter suggested a misunderstanding that I was not clear about. There was no misunderstanding in my mind that Frank Fahrenkopf and the RNC had sought Bob Teeter and Market Opinion Research and had asked them to do a poll and had advised us that they had asked Bob Teeter to do a poll. And I wanted to make it clear that that was my clear understanding and that I would so state in a letter. So I had the telephone conversation and I followed up with this letter.

And the telephone conversation assured me that my understanding was the correct understanding.

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Q. So are you saying that-- at what point are you saying that the RNC offered to pay for a survey?

A. Same question?

Q. Yes.

A. It was my understanding that when they went to Market Opinion Research to have them take a survey, they intended to pay for the survey.

Q. And they, meaning whom?

A. They, the Republican National Committee.

Q. And then you say, "in which we would have an interest." Who is "we"?

A. The Office of the Vice President.

Q. And what do you mean by interest?

A. That we had the ability to suggest the questions on trade and terrorism.

Q. Now, this conversation, when did you say that took place?

A. I don't recall specifically. It would have been between December 4th and December 20th.

Q. And was this a face-to-face conversation?

A. Telephone conversation.

Q. This was just you and Mr. Fahrenkopf or was this a

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party conversation, party-line conversation?

A. As far as I know, it was just the two of us on the phone. Only one person at my end.

Q. Referring back to these December 3rd conversations that you either were in or may have heard about, did you hear of anyone raising the question of whom the first analysis was for? That is, was it for the Vice President or for the Fund for America's Future? I know what your assumption was, but--

A. I don't recall a discussion concerning who the analysis was for, no.

Q. To make it clear for the record with reference to my last question, what was your assumption as to who the analysis was for?

A. My assumption was that it was the Market Opinion Research analysis for their survey.

Q. For whom?

A. For those with whom Market Opinion Research was going to issue its results.

Q. For the Vice President?

A. I'm not sure I understand the point. In other words, I knew they were taking a survey. I knew they were going to share their results with us. They shared their results with us.

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Q. Not that the analysis that they were sharing with you is going to be different from the analysis that they would give to the Republican National Committee?

A. I did not know that.

Q. What did you--

MR. BARAN: Excuse me.

MR. LEVIN: Let the record reflect that counsel and witness are conferring.

THE DEPONENT: Can you repeat the last question?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Not that the analysis that they were sharing with you is going to be different from the analysis that they would give to the Republican National Committee?

A. I had no knowledge of what exactly was going to be shared with the RNC and I had no reason to believe that what was shared with us would not be shared with the RNC.

Q. After the December 3rd meeting but prior to the time that the RNC received this analysis, did anyone discuss with you the fact that the RNC would be receiving this analysis?

MR. BARAN: Excuse me, Mr. Levin. You keep referring to December 3rd. And I just want to-- as a matter of clarification, I don't know exactly what has been testified to. I don't

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think that any specific date has been testified to, but are talking about the day before the first newspaper article occurred, whenever that day was.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Between that day that the first newspaper articles appeared and the time that the RNC received its analysis, did anyone discuss with you the upcoming meeting or the upcoming receipt of the analysis by the RNC?

A. I was informed that Mr. Teeter would make a presentation to the RNC.

Q. When were you informed of that?

A. Sometime after the early December period when I learned that they had not yet received an analysis from the survey.

Q. Would this have been around mid December that you were informed?

A. The best I can tell you was that it was after the early December time frame when the articles appeared.

Q. Do you recall how much after?

A. No.

Q. Who was this who informed you of this?

A. I don't recall.

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Q. Did you discuss the analysis that you had received with anyone during that time period; that is, between the time the story broke and mid December?

A. No, I don't recall discussing the analysis with anyone.

MR. LEVIN: I've given the Reporter a document that was pre-marked FEC Exhibit 5, but is now FEC Exhibit 6. And I'm handing a copy to witness and counsel. Let me make sure it's one copy. Yes. I'm handing a copy to witness and counsel.

(Whereupon, the document referred to was marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 6.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. It's from Market Opinion Research. It's marked "Office copy."

A. Okay.

Q. Can you identify this document? Have you seen it-- Let me ask you this first. Have you seen it before?

A. I've never seen it before.

Q. Have you seen a similar document without the "Office Copy," part of it?

A. No.

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Q. Did you see any copy of the questionnaire after the copy that we've referred to as you seeing it in early September?

A. I believe there was a copy of the final questionnaire included in the report we received.

Q. So why don't we refer back to that report. That is FEC Exhibit 2.

Am I correct in saying that the copy you saw then is the one that is also with an analysis of the answers, a laying out of the answers to these questions, the date of the answers to these questions?

A. No, that is correct. I don't--

MR. BARAN: If your question, Mr. Levin, is whether Mr. Fuller has previously seen the questions of the survey in their final form, he has testified to the fact that he has identified what is Deposition Exhibit No. 2, and has seen it previously to this deposition. So that is already in the record.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Fuller, did you and Mr. Teeter discuss how the questions that you have before you in FEC Exhibit No. 2 should be allocated; that is, in terms of what entity should pay for what questions?

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A. No, I recall no such conversation.

Q. Did you have a conversation dealing with what we will call the allocation question with anyone?

A. I don't recall any specific conversation concerning the allocation of questions. I recall being briefed on the fact that the idea of allocating certain questions to the Fund was taking place but I was not a party to those discussions.

Q. What discussions do you recall that you are referring to?

A. Simply that the Fund was-- that representatives of the Fund were discussing with the RNC the possibility of having some of the questions allocated to the Fund from the survey.

Q. And who were those people that were discussing that?

A. I really don't know.

Q. Would that include Mr. Atwater?

A. It could have included Mr. Atwater. I'm not sure who was party to those deliberations.

Q. Do you know if anyone from the Fund for America's Future met or talked with Mr. Teeter about allocation of questions?

A. I don't have any specific knowledge of such a meeting, no.

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Q. How about a conversation? Would you know of any conversation or discussion?

A. No. I don't know of any specific conversation or meeting that took place over the question of allocation.

Q. Did you hear any information as to how this was to be allocated? How these questions were to be allocated?

A. I have to go back and say I was not a party to the disucssions about the allocation process, so I do not have any specific recollection of those kinds of conversations.

MR. LEVIN: I'll have the Reporter mark those documents as FEC Exhibit No. 7. What was pre-marked FEC Exhibit 6 should be marked FEC Exhibit 7.

(Whereupon, the documents referred to were marked for identification as FEC Exhibit No. 7.)

MR. LEVIN: I'm handing a copy to witness and counsel.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Have you seen this FEC Exhibit 7 before?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Did you hear any discussion of any proposed payment of $4996? This is proposed payment by the Fund for America's Future for the poll.

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A. I don't recall hearing that figure before.

Q. Before this deposition you've never heard that figure before?

A. Correct. I don't recall hearing that figure before.

Q. Have you heard any discussion at all as to any kind of final apportionment of payment?

A. It's my understanding that there's been no determination of payment. I don't recall hearing of any determination at all on the question of payment.

Q. Did you ever see a copy of any proposed contract or any similar document that might have been sent to the Republican National Committee from Market Opinion Research?

A. I don't recall seeing such a document, no.

Q. Mr. Fuller, let me ask you this. Did you submit-- this is in reference to the affidavit that you submitted in response to the notification. Did you submit a copy of your affidavit to anyone other than Mr. Baran before submitting it to the Commission?

A. I don't believe so, no. To Ede Holliday, the counsel present, may have seen it. I don't recall if it was sent to Mr. Baran or Ms. Holliday, but those two would have seen it.

Q. Do you know if it was then sent to the Republican

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National Committee?

A. I do not know. Let me say that counsel's informed me that they've shared some of those affidavits with the RNC but I don't know whether mine was among those shared.

MR. LEVIN: No more questions.

Jan, do you have any questions?

MR. BARAN: Could we take a very short break and confer with our client. I'd like to talk to my co-counsel and see if there are any questions that we would like to ask. If there are, it certainly wouldn't take very long.

MS. LERNER: Sure.

MR. BARAN: Thank you.

(Whereupon, there was an off-the-record discussion.)

MR. BARAN: We would like to take advantage of asking a few questions just for clarification purposes.

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE DEPONENT

BY MR. BARAN:

Q. Mr. Fuller, you've testified that you were advised by the Vice President that Frank Fahrenkopf had informed him that the RNC was commissioning this poll. Were you also advised by the Vice President that Mr. Fahrenkopf had requested questions from the Office of the Vice President for this poll?

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A. Yes, I was.

Q. You've also testified that you had discussed with Mr. Fahrenkopf that he had confirmed that he had commissioned MOR to conduct this poll. At the time of that discussion, did Mr. Fahrenkopf state to you that he would like questions of interest to the Office of the Vice President to be included in this poll?

A. Yes. He made it clear that he was going to solicit the Office for questions and that they should be provided to Mr. Teeter.

Q. You have also testified that Mr. Teeter called you to ask for your suggestions on those questions to be included in this poll. And you have testified that you would suggest the areas of trade and terrorism. Was Mr. Teeter's call to you pursuant to Mr. Fahrenkopf's offer to the Vice President?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Mr. Fuller, did you at any time request anyone from the Republican National Committee to commission this poll?

A. No, I did not.

Q. To your knowledge, did the Vice President ever make such a request?

A. No, he did not.

Q. To your knowledge, did anyone on behalf of the Vice

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President request the Republican National Committee to commission this poll?

A. I have no knowledge that anybody associated with the Vice President requested the poll.

Q. With respect to the analysis which has been introduced as Deposition Exhibit No. 2, to your knowledge was this analysis prepared exclusively for the Vice President?

A. I have no reason to believe it was prepared exclusively for the Vice President. It was presented as the analysis from the survey commissioned by the RNC.

Q. Did you at the time of receiving the analysis have any reason to believe that the Republican National Committee did not receive the same analysis?

A. I had no reason to believe that the RNC would receive any different analysis.

Q. With respect to your prior testimony regarding questions contained in this poll that were referred to as "1988 questions," to your knowledge did the Fund for America's Future at any time ever offer to pay for these so-called "'88" questions?

A. I have no knowledge that suggests they offered to pay for those questions.

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Q. Therefore, is it your testimony that with respect to the offer of the Fund to pay for certain questions in this poll it would not be with respect to these so-called "'88" questions, is that correct?

A. That's correct.

MR. BARAN: That is all the questions that we have. I would like at this time to restate my earlier objection regarding the requests and the responses that pertain to hearsay testimony. I'd like to lodge that objection with respect to this entire deposition.

REEXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE COMMISSION

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Fuller, you stated that you had no knowledge that 1988 questions, referring to 1988, would be included in the Fund's offer to pay--

A. Correct.

Q. Did you have any knowledge that such questions were not to be included?

A. I think what I said was that I understood that the Fund was willing to consider paying for questions that it could appropriately pay for. And I knew that by stating that it was my understanding that those would be '88 questions, questions

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that they very well might not be able to pay for.

MR. LEVIN: I have no further questions.

Before we go off the record, I just want to remind the witness and all those present that this is an investigation conducted by the Federal Election Commission and is therefore subject to the confidentiality requirements of 2 USC Section 437 GA4 and 437 GA 12. And therefore you are subject to those confidentiality requirements.

I'd also like to present the witness check to Mr. Fuller.

THE DEPONENT: Thank you very much.

MR. BARAN: May I inquire as to signature on the deposition and the availability of the transcript?

MS. LERNER: Do you wish to waive signature?

MR. BARAN: No.

MS. LERNER: As soon as we get the original, we will send it to you for signature. And if you wish to have a copy you'll have to deal with the Court Reporter.

MR. BARAN: Please.

MR. LEVIN: I just want to say, if there are no further statements, this deposition is now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 the deposition was concluded.)

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CERTIFICATE OF WITNESS

I have read and examined the foregoing 74 pages, pages 1 through 74 inclusive, and find the answers contained therein with changes made by me, if any, to be true and correct.

_____

CRAIG L. FULLER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SUBSCRIBED and SWORN TO BEFORE ME, the undersigned Notary Public, in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid, this _____ day of _____, 1986.

_____

NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission Expires:

_____

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Irwin L. Coffenberry, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me by Stenomask and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me; that said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am not counsel for, related to, or employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and, further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Irwin L. Coffenberry

IRWIN L. COFFENBERRY
Notary public in and for the
District of Columbia

My commission expires:
December 14, 1989

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

2

U.S. National #2 Study

Analysis/Report

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Not to be released without the permission
of Market Opinion Research

Job #P85040
November, 1985

FEC Ex No. 2
3/14/86
ILC

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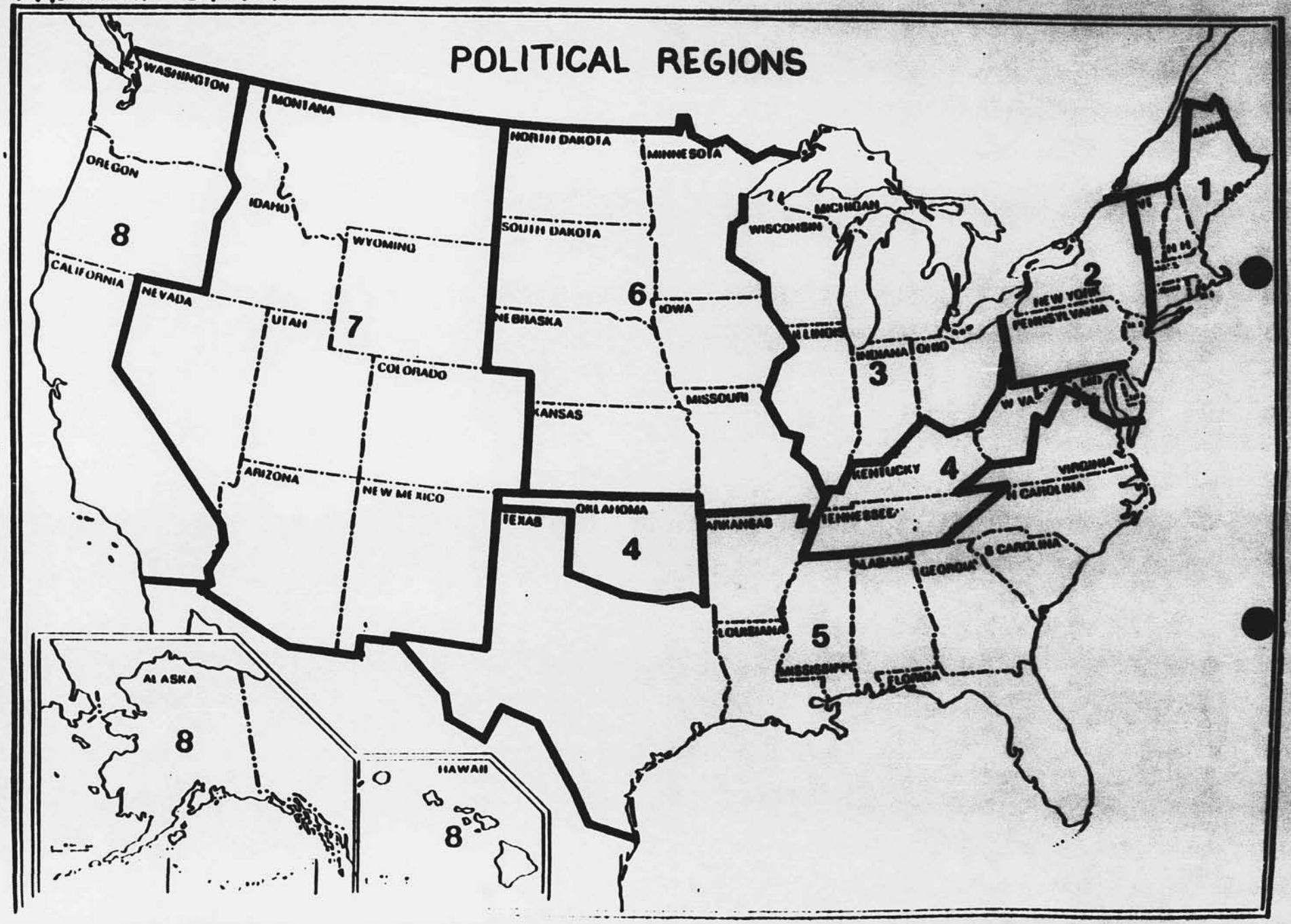
1 New England 2 Mid-Atlantic 3 East North Central 4 Border 5 Deep South 6 West North Central
7 Mountain 8 Pacific



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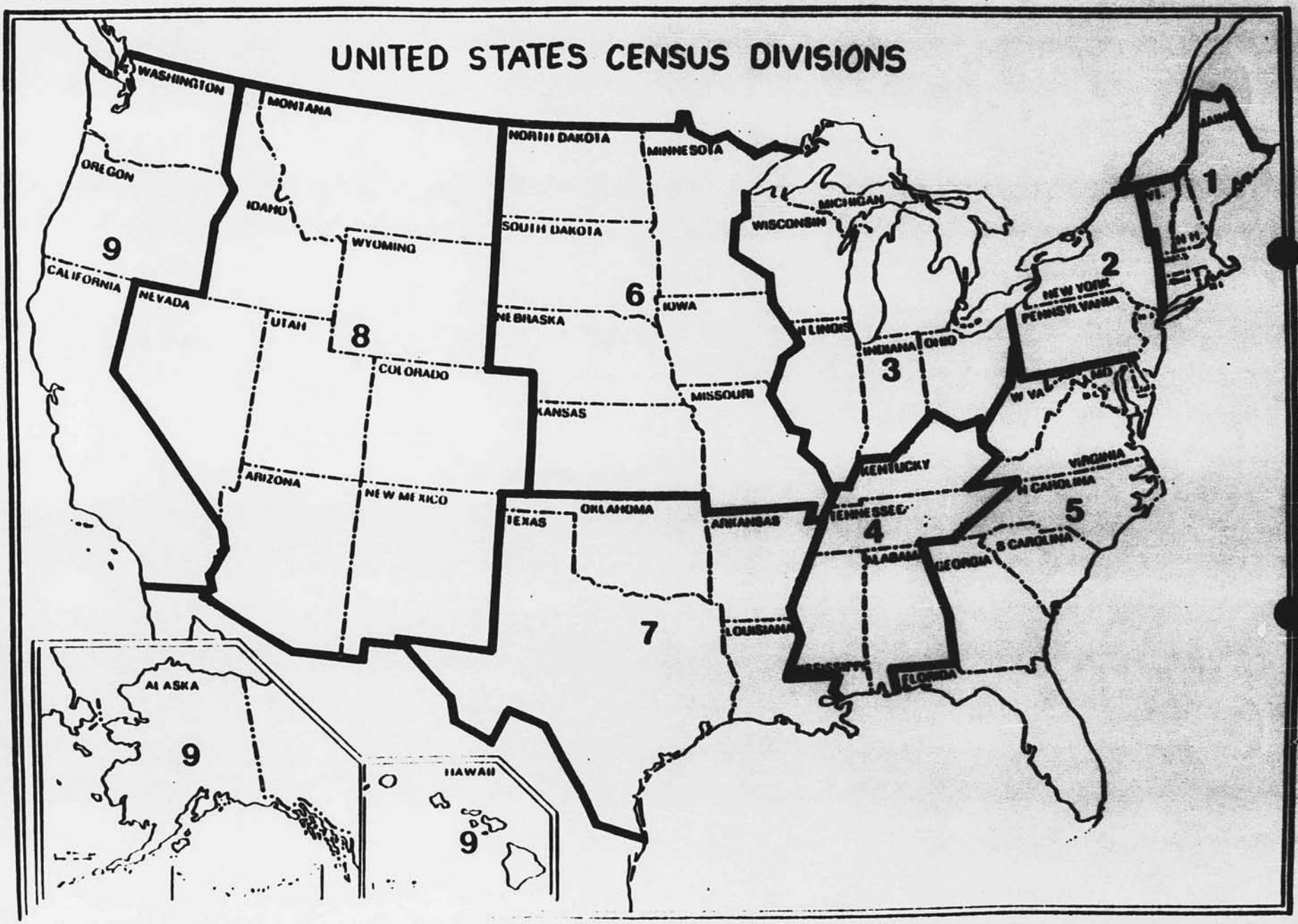

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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
* To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

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Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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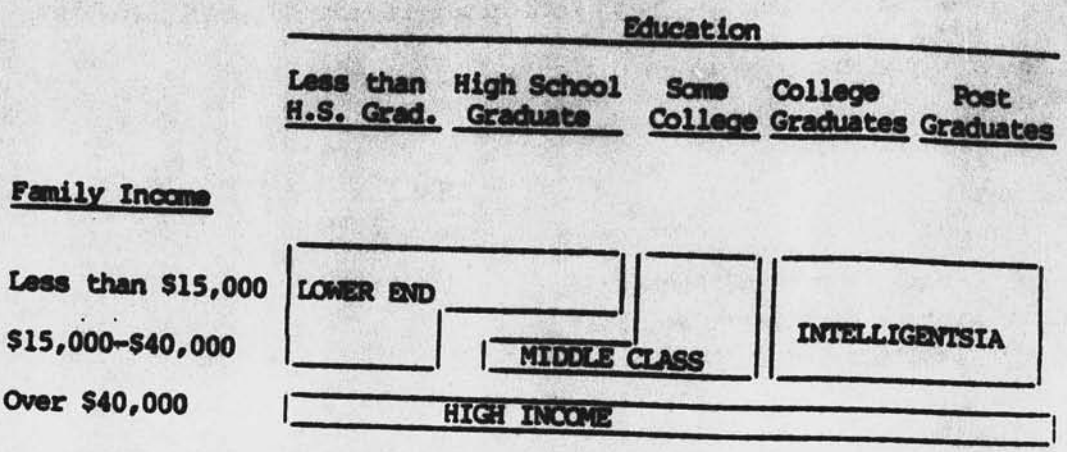
"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:



The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

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"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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Other Special Analytical Variables

Several other analytical variables were created to aid in the analysis. Unlike the previous special variables, these variables are composed of perceptual rather than demographic data.

The "Presidential Ballot Summary" is a combination of questions 78, 79, and 80. A Core Republican votes for Bush on all three ballots and a Core Democrat votes for the Democratic candidate all three times. Anti-(NAME) Democrats vote for the Democratic candidate in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot. The pro-(NAME) Republicans vote for Bush in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot.

	Distribution of Index
Core Democratic	24%
Anti-Kennedy Democrats	6
Anti-Hart Democrats	5
Anti-Iacocca Democrats	9
Pro-Kennedy Republicans	6
Pro-Hart Republicans	5
Pro-Iacocca Republicans	8
Core Republican	30
Others	7
Total	100%

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There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	47%
2.	19	
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	23%
5. Free trader	6	
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	42%
Lean protectionist	25	
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	45%
Core anti-protectionist	17	
Total	100%	

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The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

		Distribution of Index
0	No military action	16%
1		25
2		28
3		23
4	Military action in all cases	9
Total		100%

Seven "master attitudes" were uncovered in a past U.S. National study. They were replicated in this study. These attitudes have been found to significantly divide the electorate. The questions used to make up these scales are listed in the question results. The distribution of the scales are listed below:

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplo-macy	America First	Tradi-tional Values	Gov't. Assis-tance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Liberal	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Distribution of American Public on Seven Master Attitude Scales

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplomacy	America First	Traditional Values	Gov't. Assistance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1985-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative position	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
1983-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	26	19	17	45	26	28	25
Mixed	19	27	34	18	19	24	30
Conservative position	55	54	49	37	55	48	45
1985-Republican Primary Electorate							
Liberal position	19	25	15	33	17	23	9
Mixed	31	42	52	25	17	22	20
Conservative position	49	33	32	43	66	55	71

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U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	Right direction	50%	66%
	Wrong track	39	24
	Don't know	10	8
	Refused/NA	1	1
2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	Working fairly well	53	69
	Need significant changes	43	29
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused/NA	*	*
3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)	SEE ATTACHED TABLE		
4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	34	59
	Somewhat approve	34	32
	Somewhat disapprove	12	4
	Strongly disapprove	15	2
	Don't know	4	2
	Refused/NA	2	*
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	22	14
	Somewhat approve	35	37
	Somewhat disapprove	8	4
	Strongly disapprove	9	5
	Don't know	23	17
	Refused/NA	3	1

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(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

	Total
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relationship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	17
Refused/No answer	*

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #4	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44
(Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)								

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .		Total Electorate	R - li \ Pri Elec- tr te
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%	61%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4	2
	Hurts	36	32
	Don't know	5	5
	Refused/NA	*	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31	35
	About the same	28	27
	Less	34	31
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	1	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46	48
	No	51	49
	Don't know	2	2
	Refused/NA	*	—

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16	16
b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53	53
c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27	25
Don't know	3	3
Refused/NA	1	*

R 8 0 4 0 7 I 5 0 0 7

Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

Republican Primary Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	71%	17%	7%	1%	3%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	54	29	10	2	5
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	14	5	7
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	40	36	15	3	7
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	33	21	6	4
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	38	32	15	4	10

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

	Total Electorate	Republican Electorate
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%	36%
OR		
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58	58
Don't know	8	6
Refused/NA	1	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55
Don't know.	14
Refused/NA.	2

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More	9
About the same	36
Less	51
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war	35
Allowing fewer imports into country	58
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	*

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate	Republ. Electors
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	36%	37%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	57	56
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	*	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	73	77
	Oppose	19	16
	Don't know	7	7
	Refused/NA	1	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	43	46
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	40	38
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	15	15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3	2
(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34) 35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	35	40
	Oppose	40	39
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	8	7
	Refused/NA	1	1
5. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists	28	33
	Favor only as retaliation	47	48
	Favor neither	4	3
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	*
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	36	45
	Oppose	40	36
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	7	-
	Refused/NA	1	-
(ASK ALL) 38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate	59	53
	Refuse to negotiate	34	44
	Don't know	6	3
	Refused/NA	1	-
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups	27	21
	Foreign government	66	74
	Don't know	7	5
	Refused/NA	1	*

8804071501O

Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68*
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

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Q.65-66 Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	32%	26%	56%	27%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	19	26	39	18	21
Is in government now	26	13	13	27	14	13
Conservative	25	14	11	32	19	14
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	9	11	29	14	15
None		9	--		6	--
No second mention		--	9		2	7
Don't know/Refused		3	3		--	2
		100%	100%		100%	100%

.67-68 I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like .u to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below), the second (read below), the third (read below) and the fourth (read below). (IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:) Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	60%	35%	26%	64%	40%	25%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	60	27	35	63	28	36
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	36	20	16	37	19	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	34	15	19	29	11	18
None		1	--		1	--
o second choice		--	2		--	2
Don't know/Refused		2	1		--	1
		100%	100%		100%	100%

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Q.69-72 Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible President.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

Total Electorate	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	51	20	26	3	5.7	2.9
Jack Kemp	100%	18	13	17	51	4.9	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	44	16	38	2	5.2	3.3
Gary Hart	100%	43	21	25	10	5.4	2.7

Republican Primary Electorate

	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	67	17	14	2	6.8	2.4
Jack Kemp	100%	25	13	14	48	5.4	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	25	16	57	1	3.6	3.1
Gary Hart	100%	35	23	34	9	4.8	2.7

Avg. = Average on a zero to ten scale.

S.D. = Standard deviation around average.

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		Total Electorate
73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?	Republican	36%
	Democratic (GO TO Q.77)	40
	Neither one (GO TO Q.78)	17
	Don't know (GO TO Q.78)	6
	Refused/NA (GO TO Q.78)	1
74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/ REFUSED: Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	a. George Bush	58
	b. Bob Dole	10
	c. Howard Baker	12
	d. Jack Kemp	8
	e. Jeane Kirkpatrick	7
	Don't know	6
	Refused/NA	*
75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)	George Bush	19
	Bob Dole	22
	Howard Baker	17
	Jack Kemp	11
	Jeane Kirkpatrick	15
	Don't know	15
	Refused/NA	1

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/REFUSED: ASK) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	a. Ted Kennedy	44
	b. Gary Hart	22
	c. Mario Cuomo	18
	d. Lee Iacocca	14
	Don't know	2
	Refused/NA	*

Q.78-80 Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SOME ORDER)

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Bush	51%	83%
Kennedy	45	16
Don't know/Refused	4	1
	100%	100%
Bush	50%	81%
Hart	45	16
Don't know/Refused	5	2
	100%	100%
Bush	49%	76%
Iacocca	43	22
Don't know/Refused	7	2
	100%	100%

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8804071506

Q.81-82A (Half Sample A) From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush?

Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (RESPONSES OF 2% OR MORE)

LIKE BEST	Total
Reagan's man/Works with Reagan/ Follows Reagan's Policies/ Philosophies	7%
Honest/Integrity/Sincere/Fair	7
Experience/Background/Qualified	7
Straightforward/Forthright/ Outspoken	4
Intelligent/Sharp/Educated	3
Foreign affairs/Foreign policies/ Foreign relations	3
Alright/Okay/Doing a good job	3
Well-informed/Knowledgeable	3
Conservative	3
Personable/Personality/Likeable/ Charismatic	3
Articulate/Talks well	2
Vice-President	2
Issues/Views/Policies/Philosophies	2
Good person/Fine	2
Leadership quality/Strong leader	2
Held a variety of government positions (unsp.)	2
All other issue related responses	2
None/Nothing	10
Don't know/Don't know him	38
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Competent	16
Issues	16
Strong	11
Trustworthy	7
Past positions/Resume	5
Personable	4
Concerned	4

DISLIKE	Total
Low profile/In the background/Not in the limelight/Needs more experience	5%
Obnoxious/Superior attitude/ Arrogant/Pushy	3
Rubber stamp for Reagan/ Second hand man	3
Not aggressive enough/Not forceful	3
Weak/Spineless	3
Not Presidential material/ Not qualified as presidential candidate	2
Not outspoken/Does not take a stand	2
Talks too much/Too much talking/Talks, no action/ Puts his foot in his mouth	2
Conservative	2
All other issue related responses	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything	1
None/Nothing	11
Don't know/Don't know him	46
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Weak	17
Issues	5
Not personable	4
Not concerned	2
Untrustworthy	2
Past positions/Resume	1
Incompetent	*

		Total Electorate
73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?	Republican	.36
	Democratic (GO TO Q.77)	.40
	Neither one (GO TO Q.78)	.17
	Don't know (GO TO Q.78)	6
	Refused/NA (GO TO Q.78)	1

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/ REFUSED: Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	a. George Bush	.58
	b. Bob Dole	.10
	c. Howard Baker	.12
	d. Jack Kemp	8
	e. Jeane Kirkpatrick	7
	Don't know	6
	Refused/NA	*

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)	George Bush	.19
	Bob Dole	.22
	Howard Baker	.17
	Jack Kemp	.11
	Jeane Kirkpatrick	.15
	Don't know	.15
	Refused/NA	1

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/REFUSED: ASK) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	a. Ted Kennedy	.44
	b. Gary Hart	.22
	c. Mario Cuomo	.18
	d. Lee Iacocca	.14
	Don't know	2
	Refused/NA	*

8804071501B

Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (Responses of 2% or more)

HANDLE WELL	Total
Foreign policy/Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/International affairs/Negotiations with foreign countries/Experienced in foreign affairs	23%
National deficit/Reduce federal budget deficit/Budget/Balance the budget deficit	12
Carrying out some of the principles Reagan has instituted/Follows Reagan well/Continue to do what Reagan has done	5
Economy/Economics/Economic growth/Get economy moving	4
Defense/National defense/Defense of our nation/Security - military/Enforce the military/Our military position/Strengthening the military	4
Government spending/Federal spending - reduce it/Bringing down government spending/Cutting waste in government spending/Financial things	3
Administration management/Competent administration for bureaucracy cutting/Organization/Government as a whole, would be a better leader/More experience	3
Foreign trade/Foreign imports - get the trade going better/Straighten out foreign trade/Trade deficit/Trade with China and India	2
Domestic affairs/Handle domestic policy better than Reagan	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4

HANDLE POORLY	Total
Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/Foreign policy/Foreign policy, detrimental to certain sides	12%
Deficit/Budget deficit/Reducing the deficit/National debt/Not enough of an economist to help the deficit/Reduce deficit spending/Financial affairs	8
Defense/Military/National defense/Defense system/Concerns about disarmament/Would reduce the military	3
Public image, speaking ability, motivation lacking/Not making progress, doesn't show for the public/Public personality, doesn't come across on television well	3
Not strong enough/Does not have strong image/Not strong enough personality to stand up for what he believes/Not sure he would take a strong stand/Not a strong person, not forceful	2
Economy/Economics/Doesn't get publicity on economics/Everyone promises to get the economy in order	2
Foreign trade/Trade policy	2
Social Security/Cuts in Social Security	2
Welfare/Treatment of welfare people/The whole country - welfare	2
Unemployment/Jobs - not getting jobs/Employment	2

(continued on next page)

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Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

(cont'd)

HANDLE WELL

	Total
Everything/Entire office	1%
Nothing/Don't think he does well/ Won't handle anything well	5
Don't know/Refused	44
Combined Responses	
Foreign policy	30
Economic issues	20
Domestic/Social policy	5

HANDLE POORLY

	Total
Concerns about the poor/ lack of concern for the poor/Care of our poor/ The lower classes/Caught short in handling elementary human rights of the poor	2%
Lack of ability to work with Congress/Would not stand up to Congress/ Relations with Congress/ Doesn't have the personality to handle Congress that Reagan has	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything/Will do everything wrong	3
No, wouldn't go a bad job on anything/Would do a fine job	4
Don't know/Refused	49
Combined Responses	
Foreign policy	13
Economic issues	13
Domestic/Social policy	12
Lack of leadership	7

Q.83-89 I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

Total Electorate	Total	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know/ Ref.	PDI (a)
Women's rights	100%	24	47	16	13	+ 8
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	51	14	13	+ 8
The federal budget deficit	100%	21	49	19	10	+ 2
Abortion	100%	17	43	16	24	+ 1
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	23	46	23	8	+ 0
National economic policy	100%	18	52	18	12	+ 0
Taxes	100%	19	50	20	11	- 1
Republican Primary Electorate						
Women's rights	100%	25	53	14	8	-11
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	59	11	8	-11
The federal budget deficit	100%	26	51	18	5	- 8
Abortion	100%	18	44	18	20	-
National economic policy	100%	16	61	17	6	-
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	20	52	24	4	-
Taxes	100%	17	55	21	7	- 4

(a) Percentage Difference Index = % "Would handle it better" minus % "Would not handle it as well."

8804071 5020

Here are some characteristics and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

		Total Electorate Average	Republican Primary Electorate Average
	TRUSTWORTHINESS		
90.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
91.	George Bush	6.8	7.6
92.	Ted Kennedy	5.7	4.5
	CONCERN		
93.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
94.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
95.	Ted Kennedy	6.5	5.5
	LEADERSHIP		
96.	Ronald Reagan	7.7	8.8
97.	George Bush	6.4	7.4
98.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1
	COMPETENCE		
99.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.3
100.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
101.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1

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		Total Electorate	Republic Primary Ele
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%	4
	Fairly liberal	8	3
	Slightly liberal	4	
	Moderate	52	45
	Slightly conservative	8	11
	Fairly conservative	13	20
	Extremely conservative	7	11
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	—

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	1
	Fairly liberal	5	6
	Slightly liberal	3	3
	Moderate	26	29
	Slightly conservative	10	11
	Fairly conservative	25	22
	Extremely conservative	20	*
	Don't know	8	3
	Refused/NA	1	*

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	1
	Fairly liberal	4	4
	Slightly liberal	4	4
	Moderate	36	43
	Slightly conservative	11	11
	Fairly conservative	21	21
	Extremely conservative	7	7
	Don't know	13	7
	Refused/NA	1	*

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?	Republican.	31%	73%
	Democrat.	34	3
	Independent	30	22
	No preference	3	1
	Other	*	—
	Don't know.	1	*
	Refused	*	—
	Party Identification Scale		
	Strong Democrat . . .	17	1
	Weak Democrat	17	2
	Independent Democrat.	12	2
	Independent	10	3
	Independent Republican	13	19
	Weak Republican . . .	17	37
	Strong Republican . .	14	36
	Other/Not ascertained	*	--
D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP) (V6)	Straight Democratic .	12	1
	Mostly Democratic . .	17	2
	A few more Democrats than Republicans. .	8	2
	About equally for both parties	21	16
	A few more Republicans than Democrats. . .	7	12
	Mostly Republican . .	18	41
	Straight Republican .	8	19
	Other	*	*
	Never voted	5	5
	Don't know.	2	1
	Refused/NA.	1	*
D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?	Yes	81	82
	No.	16	15
	Registered elsewhere.	3	3
	Don't know.	*	1
	Refused/NA.	--	--

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		Total Electorate	Republica. Primary Electorate
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16	18
	25-29 years	11	12
	30-34 years	13	11
	35-39 years	11	12
	40-44 years	8	7
	45-49 years	6	7
	50-54 years	7	8
	55-59 years	6	4
	60-64 years	6	5
	65-74 years	11	11
	75 and over	4	5
	Refused	*	—
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5	3
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11	7
	Graduated high school	32	33
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3	2
	Some college-2 years or less	19	21
	Some college-more than 2 years	9	10
	Graduated college	14	17
	Post-graduate work	8	8
	Refused	--	--
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51	53
	Employed and working part-time	11	11
	Unemployed	5	4
	Retired	18	16
	Housewife	11	12
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	*
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	--	--
	Refused/NA	*	--

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	Single	24	24
	Married	62	63
	Divorced	7	7
	Separated	1	1
	Widow/Widower	7	6
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	—
D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	58	58
	Employed and working part-time	8	8
	Unemployed	1	1
	Retired	17	16
	Housewife	15	15
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	—
	Other	1	2
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	*
D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26	27
	Self-employed	10	13
	Retired	17	16
	Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8	9
	Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7	6
	Executive (corporate officer)	4	4
	Homemaker	1	1
	Services (nurse, police, military)	5	5
	Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12	9
	Student	1	1
	Education (teacher, counselor)	4	4
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused/NA	1	*

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		Total Electorate	Republ Primar Electorate
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent.	3	3
	Other member of household	2	2
	Both.	2	1
	None.	93	94
	Don't know.	*	—
	Refused	—	—
D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent.	11	10
	Other member of household.	10	8
	Both.	2	2
	None.	77	79
	Don't know.	*	1
	Refused	—	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association?
(CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member	Respondent	Other Membe
Labor union.	10	10	8	6
Teachers' association.	4	5	5	4
No	85	83	88	86
Refused/Single member household.	*	3	*	4

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?	— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.). . .	54	61
	— Roman Catholic.	26	22
	Jewish.	4	2
	— Other Christian	10	10
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2	2
	Agnostic/Atheist. . . .	*	*
	None.	2	1
	Don't know.	1	1
	Refused	1	1

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D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)	Every week.	28	31
	Almost every week . . .	12	12
	Once or twice a month .	17	15
	A few times a year. . .	31	31
	Never	11	11
	Don't know.	*	*
	Refused	*	*

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11	6
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12	11
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12	11
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11	14
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14	16
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7	8
	$50,000 and over	11	14
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused	5	3
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83	92
	Black	11	3
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4	3
	Oriental	*	1
	American Indian	1	*
	Other	1	1
	Not ascertained	*	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48	51
	Female	52	49
	Political Strata		
	Pacific	14	15
	Mountain	5	5
	East North Central	18	14
	West North Central	7	4
	Deep South	26	26
	Border	8	4
	Mid-Atlantic	16	17
	New England	5	4

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CHAPTER 1: PERCEPTIONS OF VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Though the office of Vice-President is often thought of as being an out-of-the-limelight office whose occupants often fade into the political background, Vice-President George Bush debunks that notion with a visible presence and fairly well-defined public image. Among the nation's eligible voters, only 23% do not have an opinion about his performance in office, and only 5% do not have an impression of him personally.

The American public reacts favorably toward Bush both in terms of his job performance and on a more personal level. Fifty-seven percent (57%) approve of the way he is handling his job as Vice-President while only 17% disapprove. On a zero to one hundred degree "thermometer" scale of personal favorability, Bush draws a rating of 59°, 5th out of a list of 21 political figures. Half of the voters (49%) have a favorable impression of Bush, 26% have neutral feelings about him, and 20% are unfavorably inclined toward Bush. Only Ronald Reagan (68°), Lee Iacocca (64°), Jeane Kirkpatrick (62°) and Howard Baker (60°) have higher average thermometer ratings than Bush. All but Reagan, however, have a much lower level of awareness. So, while their thermometer ratings may be higher, fewer people are able to offer an opinion about them. Bush is thus a much more familiar political person than these other potential Presidential candidates.

People were asked two open-ended questions about what they liked best and liked least about George Bush. Fifty-one percent (51%) can give an answer about what they like best about Bush, 39% can give no answer, and 10% say they like nothing about Bush. Among Republican primary voters, 68% can name something they like, 30% don't know, and only 2% say they don't like anything about him. Republicans (especially older, East North Central, and high income Republicans), Border South residents, men, senior citizens, and higher status Americans are those most able to relate something they like about Bush.

Adjectives dealing with competence are the most frequently volunteered as the basis for liking Bush (16%). Those are followed by adjectives relating to strength (11%) and trustworthiness (7%). Seven percent (7%) specifically say they like Bush because of his close association with Reagan. The following is a summary of the most frequent volunteered reasons for liking Bush.

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Competence: experienced, intelligent, knowledgeable, cool, etc.	16%	23%
Strength: forthright, strong leader, willing to take a stand, etc.	11	13
Trustworthiness: honest, sincere, fair, etc.	7	9
Reagan association: works with, follows Reagan's policies	7	13
Past positions: Vice President, held variety of positions, diplomat, C.I.A.	5	8
Total mentions	51	68
Nothing liked	10	2
Don't know	39	30

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Little more than a third of the American public (37%) are able to mention something they don't like about George Bush. Fully half (50%) can name nothing, and 13% say there is nothing they don't like about Bush. Those who do mention something about Bush they dislike are more apt to be Democrats, Jews, and East North Central residents.

While 11% of the voters volunteer adjectives attributing strength to Bush, more voters (17%) volunteer adjectives attributing weakness to Bush, e.g., "weak," "not aggressive enough," "does not take a stand," "not consistent," "wishy-washy," "too easily swayed," etc. Included in this 17% category are negative references to Bush's relationship to Reagan, e.g., "rubber stamp for Reagan" (3%) and "he's a 'yes' man" (1%). Significantly, less than 1% of the Republican primary voters say they don't like Bush because "he's not conservative enough." The following is a summary of the most frequent reasons for not liking Bush:

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Weakness: not aggressive, wishy-washy, not consistent, rubber stamp, etc.	17%	16%
Low profile/in the background/ not in the limelight	5	4
Not personable: arrogant, his personality, superior attitude	4	3
Total mentions	42	37
Nothing disliked	11	13
Don't know	47	50

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In comparison to the volunteered likes and dislikes of Bush, there is a greater concentration of answers when voters are asked what Bush would handle particularly well if elected President. Fully 23% volunteer foreign policy in general and another 7% volunteer such specific areas as national defense, foreign trade, relations with the Soviet Union, and nuclear arms control. By comparison to foreign policy, 20% volunteer economic issues including a 12% mention of handling the deficit as problems Bush would handle well.

Overall, 51% can volunteer something they think Bush would handle well; 5% say he would handle nothing well; and 44% have no perceptions of Bush in this context.

There is less focus to the answers on what the voters think Bush might handle poorly. Forty-seven percent (47%) of the voters do have something to volunteer, but these responses are spread across foreign policy/defense (18%), economic issues (13%), and other domestic issues (12%).

These general evaluative questions point out several findings:

- Bush is well-known as Vice-Presidents go, and enjoys a generally warm reception among the national electorate.
- Bush's major pluses at this time are public perceptions of experience, competence, his connection to President Reagan, and his ability to handle foreign policy issues.
- His major weakness at the present time is just that -- a number of voters see him as weak or a "yes" man.

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Handle Well

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	23%	29%
National defense	4	5
Foreign trade	2	4
Relations with Soviets	1	2
Nuclear arms control	1	1
Military spending	1	2
Terrorists	1	1
Diplomacy	1	1
CIA covert activities	*	*
	30%	40%
Economic issues		
Reduce budget deficit	12%	16%
Economy/economic growth	4	6
Reduce government spending/ waste	3	4
Unemployment	1	2
Lower taxes	1	2
	20%	28%
Carrying out Reagan principles/continue to do what Reagan has done	5%	6%
Total mentions	51%	61%
Would handle nothing well	5	5
Don't know	44	34

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Handle Poorly

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	12%	13%
National defense	3	2
Foreign trade	2	2
Relations with communists	1	*
Terrorists	1	--
Relations with Soviets	1	1
Defense spending	*	--
	18%	17%
Economic Issues		
Budget deficit	8%	6%
Economy	2	2
Unemployment	2	2
Would spend more	1	1
Taxes	1	1
	13%	12%
Other Domestic/Social Policy		
Social Security	2%	1%
Welfare	2	*
Concern for the poor	2	*
Domestic affairs (unspec.)	1	1
Labor unions	1	1
Education	1	1
Women's rights/women's issues	1	1
Civil rights/affirmative action	1	1
Social services	1	1
Abortion	1	1
Concern for minorities	1	*
Concern for farmers	1	*
	12%	9%

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Bush's Personal Coalition

Who likes George Bush? To answer this question, perceptions of Bush were looked at by every demographic subgroup, both by themselves and in combination with other demographic variables. After performing this bi-variate and multi-variate analysis, it was found that, though most Americans approve of Bush's performance in office as Vice-President and have a generally warm and favorable personal perception of him, the following voter groups hold Bush in highest regard:

- Republican partisans
- Southerners
- voters 55 or older
- people with incomes over $40,000

There is not much significant interaction among these groups, that is, Southerners of all ages are more favorable toward Bush, as are high income voters of all ages residing in all parts of the country.

At the other end of the spectrum, white Democrats, blacks, Jews, and residents of the mid-Atlantic states are less favorably disposed toward Bush.

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Factors Affecting Perceptions of George Bush

Why do people like George Bush? While that is a complicated question to answer, it seems to boil down to several key factors:

- he is a familiar quantity
- people sense that he is philosophically close to them
- people trust him
- people associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know, like, and trust

First of all, the public is familiar with Bush. Only President Reagan and former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are more familiar to the general public than Bush. And Bush is the most well-known of the potential 1988 presidential candidates. Nearly all (97%) of the country's Republicans have heard of Bush, while 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and 48% are unfamiliar with Kemp.

The American public is ideologically just right-of-center. On a 7-point liberal-conservative scale, where 1 is very liberal, 4 is moderate, and 7 is very conservative, the national average is 4.3. When asked where they would place George Bush on this scale, Republicans and Democrats alike place him at 4.6, close to the national average and closer to their respective averages than their placement of Reagan. However, perceived ideological distance from Bush only mildly explains why people like and dislike him. Party identifications, for example, explain more than twice the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings than do self-described ideological distances. Even so, it is important that most Americans feel ideologically comfortable with Bush.

When asked how much of 4 qualities Bush possesses, trustworthiness appears on top. On a 0-10 scale of how much of that quality he possesses, Bush rates a 6.8 from the public on trustworthiness, a 6.6 on concern and competence, and a 6.4 on leadership. Trustworthiness and leadership are both highly related to overall opinion of Bush. The fact that he is rated high on trust is thus a positive finding, but his lower rating on leadership could prove to be a problem, since it is a further indication of a perception of weakness.

When voters asked what qualities from a list of five they would like in the next President (all five of which are Bush characteristics), one of them — "has worked with Ronald Reagan" — is highly associated with perceptions of Bush, meaning that evaluations of Bush are often made with Reagan in mind. In one sense this is good, since Reagan is very popular and visible. But in another sense it is a hindrance to Bush in developing his own political identity.

Of the five Bush characteristics, "respected by foreign leaders," is the attribute with the greatest potential impact with the voters. Nearly one-third (32%) selected it from the five as the most important characteristic for the next president to have, and another 26% selected it as the second most important attribute. However, the importance people place on this attribute currently is not related to their opinion of Bush. The same is true for the other three characteristics; none of them help explain the public's overall regard for Bush.

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The public's rank-ordering of the Bush characteristics is as follows:

	Important for Next President			
	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined Selection	Selected First	Combined Selection	Selected First
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	(32%)	56%	(27%)
Has held a variety of government positions	45	(19)	39	(18)
Is in government now	26	(13)	27	(14)
Conservative	25	(14)	32	(19)
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	(9)	29	(14)

It is interesting to see just who selects what characteristics as their first choice. Though all voter groups chose "respected by foreign leaders" over the other choices, holding a variety of government positions is more important than average to middle aged voters, members of the intelligentsia, and Jews. Being in government now is more important to residents of the South and voters aged 55 to 64. Being conservative is relatively more important to Mountain state residents, both strong and independent Republicans, and the intelligentsia. Having worked with Reagan is relatively more important to strong Republicans, lower end whites, and Border South residents.

While the Reagan connection would appear to be relatively unimportant, that would be an erroneous overall conclusion. From practically all the other results on Reagan, Bush's association with Reagan is a major asset for his candidacy. What these particular results do mean is that Bush's foreign policy experience and his wide ranging government background are major assets for him when the time comes to use them.

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In summary, the American public likes George Bush because he is familiar to them, they feel ideologically comfortable with him, they trust him, and they associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know and trust. Two factors that ought to play a stronger part in defining Bush as a political figure are his resume and his leadership qualities. Bush has an early perceptual advantage over his 1988 opponents because he is presently a more familiar public figure, but that advantage will disappear as the other candidates begin campaigning in earnest. The best thing that Bush could do in the coming months, as he campaigns for other Republicans around the country, is to broaden his public image and begin to highlight his resume and leadership experience.

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Comparing Bush and Reagan

As is alluded to earlier, George Bush's public image is closely related to Ronald Reagan's. It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences, and how Bush can both take advantage of public goodwill toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image.

Comparing the two on an issue dimension, a plurality of the nation's pool of voters believe Bush would handle seven specific issues about the same as Reagan has. The marginal differences are interesting, though, and prove Bush to be a more "centrist" political figure ideologically compared to President Reagan. Bush receives a small

advantage on handling policies concerning minorities (22% say he would handle it better, 51% the same, 14% not as well, for an 8-point advantage) and women's rights (24%, 47%, 16%). On the other 5 issues — the federal budget deficit, abortion, our relations with the Soviet Union, national economic policy, and taxes -- there is no significant difference between Reagan and Bush on who would better handle them.

Among Republican primary voters, the margins come out much the same. Republicans generally believe that Bush would handle things pretty much as Reagan has, but would be somewhat better on women's rights, policies concerning minorities, and handling the federal budget deficit. They feel he'd handle taxes and relations with the Soviet Union somewhat less well.

Both the general and Republican primary electorates show the greatest indecision on the issue of abortion. Twenty-four percent (24%) of the general electorate and 20% of the Republican primary electorate does not know how Bush would handle abortion.

As discussed previously, on a 7-point ideological scale, Americans place themselves just slightly right of center, at 4.3. They place Ronald Regan at 5.1 on this same scale and George Bush at 4.6. Voters thus think of Bush as closer to themselves on an ideological basis than is Reagan.

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Republicans, who place themselves at 4.7 on the scale, also put Reagan and Bush at 5.1 and 4.6 — with Bush still closer to them than is Reagan. Democrats also place Bush and Reagan at 4.7 and 5.1, with their own placement shifting left of center to 3.9. Democrats and Republicans thus agree on where Reagan and Bush stand ideologically, and both place themselves closer to Bush than to Reagan.

These ideological distances, however, are more important in explaining the public's opinions of Reagan than their opinions of Bush. Thirty percent of the variance in Reagan's thermometer ratings can be explained by a combination of the voters' party identifications and their perceived ideological distances from him. In contrast, only 17% of the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings can be explained by the combination of party identifications and perceived ideological distances from him. (Indeed, perceived ideological distances <u>from Reagan</u> have a slightly higher correlation to their thermometer ratings <u>of Bush</u> than do the voters' reported ideological distances from Bush.)

Reagan has a strong personal appeal that does much to moderate his perceived conservatism. Fully 51% of the electorate, Democrat and Republican alike, like Reagan better than they like Bush (as reported on their thermometer ratings). Twenty-nine percent (29%) like Reagan a lot better than Bush (10 or more points) and 22% like Reagan less than 10 points more than Bush. Another 35% like them both equally well (or poorly), and 14% like Bush better than Reagan.

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In the general electorate, those who like Reagan much more than Bush give Reagan an 82° average rating and Bush a 47° rating. Those who like Reagan slightly more than Bush give Reagan a 79° rating and Bush a 70° rating. Those who like them equally give them both a 63° rating, and those who like Bush more than Reagan give Bush a 60° and Reagan a 36°. Thus, even though most voters like Reagan more than Bush, Bush still receives a warm and favorable rating among all but the core Reaganites. However, if voters like Bush more than Reagan, they really don't like Reagan.

Among the general electorate, those who like Reagan more than Bush are young and Republican. Those who like Bush better than Reagan are largely Democratic.

The major reasons these groups like Reagan more than Bush are:

- they trust Reagan more than Bush
- they believe Reagan is more of a leader
- they believe Reagan is better at handling relations with the Soviets than Bush would be

These reasons all point to a need for Bush to develop a stronger personal image.

Among Republican primary voters, 36% like Reagan a lot more than Bush, 30% like Reagan somewhat more than Bush, 36% like them equally, and 7% like Bush more than Reagan. In point of fact, however, all of these groups like both Bush and Reagan and there are very few significant

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differences among them. Among the few differences: the Republicans who like Reagan more than Bush are somewhat stronger then average partisans, and are of higher socioeconomic status and more likely to live west of the Mississippi; those who like Bush more than Reagan have a tendency to be older and less partisan than those who like Reagan more than Bush. They are also somewhat more concentrated in New England and the East North Central region.

The major reasons Republicans like Reagan more than Bush are:

- leadership
- trustworthiness
- handling the deficit
- handling relations with the Soviet Union

Republicans show little difference from the electorate at large in this respect.

One of the largest gaps between Bush and Reagan is on leadership. Among four important character traits (competence, trustworthiness, concern, and leadership), Bush compares most unfavorably to Reagan on leadership and, as we just saw, it is one reason that Reagan is more popular than Bush. This is partly because leadership is the quality most associated with Reagan. The gap also exists partly because the voters' ratings of Bush on leadership drop moderately below their ratings of him on the other three qualities. Out of a possible 10 on leadership, Bush receives a 6.4 average rating to Reagan's 7.7. The leadership gap between Reagan and Bush exists to about the same magnitude among Republican primary voters: Reagan 8.8/Bush 7.4.

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Bush compares most favorably to Reagan in the total electorate on trustworthiness. The voters give Bush a 6.8 average rating on possessing this character trait where zero means the person doesn't possess it at all and ten means the person possesses the trait "as much as any person possibly can." Reagan receives a 7.1 average rating. By way of further comparison, Ted Kennedy recives a low 5.7 rating on trustworthiness, substantially below Bush. The Reagan-Bush gap on trustworthiness is the most important in explaining the full range of differences in feelings toward Reagan and Bush. Trust can be a barometer of familiarity, however, As the electorate becomes more familiar with Bush, they may grow more trustful. Leadership is the most closely related to just the voters who like Reagan a lot more than Bush.

The difference between Reagan and Bush is the same on concern and competence with Bush drawing a 6.6 on each one and Reagan two more 7.1's. Interestingly, Ted Kennedy does not edge Bush or Reagan on concern although, expectedly, concern is the trait voters most associate with him. Kennedy pulls a 6.5 on concern.

The gaps between Bush and Reagan on concern, competence, and trustworthiness are moderately larger among Republican primary voters than for the total electorate. The ratings of both men are significantly more positive among Republicans, but Reagan's ratings increase by a larger amount than do Bush's. Moreover, the total electorate pattern of Bush comparing most favorably to Reagn on trustworthiness does not exist among Republicans. Instead, Bush drops just slightly on trustworthiness among Republicans.

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 5 0 4 3

Leadership and trust are the two qualities of the four most strongly related to voters' overall evaluations of Reagan and Bush. Bush's relatively low score on leadership, combined with the sentiments among some that he is weak, show that Bush needs to find opportunities to demonstrate leadership and to develop an image less dependent upon his connection to Reagan. This is not to say that he should disavow the past six years, but that voters should have more information upon which to base their opinion of Bush than Bush's Vice-Presidency in the Reagan administration.

In summary, Vice-President George Bush stands in good stead as the 1988 election campaign draws nearer. Awareness of Bush is greater than that of the other contenders at the present time, voters feel ideologically comfortable with Bush, and they believe him to be honest and trustworthy. One perception that could dog him when the campaign gets underway, however, is lack of definition Bush has in terms of leadership abilities. This seems due to the fact that people identify him mainly as Reagan's Vice-President and do not know enough about his past positions in and out of government.

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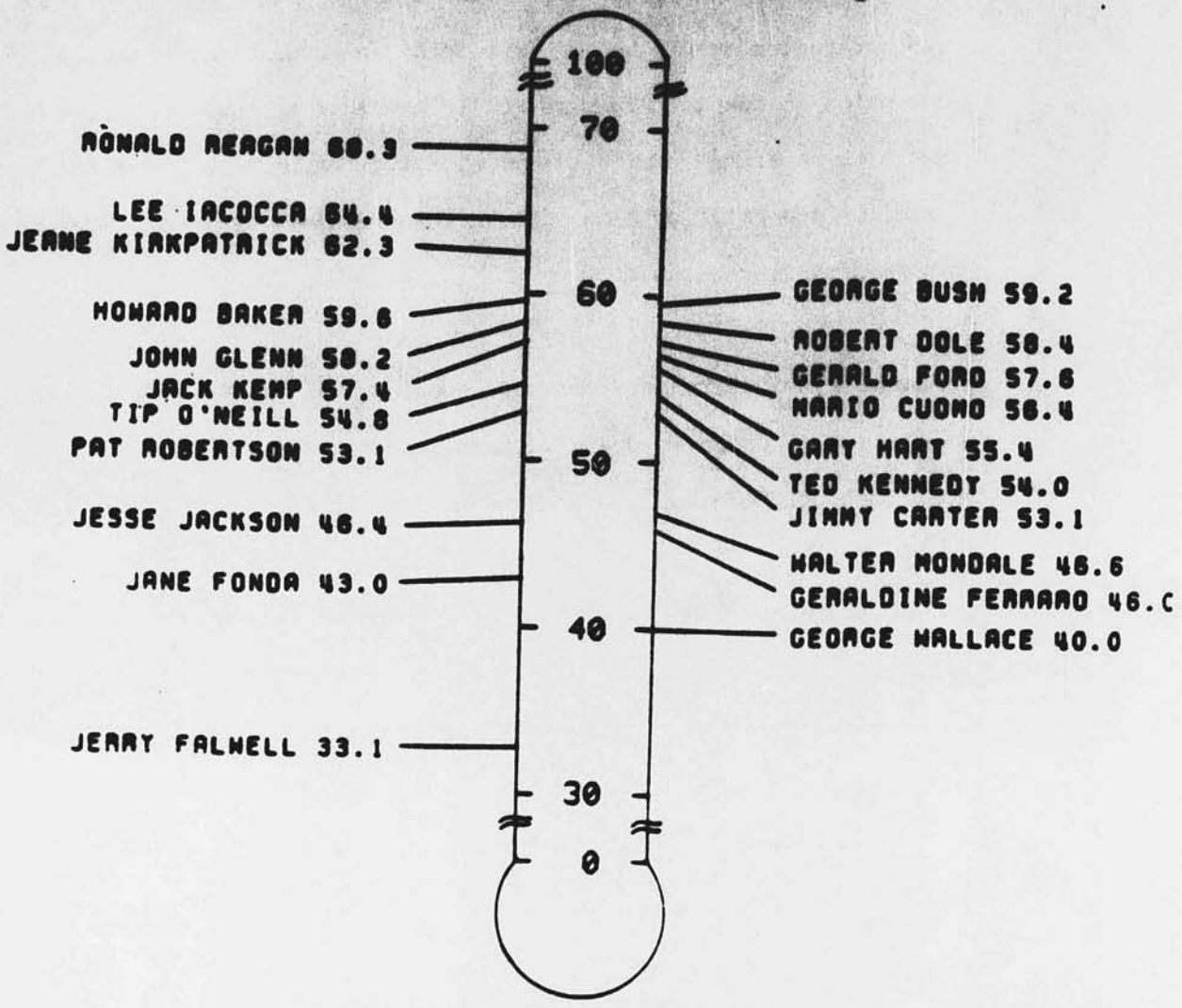
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS



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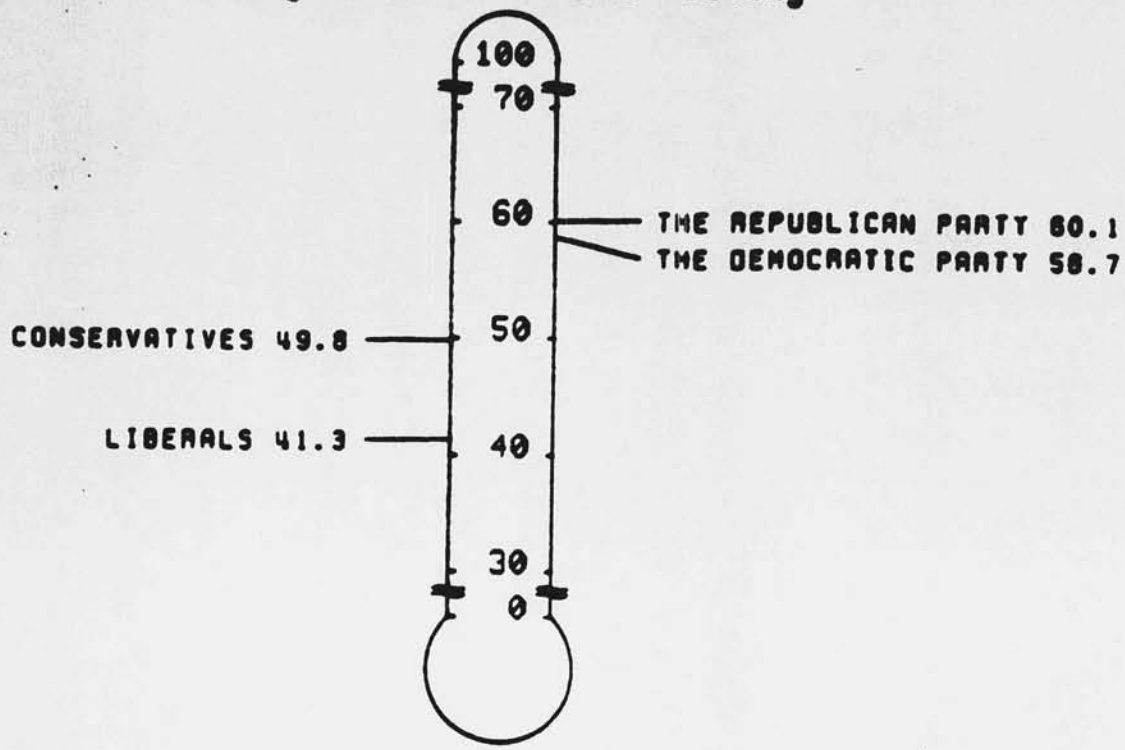
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling



Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

Public Perceptions of George Bush

		George Bush				
	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average*
Total	100%	49%	26%	20%	5%	59*
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	68	21	8	5	70
Independent	100%	42	32	15	11	57
Democrat	100%	32	30	33	6	49
Political Region						
New England	100%	46	27	18	10	58
Mid-Atlantic	100%	40	30	26	4	54
East North Central	100%	45	28	25	3	56
West North Central	100%	53	25	18	4	63
Border	100%	58	24	14	4	65
Deep South	100%	55	23	16	7	64
Mountain	100%	50	26	18	6	60
Pacific	100%	45	28	22	5	56
Age						
18-24	100%	43	24	26	7	56
25-39	100%	47	30	21	3	57
40-54	100%	48	27	19	5	60
55-64	100%	51	25	20	4	61
65+	100%	57	21	13	8	66
Sex						
Male	100%	55	23	18	4	62
Female	100%	43	29	22	6	56
Status Groups						
High income	100%	60	25	13	2	65
Intelligentsia	100%	58	22	17	3	63
Middle class	100%	50	28	17	5	60
Lower end	100%	48	28	16	8	61
Jews	100%	34	28	30	8	52
Hispanics	100%	51	29	16	5	63
Blacks	100%	26	24	43	7	42

(continued on next page)

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Public Perceptions of George Bush

(cont'd.)

	George Bush				
	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average#
Tracer Groups						
Northern white Protestant	100%	54%	25%	17%	4%	63
Northern white Catholic	100%	46	31	18	5	59
Northern white union	100%	43	30	23	4	55
Southern white	100%	60	22	12	6	67

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#Average is based on a 0° to 100° thermometer scale, where 0°=very cold and unfavorable and 100°=very warm and favorable.

Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-General Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Don't Like About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	51%	10%	39%	42%	11%	47%
Party Identification							
Republican	100%	67	3	30	37	13	50
Independent	100%	36	7	57	31	11	58
Democrat	100%	40	16	44	48	9	43
Political Region							
New England	100%	33	13	54	43	13	44
Mid-Atlantic	100%	43	13	44	43	14	43
East North Central	100%	54	10	36	48	5	47
West North Central	100%	54	11	35	36	13	51
Border South	100%	56	2	42	36	8	56
Deep South	100%	55	10	35	37	14	49
Mountain	100%	45	—	55	35	5	60
Pacific	100%	52	12	36	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	45	10	45	38	11	51
25-39	100%	49	9	42	43	8	49
40-54	100%	47	11	42	36	11	53
55-64	100%	53	10	37	46	14	40
65+	100%	66	9	25	43	14	43
Sex							
Male	100%	61	8	31	48	9	43
Female	100%	42	11	47	35	13	52
Status Group							
High income	100%	67	8	25	45	12	43
Intelligentsia	100%	62	10	28	53	9	38
Middle class	100%	47	9	44	43	9	48
Lower end	100%	50	5	45	26	14	60
Jews	100%	53	17	30	69	9	22
Hispanics	100%	52	13	35	25	23	52
Blacks	100%	45	18	37	46	12	42

8804071504 9

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-Republican Primary Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Dislike About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	68%	2%	30%	37%	13%	50%
Party Identification							
Strong Republican	100%	77	1	22	28	18	54
Weak Republican	100%	61	2	37	46	8	46
Independent Republican	100%	67	2	31	35	15	50
Political Region							
New England	100%	45	—	55	32	17	51
Mid-Atlantic	100%	72	—	28	34	20	46
East North Central	100%	84	—	16	53	5	42
West North Central	100%	67	—	33	40	8	52
Border South	100%	53	—	47	40	6	54
Deep South	100%	70	—	30	27	16	57
Mountain	100%	64	—	36	32	12	56
Pacific	100%	72	—	28	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	79	4	17	45	4	51
25-39	100%	66	2	32	44	12	44
40-54	100%	67	1	32	30	19	51
55-64	100%	74	—	26	28	17	55
65+	100%	80	—	20	27	17	56
Sex							
Male	100%	76	2	22	44	10	46
Female	100%	62	1	37	31	15	54
Status Group							
High income	100%	82	2	16	43	16	41
Intelligentsia	100%	78	—	22	51	12	37
Middle class	100%	65	4	31	43	10	47
Lower end	100%	52	—	48	18	14	68

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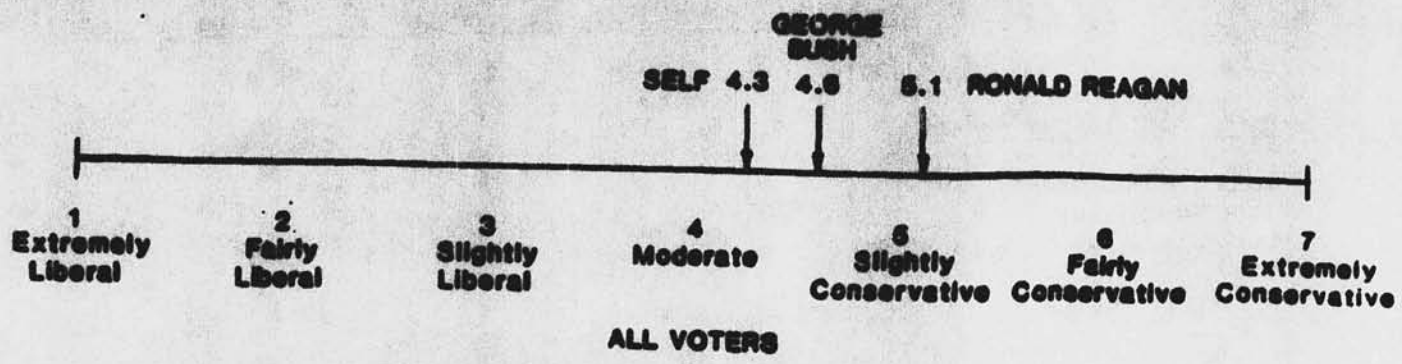
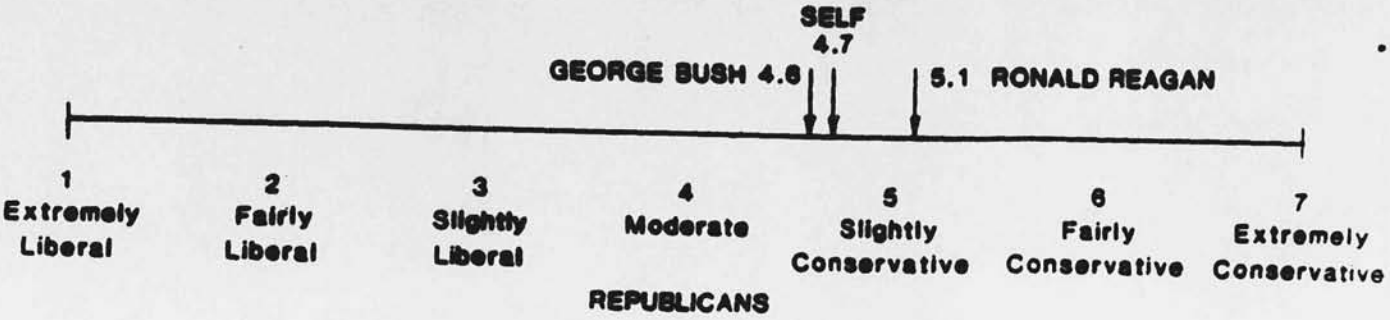
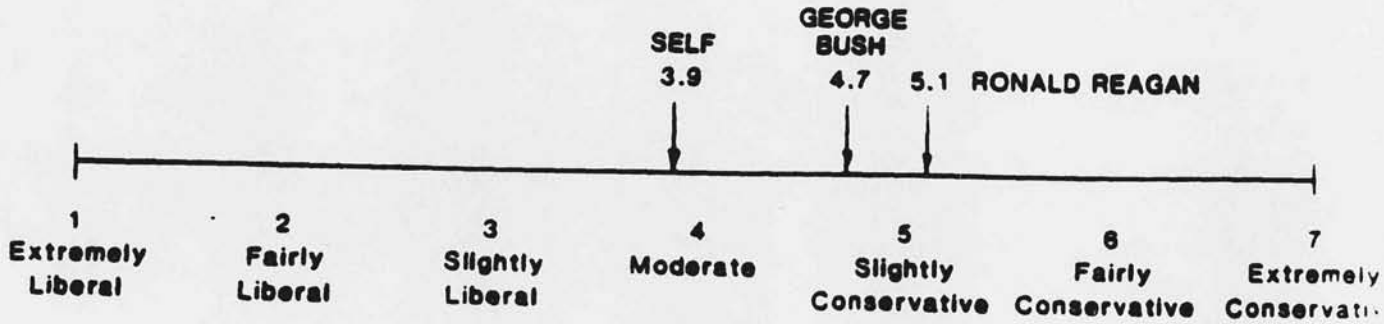
IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN



ALL VOTERS



REPUBLICANS



DEMOCRATS

8804071505I

Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(540)
Combined First & Second Mentions		
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	56%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	39
Is in government now	26	27
Conservative	25	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	29
None/No second mention	14	13
Don't know/Refused	3	2

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Importance of Presidential Characteristics

		Party ID			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Selected First												
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	27%	40%	34%	34%	34%	31%	45%	28%	27%	30%	32%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	19	19	21	16	22	23	17	14	17	24	21
Is in government now	14	20	8	10	9	15	13	10	14	17	19	14
Conservative	13	12	8	15	16	14	11	8	19	15	5	11
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	14	10	4	4	7	10	10	13	10	8	9
None	9	7	13	10	14	7	10	8	5	10	10	8
Don't know/Refused	3	2	3	5	8	*	3	2	6	4	4	4

(continued on next page)

Importance of Presidential Characteristics
(cont'd.)

		Age					Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Selected First													
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	43%	33%	29%	27%	24%	32%	31%	33%	30%	28%	33%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	14	21	22	21	18	21	25	20	14	34	22	16
Is in government now	14	11	15	15	14	15	17	19	14	11	9	8	19
Conservative	13	13	11	13	18	13	11	9	13	13	11	21	19
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	10	9	8	7	12	8	8	8	16	2	11	5
None	9	9	8	10	10	8	10	7	8	10	11	2	11
Don't know/Refused	3	2	2	3	4	9	1	2	4	6	2	3	3

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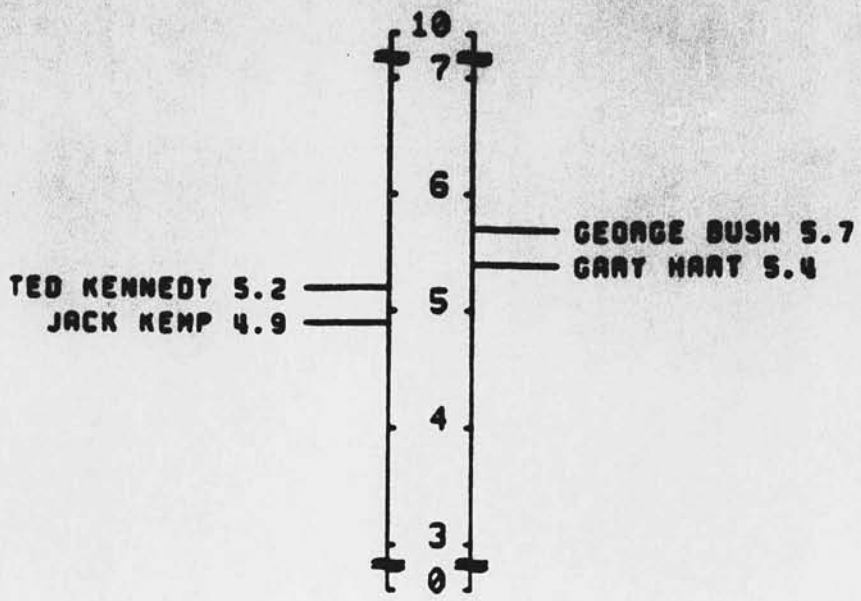
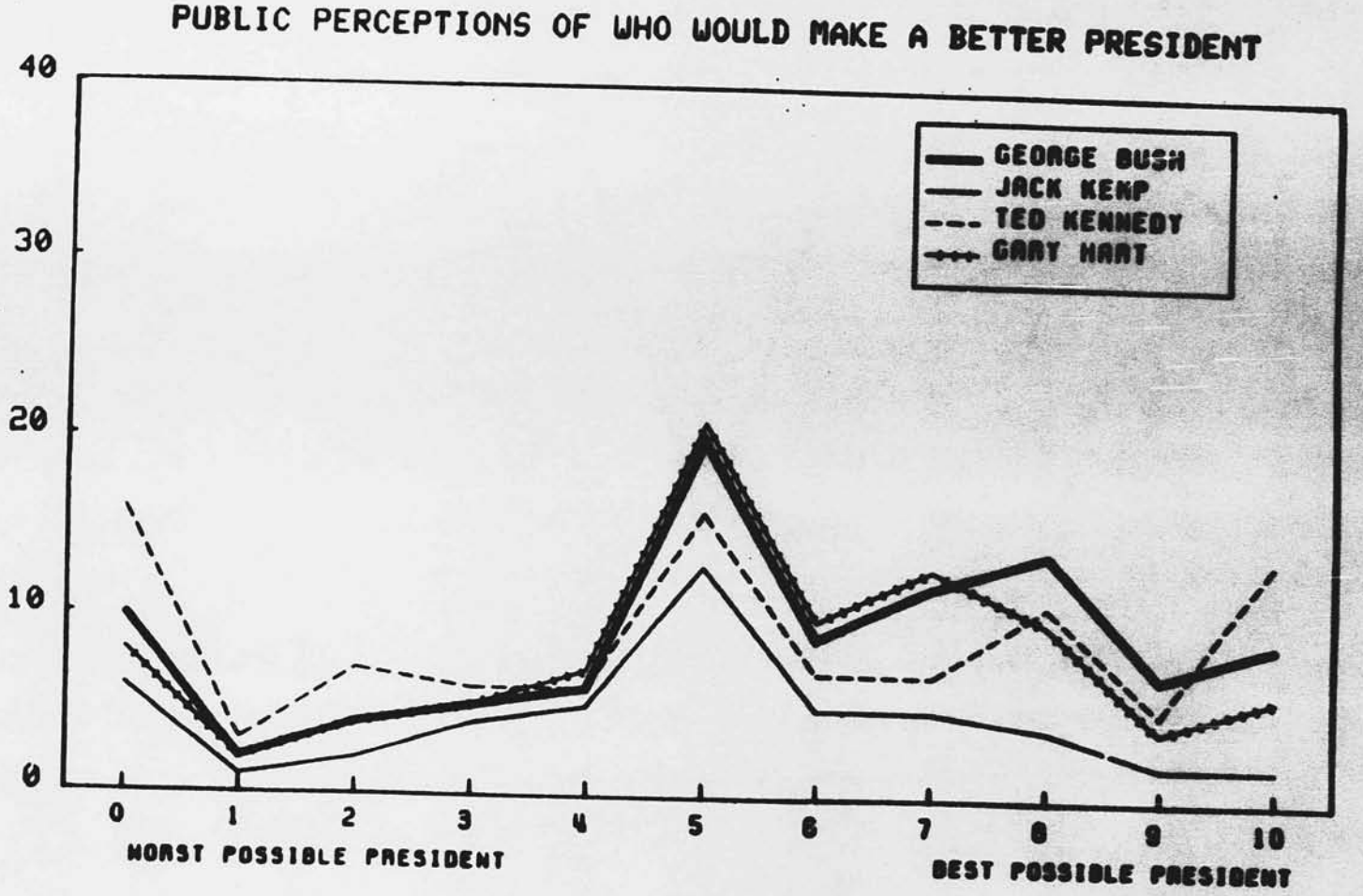
FEELINGS ON WHO WOULD MAKE THE BEST PRESIDENT

Best Possible President



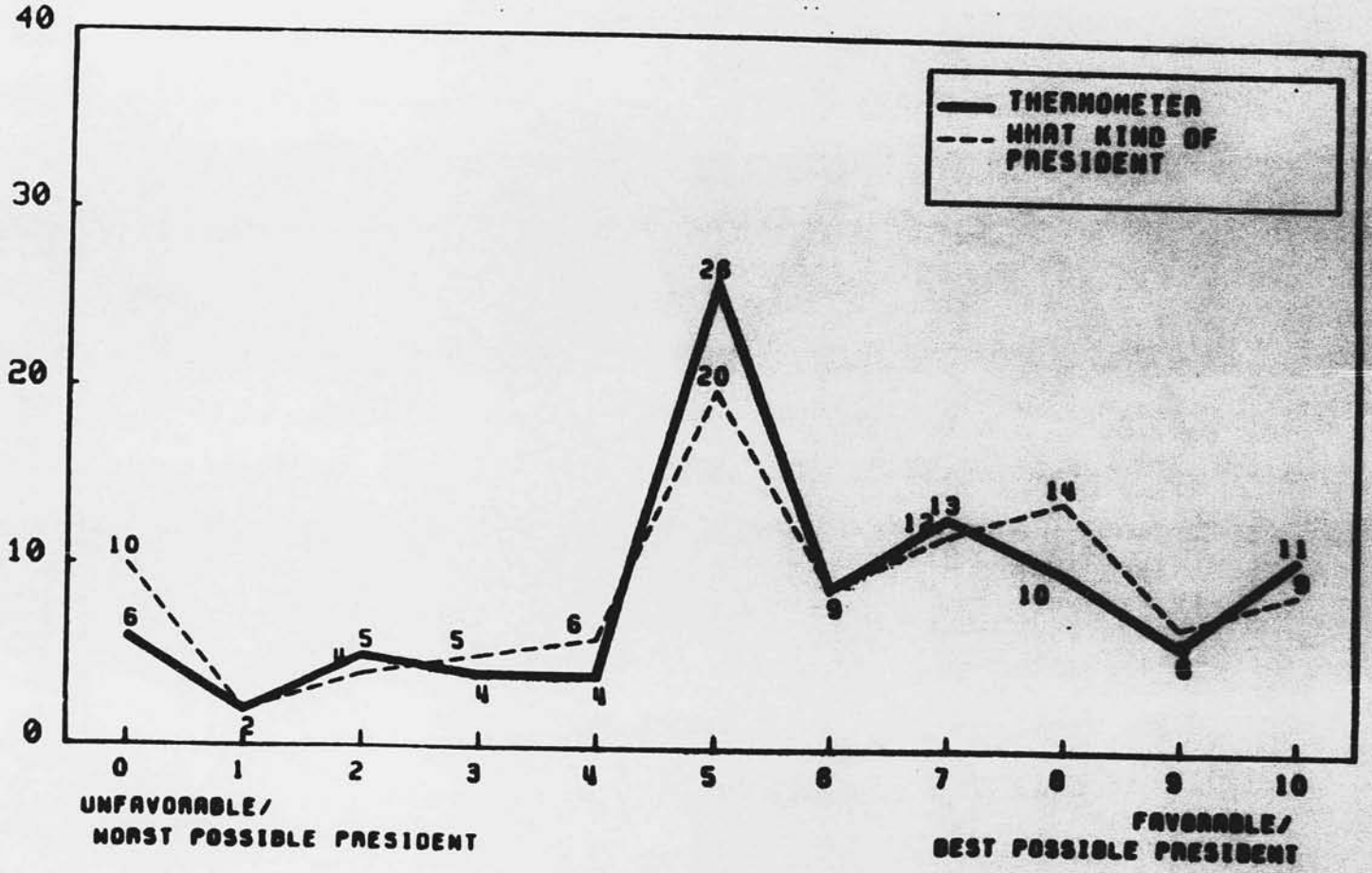
Worst Possible President

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



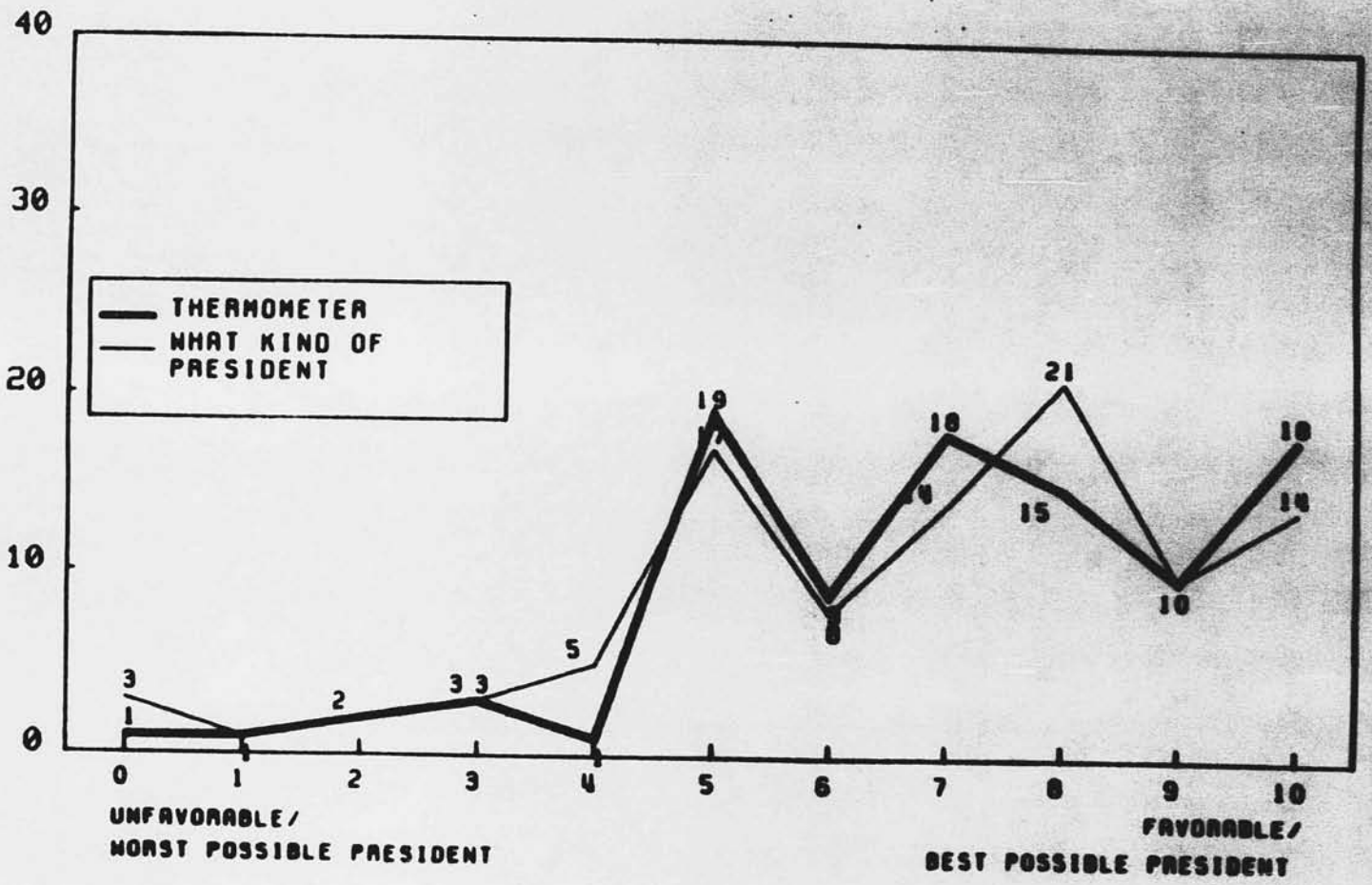
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (TOTAL ELECTORATE)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTORATE)



Comparison of Feelings Toward Bush and Reagan

	Thermometer Comparison			
	Reagan>>Bush	Reagan>Bush	Reagan=Bush	Bush>Reagan
% of all voters	29%	22%	35%	14%
Reagan thermometer rating	82°	79°	63°	36°
Bush thermometer rating	47	70	63	60
% of Republican primary voters	36%	30%	29%	7%
Reagan thermometer rating	88°	88°	85°	53°
Bush thermometer rating	54	78	86	73

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(430)	(327)	(443)	(216)	(540)				
Party Identification										
Strong Democrat	17%	12%	11%	21%	31%	—	—	—	—	—
Weak Democrat	17	15	16	17	26	—	—	—	—	—
Independent Democrat	12	9	8	13	19	—	—	—	—	—
Independent	10	11	9	10	3	3	4	3	2	—
Independent Republican	13	17	16	12	8	19	19	16	22	26
Weak Republican	17	24	19	13	8	37	45	34	30	33
Strong Republican	14	13	22	15	6	37	29	43	42	27
Political Region										
New England	5	5	4	5	6	4	4	2	4	10
Mid Atlantic	16	20	14	16	16	17	19	17	15	23
East North Central	18	17	20	16	22	15	15	14	14	24
West North Central	7	7	7	9	6	9	10	9	11	2
Border South	8	6	9	9	9	9	6	10	10	6
Deep South	26	26	27	26	23	26	30	25	24	26
Mountain	5	4	5	7	5	5	4	5	8	4
Pacific	14	15	14	14	13	15	13	18	16	5

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

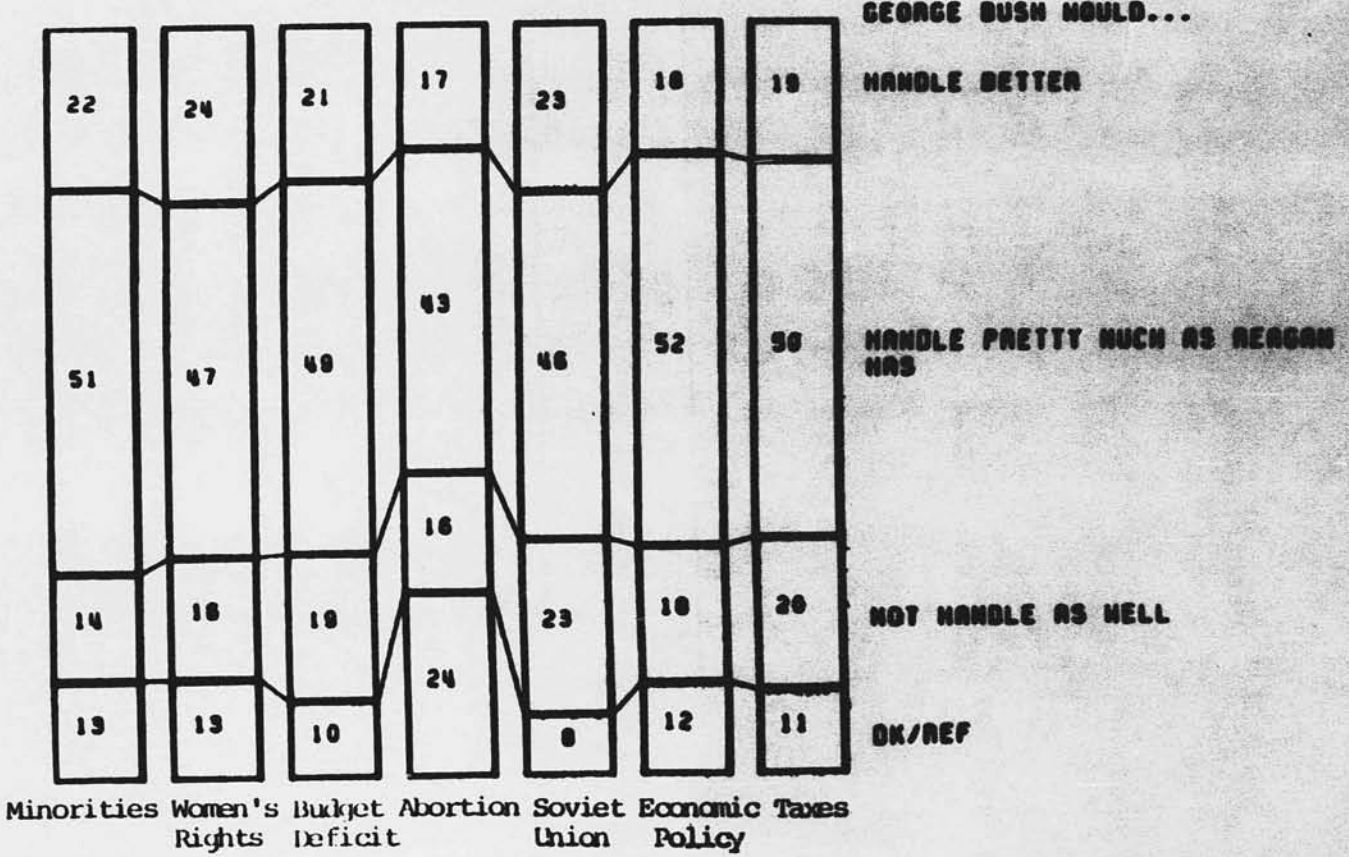
(cont'd.)

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Age										
18-24	16%	20%	14%	14%	12%	18%	19%	16%	18%	17%
25-39	35	40	36	32	36	35	41	32	30	37
40-54	21	20	21	23	17	22	24	20	25	16
55-64	12	9	12	15	18	9	8	10	11	7
65+	15	9	17	17	17	16	9	22	16	24
Sex										
Male	48	49	54	45	48	50	48	54	47	59
Female	52	51	46	55	52	50	52	46	53	41
Status Group										
High income	15	18	18	13	16	21	23	22	20	14
Intelligentsia	11	11	13	9	13	13	12	14	12	15
Middle class	31	35	32	30	22	38	38	38	39	26
Lower end	18	17	15	22	15	16	17	13	17	19
Jews	4	3	4	3	6	2	1	2	1	5
Hispanics	4	5	4	5	1	3	4	3	2	—
Blacks	11	5	6	14	21	3	1	3	3	14

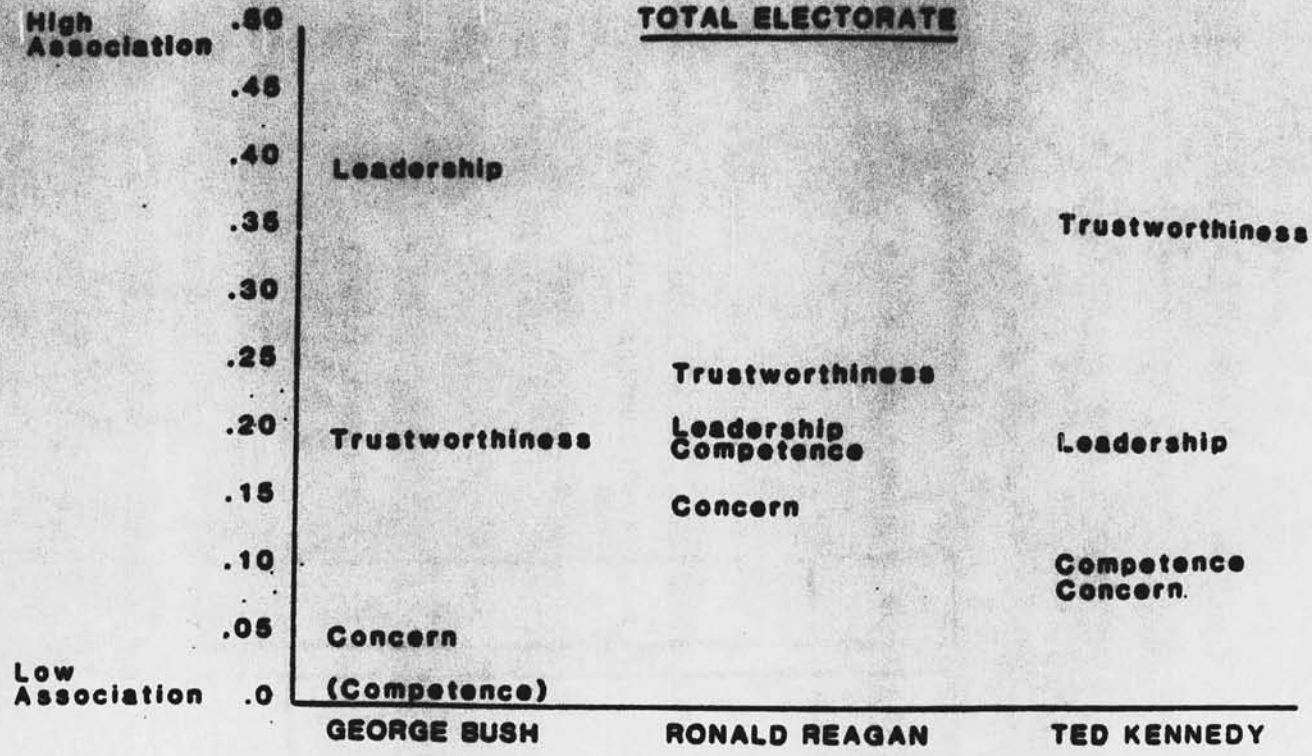
#This table analyzes the differences in perceptions of Reagan and Bush as measured on their respective 0-100° thermometer scales.

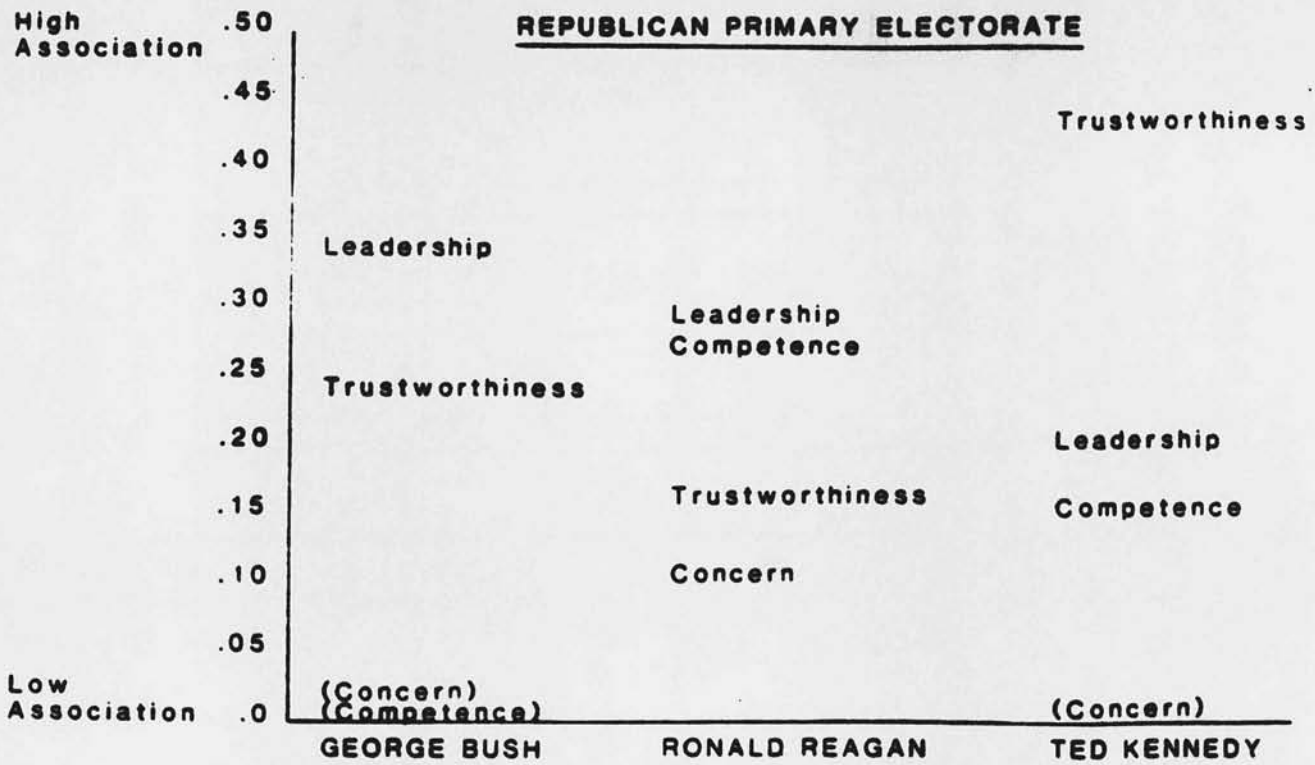
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ISSUE HANDLING COMPARISON OF GEORGE BUSH AND RONALD REAGAN



Perceptions Associated With Feelings Toward Bush, Reagan, and Kennedy





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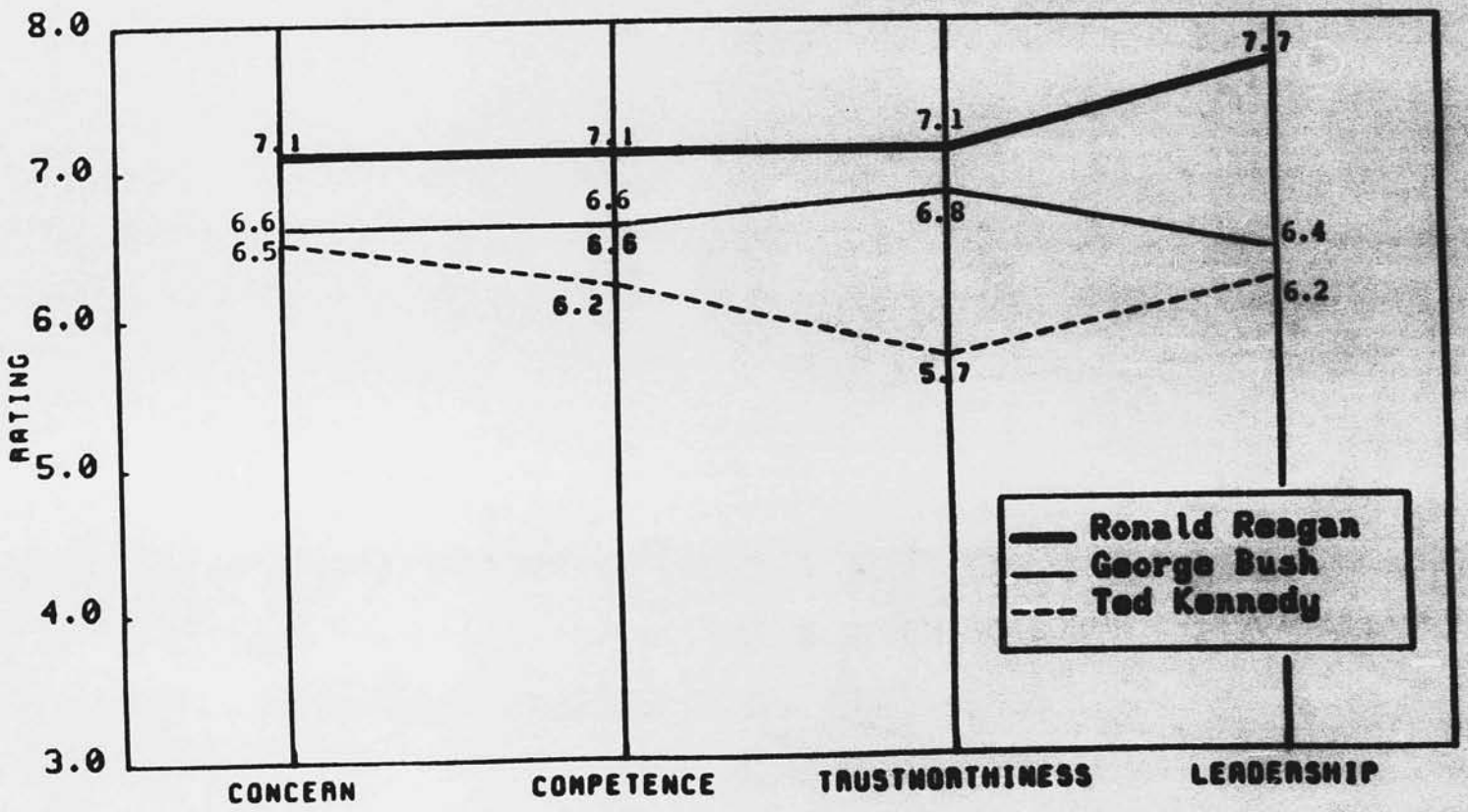
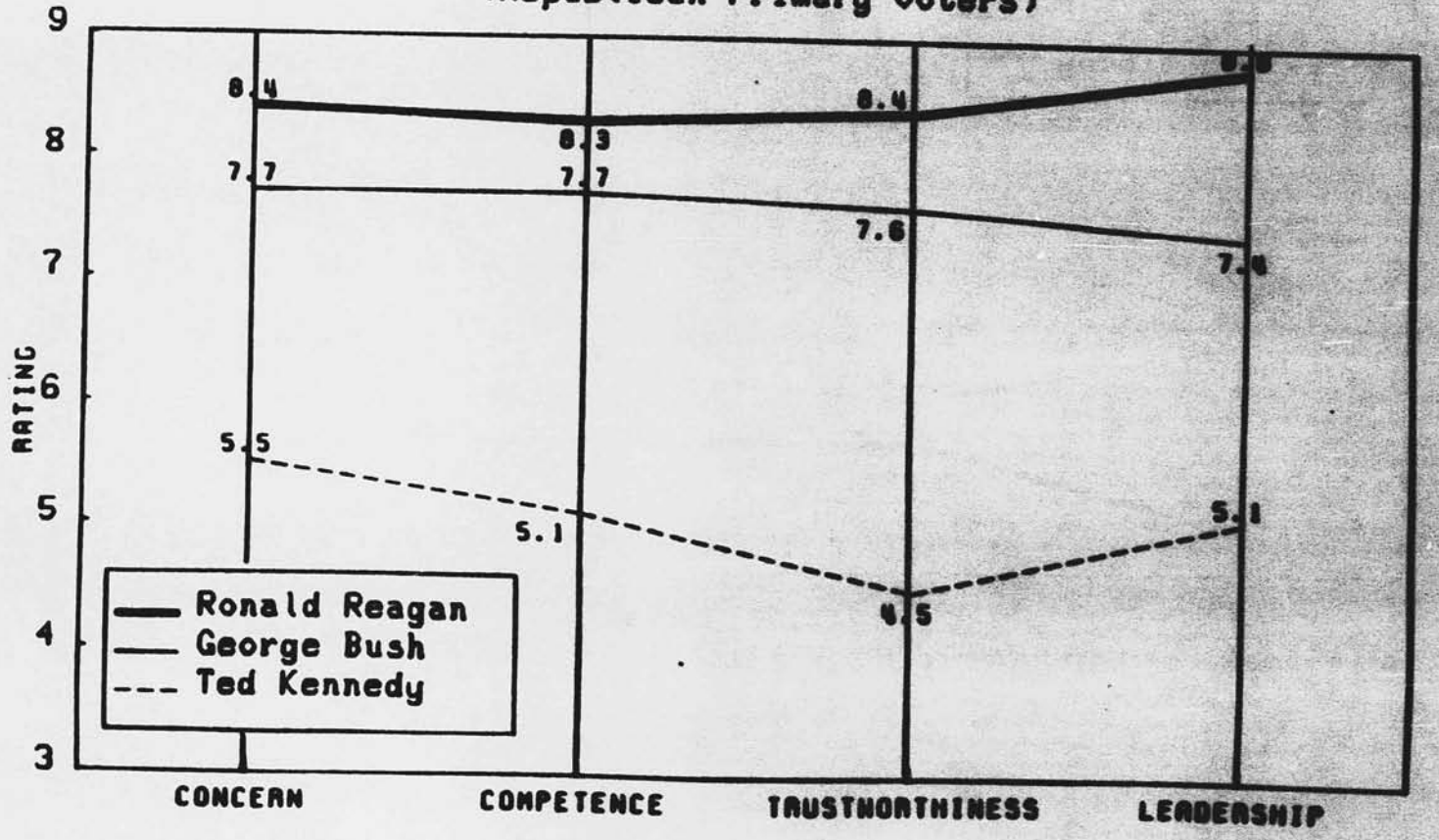
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS
(Total Electorate)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISITCS
(Republican Primary Voters)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Analysis of Perceptions of Reagan and Bush*

	Thermometer Comparison General Electorate					Thermometer Comparison Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(431)	(328)	(525)	(216)	(540)	(190)	(158)	(154)	(39)
Personal Qualities										
Trustworthiness										
Ronald Reagan	7.1#	7.9	8.0	6.8	4.7	8.4	8.5	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.8	6.6	7.1	6.7	6.6	7.8	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.9
Leadership										
Ronald Reagan	7.6	8.5	8.5	7.3	5.5	8.8	8.9	9.1	8.9	6.7
George Bush	6.4	6.0	6.9	6.6	6.1	7.4	6.7	7.7	8.1	7.5
Competence										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.0	7.9	6.8	4.6	8.3	8.4	8.5	8.4	6.1
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.1	6.7	6.2	7.7	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.6
Concern										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	7.9	7.8	6.8	4.9	8.4	8.3	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.2	6.7	6.3	7.7	7.0	8.0	8.2	7.4
Handling of Issues										
Our relations with the Soviet Union	+ 0&	-24	- 7	+ 7	+44	- 4	-26	+ 2	+ 4	-46
National economic policy	+ 0	-17	- 5	+ 4	+33	- 1	-13	- 5	+ 5	-34
Taxes	- 1	-19	- 6	+ 4	+29	- 4	-17	- 3	+ 5	-24
The federal budget deficit	+ 2	-19	+ 1	+ 8	+31	+ 8	-12	+ 6	+20	-50
Abortion	+ 1	-11	- 3	+ 3	+26	+ 0	-15	+ 4	+ 8	-35
Policies concerning minorities	+ 8	- 8	+ 8	+12	+35	+11	+ 2	+ 9	+17	-30
Women's rights	+ 8	- 6	+ 7	+11	+33	+11	- 1	+12	+17	-38

#Numbers are averages on a 0 to 10 scale, where 0=doesn't possess the characteristic at all and 10-possesses as much as any person possibly can.

&Numbers are the percent difference between "(George Bush) would handle it better" than Ronald Reagan and "would not handle it well." A positive number means Bush would handle it better than Reagan.

*Qualities and issues are listed in order of strength of effect on perceptions of Reagan and Bush. Boldfaced items indicate a significant relationship between that item and the difference in opinion of Reagan and Bush.

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R8040715067

CHAPTER 2: THE 1988 GENERAL ELECTION

Even though the 1988 Presidential election is 36 months away, three 1988 trial heats were tested in order to assess the early strength of George Bush against possible Democratic opponents. At the present time, Bush leads Ted Kennedy by a 51% to 45% margin, with 4% undecided; he tops Gary Hart by a 50% to 45% margin, with 5% undecided; and he edges out Lee Iacocca by a 49% to 43% margin, with 7% undecided.

All three races are similar in their overall margins, but each reveal a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart. He falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power. Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy.

Regionally, Bush leads all three men in all but the Eastern Seaboard, East North Central, and Mountain states. Kennedy's regional strength lies in New England, Hart's in New England and the Mountain states, and Iacocca in the Eastern Seaboard (New England and the Mid-Atlantic states).

Demographically, Bush tops the Democrats among adults under 25 and over 65, among high income and middle class whites, among the intelligentsia, and among men.

Combining all three ballots gives a good sense of the core Republican and Democratic presidential constituencies at the present time. In total, 49% of the vote is Republican — with 30% core Republican and 19% soft Republican — and 44% is Democratic — 24% core Democratic, 20% soft Democratic. The other 7% are marginal voters who are undecided on the trial heats at the present time.

The core Republican vote against the 3 tested Democrats consists of:

- northern white Protestants (31%)
- whites in the South (37%)
- over 55 (30%)
- over $40,000 income (21%)

The soft Republican vote is made up of those who vote Republican on 2 out of the 3 ballots. A plurality of them (44%) are Lee Iacocca defectors. These eligible voters are largely weak or independent Republicans. Iacocca Republican defectors are older than Kennedy or Hart defectors; Hart's defectors are the youngest. Iacocca defectors are mostly male; Hart defectors are female. Iacocca defectors are also of higher socioeconomic status than are either Hart or Kennedy defectors. Regionally, Iacocca defectors live north of the Mason-Dixon line, while slightly over a third (34%) of the pro-Kennedy defectors are white Southerners. Also, union defectors go for Kennedy and Hart more than for Iacocca.

R8040715068

The core Democratic vote, 24% of the electorate in these 3 trial heats, is young (15% are under 25, 37% are aged 25 to 39), middle class (25%) or lower end (16%), black (24%), and from the Eastern Seaboard (35%) or the East North Central states (20%).

A 46% plurality of the Democratic defectors, who vote for Bush on one of the three ballots, do so to vote against Iacocca. They are strongly Democratic, lower status, and largely female. They just don't like Lee Iacocca.

Each Democrat appears, then, to have his own constituency. Kennedy is supported most by the party regulars, Hart draws a younger vote, and Iacocca grasps a larger share of the centrist vote. None currently has a larger or broad enough constituency to outdraw George Bush. Each contest looks as though it would be a tight one, however.

Looking at these data, the demographic profile of the defectors, and their perceptions of Bush, it appears that the voter groups Bush can most easily lose are:

- Northern whites under 40 with incomes under $40,000, who could go Democratic
- Northern high income whites over 55, who could defect in a primary situation, but probably would not in a general election

Thus, Bush may have difficulty holding onto the younger, marginal voter, who came over to the Republican column because of Reagan.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush	51%	82%	51%	20%	34%	49%	45%	54%	55%	54%	55%	53%
Ted Kennedy	45	16	38	74	61	48	51	41	41	42	39	41
Don't know/Refused	4	1	11	5	5	2	5	5	5	4	6	5
George Bush	50%	80%	44%	24%	33%	47%	44%	58%	57%	56%	43%	53%
Gary Hart	45	17	40	72	61	48	50	41	38	41	50	40
Don't know/Refused	5	2	17	4	6	5	6	2	5	4	8	6
George Bush	49%	73%	39%	29%	42%	44%	46%	51%	58%	57%	45%	45%
Lee Iacocca	43	25	42	61	53	51	47	39	32	38	46	43
Don't know/Refused	7	2	18	10	6	5	7	11	10	6	9	11

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
George Bush	51%	54%	46%	53%	48%	57%	56%	45%	66%	62%	57%	46%	34%	44%	13%
Ted Kennedy	45	43	50	42	49	38	40	50	30	33	40	51	62	51	83
Don't know/Refused	4	3	3	6	4	6	4	5	4	7	4	3	4	6	4
George Bush	50%	53%	47%	51%	50%	56%	54%	46%	62%	52%	54%	53%	32%	49%	25%
Gary Hart	45	43	50	44	46	36	41	49	36	39	42	41	68	43	69
Don't know/Refused	5	5	4	5	6	7	5	5	1	9	4	5	—	8	6
George Bush	49%	54%	48%	50%	46%	51%	48%	51%	54%	52%	52%	55%	38%	43%	28%
Lee Iacocca	43	40	46	42	43	43	48	39	42	42	42	36	55	41	63
Don't know/Refused	7	5	6	7	12	7	5	10	4	6	6	9	8	16	10

Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

		Presidential Ballot Summary*							
	Total	Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(359)	(87)	(70)	(137)	(83)	(72)	(120)	(457)
Party Identification									
Republican	44%	6%	30%	28%	19%	44%	53%	75%	80%
Independent	10	6	16	11	8	9	12	12	7
Democrat	46	88	54	61	73	47	35	13	13
Political Region									
New England	5	7	6	10	9	5	7	6	16
Mid-Atlantic	16	19	17	21	14	17	19	22	14
East North Central	18	20	17	20	21	16	20	15	15
West North Central	7	7	7	7	5	9	9	6	8
Border South	8	6	4	6	8	9	8	7	[illegible]
Deep South	26	22	30	22	24	35	24	22	
Mountain	5	5	10	2	8	3	4	7	
Pacific	14	14	9	13	12	8	9	17	15
Age									
18-24	16	15	16	17	10	22	28	12	17
25-39	35	37	38	43	49	31	34	35	31
40-54	21	21	24	13	16	27	23	21	22
55-64	13	14	12	10	16	12	4	11	[illegible]
65+	15	14	12	17	9	9	12	20	[illegible]
Sex									
Male	48	45	56	54	34	45	47	73	[illegible]
Female	52	55	44	46	66	55	53	27	[illegible]
Status Groups									
High income	15	12	20	13	6	11	17	23	[illegible]
Intelligentsia	11	8	12	8	9	4	14	15	[illegible]
Middle class	31	25	35	23	32	35	30	42	[illegible]
Lower end	18	16	12	26	22	27	19	11	[illegible]
Jewish	4	5	5	6	7	2	4	2	[illegible]
Hispanic	4	5	3	3	6	1	—	4	[illegible]
Black	11	24	6	14	13	15	2	—	

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Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

(cont'd.)

		Presidential Ballot Summary*							
Tracer Group	Total	Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
White northern Protestant	25%	19%	21%	25%	22%	13%	29%	31%	31%
White northern Catholic	14	14	21	14	14	14	15	22	9
White northern union	14	17	10	17	15	18	19	11	12
Southern white	26	14	29	20	18	34	30	27	37

*Boxes drawn compare core Democratic and Republican constituencies.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Geodemographic Analysis of Key Bush Support Groups

		General Election				Primary Election		Bush Thermometer		
	Total	Core Republican	Republican Defectors	Democratic Defectors	Core Democrat	Bush	All Others	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
Total	100%	30%	19%	20%	24%	58%	42%	49%	26%	20%
Northern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	27	22	25	19	59	41	46	32	19
40-54, under $40,000	100%	27	23	19	24	55	45	43	25	26
55+, under $40,000	100%	34	14	19	26	46	[54]	52	25	15
18-39, over $40,000	100%	33	18	19	26	52	48	56	28	15
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[40]	[27]	14	13	60	40	49	35	14
55+, over $40,000	100%	35	[26]	16	23	49	[51]	[56]	26	18
Southern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	41	22	19	14	68	32	54	24	15
40-54, under $40,000	100%	34	23	17	23	55	45	51	26	18
55+, under $40,000	100%	32	19	18	18	65	35	[64]	22	8
18-39, over $40,000	100%	[42]	26	16	16	43	57	63	21	13
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[58]	15	15	6	58	42	[79]	12	6
55+, over $40,000	100%	[71]	9	—	10	[75]	25	[87]	13	—
Jews	100%	15	16	[35]	[32]	55	45	34	28	[30]
Hispanics	100%	33	10	20	27	100	—	51	29	16
Blacks	100%	9	9	20	[53]	42	58	26	24	[43]

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CHAPTER 3: THE 1988 REPUBLICAN PRIMARY BATTLE

The Republican Primary Electorate: 1985 vs. 1979

It is instructive to take a look at the changes in the composition of the Republican primary electorate since the 1980 Presidential campaign before taking a hard look at organizing for 1988. As we know, the "Reagan Revolution" has had a significant impact on partisan politics. Republicans have gone from the minority party to party parity over the past three election cycles.

Republicans today are younger and better educated than were Republicans in 1979. In 1979, 44% of the Republicans were under 40. Now, 54% are. The percent of college educated (at least some college) Republicans has gone from 46% six years ago to 56% today.

Republican gains in the South are very evident when looking at the geographic distribution of the national electorate. In 1979, 27% of the nation's behavioral Republicans lived in the South. That number has gone up to 33% today. Gains are biggest in the Deep South, where the contribution has gone from 16% to 26%.

So, the party's constituency has changed in the last six years. There are more young Republicans and more Republicans in the South, especially the Deep South.

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The Race for the Republican Nomination

Vice-President George Bush is the clear front-runner for the Republican nomination for President at this juncture. He leads fellow Republicans Bob Dole, Howard Baker, Jack Kemp, and Jeane Kirkpatrick with 58% of the first choice vote and 76% of the combined first and second choice vote. The others are far behind — Dole with 30% of the combined first and second choice vote, Baker with 27%, Kirkpatrick with 21% and Kemp with 18%.

Voting intentions are strongly related to awareness at the present time. Only 3% of the country's Republicans have never heard of Bush, but 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and fully 48% have never heard of Kemp.

Bush is the clear choice among Republicans across the country. None of the other candidates comes close in any geographic or demographic subgroup. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see where the other candidates get the support they do receive.

Bob Dole receives his highest levels of support from independent Republicans, West North Central state residents, Republicans under 25, and those 65 or older.

Howard Baker draws from Republicans of all strengths of partisanship and gets 41% of the Border South vote and higher than (his) average levels of support from Republicans 55 or older.

Jeane Kirkpatrick is most popular in the Mid-Atlantic states, among members of the intelligentsia, women, and primary voters over 55.

Kemp draws mainly from Republican party regulars and gets his highest geographic share from the Mid-Atlantic and Pacific states. He is far more popular among men than women, and draws more from middle aged Republicans than from either young or old Republicans.

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Republican Generic Preferences

Primary trial heats taken three years before the first state primary have little predictive value. The main reason for this is that early trial heats are primarily driven by large descripencies in the voters' familiarity with the tested candidates. These "name I.D. gaps" usually disappear by the time the real vote is taken, and the election outcome often bares slight resemblence to the early survey data.

In this study an attempt was made to provide some data that could be projected into the future. The voters were presented with the description of the central themes of four candidacies. By design, three of the themes were meant to correspond to the themes with which George Bush, Bob Dole, and Jack Kemp might become uniquely associated by 1988. The fourth theme is not known to be uniquely associated with any 1988 contender, but it was added as the possible unclaimed winner. (Its resemblence to the meaning of Reagan's presidency is clear enough, however.)

The four themes, randomly presented, were:

- Has the best personal qualifications for the job. (Bush)
- Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority. (Dole)
- Is a fighter for making major changes in government. (Kemp)
- Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world. (Unclaimed)

As the Republican primary voters first choice, the unclaimed theme beats Dole, 40% to 28%. Bush (19%) and Kemp (11%) trail considerably behind. Dole gains strength in the Republicans' second choices (36%) against the unclaimed theme (25%) and finishes in a virtual tie of combined choices: unclaimed theme 64%, Dole 63%. Bush finishes a distant third (37%) and Kemp is last (29%).

One clear lesson of this experiment is that Bush is not going to cross the goal line with the theme most commonly associated with him. His resume characteristics are an important asset for him, but, alone, they will not get him elected.

The results, just as clearly demonstrate the great appeal of an issue theme and the need for Bush to be associated with one. Moreover, six years into the Reagan Revolution the two principle themes of that revolution still exhibit significant appeal. This, of course, may change by 1988. Nevertheless, these results confirm that the candidate who is most associated with carrying on the Reagan Revolution would have the inside track in the Republican primary.

For the most part, the potential Republican primary candidates have not successfully associated themselves with one of these generic preferences of Republican primary voters. The primary trial heat result among Bush, Dole, Kemp, et al does not significantly change across three of the four generic preferences of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who prefer the candidate with the best personal qualifications for the job. Bush is their candidate; 66% vote for him against 31% for the combined field.

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A similar lack of association is seen in the groupings of Republicans by their selections of the five Bush characteristics as most important for a president to have, e.g. respected by foreign leaders, held a variety of government positions, etc. The trial heat results do not significantly change across four of the five groups of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who select "has worked with Ronald Reagan." Bush is their candidate; 68% vote for him against 25% for the combined field. As previously discussed, the latter characteristic is the only one of the five which in now associated with Bush and helps explain why voters like or dislike him. The relationship of the primary trial heat to these selections is an important demonstration of the earlier finding.

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Demographic Profile of Republican Electorate 1985 vs. 1979

	Year	
	1979	1985
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(457)	(659)
Political Region		
New England	6%	4%
Mid-Atlantic	19	18
East North Central	19	16
West North Central	10	8
Border South	11	7
Deep South	16	26
Mountain	6	6
Pacific	13	15
Age		
18-24	16	19
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	10
65+	21	15
Sex		
Male	51	53
Female	50	47
Education		
Less than high school	17	10
High school/Vocational	37	34
Some college	24	31
College graduate	22	25
Other Groups		
Hispanics	2	4
Blacks	3	2

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(500)	(498)	(16)	(26)	(22)	(93)	(78)	(47)	(46)	(142)	(29)	(83)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices												
George Bush	76%	76%	63%	74%	71%	73%	72%	75%	73%	83%	71%	75%
Bob Dole	30	30	17	43	25	25	34	38	27	33	26	30
Howard Baker	27	28	34	20	30	28	24	33	41	26	25	22
Jack Kemp	18	19	6	13	13	23	19	11	16	18	8	24
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	21	29	19	28	31	22	21	13	12	25	24
Don't know/Refused	20	20	31	21	25	18	23	16	18	23	29	16
First Choice												
George Bush	58%	59%	58%	47%	60%	55%	54%	54%	55%	64%	52%	61%
Bob Dole	10	9	11	21	--	8	9	16	13	11	10	9
Howard Baker	12	12	5	17	21	11	11	15	14	12	16	5
Jack Kemp	8	8	--	6	--	11	11	9	9	4	—	11
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	7	6	5	11	13	10	2	—	5	6	8
Don't know/Refused	6	5	20	4	8	3	5	4	9	4	16	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(540)	(99)	(188)	(119)	(50)	(84)	(270)	(270)	(115)	(68)	(204)	(85)	(10)	(17)	(15)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices															
George Bush	76%	81%	77%	71%	70%	76%	78%	74%	75%	78%	76%	72%	73%	100%	75%
Bob Dole	30	38	29	24	29	36	33	28	31	21	35	35	—	16	25
Howard Baker	27	19	29	23	31	38	28	27	32	34	25	22	46	8	42
Jack Kemp	18	16	17	26	20	11	25	12	25	22	15	16	19	24	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	20	18	20	29	24	18	23	21	30	18	21	27	45	—
Don't know/Refused	20	22	23	26	10	11	14	27	14	12	25	25	18	6	17
First Choice															
George Bush	58%	69%	55%	56%	57%	54%	61%	55%	55%	58%	58%	58%	55%	100%	42%
Bob Dole	10	15	11	7	7	8	11	9	13	4	13	5	—	—	21
Howard Baker	12	5	15	10	9	17	11	12	12	11	13	12	18	—	7
Jack Kemp	8	4	7	14	5	6	10	6	12	11	5	6	—	—	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	5	6	4	13	12	4	9	6	13	5	11	9	—	—
Don't know/Refused	6	3	6	8	8	3	3	8	2	4	5	8	18	—	10

I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

Which one would you choose second?

	Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined	First Choice
Combined First & Second Choices		
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	64%	40%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority	63	28
Has the best personal qualifications for the job	37	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government	29	11
None/No second choice	2	1
Don't know/Refused	2	1

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Republican Primary Trial Heat by Republicans' Generic Preferences

	Primary Trial Heat				
	Total	Bush	All Others	Undecided	Republican Distribution
Total	100%	58	36	6	100%
Most Important Presidential Characteristics*					
Respected by foreign leaders	100%	61	34	5	56
Has held a variety of government positions	100%	55	39	6	39
Is in government now	100%	54	39	7	27
Conservative	100%	57	40	3	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	100%	68	25	7	29
Most Appealing Candidate*					
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	100%	56	38	6	64%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	100%	55	39	6	63
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	100%	66	31	3	37
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	100%	57	34	9	29

*Combined first and second choice used in each row.

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of disucssion in the 1988 Presidential campaign and, as such, is an important area to explore here.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

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Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englancers, women, Democrats, and senior citizens are the most pacifist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue. Pro Bush voters are more pro military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him. This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience.

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Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	[12]	[2.1]	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	[24]	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	[30]	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	[27]	11	[2.1]	(39[illegible]
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	([illegible]
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(2[illegible]
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237)
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531)
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	[14]	[2.0]	(313)
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(189)
65+	100%	[24]	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225)
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	[28]	[13]	[2.1]	([illegible]
Female	100%	[20]	[30]	27	13	5	[1.6]	([illegible]
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(2[illegible]
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(16[illegible]
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	[1.9]	(46
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	[27]	[12]	[2.1]	(27[illegible]
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	[16]	[2.1]	(5[illegible]
Black	100%	[27]	26	20	20	6	1.5	(5[illegible]
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	[29]	4	[2.0]	(15[illegible]

#Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index@

		Sex	
	Total	Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	—

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#Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

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CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy.

A small 34% plurality of voters state that there should be less "trade" with other countries than there is now. A lesser 31% believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. However, fully 51% say that there should be fewer "imports." Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist," 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- Democrats
- mid-Atlantic state residents
- women
- blacks
- middle class lower end whites
- those with no college education

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

The electorate's relative perceptions of Bush and Reagan do not appear to be affected by the trade issue. Core Reaganites are somewhat more protectionist than the anti-Reagan, pro-Bush voter, but those who rate them equally also lean toward protectionism. It is therefore an issue that Bush can develop without concern about alienating the Reagan constituency. The only concern should be not to appear too "free trade-ish," but that would alienate most voters, including Reagan supporters.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely than free traders to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign

8804071509 3

competition. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

8804071509 4

There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

The placement of blame for trade problems does not divide the Reagan-Bush coalition groups. All groups feel that the blame lies with foreign contries more than U.S. business, and secondarily that the blame should be shared.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept should be explored. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

8804071S095

Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

	Total	Protectionism Index: Protectionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	100%	47%	30%	23%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[56]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[56]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[56]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

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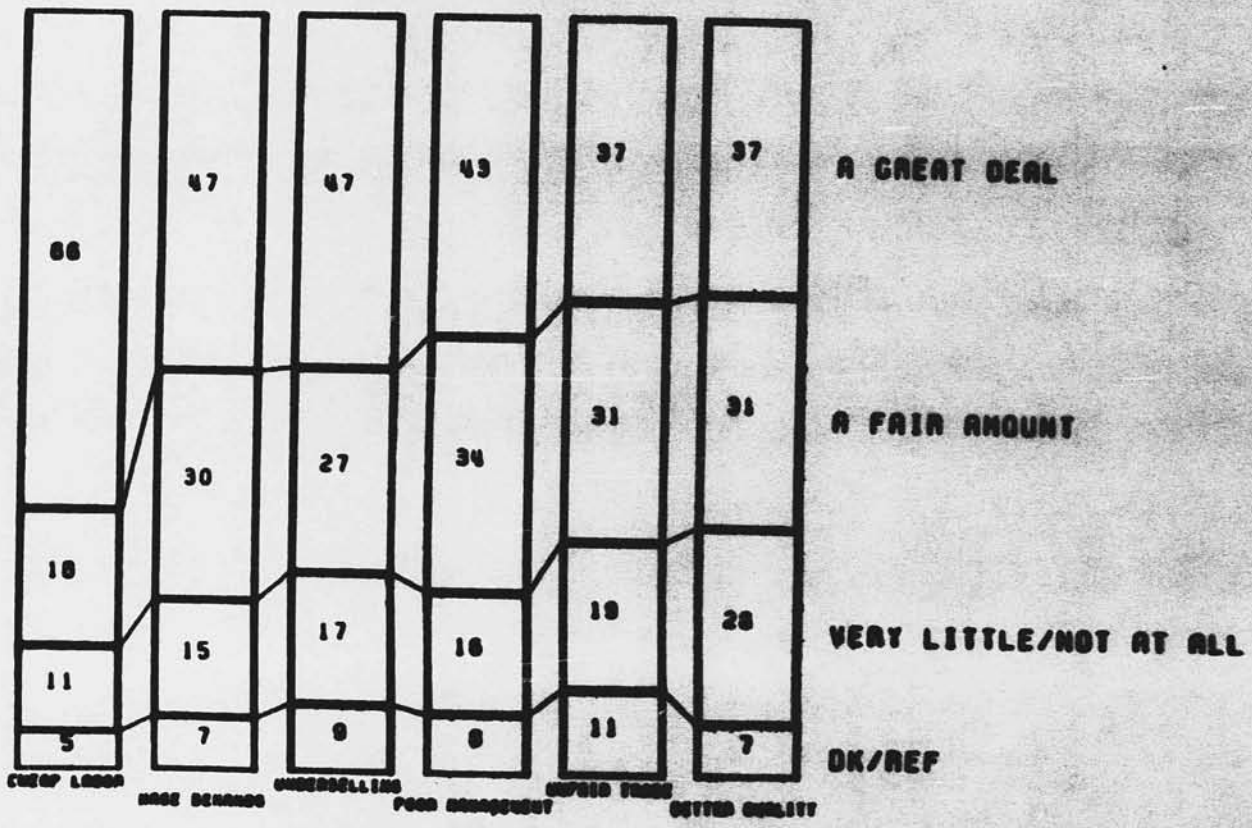
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

		Blame for Trade Problems[a]			
	Total	Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	30	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	43	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

(continued next page)

8804071 5098

Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a] Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	39	34	27	(431)
RR>GB	100%	41	36	23	(328)
RR=GB	100%	38	39	23	(444)
GB>RR	100%	36	34	30	(216)

[a] Composite index of questions 17-22.

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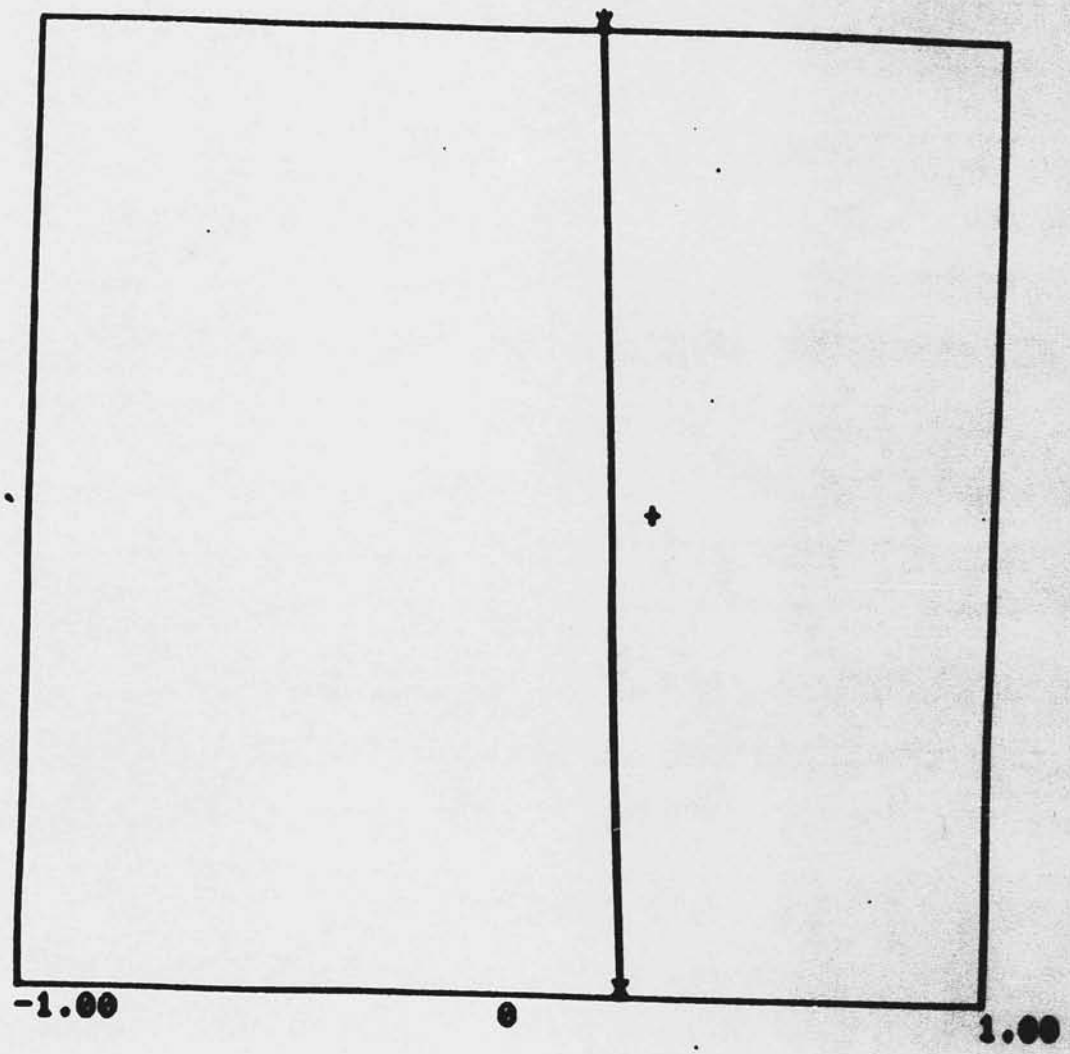
8 8 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 0 0

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

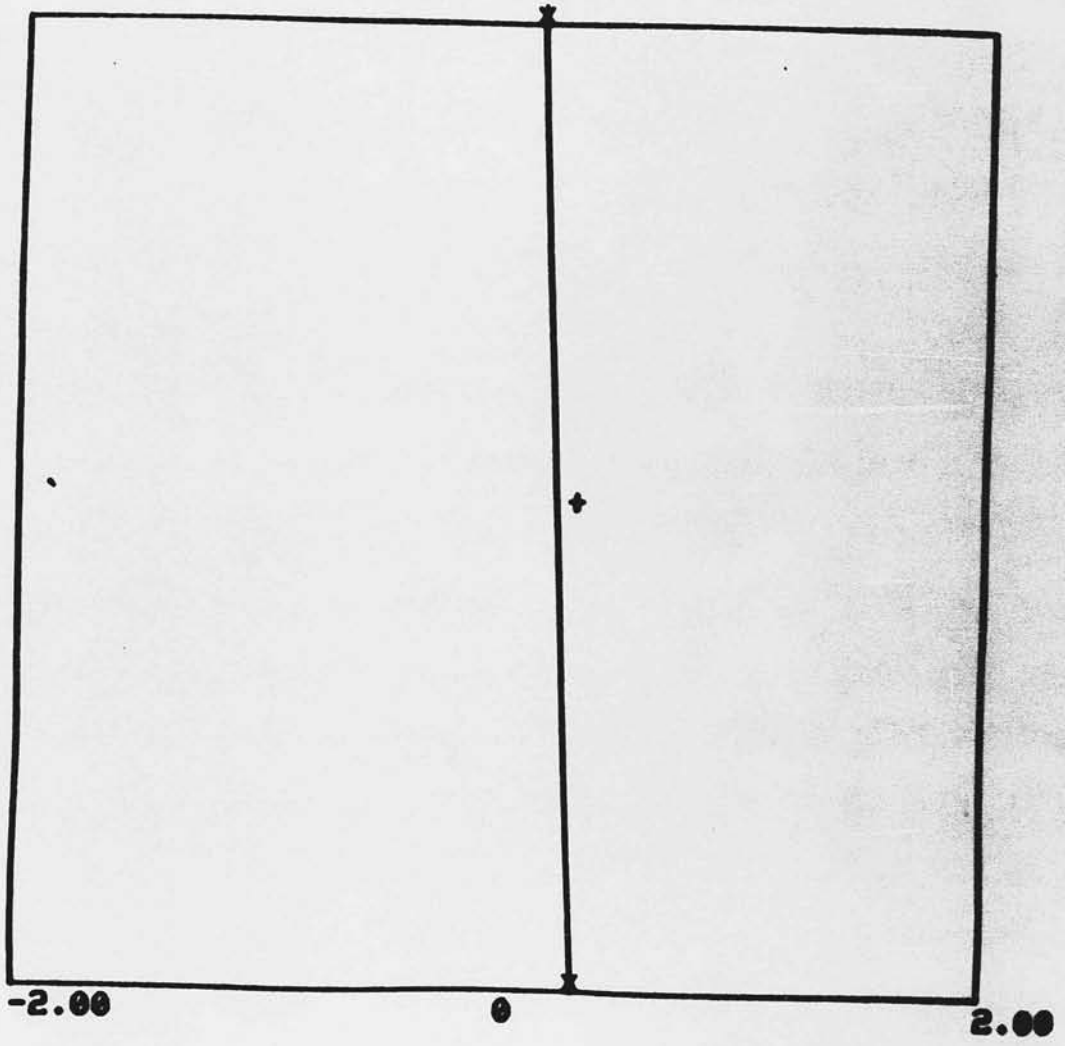


Key:

+ = Total population mean

‡ = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale

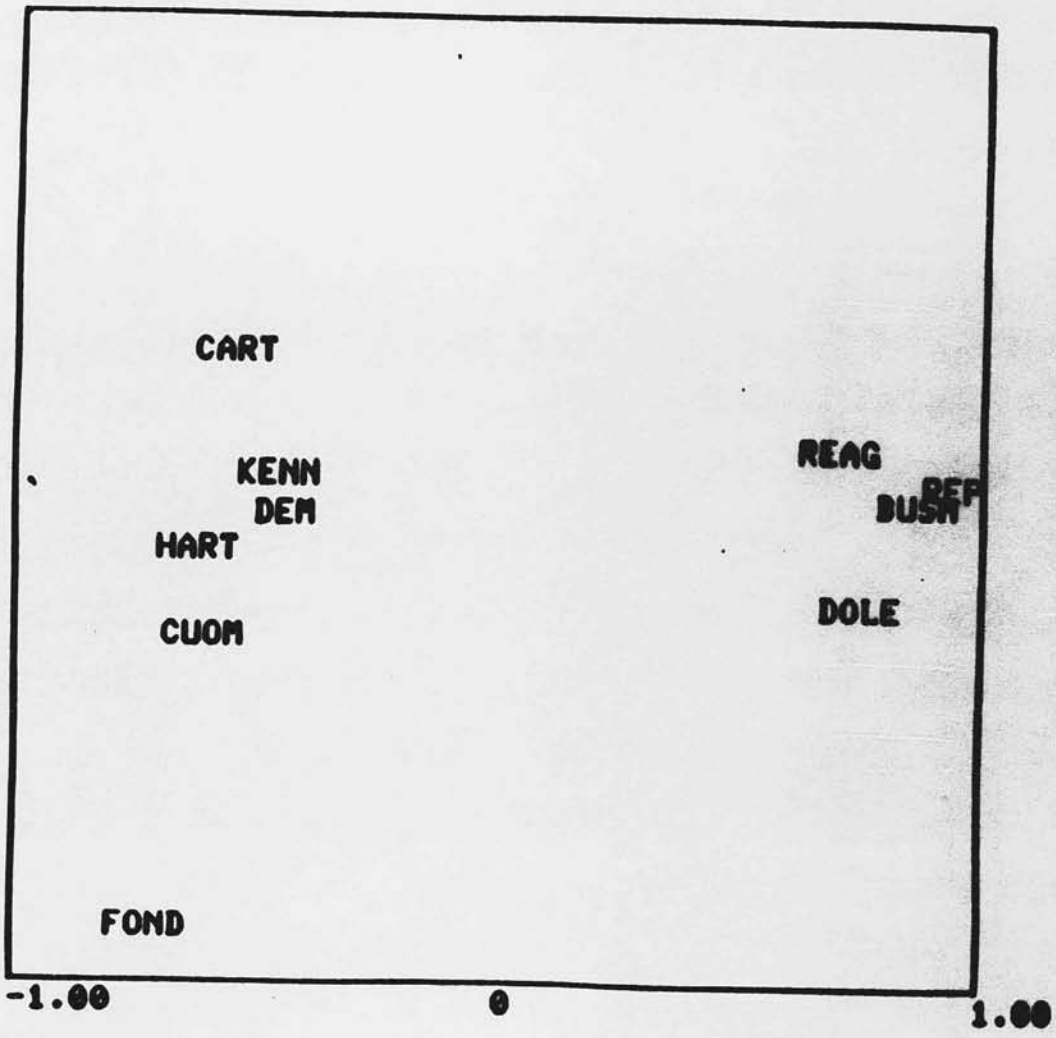


Key:

✦ = Total population mean

⇕ = Director between the Republican and Democratic Parties

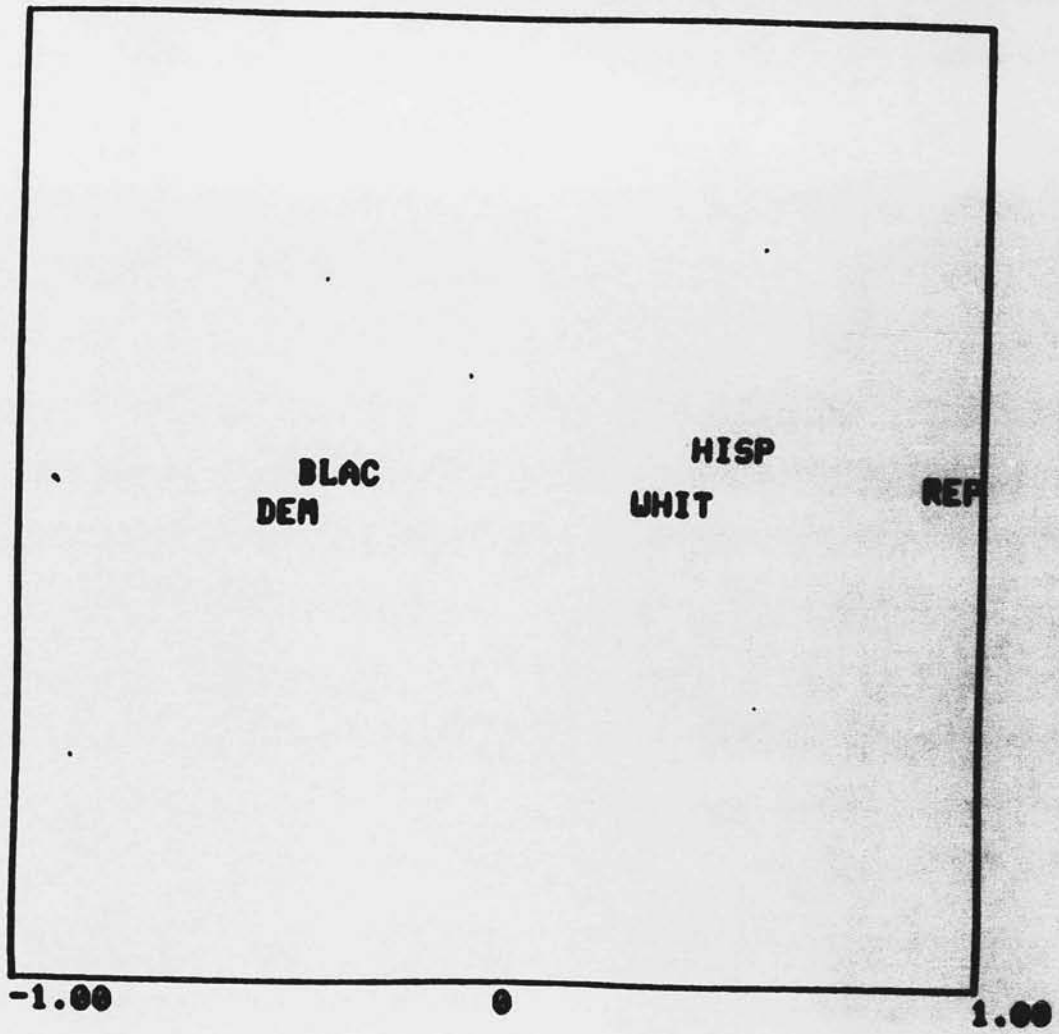
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

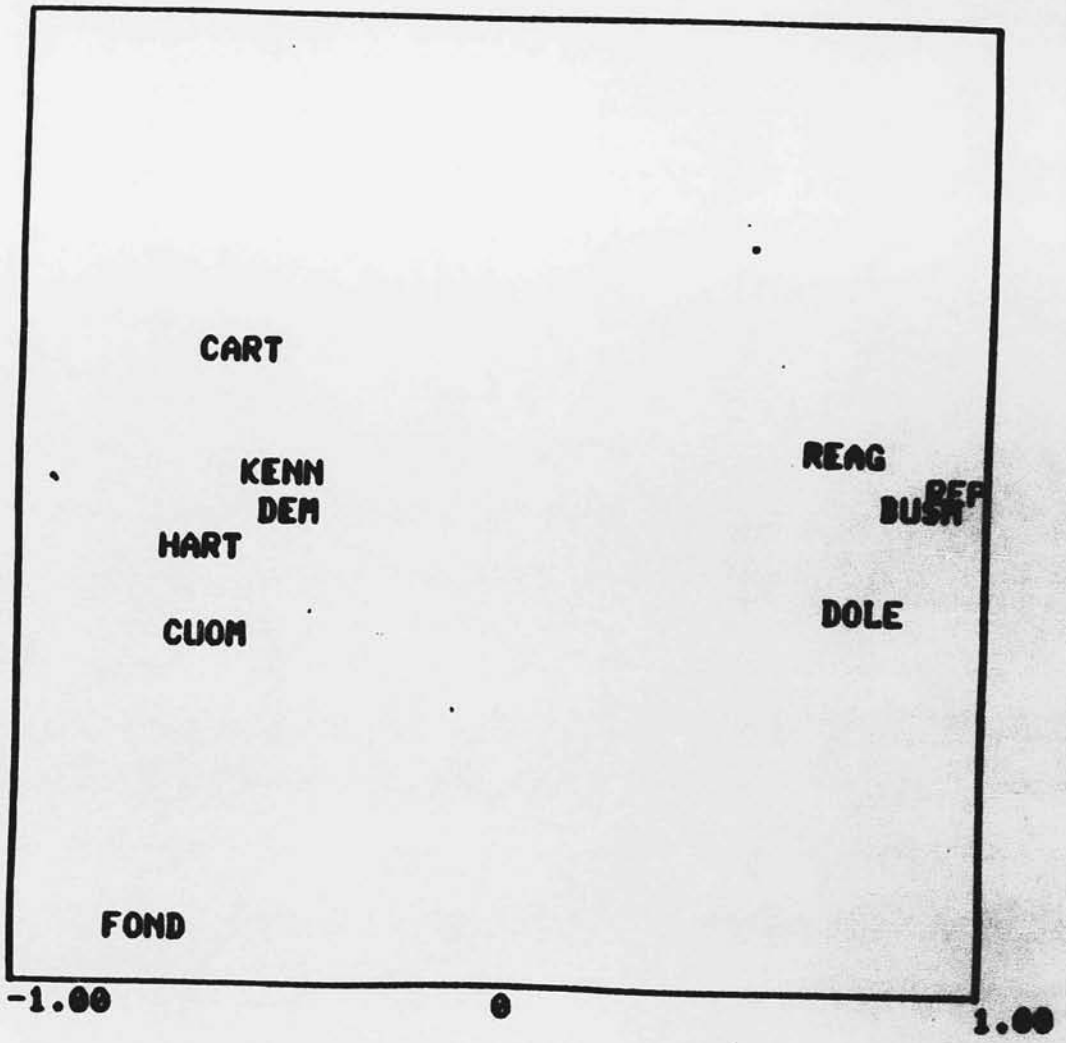


Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

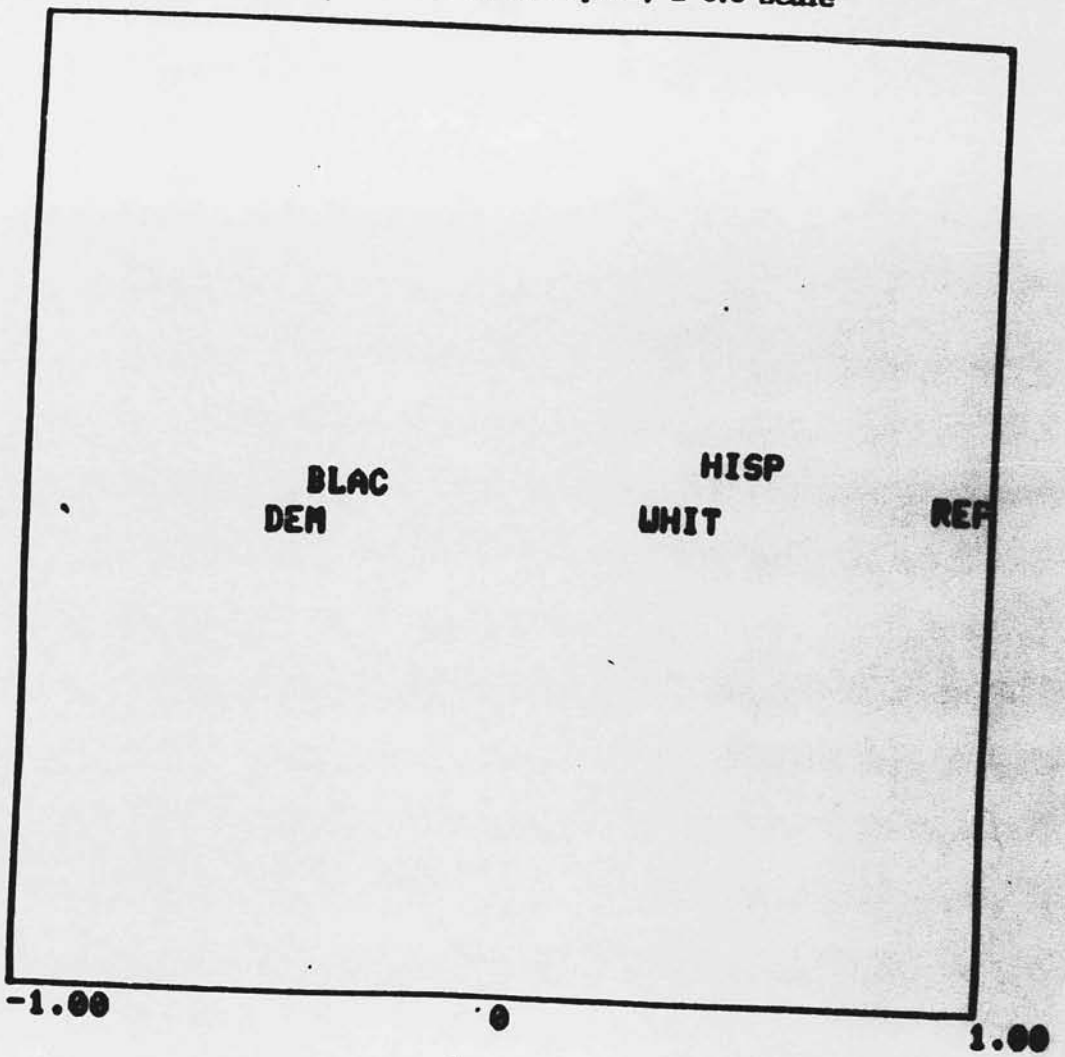
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

Overlay for the 1995 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

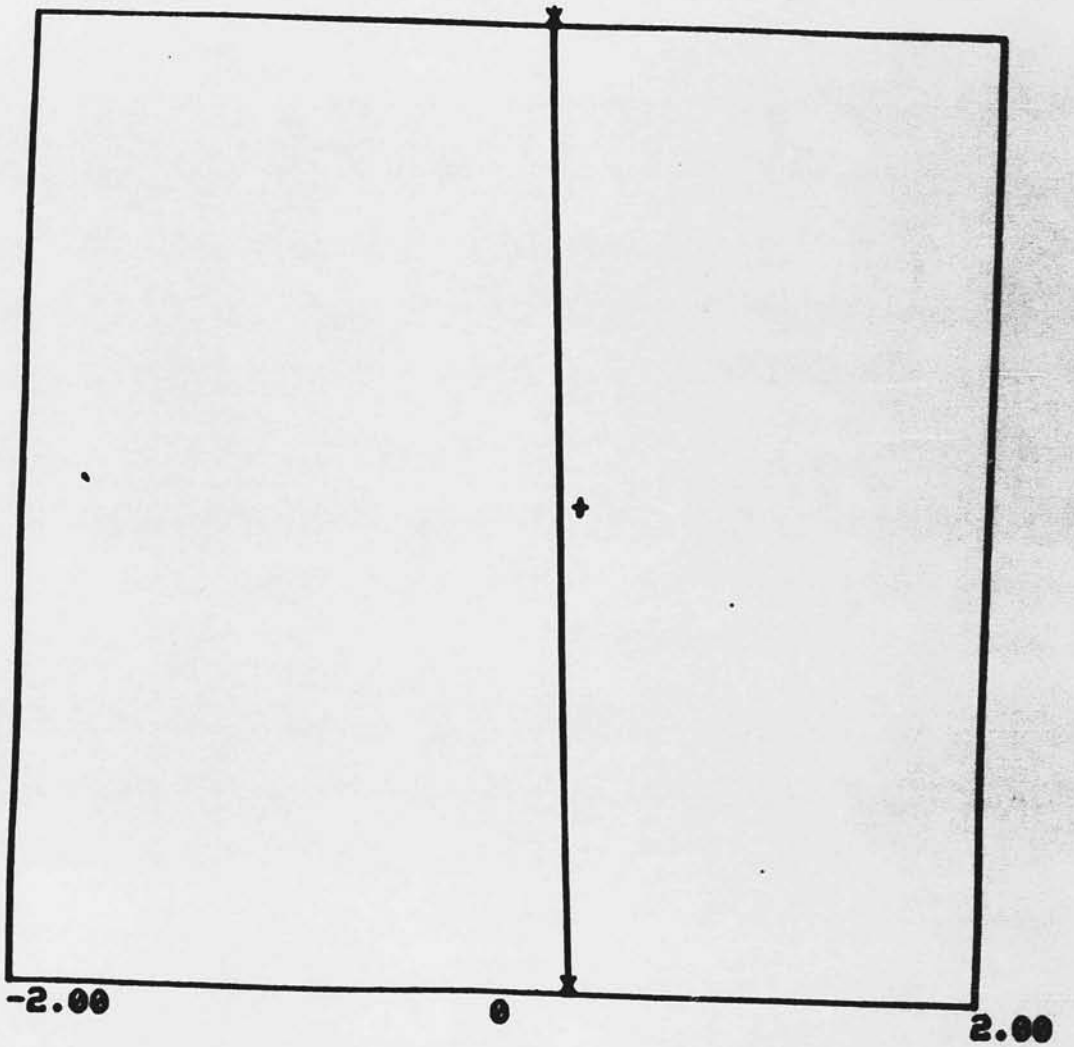


Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale

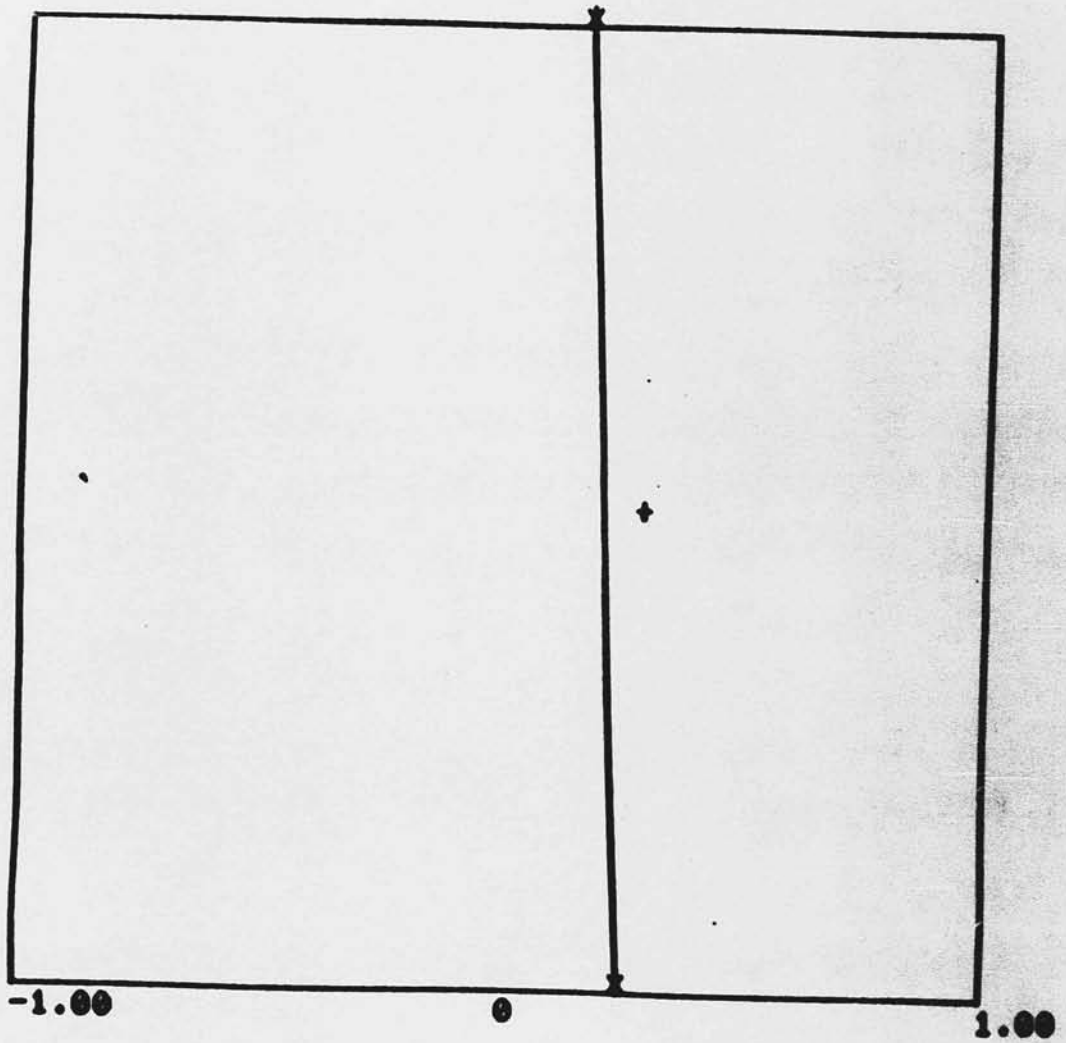


Key:

+ = Total population mean

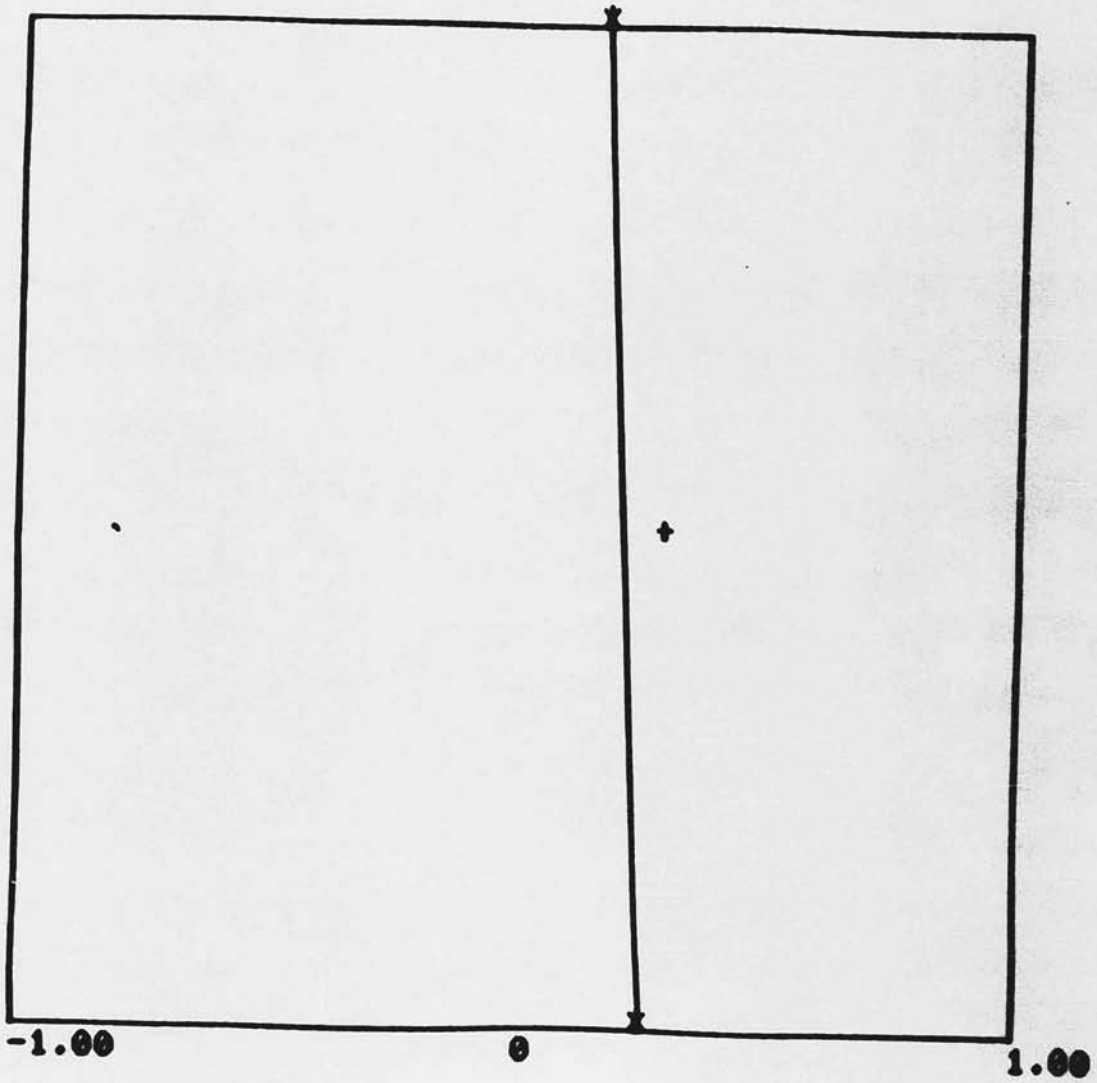
‡ = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space. ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

+ = Total population mean
‡]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties
‡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0
1.00

8804071509

3

FOREWORD

Excerpt
12/3
This page only

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

- To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
- To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
- To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

FEC Ex 3
8/14/86
ILC

FILE
JAN 6 1986
FYI: JJ
Harris
Pol.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 20, 1985

The Hon. Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Frank:

I appreciated your letter to the Vice President of December 4, 1985 concerning the formation of an ad hoc committee to discuss activities of the Republican National Committee as they may relate to the Vice President and other Republicans. As we indicated to you previously, Ron Walker will serve as the Vice President's representative on the committee should such a committee be formed.

Based upon our telephone conversation, it is my understanding that the ad hoc committee will not review and discuss resources traditionally provided during the past five years to the President and Vice President. It is my understanding, as a result of our conversation, that the RNC will continue to support the administration, specifically the Vice President, in the same manner and at the same level it has in past years. As you and I discussed, this is most appropriate given the office and the level of support provided to the RNC by the Vice President. I want you to know that this understanding is most appreciated.

With regard to the scope of activity you envision for the Committee, I want you to know that Ron Walker has full authority to discuss any issue appropriate for review by the RNC. We would like, of course, to focus primarily on 1986. To the extent the RNC is planning for the 1988 convention and wishes to involve the ad hoc committee, we would have no objection. However, I do have reservations about utilizing the ad hoc committee at this stage to discuss and resolve any issue related to a 1988 presidential campaign. Since the Vice President has neither declared his intentions with regard to 1988 nor does he have a committee formed to address the 1988 campaign, I cannot authorize the Vice President's representative to engage in these issues at this time.

FEC Ex 9
3/14/86
ILC

8804071510

Finally, with regard to the discussion in your letter concerning a misunderstanding about polling, I was pleased, based on our conversation, that we are in agreement with regard to the fact that you offered to pay for a survey containing questions in which we would have an interest. I, regret, as I know you must, that procedures were employed that could have prevented confusion about the questions and the analysis derived from the survey.

We look forward to working closely with you, Frank, to make the best possible use of Republican resources in 1986 and to creating a constructive environment for dealing with future political considerations.

Sincerely,

Craig L. Fuller
Chief of Staff to the
Vice President

cc: The Honorable Paul Laxalt

8804071511

Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

December 4, 1985

Vice President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear George:

As you know, there has been a great deal of discussion as to the proper role of the Republican National Committee (RNC) with potential candidates for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1988. In fact, I have discussed this subject with you and other possible candidates during the past month so that we might take the first steps towards insuring the RNC's candidate neutrality, and, at the same time, providing our Party leaders, on an equal basis, appropriate information and resources available from the Committee.

You and I agree our focus during the next year ought not to be 1988, but rather the important elections of 1986. The stakes have never been higher. It is absolutely essential that we retain control of the U.S. Senate and achieve gains at all other levels.

The unfortunate incident this week involving the mistaken impression that the RNC commissioned and paid for a poll exclusively for one Presidential candidate is illustrative of the type of misunderstanding that must be avoided.

As futher indication of the type of confusion that surrounds our efforts, one only needs to look at the numerous consultants and pollsters who work with the RNC and are also official or unofficial advisors to one or more of those who might run for the Presidential nomination in 1988. How best to handle this, and other matters of concern must be addressed.

FEC Ex 5
8/14/86
ILC

During our past discussions about how best to minimize and eliminate these problems, I asked you and other potential candidates, to designate a representative who would interface with the RNC. Obvious topics for us to address would include the 1988 convention, possible Presidential debates and, the availability of resources and information from the RNC. You have indicated that your representative for these meetings would be Ron Walker.

The aforementioned misunderstanding concerning polling makes it essential that this ad-hoc committee begin meeting with me and appropriate RNC officials as soon as is feasible.

I intend to schedule the first meeting of this group sometime in early January. In the next 10 days, I will contact you with more of the details as to the exact date and scope of the meeting. If you want to change your representative, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

All of us at the RNC look forward to working with you in the upcoming months. Together, we can assure the goals we share for the 1986 election are reached.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. It is vital that we get the job done in 1986.

Very truly yours,

FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FJF/gts
cc: The Honorable Paul Laxalt
General Chairman, RNC

8804071513

ALLOCATION 6

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent #
Area 1-4

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

6-15

CALL RECORD SHEET

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1									Q500 16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1									Q501 17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502 18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503 19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504 20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NIN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505 21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506 22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507 23
Respondent Term. (R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508 24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509 25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510 26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511 27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512 28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513 29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514 30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515 31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516 32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517 33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518 34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519 35
Other Disp. (write in) (No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520 36
	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521 37

8804071511 4

DESIGNATED NUMBER
01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER
_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:
MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)
DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

FEC Ex 6
3-14-86 - ILC

U.S. National Survey

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER END MEETS YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old (male/female) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her?

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1). . 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1) . . . 2
No (GO TO Q.IB) 3
Refused/NA. 9

IB. Are you a citizen of the United States over 18 years of age living at this address?

Yes (GO TO 1) 1
No. 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. Is there any male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1

May I speak with him/her? (After you have ascertained that he/she is an adult citizen of the United States living at that address. (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE). 2
Refused/NA. 9

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER DOES NOT MEET YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm_____ calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have the opinions of a male/female who over 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States living at this address.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes . . . . . 1 QA
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2 102
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her? QAa 103

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1). 2
No (GO TO Q.IB). 3
Refused/NA 9

IB. Is there any adult (man/woman) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address available at this time?

Yes . . . . . 1 QB
No (TERMINATE). 2 104
Refused/NA. 9

a. After you have ascertained that (he/she) is an adult citizen of the United States living at this address (GO TO 1)

QBa 105

106-144 = EXTRA
145-153 SPECIAL DEMO VARIABLES
(V18) 156-160 WEIGHTS

8040 7 1-5 1 1 5

Q1-Q.64 = RNC

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

VC

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

8 9 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 1 6

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6. The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7. We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

RNC

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

8804071518

RNC ↓

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit — a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

R 8 3 0 4 0 7 I 5 I I 9

RNC

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A

8804071520

RNC

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2 Q23B

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8 3 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 2 1

RNC

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

8 3 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 2 2

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 2 3

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

RNC

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?
   - Not much gov't can do 1
   - Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q32

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?
   - Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
   - Oppose. 1
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q33

---

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?
   - Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
   - Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
   - Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
   - Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

   Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?
   - Favor 2
   - Oppose. 1
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q35

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?
   - Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
   - Favor only as retaliation 1
   - Favor neither 3
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q36

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?
   - Favor 2
   - Oppose. 1
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?
   - Should negotiate. 2
   - Refuse to negotiate 1
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q38

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?
   - Individuals/Small groups. 1
   - Foreign government. 2
   - Don't know. 8
   - Refused/NA. 9

   Q39

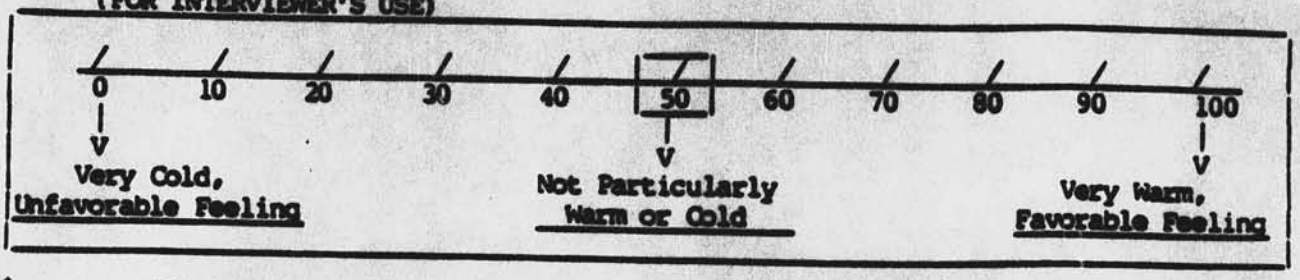
8804071524

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



8 8 0 4 0 7 | 1 5 RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

40.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

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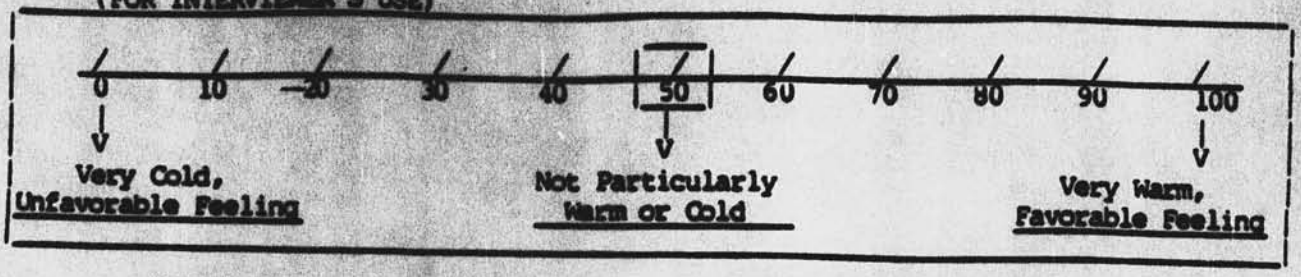
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

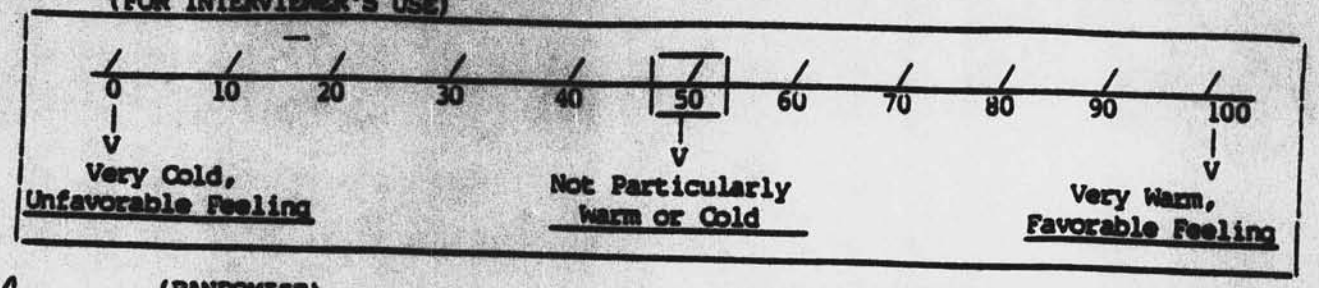
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50. Jesse Jackson	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51. Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52. Gary Hart	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53. Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54. John Glenn	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55. Jane Fonda	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56. Jerry Falwell	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57. Gerald Ford	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58. Jimmy Carter	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59. George Wallace	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60. Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 2 6

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC ↓

(RANDOMIZE)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999; DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

61. The Republican Party

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q61

62. The Democratic Party

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q62

63. Liberals

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q63

64. Conservatives

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q64

8804071512 7

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

NA

66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)	(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a. Conservative	1	1
b. Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c. Is in government now	3	3
d. Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e. Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
None	6	
No second mention		7
Don't know	8	8
Refused/NA	9	9

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 2 5 1 2 8

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below)
The second (read below)
The third (read below)
And the fourth (read below)

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69) 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69) 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69) 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)
68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

N

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

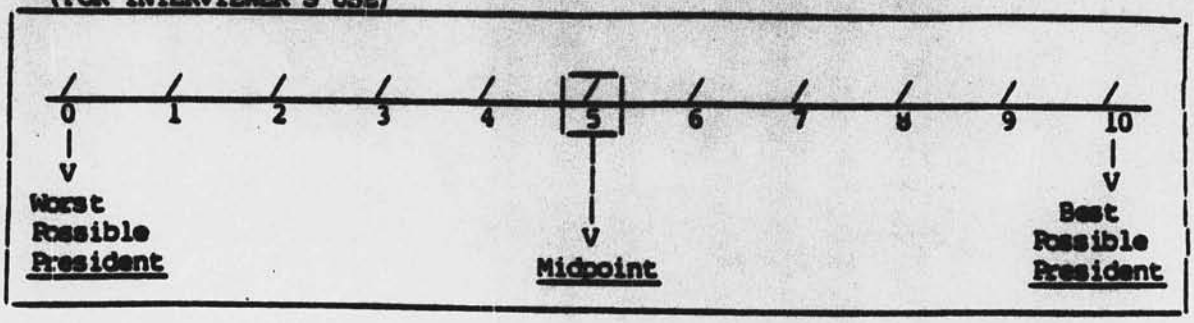
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q72

8807151129

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE:—Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

Q73

NA

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

NA

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

(GO TO Q.78)

Q75

NA

(Q.76 Not asked)

8 8 0 4 2 7 1 5 1 3 0

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Ted Kennedy, Democrat — 1 — Don't know. . . . . 8 — Refused/NA. . . . . 9 — Q78

79. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Gary Hart, Democrat — 1 — Don't know. . . . . 8 — Refused/NA. . . . . 9 — Q79

80. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Lee Iacocca, Democrat — 1 — Don't know. . . . . 8 — Refused/NA. . . . . 9 — Q80

R8047-X-15131

HALF SAMPLE A

FFAF

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

---

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804071513 2

HALF SAMPLE B

Q81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q81bM1
Q81bM2
Q81bM3
Q81bM4
Q81bM5

Q82 What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q82 M1
Q82 M2
Q82 M3
Q82 M4
Q82 M5

880407 1 SRI 33

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

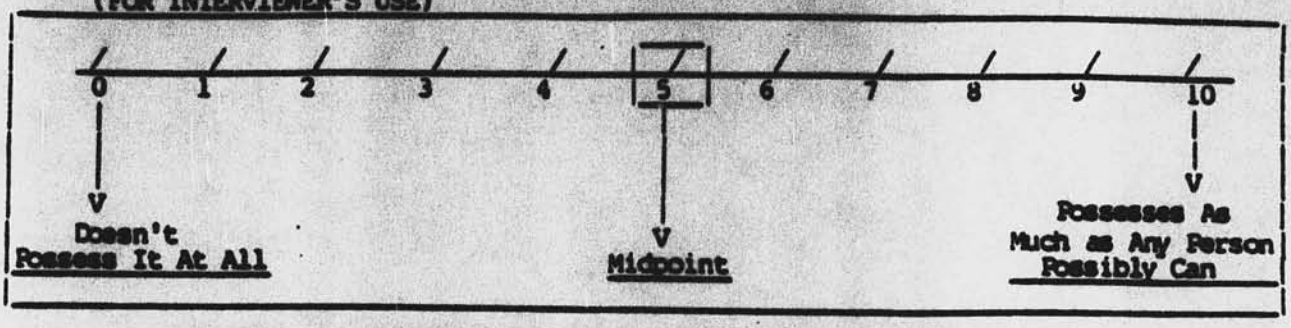
	(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
NA ↓	83. Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
	84. The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
	85. Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
	86. Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
	87. Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
	88. Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
	89. National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

8804071534

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



		(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
		TRUSTWORTHINESS			
RNC	90.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
FFAF	91.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
RNC	92.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
		CONCERN			
RNC	93.	Ronald Reagan	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
FFAF	94.	George Bush	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
RNC	95.	Ted Kennedy	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

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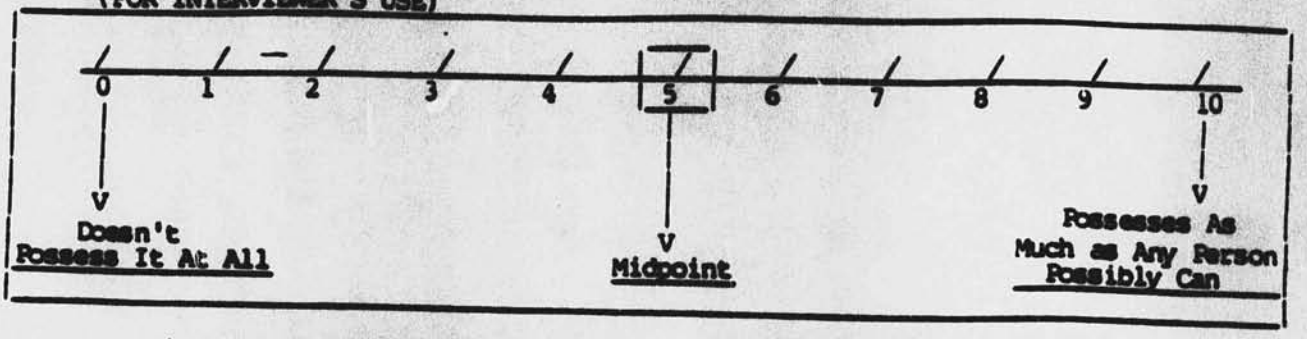
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

96. Ronald Reagan — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 / Refused/NA. . 99 — Q96

97. George Bush — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 / Refused/NA. . 99 — Q97

98. Ted Kennedy — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 / Refused/NA. . 99 — Q98

COMPETENCE

99. Ronald Reagan — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 / Refused/NA. . 99 — Q99

100. George Bush — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 / Refused/NA. . 99 — Q100

101. Ted Kennedy — (RECORD NUMBER) — Don't know. . 98 / Refused/NA. . 99 — Q101

RNC

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

RNC

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q103

RNC

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q104

---

8 9 0 4 7 1 5 1 3

DEMOGRAPHICS

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Republican	1	PARTYID 51
Democrat	2	
Independent	3	
No preference	4	
Other	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

Strong	1
Not very strong	2
Don't know	8
Refused	9

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

Republican	1
Democratic	2
Neither	3
Don't know	8
Refused	9

R8040715138

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	VOTETYPE 57-58
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No	1	
Registered elsewhere	3	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB N

8804071539

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10) —

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDUFR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKING
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

8804071514O

D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	MARITA 92
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWOR 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01	occup 4
Self-employed	.02	
Retired	.03	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04	
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05	
Executive (corporate officer)	.06	
Homemaker	.07	
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08	
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09	
Student	.10	
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11	
Other	.12	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

8 8 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 4 1

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

8304071514 2

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

- Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1
- Roman Catholic 2
- Jewish 3
- Other Christian 4
- Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5
- Agnostic/Atheist 6
- None 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

RELIGION 110

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year 2
- Never 1
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

- Under $10,000 0
- $10,000-$15,000 (14,999) 1
- $15,000-$20,000 (19,999) 2
- $20,000-$25,000 (24,999) 3
- $25,000-$30,000 (29,999) 4
- $30,000-$40,000 (39,999) 5
- $40,000-$50,000 (49,999) 6
- $50,000 and over 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3
- Oriental 4
- American Indian 5
- Other 6
- Not ascertained 9

RACE 120

3 3 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 4 3

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ZIP
(V16) 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION) Male . . . . . .1 SEX
Female 2 126

R8040715144

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

R8040715145

67

PROCEDURE FOR COST BREAKDOWN AMONG MULTIPLE CLIENTS

1. A total cost estimate will be made of the entire study according to our standard work codes and department functions.

   The latest billable rates will be used (Updates are made periodically to reflect changes in pay rates etc.)

2. The total cost estimate will be divided into FOUR major groups as follows ...

   1. Polling-survey .. Includes all standard costs needed to perform basic study

   2. Coding ..... Applies only when open ended questions are used

   3. Analysis and Delivery..... Costs are in direct relation to size of analysis to be written. Delivery is a client/MOR decision factor

   4. Data Processing Computer..... Costs are in direct relation to number of "computer"tables to be developed for client's question responses

      Should only a "flash/marginal" of data be desired no charge will be made to client

3. Within each of the four major group costs THE CLIENT COSTS was distributed by ....

   1. Polling-survey .. By number of responses EACH CLIENT is asking on questionnaire and will receive data or flash for such responses

      If multiple distribution on response percentage breakdown is on total responses being distributed

   2. Coding ..... Allocated by the number of open ended questions or responses each client will need coded or verbatims taken

   3. Analysis and Delivery ..... Based on size of analysis written for each client and delivery

   4. Data Processing.. Allocated by number of responses (Assumes each client will receive same number of passes or data breaks)

4. The final percentages for each client derived from total costs per client against the total estimate should be used in dividing the Selling Price should it differ from the estimate figure.

FCC Ex No. 7
8/14/86
ILC

RULES

1. Record each and every response

2. Ballots - Count each race as a response

3. Self administered scales ... Count each item as a response including the test scale

4. Respondent selection

   Count each response
   Distribute to all clients UNLESS we have multiple clients desiring different respondent selections

5. Demographics

   WILL NOT BE included in response totals
   .. only special demographics asked by certain clients will be treated as responses

   Assumes demographics are necessary to study to check sample

6. Pre coded open ends

   Will be treated as closed ended questions/require no coding

7. Half Samples

   We will list each response from all 1/2 sampled pages and count in total

   Assumes each response whether on half of the interviews or net will be tabulated and results supplied

8. Approval open end probe ... Counted as one open end

9. First thing open end and good/bad closed ... Count as one open and one closed

R8040715146

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Cost Allocation
U.S. National Omnibus #2
Job no. P85040
September, 1986

	Total	RNC	FFAF	NA
Total Project				
Cost	$70,000	52,390	4,996	12,614
Percentage	100%	74.8	7.1	18.0
Polling/Data Processing				
Cost	$48,088	33,839	2,672	11,577
Percentage	100%	70.370	5.556	24.074
Variables*	108	76	6	26
Coding				
Cost	$ 2,591	518 ✓	1,036	1,036
Percentage	100%	20.000	40.000	40.000
Number	5	1	2	2
Analysis				
Cost	$19,321	18,033**	1,288	--
Percentage	100%	93.333	6.667	--

*There are more variables than question numbers due to filtered questions which are given a question number but are not asked of all respondents.

**Includes the cost of producing and analyzing the perceptual maps.

8804071547

Lee 12/12/85 (2.90 etc)
most recent

12/23/85.

	TOTAL	R	88	B
POLL	46655	76	26	6
O.P.	108	70.370	24.074	5.556
	100.000	(32831)	(11232)	(2592)
Code	2514	1	2	2
	5	20.000	40.000	40.000
	100.000	(502)	(1006)	(1006)
ANALYSIS	18745	(18745)		
	100.000			
If split 150 Pages		140P		10P
		93.333		6.667
		(17496)		(1249)
estimate:	67914	52078	12238	3598
	100.000	76.682	18.020	5.298
Less "Other"		50,829	12238	4,847
100%		74.843%	18.020	7.137%
	*70,000	*52,390	*12,614	*4,996

adding

2304071548

TOPS FORM 3616

		R		
		88		
		B		
1) POLL				
4) DP				
		120	21	6
		81.633	14.622	4.082
		2355	2165	2333
		5		
		71.429		
		2514		1005
9) Analysis	12745	18745		
	100.000	100.000		
Total	79417	67717	8165	3338
				11503

9804071251149

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY LUKENS

FROM: KATHY SMITH

Craig Fuller has the following comments to Mr. Teeter's questionnaire:

1. A great questionnaire.

2. Page 2, Item 16:

   Please consider substituting U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manufacturers.

3. Page 5:

   Please consider adding to the list of names Peter Uberroth and Pat Robertson.

4. Page 6:

   I know you are reluctant to add any additional questions, but I would like you to consider a slightly different approach to the successor line of questioning. Something like the following:

   Since RR cannot serve a third term, some people are considering who best could follow RR. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree that the next President should be:

   1. Experienced in federal government;

   2. Conservative;

   3. Able to articulate new ideas;

   4. Respected by foreign leaders;

   5. Someone now in government;

   6. Someone who worked with RR;

   7. Someone who would keep America competitive;

   8. Someone who would strengthen U.S. defense capabilities;

   9. Someone who would spend more to help to poor;

   10. Someone who whould provide more help to farmers;

(There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas.)

FEC Ex No 1
8/19/88
JLC

8804071150

9/10

Comments due to KS FIO3 PD

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus
Draft Questionnaire #1
Quota N=1500
September 6, 1985

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think it needs significant changes?

3. (IF NEEDS CHANGES, ASK:) What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.
7. We should hlep <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.
8. It is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer.
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.

8804071511

14. is different

:ade for a moment. . .

:hink that trade with other
ing and selling goods, helps the
:my or hurts the United States'

a foreign countries hurt the economy
:elped your local economy, or hasn't
s?

15. [illegible]ing three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

RANDOMIZE

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so American consumers can have the widest choice possible on what to buy

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products

As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. I'm going to read you some things, and for each one, please tell me how much you think each one has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little, or not at all.

RANDOMIZE

subst'd for U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manuf.

16. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies
17. Wage demands by American labor unions
18. Better quality of foreign products
19. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries
20. Cheap labor in foreign countries
21. The selling of goods at less than cost by some foreign companies

22. Do you think our limits on foreign imports should be greater, about the same, or less than they are now?

8804071552

23. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

ROTATE

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

24. Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.

25. Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.

26. A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.

27. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.

28. Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.

29. Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently...

30. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

R8040715153

31. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

32. (IF OPPOSE, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

33. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if the children in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

34. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Do you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack? ("Both" coded as a volunteered response)

35. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

36. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

37. Do you believe that the recent hijacking of the TWA airliner and other recent terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals or small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

8804071514

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about him/her using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

38. Ronald Reagan
39. George Bush
40. Robert Dole
41. Howard Baker
42. Jack Kemp
43. James Thompson
44. Jeanne Kirkpatrick
45. Walter Mondale
46. Ted Kennedy
47. Tip O'Neill
48. Jesse Jackson
49. Mario Cuomo
50. Gary Hart
51. Geraldine Ferraro
52. John Glenn
53. Jane Fonda
54. Jerry Falwell
55. Gerald Ford
56. Jimmy Carter
57. George Wallace
59. Lee Iacocca

Peter Uberroth
Pat Robertson
Jerry Falwell

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

60. The Republican Party
62. The Democratic Party
63. Liberals
64. Conservatives

830407151555

Thinking ahead to 1988 for a moment. . .

65. Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term. Is there anyone, in particular, you would like to see be the next President of the United States? (Who?)

66. As you may know, George Bush may be a candidate for President in 1988. On a zero to ten scale, where zero means you would never consider voting for George Bush for President and ten means you would definitely vote for George Bush for President, where would you place yourself on this scale?

67. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

68. IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. George Bush
b. Bob Dole
c. Howard Baker
d. Jack Kemp
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

69. IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. Ted Kennedy
b. Gary Hart
c. Mario Cuomo
d. Lee Iacocca

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

8804071156

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT NAME AND PARTY)?

RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES

70.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Ted Kennedy, Democrat
71.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Gary Hart, Democrat
72.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Lee Iacocca, Democrat

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

(HALF SAMPLE A)

73A. From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush. PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

74A. Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK: Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

(HALF SAMPLE B)

73B. If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the areas you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

74B. What are the areas you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

8804071517

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

RANDOMIZE

75. Our relations with the Soviet Union
76. The federal budget deficit
77. Taxes
78. Abortion
79. Policies concerning minorities
80. Women's rights
81. National economic policy

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to one hundred scale where 100 means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT

Honesty

82. _____ Ronald Reagan
83. _____ George Bush
84. _____ Ted Kennedy

Concern

85. _____ Ronald Reagan
86. _____ George Bush
87. _____ Ted Kennedy

Leadership

88. _____ Ronald Reagan
89. _____ George Bush
90. _____ Ted Kennedy

Competence

91. _____ Ronald Reagan
92. _____ George Bush
93. _____ Ted Kennedy

8 9 0 4 0 7 1 5 1 5 8

Here are some statements concerning George Bush, in particular, and for each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

94. Bush has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
95. Bush looks like a President.
96. Bush, as President, would keep us out of war.
97. Bush sounds like a President.
98. Bush, as President, would keep our country prosperous.
99. Bush acts like a President.

8804071559

Background Questions

100. Party identification
101. Past Party identification
102. Past voting behavior
103. Registered voter
104. Ideology
105. Age
106. Education
107. Employment status
108. Occupation
109. Health, education, welfare occupation
110. Marital status
111. Spouse employment status
112. Union/teacher household
113. Farm household
114. Religion
115. Frequency of church attendance
116. Reborn
117. Income
118. Race
119. Sex

ORIGINAL

86 AUG 26 P2:05
GCCA/1338

Stenographic Transcripts Of

HEARINGS

Before The

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

MUR 2133

Deposition of Robert T. Teeter

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
86 AUG 27 A10:15

8804075160

JULY 30, 1986

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MILTON, DAWSON, MINSON, INC.

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

(Notary Public: D.C.-Virginia-Maryland)

515 WYTHE STREET, SUITE #309 ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

(703) 836-2020

ORIGINAL

6

FEC Ex. No. 8
7/30/86

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 9, 1985, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1985 whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than October 9 for preliminary report.

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate

3. *Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information*

The interpretive report of the survey shall become the property of client after delivery of the report to client by MORC and the payment to MORC of the full fee provided in paragraph 2. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least two years and give client reasonable access to them. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising and public relations, the information obtained in the survey or included in the interpretive report without the written consent of client, provided, however, if the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by client or anyone else acting for client or on its behalf, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the method of obtaining the interviews including the size and design of the sample and the basis of the data if the sample is less than the total sample, the dates and times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the client's name. Client agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report that client or such other person will first notify MORC in writing and the [illegible] release, speech, or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by MORC. Client agrees at all times both during the term of this Agreement and thereafter, to keep in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of MORC and not to disclose or make known such knowledge or information to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of MORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by MORC. Client further understands and agrees that the names or addresses of interviewers used by MORC and the names and addresses of persons sampled are confidential and will not be made available to client.

[illegible]

Client may cancel this survey at any time prior to [illegible] days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event written notice of cancellation is received by MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the client with respect to said survey shall be refunded in full. In the event that the written notice of cancellation of a survey is received by MORC less than seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, MORC shall be entitled to [illegible]

[illegible]

5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client
Mr. William Greener
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

If to MORC
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
Suite 1000
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Attn: Robert Teeter

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

7. *Additional provisions*

Client is a political committee with a chairman and a treasurer at least one of whom has authorized this expenditure by said committee as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and, as such, client has assured MORC that it will account for and disclose the cost of this survey as an expenditure as required by said Act and otherwise comply with any other applicable Federal or State law in connection with this matter.

MORC reserves the right to use the findings from this survey in anonymous form as to the specific population and client for purposes of aggregate and comparative analysis to be made available to other clients of MORC or publications

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

BY _____

Its _____
(Client)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

BY _____

Its _____

WP (B)

Wednesday, December 4, 1985 A3

RNC Polls Voters' Sentiment on Bush

Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican National Committee has conducted a major poll to assess personal and political perceptions of Vice President Bush, provoking angry protests from his probable competitors for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) charged yesterday that the poll, which cost an estimated $40,000 to $60,000, violates GOP rules that the RNC be completely neutral.

"I didn't know that the RNC had become a Bush headquarters," Dole said.

Former Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., a prospective candidate, said, "I'm surprised and [illegible] someone ought to be fired."

"This is a clear-cut of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being financed by the RNC with three purposes, including an examination "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for president in 1988."

William Greener, the committee's political director, said this description is inaccurate and that the RNC and Bush entered into a complex arrangement under which the committee will pay only for those portions of the poll that relate to general issues and job performance.

The remaining part of the poll, which specifically tests Bush's political strength compared with that of his probable competitors, will be paid for by Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, according to Greener and to Robert Teeter, who conducted the poll.

Teeter, who runs Market Opinion Research, supports Bush.

After an afternoon of private meetings to discuss how the poll was developed, Teeter, Greener and other Bush backers provided the following description of its origins.

Initially, they said, Teeter contracted with the RNC for a poll testing voters' views of many public figures, including leading candidates for the 1988 presidential nomination.

Then Bush and RNC Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. discussed the poll and Bush asked that questions on terrorism and international trade be added. The cost of these questions would be paid by the RNC.

Later, Teeter, along with Lee Atwater, a consultant supporting Bush, and William Phillips, Fahrenkopf's chief of staff, agreed to add a series of directly political questions about Bush for which Bush's political action committee would pay, in a process called "piggy-backing."

At the time when that arrangement, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

Teeter said that the copy of the poll obtained by The Washington Post inaccurately is described as a poll commissioned by the RNC. He said that the description was a clerical error and that the copy was, in fact, the version that was provided to Bush's PAC.

The 82-page document is designed to explore Bush's strengths and weaknesses with the Republican primary electorate and the broader general electorate, to rate him against Dole, Baker and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and to examine how Bush can use such issues as terrorism and international trade to build support for his prospective candidacy.

The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:

"It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to define [illegible] Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences and how Bush [illegible] good will toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image."

Teeter said yesterday that a very [illegible] version of the poll will be [illegible] added that he could not estimate how the RNC and Bush's PAC will share this expense.

8804075164

WP

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1985 A3

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Survey for '88 Campaign Angers Rivals

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

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"This is a slam-dunk of a violation" of federal election law, said James Cannon, who runs Baker's Republican Majority Fund.

Accompanying the poll is a cover letter describing it as being financed by the RNC with three purposes, including an examination "of voter support for Vice President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for president in 1988."

William Greener, the committee's political director, said this description is inaccurate and that the RNC and Bush entered into a complex arrangement under which the committee will pay only for those portions of the poll that relate to general issues and job performance.

The remaining part of the poll, which specifically tests Bush's political strength compared with that of his probable competitors, will be paid for by Bush's political action committee, the Fund for America's Future, according to Greener and to Robert Teeter, who conducted the poll.

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In the time since that arrangement, Phillips left the RNC to become executive director of the Fund for America's Future, Bush's PAC.

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The document is not only a political assessment of Bush, but also a campaign strategy paper. It says:

"It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and [President] Reagan's term comes to a close to define [illegible] and Reagan are related, where there are differences and how Bush [illegible] good will toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image."

Teeter said yesterday that a very different version of the poll will be provided to the RNC. The cost, he said, [illegible] about $75,000. But he added that he could not estimate how the RNC and Bush's PAC will share this expense.

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PROCEDURE FOR COST BREAKDOWN AMONG MULTIPLE CLIENTS

FEC Ex No. 13
7/30/86
E.J.

1. A total cost estimate will be made of the entire study according to our standard work codes and department functions.

   The latest billable rates will be used (Updates are made periodically to reflect changes in pay rates etc.)

2. The total cost estimate will be divided into FOUR major groups as follows ...

   1. Polling-survey .. Includes all standard costs needed to perform basic study

   2. Coding ..... Applies only when open ended questions are used

   3. Analysis and Delivery..... Costs are in direct relation to size of analysis to be written. Delivery is a client/MOR decision factor

   4. Data Processing Computer..... Costs are in direct relation to number of "computer"tables to be developed for client's question responses

      Should only a "flash/marginal" of data be desired no charge will be made to client

3. Within each of the four major group costs THE CLIENT COSTS was distributed by ....

   1. Polling-survey .. By number of responses EACH CLIENT is asking on questionnaire and will receive data or flash for such responses

      If multiple distribution on response percentage breakdown is on total responses being distributed

   2. Coding ..... Allocated by the number of open ended questions or responses each client will need coded or verbatims taken

   3. Analysis and Delivery ..... Based on size of analysis written for each client and delivery

   4. Data Processing.. Allocated by number of responses (Assumes each client will receive same number of passes or data breaks)

4. The final percentages for each client derived from total costs per client against the total estimate should be used in dividing the Selling Price should it differ from the estimate figure.

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RULES

1. **Record each and every response**

2. **Ballots - Count each race as a response**

3. **Self administered scales ... Count each item as a response including the test scale**

4. **Respondent selection**

   Count each response
   Distribute to all clients UNLESS we have multiple clients desiring different respondent selections

5. **Demographics**

   WILL NOT BE included in response totals
   .. only special demographics asked by certain clients will be treated as responses

   Assumes demographics are necessary to study to check sample

6. Pre coded open ends

   Will be treated as closed ended questions/require no coding

7. Half Samples

   We will list each response from all 1/2 sampled pages and count in total

   Assumes each response whether on half of the interviews or not will be tabulated and results supplied

8. Approval open end probe ... Counted as one open end

9. First thing open end and good/bad closed ... Count as one open and one closed

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Cost Allocation
U.S. National Omnibus #2
Job no. P85040
September, 1986

	Total	RNC	FFAF	NA
Total Project				
Cost	$70,000	52,390	4,996	12,614
Percentage	100%	74.8	7.1	18.0
Polling/Data Processing				
Cost	$48,088	33,839	2,672	11,577
Percentage	100%	70.370	5.556	24.074
Variables*	108	76	6	26
Coding				
Cost	$ 2,591	518	1,036	1,036
Percentage	100%	20.000	40.000	40.000
Number	5	1	2	2
Analysis				
Cost	$19,321	18,033**	1,288	--
Percentage	100%	93.333	6.667	--

*There are more variables than question numbers due to filtered questions which are given a question number but are not asked of all respondents.

**Includes the cost of producing and analyzing the perceptual maps.

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See 12/12/85 most recent (2.90 Ste)

12/23/85.

	TOTAL	R	88	B
POLL D.P.	46655	76	26	6
	108	70.370	24.074	5.556
	100.000	(32831)	(11232)	(2592)
Code	2514	1	2	2
	5	20.000	40.000	40.000
	100.000	(502)	(1006)	(1006)
ANALYSIS	18745	(18745)		
	100.000			
If split 150 Pages		140P		10P
		93.333		6.667
		(17496)		(1249)
estimate:	67914	52078	12238	3598
	100.000	76.682	18.020	5.298
Less "Other"		50,829	12238	4,847
	100%	74.843%	18.020	7.137%
selling price	*70,000	*52,390	*12,614	*4,996

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TOPS FORM 3616
LITHO IN U. S. A.

12/16/85

		R 88 B		
1) POLL				
4) DP	3953	120	21	6
	147	81.633	17.822	4.022
		(46355)	(2165)	(2333)
5) Code	3617	5	—	5
	7	71.429		22.571
		(2514)		(1005)
6) Analysis	18745	(18745)		
	100.000	100.000		
Total	79417	67714	8165	3338
				11503

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10

FEC Ex. 15
7/30/86 E.H.

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, depose and say:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a corporation with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf (the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC))and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. The RNC is a long-standing client of MOR. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the issues and details of the poll with Bill Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief ot Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll.

5. Several days earlier, in a conversation I was having with Vice President George Bush, he made a brief comment that I should expect such a call from Fahrenkopf, who was going to commission MOR to do a poll which would include questions of interest to the Vice President. The Vice President did not say anything that indicated

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in any way that he, himself, was commissioning the poll or that it had been commissioned at his request.

6. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll should identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election, measure voter attitudes on national issues and measure the awareness and perception of major political figures. The design of the questionnaire and the questions to be used were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

7. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned discussions with Fahrenkopf and Phillips (RNC), I met with Lee Atwater (a volunteer adviser to the Vice President) and Phillips to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

8. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late Summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed.

9. At about this same time and pursuant to my mentioned discussion with Fahrenkopf, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, and asked him what issues he wanted to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the poll should cover the issues of trade and terrorism.

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10. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then also become associated (as an unpaid political consultant) with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include whatever questions I thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President.

11. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll with the following issues:

(a) to measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) to measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) to measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) to determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

12. During this questionnaire design stage, I gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to Fuller, and he and I discussed the questionnaire with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues. A few days later, Fuller suggested to MOR that it make three changes to the questionnaire. These were a suggested change to a trade question, the addition of names to the list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next President. Some of these suggestions were accepted by MOR.

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13. MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, and I called Greener and told him that the poll would cost $70,000. Greener approved this charge. The charge was determined by MOR in its normal business manner using its customary rates.

14. Except for the discussions with Fuller described in paragraph 12, neither the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, approved the questionnaire - the design of the specific questionnaire having been left to MOR's expertise.

15. The questions in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed them to be appropriate. MOR also believed that all of the questions MOR used including the 1988 election questions were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election.

16. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985, through September 25, 1985.

17. On September 19, 1985, MOR invoiced the RNC $70,000, the agreed on cost for the poll. Nothing has been paid by the RNC on the invoice and reminder invoices for the $70,000 have been sent to it. The stage of MOR's work on the poll at which the invoice was sent to the RNC is in accordance with MOR's normal business practice.

18. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote two separate analyses of the poll. The first analysis emphasized the perception

R 8 0 4 0 7 0 5 1 7 4

a written analysis?

of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issues and other national issues. The second analysis emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues. It is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data to cover the various interests of parties involved in the poll.

19. The first analysis was presented by me at a meeting on November 13, 1985, which was one of a number of meetings I was having at this time with the Vice President, his Chief of Staff (Fuller) and Atwater, and copies of the analyses were given to them. Copies of the second analysis were delivered to Greener on December 19, 1985.

20. In December, 1985, MOR was advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions.

21. MOR was also advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. This was the first time MOR became aware that the FFAF would be paying anything for the poll. At this same time MOR was asked by the FFAF to prepare a revised analysis

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to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

22. It was evident to MOR that there was a serious disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this particular situation were that the issues to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

23. Following its customary practice to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had negotiating sessions with both the RNC and the FFAF. As a result, MOR has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions which the RNC agreed it had authorized MOR to poll, and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll), covering only those questions concerning the perception of the Vice President. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614, (a 18.1% portion of the poll), apparently will have to be absorbed by MOR. In making these allocations, MOR used its normal and customary method of allocating costs for multi-client polls. This settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial. This poll was done by MOR in the regular course of

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its business with the intent to be paid in full for its work. The proposed settlement of the bill was for business reasons. MOR had no intent that there be a contribution by it to anybody.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19 day of March 1986.

TRACY PACIOREK
Notary Public, Macomb County, Mich.
Acting in Wayne County
My Commission Expires March 28, 1989

Notary Public
County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

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9

FEC Ex. 14
7/30/86 EB

FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION
MUR 2133

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, state:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a company with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr., the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC), a long-standing client of MOR, and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the details of the poll with ~~William~~ BILL Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to Vice President Bush, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll. The design of the questionnaire and the specific questions to be used to cover the subjects were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

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5. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll in general was to identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election and measure voter attitudes on national issues and major political figures.

6. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned conversations with Fahrenkopf and Phillips, Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President), Phillips and I met to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

7. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed.

8. At about this time, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, to ask him what issues the Vice President might like to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the Vice President would like the poll to cover the issues of trade and terrorism. No other questions were requested by Fuller or the Vice President's staff. The Vice President himself did not request any questions.

9. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then become associated with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include the perception of the Vice President.

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10. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll, with the following objectives, to

(a) Measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) Measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) Measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) Determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) Determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

11. During this questionnaire design stage, I had a meeting with Fuller in Washington. At this meeting, among other nonrelated matters, we discussed the specific draft questions on the trade and terrorism issues, which the MOR staff had prepared and which I had brought with me to show Fuller. Fuller called me a day or two later and said he had thought about the questions I had shown him and had some suggestions, which MOR adopted.

12. MOR completed drafting of the questionnaire and determined the cost for the poll using MOR's usual and normal rates. I called Greener and told him that the cost for the entire poll would be $70,000. Greener agreed.

13. Except for the discussions concerning the trade and terrorism questions at no time did the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, review the questionnaire, approve it or ask for any specific questions, the question having been left to MOR's expertise.

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14. The areas in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed that the questions and approach used were within the broad authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admitedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically requested questions relating to the 1988 election. (Thank God)

15. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985 through September 25, 1985. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote separate analyses of the poll, one for the FFAF (the FFAF Analysis) and one for the RNC (the RNC Analysis). The FFAF Analysis, the Foreword to which erroneously stated that it was for the RNC, emphasized the public's perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election and the national issues of trade and terrorism. The RNC Analysis emphasized the public's attitude on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues.

16. Copies of the FFAF Analysis were delivered to Atwater, for the FFAF, Fuller and the Vice President. Several copies of the RNC Analysis were, some time later, delivered to Greener for the RNC.

17. MOR was subsequently advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election, since the RNC had not authorized those questions. MOR also was

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advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. At this same time, MOR was asked by the FFAF to rewrite the analysis with the purpose of showing how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

18. It was evident that there was a serious but good faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC and the FFAF as to what was or was not to be covered in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this situation were that the specific areas to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

19. Following its customary practices to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had several negotiating sessions with each client. MOR will has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions that the RNC agreed it had asked MOR to poll and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll) covering only those questions which FFAF agreed it had authorized MOR to poll. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614 (an 18.1% portion of the poll) will have to be absorbed by MOR. [illegible] and customary method of allocating costs in

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multi-client polls in making these allocations and this settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial.

20. I have attached to this Affidavit a copy of the questionnaire noting on the questionnaire which questions were allocated to the RNC, which questions were allocated to the FFAF, and which were not allocated to either client.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this ___ day of March 1986.

_____, Notary Public
_____ County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

880407 0518 3

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - :
:
In Re: MUR 2133 :
:
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - :

Wednesday, July 30, 1986

Washington, D. C.

Deposition of:

ROBERT M. TEETER

a witness, called for examination by counsel for the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to subpoena, and agreement of the parties as to time and place, and commencing at approximately 2:07 p.m., in the Office of the General Counsel, Sixth Floor Conference Room, Federal Election Commission, 999 "E" Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., before Elisabeth Griffin, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

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APPEARANCES:

On behalf of the Commission:

JONATHAN LEVIN, Esq., and
LOIS G. LERNER, Esq.,
Assistant General Counsels
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On behalf of the Respondent:

GEORGE H. MEYER, Esq.
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Also present: Dennis Driscoll, Esq.
Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford

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PROCEEDINGS

Whereupon,

ROBERT M. TEETER

called as a witness by counsel for the Federal Election Commission, and having been duly sworn by the Notary Public, was examined, and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE COMMISSION

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Would you state your name for the record?

A. Robert M. Teeter.

Q. Your business address?

A. 550 Washington Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

Q. Your occupation?

A. I am president of Market Opinion Research.

MR. DRISCOLL: Excuse me, would you mind giving us a copy of those questions?

MS. LERNER: Yes, I would. Let's go off the record for a minute.

(Discussion off the record.)

MR. MEYER: When we responded to your subpoena, there were some papers that were not included. The papers that were not included was because the person who assembled

the papers didn't think that they were required, were those papers that you already have, such as a copy of the Complaint, a copy of the newspaper articles, a copy of the correspondence between the agency and Mr. Teeter, and a note that was in a file which you do not have from the person who assembled the documents to Mr. Teeter saying here's the files.

You are welcome to see these right now to be sure. We would like to have them available. Take a look at those. (Counsel proffering documents to Commission counsel.)

I wanted to attempt to summarize our discussions of the last day for the record, if I might.

MR. LEVIN: I think that would be helpful.

MR. MEYER: We, being counsel for Market Opinion and Mr. Teeter, were advised yesterday, and I understand you were, that the Republican National Committee and the Vice President and I gather the Fund had requested a pre-probable cause conciliation with the formal request to be made today in writing, and that this included a specific settlement proposal.

These requests also included a request that the deposition portion of the investigation be postponed until the Commission decided on the conciliation.

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I asked you yesterday, Mr. Levin, as soon as I heard about this, to postpone Mr. Teeter's deposition for a week until this all got sorted out, since his deposition might prove to be unnecessary, and postponing it might avoid the cost and expenses of the deposition. You declined.

I again asked you and Ms. Lerner today to postpone the deposition and if you felt you couldn't do so to formally refer this request to the Commission. I said if the postponement of the deposition were granted, we would be available whenever you would like us to be available.

We were advised by Ms. Lerner that the Commission had a policy not to consider a conciliation until its investigation was completed, and that this had been verified with your Mr. Steele, and we were asked to appear here in the proceedings, which is the reason we are now here.

We made these requests in good faith, believing them to be reasonable and proper and appropriate under your rules, and we of course do not concur with your decision to decline to grant the extension nor your interpretation of the rules that the Commission doesn't have the responsibility to act on our request.

We would like to reserve any rights we have in

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connection with those points. With that in mind, that summary, we are prepared to proceed with Mr. Teeter's deposition.

MS. LERNER: I would like to clarify a couple of points before we go on. If I gave you the impression that the Commission would not consider a conciliation request prior to the investigation being completed, then I am sorry; that was not what I meant to get across to you.

The Commission will consider any request that is made formally in writing. But generally what the Commission does in circumstances where there is an on-going investigation and it has not completed that investigation is to determine not to enter into pre-probable cause conciliation at that time, meaning that it will reconsider the request at the time its investigation is complete.

You had specifically asked me to postpone the deposition until such time as the Commission had considered this request, and as I told you at that time because of our scheduling and the way that we have to present matters to the Commission, we would be unable to do that today and that I would discuss with Mr. Steele, the General Counsel, about how we should proceed.

After discussing the matter with Mr. Steele, it

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was determined that the best course under the circumstances was to go forward with the deposition, and in the event that we do in fact receive a formal request for pre-probable cause conciliation, we will of course present that to the Commission.

MR. MEYER: I think the issues are clear at this stage. We have requested the deposition be postponed, we think that is the proper thing to do. Staff has declined to grant that request. We are prepared to go ahead now because we have been subpoenaed and directed to do so by the agency.

BY MR. LEVIN (resuming):

Q. Mr. Teeter, have you ever been deposed before?

A. I don't think so. I can't remember exactly, I don't recall it.

Q. I am going to ask you a series of questions. If at any time you do not understand the question I ask, tell me that you do not understand it and I will either repeat the question or try to rephrase the question so that you do understand it.

If you fail to tell me that you did not understand the question, I will assume that you do understand and we will proceed from there. Is that clear?

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A. Yes.

Q. Are you represented by counsel here today?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you state your counsel's name for the record?

A. Yes. George H. Meyer and Dennis Driscoll.

Q. They are representing you personally?

A. Yes, and Market Opinion. They are the regular corporate counsel of Market Opinion.

Q. Since your receipt of the Complaint, have you consulted with anybody about this matter, MUR 2133?

A. You mean talked to them?

Q. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. With whom have you talked?

A. At various times I have had conversations with my own counsel, with Mr. Baran, with Mr. Atwater, Mr. Phillips, I guess Mr. Fuller. I have talked to a number of people at FAF, Ms. Holliday.

Q. Is that Edie Holliday of Fund for America's Future?

A. Edie Holliday of Fund for America's Future. The word "consult," I don't know, from the time we received it also had some cursory conversations with Mr. Greener. I don't

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know about consult, I don't think I have consulted with him. I mean, if consult means if the subject has come up in any conversations --

Q. What has the nature of these conversations been?

A. They are all different. It depends on who you are talking about.

Q. What was the nature of your conversations with Mr. Baran and what was said in those conversations?

A. There were several, because I talked to Mr. Baran on other matters from time to time. I talked to him about the Complaint, about the fact that it was filed I guess in the first instance, the allegations that were made in the Complaint, what my view of that was, what my response would be to that Complaint and I guess what his response would be on behalf of the Fund or the Vice President, who he was representing.

Q. How did you come to speak to Mr. Baran about this matter?

A. First of all, I speak to Mr. Baran about matters fairly regularly because he represents in FEC matters other clients of ours, as well as he represents the Fund and Vice President Bush. So I talk to him off and on. I don't recall exactly what the first conversation was after I received the

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Complaint, whether he called me or whether I called him. But we had at that point I think a telephone conversation about it. I think I asked him at that point what the procedure was or what this Complaint meant.

Q What has been the nature of your conversations with Mr. Atwater?

MR. MEYER: Mr. Levin, would you tell me, please, what the relevancy of these questions are?

MR. LEVIN: The relevance of these questions is Mr. Teeter is here obviously to give testimony and this matter involves a number of the people that he has mentioned. I think it goes to the presentation by Mr. Teeter of the facts here.

MR. MEYER: Are you attempting to impeach him before he even starts? Is that what you are trying to do?

MR. LEVIN: I have made no attempt to impeach him. I think it certainly is relevant to his testimony that he tell me who he has spoken to. It may arise in other questions.

MR. MEYER: I think he has responded to your question. He has told you who he has spoken to. I don't see that the events after the filing of the Complaint have any relevancy to the hearing.

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So if you want to ask him who he has spoken to, he has identified those persons; if it is the substance of those discussions that you are looking for I think no foundation has been laid for it and I don't believe it is relevant.

MS. LERNER: I would have to disagree with you there considering that the Commission is conducting an investigation in this matter and that some of these parties are involved in that investigation, and part of the Commission's determination will be based on what type of credibility it can give to the various testimony that it will hear.

I think it is important for the Commission to know whether the people who are going to appear at the depositions have spoken to each other concerning the issues and the testimony that may be given.

MR. MEYER: If the question is whether they have addressed one another and what they are going to say here, I think you can ask that.

THE WITNESS: Would you define "consult" a little more? Because that question, I don't know whether that involves a casual -- obviously I had casual conversations with people in our own company about it. I am not sure I can give you a comprehensive list of anybody I ever discussed

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it with.

MR. LEVIN: I think you have redefined it correctly. I am interested in those discussions that you have had about this matter.

THE WITNESS: Then that would be the people that I mentioned. I think I mentioned Mr. Fuller, Mr. Baran, Ms. Holliday, Atwater, Phillips. I am not sure that is a comprehensive list. I might have talked to somebody else, but those would be the primary ones.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. We will phrase it this way. Did you speak to Mr. Atwater about the testimony you are about to give?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you speak to Mr. Phillips about the testimony you are about to give?

A. No.

Q. Did you speak to Mr. Fuller about this testimony?

A. No.

Q. To Ms. Holliday?

A. I discussed the fact that I am testifying with her, yes.

Q. Did you discuss the substance of your testimony?

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A. No, I have not.

Q. Did you discuss your testimony with Mr. Greener?

A. No.

Q. What does Market Opinion Research do?

A. It is a market research company, it provides various kinds of market research to a wide variety of clients. A lot of it has to do with sample surveys of various kinds of market research. The [Fulpas] Group research, modeling, analysis of demographic information, analysis of Census data, political trends. We provide that to commercial clients, Government clients, political clients, media clients.

It is a wide range of market research services.

Q. When did your firm begin operations?

A. 1941.

Q. How long have you been with the firm?

A. Since 1966.

Q. When did the firm begin doing polls for political clients, for elected officials, candidates, political committees?

A. I can't answer that with certainty, but we believe in the 1940's.

Q. So almost from the commencement of the firm?

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A. Yes.

Q. What does your job entail at Market Opinion Research?

A. I have a variety of jobs. I am president of the company and have a range of administrative responsibilities and management responsibilities there. I also deal with a number of clients, both political and non-political, in terms of sales, marketing, designing studies, working on whatever projects we are doing.

Q. Do you have the ultimate day-to-day decision-making power at Market Opinion Research?

A. A portion of that. I share that with Mr. Currier. who is the chairman of the company, Fred Currier who is the chairman of the company. He is the chief executive officer. I am the chief operating officer.

Q. So does that entail that he would have more of a policy role and you a day-to-day role?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. Do you and your firm conduct polls commissioned or requested by Vice President George Bush?

A. We have not since he has been Vice President. I conducted polls for now-Vice President Bush when he was a candidate for President in 1980.

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Q. And no time since?

A. No time since.

Q. Anytime before?

A. Before 1980?

Q. Before 1980.

A. Probably in 1979, yes. I think the 1980 campaign would include 1979.

Q. How many polls did you conduct for George Bush?

A. I don't know the answer to that. It would have been several having to do with a variety of primaries that occurred in 1980, there would have been several lasting through the primary season.

I couldn't without going back to look tell you exactly how many.

Q. Do you conduct polls for the Republican National Committee?

A. Yes, as well as other kinds of research.

Q. How long have you conducted polls for the RNC?

A. It has been sporadic. We do it on a basis -- I don't know when the first time was we conducted a poll for the RNC or a research project for them, but it probably was in the late 1960's or mid-1960's to late-1960's.

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We have done it periodically. I won't say regularly which implies more frequently, but since then on a somewhat regular basis.

Q. Just a ballpark figure, about how many polls would this involve?

A. Going back to the 1960's?

Q. Back to that point.

A. That is a very difficult question.

Q. How many polls a year do you conduct now for the Republican National Committee?

A. We conduct several kinds of specialized polls. I assume you are not talking about only national polls. They are specialized research projects. If you mean polls, do you mean sample surveys as opposed to a demographic analysis or some other kind of market research?

Specifically when you say poll, are you referring to a sample survey?

Q. Well, let's say projects. I don't want to belabor the point. I am just trying to get a sense of --

A. Well, I guess this year we are involved in three, four, five, six projects of various kinds for the National Committee.

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Q How many projects last year?

A I don't know, probably two or three. I can go back and find that out, but I --

Q When you conduct a poll for the RNC or one of these projects, what happens? I mean, does Frank Fahrenkopf contact you? How does that operate?

A It varies greatly depending on who the Chairman is and on what the particular kind of project is. No, he does not usually -- they are often done -- there are two kinds of polls, I guess, that we ought to differentiate, that we would do for the National Committee.

One is a poll that would be designed to be entirely used for their purpose. Another would be a kind of poll which they were using for their own purpose and also sharing for a specific campaign. It might be a statewide poll in some state in a Governor's race or a Senate race in which they were making an in-kind contribution by paying for that poll and sharing it with the candidate.

So those are two different kinds of projects. The majority of projects would be the second kind where they were directed toward some specific kind of campaign that was going on and they were helping or that they were interested in.

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In doing that you would be working with someone who was responsible for the RNC's efforts in that campaign. That could be, under the current administration at the RNC, the political director, Mr. Greener, or it could be one of his deputies. Or in some cases it might be a field person who was responsible for that area who we are working with.

So it would vary. It would not generally be Mr. Fahrenkopf, although he would be the user, one of the users of that kind of data.

Q In a situation like that do you work with someone in the campaign who is being assisted?

A Often, yes. Usually in a campaign like that where you are working -- or doing a joint project where a campaign is paying for a portion of the poll and the RNC is paying for a portion of the poll and they both could use it, you would then often work with someone in each, in the campaign and someone at the RNC.

But it would usually be someone in the political division of the RNC. The RNC, as you know, over the years the internal organization changes a great deal. Sometimes they have had a research director there who has specifically been charged with dealing with suppliers of research, for

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all of their research. So during those periods you worked with that research director.

I would say for the majority of time, if you want to go back to the 1960's, that has been true. It is not true now. That kind of work is done for someone in the political division.

Q. Mr. Teeter, the questions to come will refer to the poll that is the subject of this matter, the poll conducted from September 17th through the 25th, unless the question I ask specifically indicates otherwise.

When were you first contacted about doing this poll?

A. I can't find the exact date, but it was early 1985. My guess is maybe February, but within a month or two. I don't recall. But it would have been early 1985 the first time I heard about this poll.

Q. Who contacted you?

A. Do you mean who first contacted me about doing it or where I first heard about it?

Q. Where you first heard about it.

A. The first time I heard about it was in a casual conversation, a telephone conversation about other matters

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that I was having with Vice President Bush.

Q. What was said in that conversation with reference to the poll?

A. It was very brief. He said that he had had a discussion or a conversation at some point shortly before that with Frank Fahrenkopf and that he understood that Fahrenkopf was going to ask us to do a poll for him and that he had offered to include any questions or areas of interest to the Vice President.

That was about it. He presumed that I would hear from Fahrenkopf.

Q. Did the Vice President say why Mr. Fahrenkopf offered to include questions of interest to the Vice President?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. Did you ask?

A. No, I didn't. It was part of another telephone conversation and I think I gave you really the extent of the conversation.

Q. How did you lead into this area, this subject area?

A. I didn't lead into it.

Q. He brought it up just out of the blue?

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A. He just mentioned it. We were talking on the telephone about some other things and he said -- this is not a direct quote, I can't remember his exact words -- but he said something along the lines that he had had a meeting or a conversation with Fahrenkopf sometime previously and Fahrenkopf had mentioned to him that he was going to have us do some polling and had offered to let the Vice President include any questions or areas of interest to him.

I believe that was the extent of it.

Q. Whom did you speak to next with reference to this poll?

A. Mr. Fahrenkopf.

Q. When was that?

A. I don't know exactly, but within a week or two weeks after that.

Q. So are we talking still in February or into early March?

A. I don't want to say, frankly, that it was in February for sure. It was in early 1985. I can't figure that out, exactly when it was. But sometime shortly after my conversation with Vice President Bush -- by that, I mean a week or two -- Chairman Fahrenkopf called me and said that he

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would like us to do some polling for the RNC and that he had discussed it, among other things, with Vice President Bush and offered to include any areas of interest to the Vice President that he would like to have covered.

One other point. I believe he said something along the lines of he had discussed kind of what the Vice President's perception was, the level of his political support, after the 1984 campaign was over. He had been a major campaigner, and he told the Vice President if he would like to know anything about that, or some specific issues, he would be happy to include it.

And then told me that in preparing this poll or designing it some of the ideas that he had that had to do with really kind of a measurement of Republican coalition in the country at that time, and told me for whatever Vice President Bush's input I should feel free to contact him or his staff.

Q. Did he mention any specific issues?

A. No, he did not. Well, he did not mention any specific issues. He told me then to go ahead and deal with Bill Phillips, who at that time I believe was his chief of staff, although I am not sure of the title, Mr. Fahrenkopf's.

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Q So Mr. Phillips was with the Republican National Committee at that point?

A Yes. Mr. Phillips was at the Republican National Committee and he told me to go ahead and deal with him. It was a very brief conversation.

Q During these conversations were any specific members of the Vice President's staff referred to?

A Not to my recollection.

Q Mr. Atwater was not referred to?

A No.

Q Mr. Fuller was not referred to?

A Not to my recollection.

Q During either of these conversations was any specific reference made to the Fund for America's Future?

A No. I don't believe the Fund for America's Future was in existence at that time. These were very preliminary conversations, and there was really no discussion of any specifics of the area the poll would cover or the timing of the poll.

Q To whom did you speak after that, to Mr. Phillips?

A To Mr. Phillips.

Q When was that?

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A. I spoke to Mr. Phillips sometime a few weeks later. I don't know whether it was one week, two weeks, three weeks, but sometime in late winter or early spring. After that, I think I called Phillips and said that I had had -- well, this was probably the first conversation and was sooner than that, it probably was within a week or two.

I called Phillips and told him I had had this conversation with Fahrenkopf, which he was aware of, and that I assumed it was up to Phillips and myself to work out the details of the poll.

I am not sure whether it was in that conversation or not, because again we are dealing with people who I talk to regularly on all kinds of other matters. So sometimes you spend two minutes on this subject and five minutes on something else. It is tough to delineate those conversations.

At sometime in that conversation, or one very soon thereafter, I said to Mr. Phillips that I thought that that poll ought not to be done right then at that time because we would still be measuring too many of the effects of the 1984 campaign which was just over and I thought it would be in my judgment better, given what the various purposes of the poll might be, to delay it and do it sometime later in the year.

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and he agreed with that.

Q. Were there any other conversations with Mr. Phillips as to what the poll should include?

A. There was a -- well, only in the same general terms that I have already mentioned. The poll did not come up again in any conversations. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Atwater and I had a meeting sometime after that, and it would still have been in the spring of 1985, in which another variety of subjects were discussed, but the poll did come up.

I believe at that point I reiterated my suggestion that it was still too early to do it and that we ought to delay it until a further time and everybody agreed with that. We may have discussed, again in almost the same terms I have already, the very general purposes of the poll, which in my mind were relatively clear -- not precise -- but the general purposes were to measure the kind of Republican coalition.

Q. Would you just explain that?

A. The reason that I thought a poll should be done is that there have been a great deal of changes from 1980 to 1984 in the makeup of the two political parties. What I was seeking to do in the first instance is do a poll sometime after the 1984 campaign to say how does the Republican Party

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and its members and coalition and its perception compare at that point to what it was four years and two years ahead of that. Obviously there has been a lot of talk about realignment and I have done a lot of speaking and writing about that subject -- and polling, for that matter.

And I thought at that point that was kind of a major thrust of it. Also at this point that we were going to cover the perception of the Vice President or anything specific.

I guess the first conversation would have been that meeting at which it was not discussed in detail but it may have been I think mentioned.

Q. This is the meeting between you, Atwater and Phillips?

A. Yes.

Q. Go ahead.

A. It was discussed in general that the poll was going to cover some of these general party things and things of interest to the Vice President. At that point we had not gone into any specifics of what the questions might be or even the precise things because the only thing we had really agreed on was it was a good idea to postpone it and delay it

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for some time. So there was no detailed discussion of its purposes or areas it would cover at that point.

Q. What kind of discussion was there? I mean, was any specific issue mentioned, do you recall?

A. No, I don't recall. I remember this being quite a general conversation at that time and the only agreement being to delay.

Q. Who was Mr. Atwater working for at the time? What was his position?

A. Atwater at the time I believe was a partner -- I don't know whether he was a partner or an employee -- of Black, Maniford and Stone, a political consulting firm.

Q. Was he working at all for Mr. Bush, for the Vice President?

MR. MEYER: What time are we talking about?

MR. LEVIN: During this converstaion.

THE WITNESS: This would have been the spring of 1985. I don't believe he was an employee of the Vice President. He clearly at that time was a political friend or advisor to the Vice President. He was neither an employee or a paid consultant.

BY MR. LEVIN:

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Q What I an curious about is why Mr. Atwater would have been involved in this conversation.

A I think there were two reasons. One is that he was a political advisor to the Vice President, in the first instance, and secondly, because I think the meeting we were holding had to do with some other political matters which the three of us were involved in.

Q Outside of this poll?

A Yes.

Q Outside of the concerns of the Vice President?

A Yes. Mr. Atwater -- again, I am not sure of this -- but I believe Mr. Atwater was quite possibly a paid consultant to the Republican National Committee.

Q You have referred to a number of conversations that you were involved in. During this time do you know of other contacts during this time involving the people you talked with involving Mr. Fahrenkopf or Mr. Phillips, Mr. Atwater, the Vice President?

MR. MEYER: I am sorry, I don't understand your question.

THE WITNESS: Contacts between me and --

MR. LEVIN: What we have discussed thus far

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are the witness' contacts with various persons, conversations. What I am curious about is the witness' -- your knowledge -- of conversations not involving you but pertaining to the poll and involving the people you spoke to, people like Mr. Phillips, Mr. Atwater, the Vice President.

MR. MEYER: Are you asking him if he knows if they had meetings with somebody else or discussions?

MR. LEVIN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I don't think so, no. I guess I know about those conversations that I had, but I am not aware of any specific discussions or meetings that other people had concerning this subject.

We were at the very preliminary stage at this point.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. So the first conversation that you know of involving any kind of discussion of this poll is the conversation between the Vice President and Mr. Fahrenkopf that the Vice President told you about? That first conversation that we have discussed.

A. Yes.

Q. In the second conversation, the one involving Mr. Phillips, Mr. Atwater and you, you talked about perceptions

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of Vice President Bush. Were these voter perceptions that you were talking about?

A. Yes. I think the public's perception, and in this case the voters. In our business I guess that's exactly the use of the term. It is a fairly precise term and one that is used all the time.

Q. Was there any reference to any possible future candidacy by the Vice President?

A. No, there was not.

Q. What was the purpose of the discussion of these voter perceptions then?

A. I don't know that there was an avowed purpose in the sense that no one told me there was a specific purpose. I think polls are done, at least we do them all the time, for office-holders in which they are interested in what the public thinks about them and what the elements of their perception is.

Perception, as I am using the word, would include any attitudes or thoughts, opinions, that the public would have about a public figure. To my knowledge, there are dozens, hundreds, of polls done every year by incumbent office-holders who are interested in the perception the

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public holds of them. Sometimes those are related specifically to campaigns and sometimes they are not.

Q If they are not related specifically to campaigns who ends up paying for these polls that deal with the perceptions of public office-holders?

A. There is a very wide variety of -- usually some kind of a committee. In the case of certain Governors, States permit office-holder accounts that are used for paying for this kind of thing.

In the case of Federal officials, some kind of a political committee is used generally to pay for the polling. We do it at all levels, and from state to state it varies. Obviously it doesn't vary much in terms of the Federal officials, Congressmen, Senators or the President.

So there would be a wide variety if you included Governors, for whom we do a lot of work. They are interested in measuring issues and attitudes. It is something that public officials do regularly and in my experience have for a long time. It is the essence of our business.

Q At this point did you know that the RNC would be paying for any poll that you might devise along these lines? In other words, the topics of these conversations?

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A. At the meeting?

Q. Yes.

A. At the time of the meeting, yes. It was an RNC proposal clearly.

Q. Now you referred to a decision not to go ahead at this point because of the lingering effects of the 1984 campaign. Was this your decision that others complied with or did someone else make the decision?

A. It was my recommendation that others agreed with.

Q. Did anyone have a decisive say in that?

A. I think ultimately Mr. Phillips did, because at that point he was representing the National Committee who at that point was our client. That was the only body that we were dealing with.

Q. If Mr. Atwater had disagreed what would have happened?

MR. MEYER: I think that is kind of speculative. I don't think you need to answer it.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did Mr. Atwater voice any protest about that decision?

A. No.

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Q. Did the Vice President say anything about that decision?

A. I never discussed it with him after that, after the initial conversation. I am not sure that he knew about the decision, unless he was told by somebody else.

Q. When was your next discussion with someone, outside of Market Opinion Research, concerning the poll?

A. I think there may well have been during the course of the summer conversations that had to do with other things where somebody may have asked me. The next specific conversation that I recall -- I don't want to eliminate totally the fact that somebody may have said something to me about when are we going to do the poll and I said something, and are you thinking about it, working on it, and I said yes, and we had had discussions inside Market Opinions about the ultimate design of it and thoughts about what we wanted to do with it during the course of the summer.

Q. And you were working on it?

A. During the course of the summer, yes, we were working on it in a casual way and only in the sense that this is one of those occasional projects that we do that we consider very important, at least the potential for a design,

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for milestone research, where you measure a point, so we did have some internal discussion about the next national poll we did. During the course of the summer we had some meetings at which we discussed it, and I don't believe we began to prepare the actual poll or questionnaire until late in the summer.

Specifically you said the next conversation. The next conversation that I had that I recall specifically was in late summer and the only thing I wanted to do was eliminate the possibility that I had some casual conversation about it during the summer with somebody I don't recall.

It was at that point I think I decided, we decided internally at Market Opinion, that it would be a good time to do it, go ahead, sometime in the fall, Labor Day. I can't tell you the order of these conversations but at this time I called Bill Greener, who was the political director, and said that poll that has been discussed off and on during the year, my view is we ought to put it together and get started on it as soon after Labor Day as possible. He agreed with that.

During the same general frame of time I had had a conversation with Mr. Atwater and said I think now is the

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time we ought to go ahead with that RNC poll. At that time I believe Mr. Atwater was then working for the Fund for America's Future. I am not sure exactly when he started there.

I told him that, and at that general time, although I think it may have been a little later, I talked to Craig Fuller and said that this poll that had been discussed off and on was going to go ahead, and asked him if he had any specific things -- in fact, I was kind of requesting whatever specific things that the Vice President or his office would like to have us cover in the poll, that we were beginning to put together a questionnaire.

I think these conversations were probably all held in August, probably mid to late August.

Q. What did Mr. Fuller tell you to include in the poll?

A. I am not sure in the first conversation -- we had a general discussion about it. I don't recall whether he told me in that original conversation or whether he said let me think about it and call you back, but sometime in that period of time he said we would specifically like you to think about some questions on trade, international trade, on terrorism.

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I believe there was also a discussion on the whole question of support for Star Wars or the SDI program. Those were the specific issues. At this point I think it was only dealing with specific issues. There may have been two or three others in the initial list, although that list did get leaned.

Q. Two or three other issues?

A. Yes, the three I recall, I think we did discuss in talking was doing something with trade, something with terrorism, we discussed that, and the whole subject of Star Wars or SDI came up. There may have been one or two other issues, but they ultimately did not.

Q. Did you discuss any voter perception questions with Mr. Fuller?

A. At that point I don't think I discussed, and I think there was an assumption that there were going to be voter perception questions in there and that I would be writing them.

Q. Would that be left to your judgment?

A. Certainly, yes, that was my impression. Do you mean was that to be left to my judgment on the part of Mr. Fuller? Are we talking about everybody or Mr. Fuller?

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Q. Well, let's start with Mr. Fuller.

A. Yes. I guess the answer is yes.

Q. Did Mr. Atwater make any suggestions as to what was to be included in the poll?

A. No. At one point I asked Mr. Atwater, I don't believe it was that initial conversation, a subsequent one that I had with him --

Q. When would that have been?

A. That would have been in that general time, probably in late August, it might have been early August, and he said is there anything specific that you think we ought to cover in this RNC poll where they have offered to the Vice President, and I recall Mr. Atwater saying something like, just like -- I don't know whether we used the word perceptions or not -- but I guess just the generally political supporting, that you would know better to ask than I do, and that's your business.

Q. At that time did you speak to anybody else as far as what is included in the poll?

A. No, outside of Market Opinion.

Q. With whom in Market Opinion Research did you speak?

A. There may have been a wider audience than this, but

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the two people primarily responsible for working with me on this poll and doing it were Fred Steeper and Julia Weeks. The three of us had a variety of conversations about it, a general poll. We may have had them with other staff people, too.

Q Do they usually work in this capacity?

A Yes.

Q Had they had any contacts with any of the people we have mentioned, such as Mr. Atwater, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Fuller, or the Vice President?

A No.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 1 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q I am now showing FEC Exhibit No. 1 to the witness and counsel. Can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 1?

A It looks like Fred Steeper's handwriting.

Q Have you seen this exhibit before?

A Only when we went through the job files to send them to you under your subpoena. I have not seen them other than that. At least I don't recall having seen them.

Q Have you spoken to Mr. Steeper about this?

A About this piece of paper?

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Q Yes, or about the contents of this document.

MR. MEYER: Subsequent to it being created, do you mean?

THE WITNESS: You mean this particular document?

MR. LEVIN: Yes. Subsequent to the creation.

THE WITNESS: We have a variety of files, as you know, and that you have now, too. One called a Study Manager file, and this was in it.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Do you know what this would represent, this document?

A I don't know absolutely for sure. My guess is that this represents some general notes that Mr. Steeper took probably when he and I were sitting having a conversation about the content of this poll. This looks like I was going through with him and we were going back and forth about some things that we thought would be useful to cover in this poll, and these look like his notes.

I notice on the back page that he had made some references to question numbers and there is some data down there. I assume that we were looking over previous national polls and deciding what would be useful questions to ask

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trend questions on, to repeat to get trend data, things like that.

Q. So no polling had been done for this specific poll at this time?

A. No. We do a regular series of national polls and there are certain kinds of questions you are trying to keep track of in order to develop trend data. I guess we try and measure throughout regular periods of time certain perceptions of the Party and politics in the United States, and issues.

We always are trying to explore a little new territory and it looks to me like he and I had a very general conversation in the beginning about what we might cover in the next national poll which was going to be this poll in question and that he took some notes in this conversation.

Q. If you can answer this question, answer it; if not, obviously you can't. Would you have any recollection of what the crossed-out names on the first page of this document represent? The wavy lines.

A. I know the names, yes. I can identify the names. The names are all people who work at the National Committee. At that time Norman Rankin had to do with their lists. We do quite a lot of work that has nothing to do with polling

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on the preparation of voter name lists for the National Committee. He is the person responsible for that.

Tom Hoffler is the person who is responsible for the computer department at the National Committee and we deal with him back and forth on things like voting statistics and computer software.

Bill Greener, you know who he is. Bill MacInterf worked in the political division, Mr. Greener's division, and had to do with working in individual campaigns.

I really don't know why those names are on there. At least two or three of them would have had nothing to do with this poll. My guess is when we were discussing the Republican National Committee we may have also discussed in that meeting the need or occasion to followup with them on different subjects.

The first two people, Norm Rankin and Tom Hoffler, are people we deal with on a regular basis but not on polling.

Q If you can recall, on page two, would these have been in reference to prospective questions about the Vice President? Questions that you might include in the poll about the Vice President?

A. Some of them, some of the clearly not. I mean,

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there are obviously some others that don't have anything to do with the Vice President. I mean, I think the top half of the page there is a question, I can't read it all, but clearly on abortion there, that doesn't have anything to do with him.

Next to the top of the page there are some more less likely, they are questions we ask all the time, that probably didn't have anything to do with him, that had to do with certain positions would make you more or less likely to be a Republican, or be something. That would necessarily --

I see down on the page later there is an item "Held the position of Vice President of the United States." There is a "Strong supporter of Ronald Reagan" in there. Clearly, some of those things apparently did have to do with the Vice President and some of them didn't.

Q But you don't recall specifically?

A No. Those are not in my handwriting.

(Wherepon, FEC Exhibit No. 2 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q I have handed the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 2, and I am showing FEC Exhibit No. 2 to witness and counsel.

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A (Witness reviews document.)

Q Mr. Teeter, have you seen FEC Exhibit No. 2 before?

A No, I have not seen this before.

Q Was this document, from the handwriting on this document, written by the same person?

A By Mr. Steeper, yes.

Q If you can recall, does this reflect any conversation you may have had with Mr. Steeper?

A I am sure it does. I can tell it was not only Mr. Steeper, at the top of the page there are two other names there. I think this is a similar kind of a meeting, although this meeting I suspect had only marginally to do with this poll, and ultimately not at all, that it was kind of a general research type meeting.

JRP at the top of the page is John Petrosick, who was a professor at UCLA and a consultant to Market Opinion and a former employee, who was in Detroit at the time. Jim Leeman is a research associate, one of our research people, and a statistical consultant. He works full-time at Market Opinion, he is head of our sampling department.

Shall I go ahead and tell you exactly what this was? I know.

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Q. I would like to know.

A. John Petrosick does come to Detroit to work with us on research projects, and we spend some effort and money in the course of the year trying to improve our research techniques and look at new things.

Over the last couple of years we have discussed a project and there has been some research done, that John Petrosick is familiar with, by a woman professor at UCLA that has to do with the fact that voters often describe political figures with nouns rather than adjectives.

And associating political figures with nouns rather than adjectives often tends to be more descriptive to voters than adjectives were. This goes purely into the R & D portion of our business. Mr. Steeper and I have been very interested in this research, as well as another man that works for us. We have read about it, written about it, and talked about running some kind of experiments on our own doing it.

That is what this meeting clearly was about, because all of these things are just exactly what that -- I am sure that is what this means. Over the course of last year we discussed this at some length and I think entertained the thought and did ultimately decide to test this technique in

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a whole variety of polls that we were doing, some statewide polls where there were Governors, and anyway other political figures.

I am sure the reason it is in this job file is we were at this point discussing it, the possibility of using this RNC kind of general poll as an R & D vehicle to test this methodology and technique. It says "nouns infer traits." That's the subject.

John Petrosick was working on that for us and he had obviously come to Detroit for a couple of days to discuss it with us.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 3, and I am handing a copy of FEC Exhibit No. 3 to the witness and counsel.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 3 was marked for identification.)

MR. MEYER: Perhaps we might further identify those exhibits. Exhibit No. 1 bears a date of 6/14/85, Exhibit No. 2 bears a date of 6/19/85, Exhibit No. 3 bears a date of 7/3/85.

MR. LEVIN: Thank you. You are now reviewing FEC Exhibit No. 3 with a date of 7/3/85?

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THE WITNESS: Right.

MR. MEYER: Could you describe again how this transcript works, Mr. Levin? You said earlier that we would have a copy of the transcript available to us. Is one going to be made available as soon as it is ready or how does that work?

MS. LERNER: Let's go off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 3?

A. I assume that this is another conversation that Mr. Steeper and I had about the areas we just covered. I think it is important, it says "National #2," we number the national polls we do regardless of the client throughout one year, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and then we start over the next year.

What this means is that we have done one national poll earlier in 1985. National No. 2 at this point -- we have regular research staff meetings in which we discuss things, political things. National No. 2 may have been the specific poll, but it may well have been talking about what we were seeing in other data and things we wanted to make sure got included in the next national poll we did, whenever

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and whoever it was done for.

Given the sequence of events I don't think it was expressly clear in our minds -- although one of them does say RNC National on the first one -- that in the next national poll, No. 2, which I think we at this point anticipated would be this RNC poll, that this is a further discussion of what would be in the questionnaire.

My point being that those discussions often wander far and wide of a specific poll. We may get into a staff discussion of, you know, it would be very interesting to look at some voter group, or what about farmers, or the next time we do a poll we really ought to take a look, somebody saw and they mentioned in a staff meeting that they saw some interesting data having to do with people on the West Coast or older voters or something.

So there may be notes in here that refer to something we are interested in researching and we don't want to forget. But I think the fact that this one says National No. 2 we were anticipating the next national. Also the fact that if you look down about a third of the way on the page it says "Reagan/GOP Coalition."

In my mind that was at this point the express

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purpose or the number one purpose of this poll.

Q. What is the reference to "Bush chairman?" At the top, the third line down from National #2.

A. I don't know, to tell you the truth.

Q. The reference to terrorism, was that based upon any of the contacts you had had in discussing the poll? Perhaps with Mr. Fuller and the suggestion of issues?

MR. MEYER: I think if you are asking Mr. Teeter to testify of his recollection of the meeting at which these notes were taken, that is one thing. If you are asking him to interpret the notes or what they might mean, that is another thing.

I think we are confusing the two.

MR. LEVIN: Let me state again for that: If he recalls. If not, obviously --

MR. MEYER: If he recalls, whether this refreshes his recollection of something discussed at a meeting presumably with Mr. Steeper on 7/3. If it does not, then the answer would be that it does not.

If you wish to ask him if he knows what it means subsequently, you can do that. That is up to you.

MR. LEVIN: Right. If you know, Mr. Teeter.

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THE WITNESS: What is the question?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. If you recall was that discussion of terrorism or a discussion with maybe very few words about terrorism the product of any kind of conversation you had had with Mr. Fuller or any of the others about issues of interest to the Vice President?

A. I don't believe so, because as I told you a few minutes ago I don't believe I asked Mr. Fuller what he would like in the poll until later than this. Now, it is not absolutely impossible that it was in July and not August, but I believe it was later in the summer when I first talked to him.

I mean, these were sporadic conversations over a long period of time. But, no, I don't believe this was. I believe at this point this was still pretty much internal Market Opinion Research.

Q. If you recall, can you explain the reference where it says "where Bush fits, doesn't fit?" That is two lines down from the bracketed reference to "Farmers."

A. Right under where it says "Reagan/GOP Coalition?"

Q. Yes, it is exactly the line under that.

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A. Again, these are Mr. Steeper's notes. I suspect they are a combination of things that I said, other people said, and he thought. It is a little hard. If you want me to guess and will take it as that, I will be glad to.

MR. MEYER: Let's don't guess.

MR. LEVIN: If you want to guess, I will take it as a guess.

THE WITNESS: Well, it is under "Reagan/GOP Coalition," and at that point, again one of the major purposes in my mind of this poll were to define what the Reagan/Republican coalition was. I guess where Bush support or lack of it added to it or subtracted from it.

One of the things you try and do is find out what causes people, a voter, to be part of a coalition or not be part of a coalition. I suspect what we were talking about at the time was a fit between whether all the things that cobtributed or didn't contribute to the Reagan -- to the Republican coalition, one of those being Reagan, and number two being Bush.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Going up a few lines above that bracketed "Farmers," if you recall, do you know what was meant by "[First

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purpose: perceptions of G. Bush?"

A. Only that he made a note that one of the purposes -- I suspect at some point in this we were talking about the purposes of the poll -- and in going down them, the two main purposes I think in a lot of our discussions right at that time are listed there.

"Perceptions of Bush," and then down below it "Reagan/GOP coalition."

Q. So it was clear at this point that Bush was -- I am not going to say a majority part -- but an important part of this poll? In other words, perception to the Vice President?

A. I would say that covering the perception of the Vice President was a part of this poll. I would not say it was a majority part.

Q. But an important part.

MR. MEYER: He has not said that.

MR. LEVIN: Okay. I am handing a document to the reporter and asking her to mark it as FEC Exhibit No. 4, and I am handing the document to witness and counsel. It is dated August 26, 1985.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 4 was marked for identification.)

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BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify this document?

A. It looks to me like another series of notes of Mr. Steeper's. The fact that these last two say either RT or from RT does indicate that they were in meetings. The first two I would be certain are probably from meetings that I had with them. I am sure these last two would be or he wouldn't have put RT on them.

Q. Had you had your conversation with Mr. Fuller at this point, do you recall?

A. Again, it is very difficult for me to pick exact dates, but I would assume yes.

Q. I will refer you to the line where it says: "Theme for Bush: Trade, terrorism, '88, that's acceptable and what's not." Can you explain that?

A. I think one of the questions that came into this at some point, I assume what we are talking about here is issues that were of interest to the Vice President and that he might choose to focus on or might choose not to.

Q. Including 1988?

A. I don't know that that "88" means. I mean "88" is not really hooked to anything else, not to something like trade

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and terrorism. It may have been between now and 1988 or -- I don't know. I mean, I am interpreting somebody else's notes.

Q. Would this refresh your recollection as to whether or not you had had that conversation with Mr. Fuller as of yet, as far as the conclusion of issues for the Vice President?

A. I don't know that this refreshes my recollection but the date would mean more to me than anything else. I think by this time I had had, and I suspect the trade and terrorism.

Q. Can you explain the reference to Payton/Terrance at the bottom?

A. Well, Tony Payton is another political consultant. Lance Terrance is another political pollster. I assume -- I don't know what that reference means. Only in the fact it could be that at some place one of us had had a conversation with them and they said -- you know.

It may be that Terrance had done an interesting agriculture study I know in 1985 that was talked about a lot. It talked about the Republican problem with farmers. It may be that one of us referred to that study saying we ought to update it or followup on it or something.

I don't know. Maybe it could have been that

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somebody talked to one of them and they had some thoughts about the Party or something, or that they had done a study. I mean, Terrance and I have appeared on programs from time to time. I don't really recall.

I mean, these meetings could also -- somebody could have said we just called Lance Terrance or Tony Payton about something entirely different, and he may have written that in his notes. I don't know.

MR. LEVIN: I don't want to belabor you with documents. This is one more from the summer, the last one from the summer. I am handing a document to the reporter to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 5 and I am handing a copy of that document to witness and counsel. It has a date of August 12, 1985, on it.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 5 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify this document?

A. Yes. This is a memorandum written from Julie Weeks to Barbara Kelley, who was the librarian at Market Opinion.

Q. Have you seen this document before?

A. I have seen it as a part of the subpoenaed materials

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to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 6, and I am showing a copy to witness and counsel. It is dated March 15, 1985.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 6 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Have you seen this document before?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. For the record, this document is a memorandum on Republican National Committee stationery to Mr. Fahrenkopf from Bill Phillips, dated March 15, 1985.

Mr. Teeter, do you know what the reference to the Teeter project is?

A. No, not for certain.

Q. Was there a prior project on for the RNC that year?

A. I don't recall. There was not a survey done for the RNC that year. There may well have been other Market Opinion projects for the RNC, non-survey type projects.

Q. Mr. Teeter, going a little bit forward in time but backwards in the testimony, we were referring to your conversation in late August, correct me if I am wrong, with Mr. Fuller. Who was Mr. Fuller speaking for at the time? Was he speaking for the Vice President?

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when we put them together for you. These were all things out of the job file.

Q. There is a reference on the second line to international terrorism. Was that a product of your discussions with any of the people we have mentioned, such as Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and others?

A. I don't know the answer to that. Clearly, international terrorism, if you recall 1985, was a major national subject and was included in detail in a whole variety of polls. It produced numbers of questionnaires from all kinds of other polls that had terrorism in it.

I think there was a great deal of thought given by people like us and discussion as to what the political implications of terrorism were, what the public thought about it, how they thought about it. So we were interested in it clearly on the behalf of all kinds of clients.

I think you could go back and pull out a whole number of polls done for U. S. Senators and other organizations, private organizations that wanted to cover terrorism. If you recall, 1985, this was a major national concern.

I think this memoranda is relatively clear.

MR. LEVIN: I am now handing the reporter a document

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A. Whether he was speaking for --

MR. MEYER: Just a minute, just a minute. Maybe you ought to ask if Mr. Fuller told him for whom he was speaking.

MR. LEVIN: Okay.

MR. MEYER: And if he didn't, if he understood for whom he was speaking.

MR. LEVIN: Very good.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did Mr. Fuller tell you for whom he was speaking?

A. No, he did not.

Q. Did you have an impression as to for whom Mr. Fuller was speaking?

A. I don't know whether there is a differentiation between speaking for himself, speaking for the Vice President's office, or speaking for the Vice President himself personally. I guess I never thought about any differentiation between those three.

I think we are referring to a conversation we had where I may have specifically called him and asked him about the contents of the poll. I just wanted to note that I do talk to Mr. Fuller regularly on all kinds of things.

Q. How regularly is regularly?

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A. There may be something going on where I would talk to him several times a week. I may go several weeks without talking with him. I wanted to make sure whether you were referring to a conversation about this poll.

Q. I will ask you specifically. Was Mr. Fuller wearing a political hat, if you will? Was he speaking for the Vice President politically as opposed to functions as chief of staff of the Vice President? Is that your impression?

A. No, it has never been my impression that those were greatly different.

Q. You mentioned around this time, in late August, that you had had a conversation with Mr. Greener. Am I correct in saying that is the conversation in which he said it is time to go ahead with the poll?

A. No, there was a conversation I had -- again, I want to be careful with these times because I really don't recall. If somebody says they were a week before I said they were, I am not going to argue.

There was a conversation in which I suggested to him that it was time to go ahead with the poll and he agreed.

Q. In any of these conversations in late August, did Mr. Greener discuss a conversation he had had with Mr. Atwater

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in which a concern was expressed about the inclusion of questions pertaining to Vice President Bush?

A. No, he did not.

Q. Did you ever have a conversation with anybody in which that concern was expressed prior to the taking of the poll?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever have a conversation with that conern expressed prior to the filing of the Complaint?

A. When was the Complaint filed?

Q. January 24th, 1986.

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. It would have been in December.

Q. With whom was that?

MR. MEYER: Would you repeat the question again, Mr. Levin, about what concern we are talking about?

MR. LEVIN: Concern about the inclusion of Bush questions.

THE WITNESS: By whom?

MR. MEYER: You want to know the first time that was expressed by somebody to Mr. Teeter?

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A. I think there were conversations, at least one, with Mr. Atwater during December at which he said to somebody, the staff at the RNC, I don't recall the names, and this is a context of another conversation, had raised the question whether this would cause some political difficulty or sensitivity by the fact that the RNC included the questions for the Vice President.

Q. Was this before or after the appearance of the newspaper articles, that you know of?

A. After. (Pause.) Can I amend that answer?

Q. Sure.

A. I think actually the first time I heard that discussed was probably the day before, it was about the time of the first newspaper article -- I think it was the day before the appearance of the newspaper article, not after.

Q. Do you know if that was prompted by any knowledge that the article would appear?

A. Yes. I believe -- at least my discussion with Mr. Atwater was prompted -- the reason I was having the conversation with him was based on that knowledge.

Q. Prior to the actual taking of the poll, which if I am correct was September 17th it began, did you have any other

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MR. LEVIN: Yes, the first time.

THE WITNESS: By whom? I am concerned on the part about whom, of what?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Concern that it might prompt criticism from those not involved in the poll?

A. And the answer was in December.

Q. And who expressed that concern?

A. No, the question I think was did I have any conversations about that concern --

Q. Right.

A. -- and not who expressed the concern.

Q. Right, and then my followup is --

A. The answer to the first question is yes, I did in December with Atwater.

Q. With Mr. Atwater? That's what I wanted to pinpoint. Was that Mr. Atwater's concern or was he conveying someone else's concern?

MR. MEYER: Are you asking what did Mr. Atwater say?

MR. LEVIN: Well, let's stick with that.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. What did Mr. Atwater say?

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contacts with persons outside of Market Opinion Research referring to the poll?

A Other than --

Q What other contacts other than the ones we have mentioned, that we have discussed so far?

MR. MEYER: Excuse me, Mr. Levin, I don't mean to keep interrupting.

MR. LEVIN: I want to be clear as possible for your client.

MR. MEYER: I am sure you do, and we want you to be clear. If we go back to some date and maybe run this chronologically it might be a little better, because otherwise you are asking Mr. Teeter to remember all of the testimony he has been giving for the last hour and a half and to pick out the one he may have missed or you may have not asked him about.

So why don't we go back to the last --

MR. LEVIN: The last conversations we were discussing, and we have worked up seriatum to that point in late August. So what we are talking about is a period from late August to September 17th, other than the conversations we have discussed with Mr. Greener, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Atwater. Do you recall any other contacts that we have not discussed

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yet?

THE WITNESS: No. Now there is one point that does need to be clarified I think. This was, as I think you know, an omnibus poll, in which there was more than one client participating in this poll, and that is in some of the documents which will show that, and as a number of these polls are, and there were some other clients in addition to the two we are talking about where there were questions included in the poll for them that were followup for other Market Opinion clients, some non-political.

So there were two or three questions in there that were trend questions that we asked every quarter for some other clients, for which they were billed, in part of this poll that don't have anything to do with either the National Committee or Bush.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Who were these?

A I believe there were three on this poll. I believe there were one or two questions asked for the National Congressional Campaign Committee,

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of whom are Market Opinion clients. So I did not have any other conversation-- those are not my clients. People I deal with regularly, but -- there may have been discussions held about those, so I just wanted to make it clear when I said no, I was not including any conversations that had to do with those.

(Whereupon, the witness conferred off the record with his counsel.)

MR. LEVIN: Mr. Teeter is referring to the Affidavit submitted to the Federal Election Commission in response to the Complaint?

MR. MEYER: To help refresh his recollection on your question to develop a chronology in to whom he may have spoken subsequently in response to your last question.

THE WITNESS: I think I can answer the question if you ask it the same way you did before.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q We were referring to a time period from the last weeks of August to September 17th, and I am interested in knowing what other contacts you had with reference to the poll other than the contacts you have already discussed with Mr. Phillips, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Fuller.

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A. And Mr. Greener.

Q. And Mr. Greener. What other contacts, other than those?

A. I don't believe there were any other than these four.

MS. LERNER: To clarify your understanding of the question, other than the meetings you have already had with the people mentioned, did you meet with those people or any other people --

THE WITNESS: Oh, okay, there was a misunderstanding of the question. I am sorry, now I see what you are after. The answer is yes.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. And with whom was that meeting or those meetings?

A. I may have mentioned on occasion to Mr. Atwater what the progess of the poll was, the fact that it was being put together and going on. I did see Mr. Fuller one day and showed him a copy of the questionnaire and said look through this and tell me if there are any additions, changes, or deletions that you would like to put in it.

I did not have any further conversations with Mr. Phillips. At this point he had left the National Committee

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and was not involved in this any longer. I had at least one more telephone conversation with Mr. Greener in which I called and said to him -- my primary purpose was to call and say we are now actually going to begin this poll and the cost will be $70,000.

That is just so when I sent him a contract and an invoice he was not surprised. I just wanted him to know that as a client, we were on our way.

MR. LEVIN: Off the record.

(Brief recess taken.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Teeter, you referred to a conversation with Mr. Greener in which you told him that the poll would cost $70,000. Was there any discussion during that conversation as to how that figure was arrived at?

A. No. That figure is arrived at in a very conventional and consistent way in our company.

Q. Was that explained to Mr. Greener? Did he raise any kind of question or say anything about the $70,000 figure?

A. No, I suspect he may have, like most clients, said "Ooh, that much, huh?" But there was no discussion of that particular number. I think he is familiar with the way we

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cost surveys.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 7, and I am handing a copy to the witness and counsel. It is a memorandum for Mary Lukens from Kathy Smith.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 7 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Can you identify this document, Mr. Teeter?

A Yes.

Q What is this document?

A This is a document in which after I had met with Craig Fuller and given him a copy of the draft questionnaire, one of the drafts of the questionnaire, he had looked it over, and Kathy Smith works for Craig Fuller, and asked her to write Mary Lukens, who works for me, this memo that are his comments on the questionnaire.

Q Do you know when this was? When did you speak to Mr. Fuller about this document?

MR. MEYER: I don't think he said he spoke to Mr. Fuller about the document.

THE WITNESS: You mean about the questionnaire?

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MR. MEYER: Do you mean about the questionnaire or the exhibit?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Let me ask this, Mr. Teeter. Do you know when this document was drafted, when this was made up?

A. This?

Q. Yes, the cover page.

MS. LERNER: By "this," I believe he is referring to Exhibit No. 7.

MR. LEVIN: The memorandum, Exhibit No. 7.

THE WITNESS: No, I don't, other than the fact it referred to a questionnaire draft that is dated September 6th and so I assume it was after that, sometime shortly after that.

The only thing I want to say is on the second page of this document, on the first page of the questionnaire, it looks like a note that Craig Fuller that says "Comments given to KS" -- whom I assume is Kathy Smith -- and there is a date that I believe is 9/10 above it. The 9 is not very distinguishable, but it can't be any other month.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did you have a subsequent conversation with Mr. Fuller about his comments?

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A. Not a detailed one. It is possible I may have talked to him over the telephone and simply said that I thought it was a good idea to incorporate some of his suggestions and we may not have been able to incorporate others. Clearly, all of these suggestions are not incorporated in the questionnaire.

But I did not have another conversation with him in which we discussed the content of the questionnaire, any more than a reflection on his comments.

Q. Did he state why he was interested in any of these changes? Do you recall that in the conversation?

A. I don't recall that he did, no. I don't recall that he did. I don't recall any other specific conversation in which we talked in detail about the questionnaire. I am sure I may have reflected on his comments during that telephone -- .

Q. At the bottom of the page, the last few lines of the first page, there is a statement: "(There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas.)." Does that refer to Lee Atwater?

A. Yes. Well, I don't know that, but I assume it does, yes.

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Q. Did you and Mr. Atwater discuss any further ideas?

A. I don't believe we did after this point.

Q. Did Mr. Atwater express any suggestions about the proposed questions?

A. I don't believe -- no. I mean, I referred to that a few minutes ago, but I don't believe beyond then, at that conversation.

Q. Did he see a draft questionnaire?

A. I don't believe so. That is one point, I do not believe he did.

Q. Did anybody see a completed, final questionnaire before it went out for polling, before you actually did the polling?

A. Not outside Market Opinion. (Pause.) Not to my knowledge outside Market Opinion. But I don't believe anybody else would have.

Q. Did anyone outside of Market Opinion Research see a copy of the poll questionnaire in its final form before the surveying began?

A. I don't believe so.

Q. When the poll questionnaire was in its final form did you discuss it with anyone outside of Market Opinion

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Research?

A. I believe beyond the conversations I have already discussed, no, that I have already talked to you about.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 8, and I am handing a copy of FEC Exhibit No. 8 to the witness and counsel.

(Wherepon, FEC Exhibit No. 8 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 8?

A. Yes. It is a standard Market Opinion contract filled out to cover this poll we are discussing.

Q. You will see on point (2.) under the category of Fees and Payments, "Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985."

Why didn't the RNC pay for the poll by October 9, 1985?

A. I am not sure.

MR. MEYER: I guess you could answer that to your knowledge why they didn't pay, but maybe there is a better way of wording that.

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MR. LEVIN: Well, what did they tell you?

MR. MEYER: That's the key.

THE WITNESS: I don't know.

MR. MEYER: I guess Mr. Levin's question is --

THE WITNESS: What did they tell me?

MR. MEYER: -- what did they tell you? Mr. Levin's question is I gather what did the RNC tell you about payment for the poll subsequent to the date when the money, under the contract, would have been due and payable, October 9?

MR. LEVIN: That's the question.

THE WITNESS: Subsequent covers a long period of time. But if you are talking at about that time, nothing.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. When October 9th arrived and you weren't paid, did you contact them?

A. No.

Q. Did they contact you to make an explanation?

A. No.

Q. Why didn't you contact them for payment?

A. Because normal business practice is to give people some time to pay these bills. These are often paid within 30 days, sometimes 60 days, and we don't contact people on

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those dates until the bills are overdue by some period of time and then we send them statements at the end of each month for those bills that aren't paid. But we don't contact them right on those dates.

Q. When did you finally contact them for payment?

A. We would have sent them I believe a statement at the end of the month, the end of October, and at the end of each month thereafter October. I am not the person who often does that. I did not contact them or discuss payment with them again until December.

Q. Item 1(d) on this first page of the contract refers to a preliminary report on October 9th. Was that a preliminary report to be delivered by MOR to the RNC?

A. No. That is a line that usually -- there often is no preliminary report delivered unless we are under some particular requirement in the campaign, and that that is probably that we estimated or assumed that the data would be off the computer and in existence for the first time.

Unless there is some particular need, we usually don't report that data until after we have had time to analyze it. In the heat of a campaign or some other commercial problem we may actually deliver a preliminary report.

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Many times we do not. This was not a campaign poll.

Q. You said you don't deal with the bills. Do you know what, if any, reason the Repoublican National Committee may have given to the person who does handle the billing for not paying the bill?

A. I am not sure and I am not aware that they were contacted personally other than sending them statements until I discussed it with them in December.

Q. When in December?

A. Early December after we got into a dispute over the payment of the poll.

Q. How did that dispute arise?

A. The dispute arose after a series of newspaper articles in early December about this poll in which the RNC said that there were a number of questions in the poll that it was not their intent be in, that were not authorized to be in, and that they under their rules or policies would not pay for. There were portions of the poll which they did not think it was proper to be in a poll paid for by them, and it specifically had to do with questions related specifically to the 1988 elections.

Q. Did the RNC contact you prior to that time in

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December to say that there were questions in there that they didn't think should be in the poll?

MR. MEYER: Prior to what time?

MR. LEVIN: Prior to the time he is talking about. In other words, not just prior to that time.

MS. LERNER: Wait, hold on. I think --

MR. LEVIN: Okay, I see the confusion.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q You mentioned a time in December. Did the RNC contact you prior to that time?

MR. MEYER: I think that you mentioned the time in December about the newspaper articles being released.

THE WITNESS: Can I kind of rephrase the question and the answer together?

MR. LEVIN: Sure, as long as it is the same question.

MS. LERNER: Go ahead.

THE WITNESS: The RNC contacted me in early December to say that there were questions in the poll that they had not authorized and were not proper for them to have in a poll that they were paying for and that they would not pay for.

MS. LERNER: Let me ask a question. Was that prior to the time that newspaper articles concerning that issue

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came out?

THE WITNESS: It was either the day before or on that day. I believe it was the day before.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Prior to this period then, the date you are talking --

A. Prior to that day?

Q. Yes -- had the RNC stated anything about the inclusion of questions they thought were improper?

A. No.

MS. LERNER: I asked the question and I got the answer, and now I am confused by my own question. The RNC had contacted you --

MR. MEYER: Excuse me, Ms. Lerner. Can one person ask the questions? If you want to finish this one, that's fine. But I think it might be better if we sort of limit it to one lawyer.

MS. LERNER: That's fine. I am just trying to clarify my own previous question.

MR. MEYER: That's fine.

MS. LERNER: The RNC contacted you either the day before or the day those articles came out, is that fair?

THE WITNESS: The day before.

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MS. LERNER: Thank you.

THE WITNESS: In fact, do some of you know what day of the week the newspaper articles came out?

MR. MEYER: December 3rd?

THE WITNESS: What was the date of the first article?

MR. MEYER: December 4th was the date of the first article.

THE WITNESS: Do you know what day of the week that was? This will suffice for your answer --

MR. LEVIN: It was a Wednesday.

THE WITNESS: The answer is they either contacted me the day before the articles came out or possibly two days before. I believe it was the day before.

MR. MEYER: That would be December 3rd probably.

THE WITNESS: If Wednesday, December 4th, was the day the first article came out, they contacted me I believe on Tuesday the 3rd. It is possible that it was Monday the 2nd, but I believe it was Tuesday the 3rd. I have a little confusion where I erased something in my calendar at that time and I can't figure it out.

BY MR. LEVIN:

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Q. Now when was an analysis of the poll give to Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller and Mr. Bush?

A. November 13th.

Q. Between September 25th and November 13th was there any contact with respect to the poll with people outside of Market Opinion Research?

A. There may have been discussions in which we said it was done and we were working on it. There was no delivery of the data or interpretation or results of the poll, if that is what you are referring to.

Q. Any other discussion with people outside of Market Opinion Research?

A. Well, as I say, there may have been some discussion where I mentioned to somebody that the poll was done or in progress or we were working on the analysis. There was no delivery of the data, or there was no discussion of the business arrangements for the poll.

Q. How was the first analysis to Mr. Bush, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Fuller presented? Was that at a meeting or was it mailed to them?

MR. MEYER: You are describing the analysis as for Mr. Bush, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Fuller. I don't think there

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was any testimony like that. Or whoever. Why don't we get a shorthand description of the analysis or identify it, if you like.

MR. LEVIN: I will introduce it.

THE WITNESS: It would be good if in the future we separate the two.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing a copy to the reporter to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 9, and I am handing a copy to the witness and counsel.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 9 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Teeter, can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 9?

A. Yes. It is one of the analyses written having to do with this poll.

Q. Was this the first analysis given on this poll?

A. Delivered to anyone?

Q. Delivered to anyone.

A. Yes.

Q. To whom was this delivered?

A. This was delivered to Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and Vice President Bush.

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Q Was this delivered at a meeting with those three men, and including you?

A Yes, it was.

Q Had you had any other meetings with them in the time between September 25th, the end of the poll-taking, and November 13th?

A Yes.

MR. MEYER: Just a minute. Do you mean were there any other meetings with any one of these three people between those two periods, or a meeting with all three of them?

MR. LEVIN: Let's ask both questions.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Were there meetings with any one of those three people?

A Yes.

Q When were those meetings?

A I don't know, I would have had periodic or sporadic meetings in which I talked to Fuller or Atwater individually or jointly during that time. You are talking about the period between late September and mid-November?

Q Yes.

A Yes, I see those people regularly. There is no

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question that I met with them, probably more than once, either individually or possibly together at times.

Q. Did you discuss the poll at those meetings?

A. No. As I said earlier, in an earlier answer, I may have made some casual comment that the polls were done, but there was no meeting in which the poll results were discussed in any specificity.

Q. Did you have a meeting with Vice President Bush during that same time period, late September to early November?

A. No, specifically; I probably did meet with him or see him during that period of time.

Q. Did you discuss the poll questions or poll results then?

A. No.

Q. How was it determined that it was these three gentlemen who were to receive this poll analysis?

A. I don't know that.

MR. MEYER: Is your question how did Mr. Teeter make the decision to give them the poll? What is your question?

MR. LEVIN: The question is why was it given specifically to these three gentlemen? Why did Mr. Teeter

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give the poll to them?

THE WITNESS: Because I suspect I had a conversation with Mr. Fuller shortly before this meeting at some time and said we now have the analysis of the data that concerns the Vice President from this poll done and we ought to have a meeting and go over it.

I don't know who determined who was going to be in that meeting. I suspect he did. And we worked out a date to go over it with Mr. Fuller, Mr. Atwater, and the Vice President.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did anyone tell you whether or not Mr. Atwater was there on behalf of Fund for America's Future?

A. No. At that time --

MR. MEYER: Just answer his question.

THE WITNESS: The answer to that is no.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did anyone mention Fund for America's Future at this meeting?

A. Probably, yes. The Fund for America's Future, the Vice President's Political Action Committee, was a subject of conversations between Mr. Atwater and me, the Vice President

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and me, and Mr. Fuller and me, at various times, beginning before its inception all the way through. It may well have been that some activities of the Fund were discussed at that meeting. I don't believe they were, at that November 13th meeting which was a fairly abbreviated meeting.

Q. Did they tell you, any of these three gentlemen, who this poll analysis was for? Did they say it was for the Fund for America's Future or did they say it was for the Vice President or did they say it was for somebody else?

A. No, they did not.

Q. They did not address that question?

A. No. That question never arose.

Q. What went on at that meeting? What was said at that meeting by those of you present?

MR. MEYER: I think you can limit your question to what was said at the meeting in connection with this matter and not other items.

MR. LEVIN: What was said in connection with the poll and the analysis.

THE WITNESS: I took copies of the poll to the meeting and handed them to the people in the meeting. Then I in a somewhat accelerated fashion went through a

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presentation like I would on almost any poll, although we were very limited for time that day, and in which I paged through my copy and mentioned and highlighted, and probably gave them some interpretation of what I thought were the highlights of the poll and the analysis.

I didn't read it to them. But that is what I would do in any poll meeting, is to take my copy of the report, go through it, usually moving from conclusion or table to table and making comments on the data in the poll.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. What was said to you by each of these three gentlemen? You can take it by each one if you want.

A. I am sure they made comments as I went along. I don't recall specific comments. There was not a great deal of discussion because this meeting had gotten abbreviated in terms of time and it was not a very long meeting.

So it was kind of a meeting in which my purpose was to get through the poll as rapidly as possible and then let them read it. That is a conventional way for me to go through that type of meeting.

Q. How long did this meeting take place?

A. My estimate, thinking back, I don't know but it

when we get it, and it was during that process it was always inherent that we would be reporting it to entities.

Q. Was this a totally in-house process?

A. Yes.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 10, and I am showing FEC Exhibit No. 10 to the witness and counsel.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 10 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Teeter, can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 10?

A. Yes, this is the first page of the forward to the analysis, No. 9, that we are discussing.

Q. The analysis, FEC Exhibit No. 9?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this page seen by you before the analysis was presented at the November 15th meeting?

A. It was probably not read by me. It was probably seen by me. There is a foreword in every one of our reports which is the kind of mundane, straight-forward information on the research project that I frankly don't pay much attention to.

It shows the date of interviewing, and the data

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might have been 30 or 40 minutes.

Q. Going back a bit, who decided that analysis should be given for Vice President Bush? Did someone tell you that an analysis should be given for Vice President Bush?

A. No. I decided that, on the basis that the purpose of this poll was to ask a series of questions for the National Committee, and as I stated earlier to ask some questions that were of interest to Vice President Bush.

We designed and conducted the poll with that in mind and I guess it was always inherent in my view that when we got done we would make a presentation, an analysis and a presentation of the data to the two parties.

Q. When did you decide, when did you make this decision?

A. I believe it was kind of inherent in my mind during this whole project. I don't know that there was ever a time we made a formal -- I mean, decisions about the analysis would have occurred during the course of the poll and immediately after.

There is a process we go through at Market Opinion in which we go through and discuss, called the analytical strategy or scheme, what we are going to do with the data

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is broken, the way we analyzed it. It is a methodological section.

Q. Do you know who wrote this forward?

A. I suspect that Julie Weeks wrote this. One of the analysts.

Q. Was there a new foreword to what is now marked as FEC Exhibit No. 9?

MR. MEYER: I don't understand the question.

THE WITNESS: You mean one other than this?

MR. LEVIN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: Not to my knowledge.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did you plan on giving the analysis to officials of the Republican National Committee?

A. Yes, give them a presentation of the data, too.

Q. Did you plan on giving them the same presentation, that is, the same document that is FEC Exhibit No. 9?

A. No.

Q. When you had done the analysis of the poll, when did you plan on giving a document to the Republican National Committee?

A. At about this same time.

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Q Why wasn't such a document given to the Republican National Committee at that time?

A. There are two reasons. The first is that Mr. Greener was out of the country at the time when I planned a trip to Washington to do this. I called to see Mr. Greener and if I am not mistaken he was in Taiwan. Anyway, he and the chairman were on some kind of extended trip overseas at the time. I found that out in November.

The second reason was to focus our efforts on getting this one done first and doing theirs later knowing that we couldn't see them for awhile. Whereas in some cases we might have done them in a more parallel fashion, knowing that we wanted to deliver this one first, we got this one done, and assumed we would move onto the next one.

Q When did you first find out that Mr. Baran and Mr. Greener would be out of the country in mid-November?

A. I don't know, I assume sometime in early November, about the same time I was trying to schedule the November 13th meeting.

Q How long did it take you to prepare a write-up for FEC Exhibit No. 9?

A. I don't know the exact answer to that. I assume

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that this was worked on periodically over a couple of weeks, maybe even one more.

MR. MEYER: Just for the record, to keep the record clear, I don't think that Mr. Teeter has testified that he prepared it. If you mean by "you" preparing it, you mean by Market Opinion Research --

MR. LEVIN: Fine. I will keep going, there are other points to be made here.

Now let me introduce this, it would only be fair for me to introduce this. I am handing the reporter a document to be marked at FEC Exhibit No. 11, and I will ask the reporter to hand it to witness and counsel. I don't have a second copy of that with me.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 11 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Can you identify FEC Exhibit No. 11?

A. Yes. This was the second version of this analysis of this same poll that we are discussing, and one that was delivered to the Republican National Committee.

Q. At the time that you learned that Mr. Greener and Mr. Fahrenkopf would be out of the country on November 13th

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how much of FEC Exhibit No. 11 had been prepared?

MR. MEYER: I don't think that Mr. Teeter testified that he learned that they would be out of the country on November 11th -- or November 13th. If your question is did he learn that they would be out of the country at about that time --

MR. LEVIN: Right. At that point --

THE WITNESS: I learned that I couldn't see them on the same trip that I was coming to Washington for to see Craig Fuller and the Vice President.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. You said you learned that information at the beginning of November?

A. It may have been the second week or the first week.

Q. At that point in time, how much of FEC Exhibit No. 11 had been prepared?

MR. MEYER: If you know.

THE WITNESS: I do know, but it is going to take some explanation.

MR. LEVIN: Go ahead, I am ready to hear the explanation.

THE WITNESS: In terms of the actual text, in summary

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tables in the first part of the report, I should think very little -- but some. There was part of this project, for the National Committee portion of this poll, called Perceptual Mapping, starting with page 107.

We do occasionally, it is a very long detailed analytical process to prepare Perceptual Maps. It is done, we only do it occasionally, it is done to measure the perceptions of the Parties and public figures carefully, perceptual space, and it takes a lot of computer work. For one, it takes a lot of computer work, and second, it takes a lot of analytical work to figure out what you want to know next and go back and do some more computer work.

All during this time we were working on those, and there were kind of some other people working on those at Market Opinion. That was by far the lengthiest, most complex part of either analysis of this poll. So that work was going on.

I suspect the summary tables that you see in the first hundred pages of the report were being prepared, some of them are the same as the one in the first report. I also suspect that not a great deal of this text was written, or barely any, because it was waiting for us to draw out whatever

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conclusions we were going to draw and to look at this data, and this is a process because it takes computer work and analytical work, and then other people to look at it, think about it, study it, and go back.

This was a very major piece, and in my mind one of the major purposes of this poll, was to get these Perceptual Maps done about the Party.

So I think this was the work that was going on during that period of time, and that probably very little of the text had been written at that time -- if any. But that this work was going on. And had I given a presentation to Greener and any other people at the National Committee at that time, it would have been preliminary, because it would not have been -- this report would not have all been done.

I would probably have gone over the summary tables and preliminary data, but not been ready to report on this Perceptual Mapping data.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q How much of FEC Exhibit No. 9 had been prepared at that time?

A. At the time of the 13th?

Q At the time that you discovered what Mr. Greener's

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and Mr. Fahrenkopf's travel plans would be.

A. I don't know, those were just things that were proceeding simultaneously. I don't know the answer to that.

Q. Had more preparation been done on FEC Exhibit No. 9, had more narrative been written?

A. Oh, yes, definitely.

Q. Why is that?

A. Because it was a much more straight-forward kind of an analysis. It was a straight-forward narrative analysis and it did not involve this perceptual mapping back here, and a lot of the summary tables, as I think you probably have seen, are common in both reports.

I suspect I knew at this point that one meeting was going to be held before the other meeting so there was more attention put on getting one report done before the second one.

Q. My question would have addressed the time that you learned that one meeting would be held. In other words, before actually you knew that one meeting would be held substantially before the other meeting.

MR. MEYER: I think he has answered the question.

MR. LEVIN: Okay. Unless you have anything more to say about it.

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THE WITNESS: I hope not. No, I don't really.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. After the November 13th meeting when was your next contact with anyone outside of Market Opinion Research with reference to the poll?

A. I believe on the date that I mentioned earlier, which I think was December 3rd, the conversation right prior to the newspaper article.

Q. Am I correct that you stated before that Mr. Atwater spoke to you? I am sorry, who spoke to you?

A. The first person I talked to about it was Mr. Greener.

Q. What did he say to you?

A. Mr. Greener called me and said the poll you did, that you are doing, has been leaked and has gotten public, and there are some questions in it that we don't believe should have been asked -- the first thing I guess he said was, he called me up and said the poll that you did has been leaked and has gotten public and is going to be in the newspaper tomorrow and there is a bunch of '88 data in there that shouldn't have been in there.

Q. What did you say to him?

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A. I don't know what I said to him at that time. I talked to him a couple of times that same day. I suspect I said do you know who leaked the poll?

Q. Excuse me, I didn't get that?

A. I said do you know who leaked the poll or how did it get public? We had a further conversation later that day in which he said, look, those questions should not have been in there, we can't pay for those questions. We would not have authorized any specific questions having to do with '88 as they were in there.

We authorized you to do a poll about the perceptions of the Party and about perceptions of the Vice President, issues the Vice President was interested in, not specifically about the '88 election and therefore we are going to deny that we asked those questions or state that we did not ask those questions and they should not have been in there and we are not going to pay for them.

Q. Did he respond to your question about who was leaking the poll?

A. No. I mean, he may have but it wasn't with a specific answer.

Q. What was your next contact?

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A. I talked to Mr. Atwater that day and we discussed the same thing, that this poll was going to be in the papers the next day, there were some reporters working on a story and the story that they were working on was the RNC had had this poll done and it was embarrassing them because there were these specific '88 questions in there.

I believe it was during a telephone conversation on that day that Mr. Atwater said to me, look, I have offered previously to have the Fund pay for any questions that are in that poll that they found embarrassing. I believe that is the first time -- that's what he said to me, and there were two or three or four telephone conversations that afternoon about the stories that were going to be in the paper the next day.

The essence of them were, as Mr. Greener said to me, look, this is going to be in the paper, and if you put those questions in there, we didn't authorize them, we are not going to pay for them, they shouldn't have been in there, and Mr. Atwater said to me if there are questions that give the RNC trouble -- I had already told them at some point that we, the Fund, would pay for any of those questions, that they didn't want to pay for them.

Q Now you mentioned that Mr. Atwater had made this

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referencing before, that the Fund would -- had you recalled him making that kind of representation to anybody? Or was that the first time you had heard about it?

A. That was the first time I had heard it.

Q. Did he say to whom he had made that representation?

A. He probably did. I am assuming in the manner of speaking that he said -- I don't know whether he said I told the RNC or I told Greener or I told Phillips about it, and he said I have told them -- and I don't recall specifically what he referred to now.

I mean, it was clear that it was the RNC who he was talking about, or somebody there. I had not heard it.

Q. Prior to this time had RNC representatives ever told you or Market Opinion Research not to include questions referring to 1988?

A. No.

Q. What was your next contact after this?

A. As I said, I had probably more than one conversation with Greener and Atwater that day. I talked to Fuller that day. And I probably talked to Phillips that day. I am not sure, there were a series of telephone conversations late that afternoon all having to do with this impending press

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story the next day. I am sure I talked to Greener, Atwater, Fuller, I suspect Phillips was involved in some of those conversations.

Q. Do you recall what Mr. Fuller said to you?

A. Mr. Fuller's comments were along the lines that we have been called and asked about this poll, was it done, and here is what we are saying. Here is the press response the Vice President's office is making. I don't recall what that was, but he said we were making two points or four points or something about the poll and here is what it is, here is the way we are handling it because we have had a lot of inquiries about this poll.

I think the inquiries went along the line that the National Committee was doing a poll and had offered to include questions about the Vice President and about issues he was interested in and they had included them and they had received the results of them.

There was obviously several conversations that afternoon, I don't recall exactly how many. There were some I think where there were more than two of us in on the conversation.

Q. Mr. Fuller had seen the draft questionnaire of

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September 6th, is that correct? That was introduced as an exhibit before.

A. Yes, he had.

Q. Did he mention to you at the time any problem he had with questions dealing with 1988?

A. No, he did not.

Q. Were you surprised at the reactions you were receiving from the Republican National Committee and Mr. Fuller, surprised at the reactions you received that day that the story was broken, shall we say?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you say to them?

MR. MEYER: Was he surprised or surprised at what that they said?

MR. LEVIN: Well, surprised at the idea that, Mr. Teeter, you did not have authorization to submit those, to include those questions that specifically deal with --

THE WITNESS: Yes.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. How did you express that surprise? What did you say to these gentlemen? I heard the other side, I didn't hear what you said.

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A. Well, I said -- I mean, there were some discussions -- I mean, I think I said, that I assumed it was our responsibility to write a questionnaire and design a poll that covered three or four different purposes, that we have discussed before today. One of those was to measure the perceptions of the Vice President and that we, at Market Opinion, had written a series of questions that we thought did that well and included in those were some questions that referred specifically to 1988, and that there were some specific design reasons for us doing it and we thought it was justifiable. That it was part of the purpose of measuring the perception and the political support of the Vice President.

Q. On that date did the RNC or Mr. Greener, or anybody speaking for the RNC, state that the RNC would only pay for certain questions?

A. I don't think it was stated in quite that way. I think it was stated in the reverse, that the RNC had not authorized questions that referred specifically to the '88 election and that they would not pay for anything that had to do with the 1988 election.

There was not a great deal of discussion of any specific -- what questions they would or wouldn't pay for.

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But there were some general statements that they would not pay for any questions that had to do with 1988.

Q. Did they express any problem with paying for questions that referred to George Bush but did not state 1988?

A. On that date we did not get into that level of detail I don't believe. They certainly acknowledged that one of the purposes of the poll was to ask questions about the approval rating of the Vice President and issues that he was concerned with. I mean, that there was a legitimate purpose in covering things the Vice President was interested in.

But there was not really any further discussion I think on that day of the detail of what they would and would not pay.

Q. What did Mr. Atwater say that FAF would pay for? Did he get specific?

A. No. I think I answered that earlier in that he said only, look -- and I recall a conversation where there were more than one of us on the line -- in which he said, look, I said earlier that the Fund would be willing to pay for any questions.

I believe now in this connection that he was referring to earlier conversations that you referred to about that

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if there were questions that the National Committee, people at the National Committee found embarrassing or sensitive, politically sensitive, that he said that he had previously offered to have the Fund pay for any of those questions.

But there was not a discussion to my recollection of specific questions at that time.

Q We are still dealing with this date, December 3rd or December 4th. I believe you also mentioned you had a discussion with Mr. Phillips?

A. Mr. Phillips was involved in at least one of these telephone calls. There were several telephone calls on that day, some between Mr. Greener and me, some between Mr. Atwater and me, and at least one, a larger call, where I joined -- where there were other people involved, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Atwater, Mr. Greener, and Mr. Fuller I think.

I am not sure he was on that phone call. But I know I talked to him that day. Mr. Fahrenkopf may have been on one of those telephone conversations although it was largely Mr. Greener. I don't recall whether Mr. Baran was or not. He may have been in one of the later ones.

I know I talked to him sometime around that time.

Q By later ones you mean -- what?

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A. After that day. He may have been involved in some of those conversations on that day, but I do not recall.

Q. What did Mr. Phillips say to you?

A. I don't remember anything specific. He was a party to a multi-party telephone conversation.

Q. Was he still with the Republican National Committee at that time?

A. No, I think he was employed by the Fund for America's Future at that time. The only thing that he said was -- well, I don't recall specific comments he made at that time.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 12, and I am handing a copy of FEC Exhibit No. 12 to witness and counsel.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 12 was marked for identification.)

(Brief recess taken.)

MR. LEVIN: For the record, FEC Exhibit No. 12 is an article in the Wednesday, December 4th, issue of a newspaper article by Thomas B. Edsall, Washington Post Staff Writer. I assume it is the Washington Post.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Teeter, have you seen this document before?

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A. Yes, I have.

Q. I want to refer you to the bottom of the second column. The paragraph refers to a statement by you saying the cost will be about $75,000, "...but he added he could not estimate how the RNC and Bush's PAC will share this expense."

In light of the fact that there had been an invoice for $70,000 already, why was this figure cited?

A. I don't know. It was always one of the mysteries to me of this article.

Q. Is that a misquote?

A. I believe it is, yes. I mean, I think I knew what the invoice was. The price was always $70,000.

Q. Now we discussed these conversations on December 3rd and December 4th. When did the RNC indicate to you what questions in that poll it would pay for?

A. During the month -- I mean, they had told me on the 3rd that they would not pay for questions that had to do with the '88 election but we did not discuss any specific questions. During the month of December, I discussed it with Greener once or twice and ultimately had a meeting with him in which I said, all right -- at this point we were negotiating, and I said, well, you know, what are you going to pay for, and what

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did you think was proper to be in this poll and what wasn't proper?

So we discussed this on the phone a couple of times in general terms and in which he specifically said I don't think questions that have to do specifically with the '88 elections were proper and should have been in there. We were willing to pay for all of the Party questions that we recently talked about and we are willing to pay for those questions on the perception, approval rating, and any specific issues that the Vice President wanted because we had offered him that option, but only in his role as Vice President, not referring to the '88 election.

Then at one point in December -- I forget the exact day -- Mr. Greener and I met and went over a questionnaire. I said, all right, let's go through this questionnaire and you tell me and decide what questions you are willing to pay for and what ones you are not willing to pay for.

And we did that at that time, and went over, and negotiated on the number of the questions and arrived at the group of questions that he was willing to pay for.

Q Was this before or after the delivery of the analysis in FEC Exhibit No. 11?

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A. That process started before the delivery of the analysis, No. 11. Yesterday -- well, it clearly began -- yes, began and concluded, because I did go back and talk to the people working on this analysis to make sure that in that analysis were only included the questions that they were willing to pay for and that others weren't.

I mean, we did edit the analysis to some degree to match that at that time. I recall doing that. So that conclusion of which questions they thought were all right and willing to be paid for had been decided before I delivered that analysis on I believe December -- do we have that date?

I think it is in my Affidavit. I think it is December 19.

Q. That is the correct date. So prior to that meeting where you finally hashed it out with Greener, the analysis in FEC Exhibit No. 11 was to include an analysis of questions about George Bush in 1988?

A. I believe there was inherent in there the idea that some of those questions -- there was never a discussion of which ones. I mean, I think you could have assumed it may have been inherent in there that there were questions that Bush might have gotten confidentially if the Bush people felt

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or if I felt there was some sensitivity to other people seeing it.

We never really got to that decision or conclusion. As an aside, I mean just as a clarification, I think clearly in my experience Presidents and Vice Presidents have polling done on a regular basis, usually paid for by the National Committee of their respective Party, and I think they often receive that data confidentially and it may not go to the Party that is paying for it.

I mean, there may be an account for them to use in that way. I think that has been true -- certainly over the last 20 years it has been true.

In this case, I believe that it was -- at least it was in my mind -- that most of the data, if not all -- and I never made a clear delineation in my own mind or wrote it down or talked to anybody about it -- what would be in the RNC report that was in the Bush report, whether it would all be in there or whether some of it would be in there.

Because by the time we ever really focused on finishing that report we had this discussion on the 3rd and 4th, and those days, and it was clear by the time we were finishing that report that certain questions ought to be in

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there and others ought not to be in there, that they weren't paying for it. So as we finished that report, Exhibit No. 11, we did take at that point some care to make sure that the data that was in there were those sections that the RNC had agreed to pay for and there was not data in there that they were going to refuse to pay for.

Q. So may I conclude that between November 13th and December 3rd, Market Opinion Research intended to put such data and analysis of such data in the document that is FEC Exhibit No. 11?

A. A substantial share of it. At that point I had never gone through it and really thought about it or looked at it carefully, which I would have done before we delivered it, and said should all of this data go, should every single one of these questions go.

But, yes, the majority of them. I don't know, I mean some would and some wouldn't.

Q. You mentioned that Mr. Atwater said that it would pay for any questions that were perceived to be embarrassing. When did Fund for America's Future make the decision as to what questions it would pay for?

MR. MEYER: You mean when did they tell him that?

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MR. LEVIN: Right. When did they tell you that?

THE WITNESS: The first time I heard about this was on December 3rd, the conversation I mentioned earlier.

Secondly, then I had some conversations with Mr. Atwater, and I believe Mr. Phillips, after the 4th, over that next week or two, and said, all right, you know, if you are going to pay for some of this we have got to decide what you are going to pay for, and I met with them at one point and did the same process and went over it.

I believe -- well, that's the answer. And we arrived at a decision of what they would be willing to pay for and what they wouldn't during at about this same time.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q The same time as your discussions with Mr. Greener?

A Yes. They were going on simultaneously. I assume -- well, we arrived at those by, those were going on around mid-December and were concluded I think definitely before -- obviously before the 19th.

There is a relatively short period there. It has got to be between December 5th and December 19th.

Q Were there discussions that you know of between persons from the Fund for America's Future and the Republican

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National Committee? And let me include a third group, just persons representing Vice President Bush? Were there discussions among those three persons as to the question of what questions would be paid for by whom?

A. I was not a party to those discussions. I believe there were conversations possibly between the Fund for America's Future and the National Committee. I am not aware of any that would include -- if you are referring to the Vice President's staff.

Q. Correct.

A. As opposed to the Fund for America's Future.

Q. Was Craig Fuller involved in those conversations?

A. Not to my knowledge, no.

Q. Was Mr. Atwater speaking for the Fund for America's Future in terms of the final decision as to what that committee would pay for?

A. I believe Mr. Atwater and Mr. Phillips. Finally, I think Mr. Atwater was the chairman, and I guess he was, but I think -- I had a couple of those conversations specifically with Mr. Phillips, although I had conversations with both of them.

Since Mr. Atwater was Mr. Phillips' boss, I assumed

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he was the final arbiter, the final decision-maker.

Q. As mentioned before, Mr. Atwater had referred to paying for those questions that proved embarrassing. Did you and he have discussions as to why Fund for America's Future was not paying for any questions dealing with 1988?

A. Yes.

Q. What were those discussions?

A. Those were discussions -- I believe I had assumed in the conversations on December 3rd when Mr. Atwater said that he had made that offer, was making that offer, that we were going to divide, we were going to apportion the $70,000 and all the questions in the poll between those two entities.

I believe he may have also thought that at the time and that shortly thereafter, I don't know when, their counsel --

Q. Who was?

A. Mr. Baran -- said to them the Fund cannot pay for those questions under its charter. There are questions in there that some people may have thought, including me, were going to be paid for by the Fund.

Mr. Baran said the Fund can't pay for those, the Fund will not pay for them because they are things that have to do with the '88 election and the Fund can't do that. This

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came very soon after December 3rd or 4th.

So at that point is when we had the conversations and these negotiations included the fact at that juncture that -- at this point now it appeared, from my earlier conclusion, that the questions would be divided between the two parties, that we had some questions in there that both the National Committee and the Fund were going to refuse to pay for, and that we had a dispute either between the two of them or between each of them and us, and so as part of those negotiations, as they continued in December, we arrived at the decision or -- no alternative -- that the National Committee was willing to pay for certain questions, the majority of the poll, that the Fund was willing to pay for certain questions they used, and that neither of them were willing to pay for some questions specifically those that mentioned the '88 election.

And that neither of our clients in this case would pay for those and therefore -- nobody would have to pay for them or nobody would pay for them, and we assumed at that point, we arrived at the unhappy conclusion that we were going to have to eat whatever the allocation was for those questions.

So the poll was then allocated three ways instead of two.

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Q. If the RNC stated, we have established the RNC stated it would not pay for questions dealing with 1988, then why did it pick up the questions that were ultimately decided to be paid for by the Fund for America's Future, those five or six questions that dealt with the Vice President in 1986?

A. Would you repeat that? It is not that it is unclear, I am just not sure I heard it.

Q. You have the RNC first saying it would pay for the poll. Then you were informed there were questions referring to 1988 that it said it would not pay for, those questions. FAF said it would pay for the embarrassing questions, then ended up saying it would not pay for questions dealing with 1988.

Why did they pay for the questions they did pay for?

A. Why did who?

Q. Why did FAF say that it would pay for the questions that it said it would pay for? Why didn't the RNC pick up those?

A. I would assume those were questions the RNC eliminated because they felt they were not proper for them to pay for, some of those questions. Once we arrived at the ones that were not proper, that they did not want to pay for, were

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unwilling to pay for, that the Fund said we will pay for these questions because they are questions that we can use in relation to 1986 but we will not pay for those questions -- so we had these questions in the first instance that the RNC would pay for.

We had a group of questions the RNC would not pay for. Those, the Fund said, we will pay for these because they are relevant to 1986 but we will not pay for the others because they refer specifically to 1988.

Q. Well, did the RNC consider those questions that FAF said it would pay for, did the RNC consider those questions -- did they state a reason for why they wouldn't pay for those specific questions?

A. I don't think they stated a reason on every question, but I went through the questionnaire with Greener and Greener said these are fine, these are fine, this one we don't think is fine.

I don't think we discussed a reason for every question he took out of his list.

Q. Did they say anything that indicated they thought this would be linked to 1988?

A. No, I don't believe so. I don't believe that

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that is the explanation they gave for every question that they decided not to pay for. I don't know their motives in every case, but obviously their primary purpose was to take out those questions that referred to 1988.

They took out some others -- why they differentiated between other questions that referred to the Vice President in one way and others a different way, I am not sure.

Q. I want to refer back to FEC Exhibit No. 9, that is the November 13th analysis, to the pages marked 1 to 20 which are -- the first set of pages which are marked that way -- which is the poll itself.

A. The questionnaire with the results?

Q. Right. I am going to refer to specific questions to see if you recall if there was contention about those. Questions 40 to 60, that list of Prominent Americans, on page 10. Was there any contention with the RNC or with FAF, for that matter, as to who would pay for these questions? Was there any discussion?

A. Not much. Those questions are one of the sets of questions that are essential in developing the perceptual maps that I talked about earlier, so they were clearly part of what we wanted to look at as the perception of the Party

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and those questions are the basis or one of the two bases for the perceptional maps, so they clearly were part of the RNC, part of what would have been asked.

Q. On page 15, questions A-81 and A-82 -- or 81 and 82-A, as it is here --

A. Yes. I mean, those were questions that the RNC, that Greener said they would not pay for.

Q. Why did Mr. Greener say he wouldn't pay for those?

A. I don't know the answer to that. He said those were questions that he didn't think should be in the National Committee's part of the poll.

Q. We will go to the last set of questions. Questions 90 to 104. Am I correct in saying that some were paid by the Fund, some by the RNC, and some to be not allocated?

A. No, I think --

Q. What was the discussion on those questions?

A. No, no non-allocated questions in there, I think those were all paid for either by the National Committee -- what numbers were you referring to?

Q. 90 to 104.

A. No, those were all paid for by one of the two parties, I don't know if they were paid for but those were

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all allocated.

Q. Did the RNC pay for the questions dealing with George Bush?

A. Again, I don't know. I remember Mr. Greener saying that he didn't think the RNC should pay for those questions, that those were questions that had to do with Bush's activities and could be paid for by the Fund.

But he did not give me, at least if he did, I don't recall, a specific reason for each question.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked FEC Exhibit No. 13, and I am handing a copy of that document to witness and counsel. It is a five-page document headed Procedure for Cost Breakdown Among Multiple Clients. The first two pages has Procedures, and then after that the actual cost allocation, which is printed, and the last two pages it is written.

(Whereupon, FEC Exhibit No. 13 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Teeter, can you identify this document?

A. Yes. The first two pages are just a description of the procedures we use in allocating all multi-client political

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polls so that our allocation conforms to the FEC rules. The third page is just a typed version to make it easier to read of the next page, page 4 in this group, which is the allocation that our cost manager -- where she went through after we had assigned all the questions and made the allocation according to the way we allocate every multi-client in a political poll.

Q. And the last page, the last written page?

A. The last two pages really go together and what it is, the fourth page is the one that says "See 12/12/85" is the one that allocates the political portion of the poll, the $70,000, among the political clients. The other pages are apparently something she did first to take out the non-political clients that I mentioned to you earlier, only to get the basis down to the political clients.

Q. On page 4 of this document, the first written page, in the upper left-hand corner, what is the meaning of this reference "See 12/12/85 - most recent (2.90 etc.)?"

A. I actually have no idea what the "most recent 2.90" means, it may be some kind of a note to herself, and I am not sure what 12/12/85 means. But during this course I believe she may have done an allocation on 12/12 based on what I

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thought was the way they wanted it allocated, and then at a later date after I sat down with all the parties that changed a little bit, and I asked her to update it and this one has got a date of 12/23 on it. I think this was the final one based on then-agreement with all the parties, the RNC, the Fund, and the non-allocable pieces.

There were two in there I know, at least, where we did change a little bit, because after I met with somebody they said no, we are not going to do that, we will pay for this. So there is a little change as I recall and I think this is just a second updated version.

Q. On page 3 of this document, I am going to ask you to explain this line by line, if you will. Please do that.

A. Yes. This is the implementation of a process that we use to allocate the cost in all multi-client political polls. This allocation has been used since the beginning of the FEC because they required, as the first advisory opinions were written at the time of the FEC's formation and the Federal Election Law was passed I believe in 1974, amended in 1974, that it did not anticipate in the law multi-client political polls.

Therefore, a group of the polling companies and

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others, and ourselves, asked for an advisory opinion at that time. There was a question of whether if two political entities divided a poll 50/50 and they didn't actually receive exact benefit 50/50 one of them was making a contribution to the other one.

So we worked out with the FEC at that time a formula for which we would allocate the cost of the poll, which is described on pages 1 and 2. This is the application of that formula to this poll.

What it says under Total Project, which meant that the total project was a $70,000 cost, then reading across -- and I will read the first two lines across together -- is that 100 percent of the cost was $70,000. The questions the RNC agreed to pay for amounted to 74.8 percent of the items.

Now this is not a question item, this is a response item, because certain questions are a lot longer and more expensive than other questions. Like the questions you referred to that had a list where there were 12 or 15 items. In this allocation, they are counted as 15 response items equal to one other question.

That was in the formula that has been in practice at our company since I think 1974. So of the response items

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not the exact questions, 74.8 percent the RNC had agreed to pay for, and that amounted to $52,390. The Fund had agreed to pay for 7.1 percent, or $4,996. At this point there was 18.0 percent which both parties refused to pay for which amounted to $12,614.

That is in essence the allocation. We also allocated in a finer way, a longer poll like this, because in most polls that is all the allocation we would need to do. Certain parts of doing a poll cost more than others. For example, in this poll, I believe in our original cost estimate there was a line item in there to do the perceptual maps, that take a lot of computer time, for an extra $5,000 or $6,000 because they were part of the poll.

Some questionnaires have more or less open ends than others, which are more expensive. So those are judged a little differently.

The second item, the Polling/Data Processing are the regular costs of a poll. So what she did in this case was take the total cost and divide up those that would be normal costs of doing any poll, sampling, data processing, travel, things that were not extraordinary, that would be part of doing any poll.

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Then she separated the two extraordinary items that were different or a little unique in this poll from others, which were coding and which refer really to open-ended questions, because they are the only questions which have coding. In this case, of the open-ended questions, the RNC only had 20 percent and the Fund had 40 percent and there were 40 percent not allocated.

Obviously that is quite different than the total cost.

The last item on the page, the Analysis, contains that big line item in our cost of the perceptual maps, so in fact of the computer and analysis time 93 percent went to the RNC because they had that extra shot in there.

Obviously we didn't have any analysis time for those questions that nobody paid for. So in order to refine it and make it more accurate for this particular job and just applying the formula in whole, we broke out these separate -- these are really work categories, if you will -- to make it more accurate.

Q. Can you explain again why there was 20 percent delegated to the RNC on the coding?

A. Yes. The only questions that have coding -- coding

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is the process by which some person reads and categorizes the responses to open-ended questions. There were obviously, if you look at the third number, five open-ended questions to this questionnaire. Only one of those were in the RNC. Two were in the Fund portion. Two in the non-allocated.

Therefore, it would not have been accurate to allocate the overall 75 percent, roughly, of those questions which are more expensive to the RNC, because they only got 20 percent. So it is simply a refinement of the formula.

Q. So in a sense, everything leads up to this top --

A. That's correct. The bottom three categories lead to the top.

Q. In your discussions with persons from Fund for America's Future about what questions would be allocated to Fund for America's Future, was a concern expressed to you or was a concern discussed about the Fund for America's Future not exceeding $5,000 in its payment for the poll?

A. No. I have no recollection of that. The only concern that I believe they had was the '88 concern that I talked about earlier.

Q. Was any concern expressed to you over the ultimate $4,996 figure itself for Fund for America's Future?

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A. You mean as being too high or too low or --

Q. Or being awfully close to $5,000, or either way, any way, if there was any concern expressed to you?

A. No, I don't believe so. Those numbers are really the product of the allocation of those questions, not the other way around.

Q. So this allocation was done only after a final decision had been made between Market Opinion Research and RNC, and between Market Opinion Research and FFAF as to what questions would be allocated?

A. That's correct.

Q. Was there any input from anybody from FFAF or from Market Opinion Research into the drawing up of this chart itself, the gathering of the data?

A. I don't understand the question.

Q. FFAF or RNC. In other words, when MOR staff made up this chart, made these calculations and made up this chart, was there any input from people from the RNC or people from FFAF?

A. No. I don't believe any of them have ever seen this chart before. This was all done as a result. There was input into which questions went where, but then this was an

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entirely internal process afterwards.

Q. Since these December decisions were made, has there been any change in the decision on the allocation that you have been informed of?

A. You mean did somebody pay for more or less?

Q. Exactly.

A. No, there has not. No.

Q. Have you had any discussions on that issue with anybody?

A. Only as of yesterday.

Q. Referring to what counsel referred to at the beginning of the deposition.

And no payment has been made by anybody?

A. No.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter two documents. The first document I am handing to the reporter is to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 14. That is entitled Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter, with a top date of March 4, 1986, and a reference to 15:54.

And, a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 15 entitled Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter, but without the other headings.

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(Whereupon, FEC Exhibits Nos. 14 and 15 were marked for identification.)

MR. MEYER: Which is which?

MR. LEVIN: Exhibit No. 14 has the heading of March 4, 1986, 15:54 Meyer, Kirk et al. Exhibit No. 15 does not have --

MR. MEYER: Exhibit No. 15 is the signed version?

MR. LEVIN: Yes, the signed version.

MR. MEYER: Let's go off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

MR. MEYER: All right, let's go back on the record and you ask your questions. We will ask for a recess if there is a question and we need to look at these things more carefully.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Was Exhibit No. 14 submitted to the RNC prior to your filing the final Affidavit shown as Exhibit No. 15?

MR. MEYER: Wait a minute. Is the question whether a copy of Exhibit No. 14 was given to the FEC?

MR. LEVIN: The RNC.

MR. MEYER: I am sorry, the RNC.

THE WITNESS: I can answer the question.

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MR. LEVIN: Let me ask this question --

MR. MEYER: Let's just stop and look at these.

MS. LERNER: Let's stop and give them an opportunity to take a look at the documents.

(Brief recess taken.)

MR. LEVIN: We have handed the witness and counsel FEC Exhibit No. 14, which is an Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter and at the top it has March 4, 1986, 15:54 Meyer, Kirk et al., and FEC Exhibit No. 15, which says simply Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter and is a seven-page document signed by Robert M. Teeter.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Mr. Teeter, have you seen FEC Exhibit No. 14 before? That is the first of these documents.

A. I believe so, when I was preparing my Affidavit along with my lawyer. We had a draft and I believe this is the draft or one of the drafts that we worked on.

Q. Do you know if FEC Exhibit No. 14 was ever submitted to the Republican National Committee?

A. Not by me.

Q. The question is do you know if it was submitted to the Republican National Committee?

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whether the changes in the documents were based upon any of those conversations referred to with Mr. Baran?

A. And? You are asking the same question now specifically of paragraph (5)?

Q. Well, I didn't get an answer to the first question. That's what I am interested in.

MR. MEYER: What was the first question again?

THE WITNESS: Are any of the changes between 14 and 15 based upon conversations with Mr. Baran?

MR. LEVIN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I guess I can't answer that unless I go through every single -- I would have to almost take it line-by-line in order to say that.

MS. LERNER: I think we are trying to save some time here by asking the general question. It seems to me that if the question is do you know whether the changes between the two documents, any changes between the two documents, resulted from the conversations between your attorney and Mr. Baran, if the answer to that is no, to go down the specifics is fruitless.

So I think we are just trying to save some time with that question.

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THE WITNESS: My only answer can be then I don't think so but I haven't looked at every single change.

MR. LEVIN: Then let's go specifically.

THE WITNESS: I mean, I can give you for example about paragraph (5).

MR. LEVIN: Then let me ask you about paragraph (5).

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Now you have paragraph (5) of Exhibit No. 15, and it appears to have been added to the document. It does not appear at all in Exhibit No. 14.

A Correct.

Q I would ask you for an explanation of that.

MR. MEYER: Obviously this is an area that we need to be very precise on. You are not asking for anything that he discussed with us, you are asking whether he knows whether we discussed something with Mr. Baran.

MR. LEVIN: I think --

MS. LERNER: Let's go off the record.

MR. MEYER: Yes, let's go off the record so we can figure this out.

(Discussion off the record.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

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A. I do not know that it was. It was not by me.

Q. Do you know if anyone other than you or your attorney reviewed FEC Exhibit No. 14?

A. I am not aware whether anyone else reviewed Exhibit No. 14. I believe that my attorneys, during the course of this process, had some discussions with Mr. Baran about our response to the Complaint. But I did not. To my knowledge, I did not give 14 to anybody for their review. My secretary also worked with me on these in terms of sorting out my calendar and trying to establish dates and things like that.

Q. Do you know if the differences between these two documents was based on any of the contacts you mentioned with Mr. Baran?

A. I do not. I don't --

MR. MEYER: Do you have a specific difference you want to ask him?

MR. LEVIN: Well, let's go with some of those differences.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. I refer you to paragraph (5) of FEC Exhibit No. 15.

A. What is your question about paragraph (5)?

Q. Well, the previous question was whether you know

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Q. Why was paragraph (5) added?

A. Because in the process of doing this, the process was that I, in answer to the questions that the Affidavit was designed to answer, went through and kind of roughly dictated this at one time. Then my lawyers got it typed and they put it into form, an early draft, and then they said go through it, and I did go through it along with my secretary, who had more records, and said, you know, put in here as you try and chronologically go through, what happened, what you want the story to be, and it was apparent to me that this conversation was missing from here and it should have been in.

Q. Did you add that yourself then?

A. Yes, this was an excerpt.

Q. Referring to paragraph (6) of Exhibit No. 15, the words on the fourth line "...measure voter attitudes on national issues and measure the awareness and perception of major political figures." There had been a change from paragraph (5) of Exhibit No. 14. The "awareness and perception" has been in effect changed from "voter attitudes," because of voter attitudes apply to both national issues and major political figures.

A. No, wait a minute. That isn't the change, that I

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thought you said. (Witness reviewing Exhibit No. 15 and No. 14.) I suspect I made that change because from the point of view it is just a lot more active in 15 than it is in 14. The difference though -- let me see if you understand it, the difference I see is the same as what you see.

In No. 14 it says "...measure voter attitudes on national issues and major political figures."

In No. 15 it says "...measure voter attitudes on national issues" -- which is the same, and then it changes and says "and measure the awareness and perception of major political figures."

I don't recall this change, but it reads very much like a change I would have made, because this is much more Market Opinion Research's language. The terms "awareness and perception," are used all the time by us and they mean something specific when it refers to people.

I frankly don't remember making that change, but it sounds like something I edited.

Q Paragraph 15 of Exhibit No. 14 refers to "The FFAF Analysis, the Foreword to which erroneously stated that it was for the RNC, emphasized the public's perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election and the national issues of

8804070531 6

trade and terrorism."

Why was the reference to the foreword eliminated in Exhibit No. 15?

A. I think this is the same question referred to earlier. Again, I don't recall the specific change but it appears to me that after the lawyers drafted this from what I had said, that I just think they got it wrong. The draft here was incorrect.

It says: "The FFAF Analysis, the Foreword to which erroneously stated that it was for the RNC, emphasized the public's perception of the Vice President...." We talked about that earlier today and said at the time that foreword was written at least that part of the foreword was correct.

Q. That was for the RNC.

A. That was for the RNC. And I think in taking my rough dictation and putting it in here, they got it wrong.

Q. So you are saying that that was not an erroneous foreword?

A. I said earlier today at the time we wrote that foreword, yes, that's correct, is that our perception was that poll was for the RNC. We talked about that today.

Q. But did the RNC ever receive that analysis, FEC

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Eileen Clearance

Exhibit No. 9?

A. That only refers to who the client in this case, the payer of it was, and I think we discussed earlier today that the first time I became aware that they were not going to pay for all of it, including the portion that was being given to the Vice President, was on December 3rd, and the poll was delivered to them on November 13th and obviously the foreword was written before then.

Q. My question was the analysis, however, was not delivered to the RNC.

A. But I also said earlier today the fact that the RNC paid for some polling information that went to the Vice President did not necessarily mean that all of that data would go to the RNC. I am sure that this President and all the others I am aware of in the last number of years since I have been doing this got polling data, which may have been paid for by a political committee which they got exclusively on confidential matters that they were interested in polling on.

There is a question here of the definition possibly of a client. Our nomenclature, we have used it twice. Once in the characteristic of who is going to pay for the poll, who the contract was sent to, which is the RNC, and the fact that

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in terms of servicing clients we had two, from the beginning. We went over that earlier today.

I believe in the drafting of paragraph 15 on Exhibit No. 14 that when I read it, having come from the lawyers, my guess is I just looked at it and said that's not correct, we have to change it and make it correct.

In 14 it is not right, it is wrong.

Q So you didn't agree with any statements that may have been made about that, that it was an erroneous analysis as described there.

A. (No audible response.)

MR. MEYER: He didn't answer your question.

MR. LEVIN: That's all right, it is okay.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Let's refer now to paragraph 14 of Exhibit No. 14 and you refer to the -- end of line four and beginning of line five -- "...the broad authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll...." That is eliminated in FEC Exhibit No. 15, where paragraph 15 is the corresponding paragraph. You say within the authority and you eliminate the word "broad."

A. I think I specifically remember that is a term that my lawyer used and just seemed to me stylistically as I was --

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there were a number of changes I made in the last drafts, going through here. If I recall correctly, I said to George this simply does not sound like me, this is not what I said.

I think in the drafting of this they had put in the words "broad authority," and I had never used it and so I took it back out.

Q. Who had used the word "broad authority?"

A. The lawyers.

MR. LEVIN: Off the record.

(Brief recess taken.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Did the RNC request that you submit a draft Affidavit to them? Anyone at the RNC?

MR. MEYER: Did the RNC ask you?

THE WITNESS: No.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q. Do you know if they asked your attorney to submit a draft?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did anyone at Fund for America's Future ask that you submit a draft Affidavit to them?

MR. MEYER: If the answer is no, that's fine. If

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the source of your information is us, I instruct the client to decline to answer.

THE WITNESS: But if the source of my information is anybody but you, then I answer the question?

MR. MEYER: It is proper to answer the question, yes.

THE WITNESS: I believe that -- I am not sure that there was a request made, there was no request I don't think specifically made of me. I believe that I know my lawyers and the lawyers at the Fund were discussing these various -- the formulation of these responses and drafts.

Whether they specifically requested of each other that they submit drafts to one another, I don't know. I mean, I know from discussions with people at the Fund that they were talking to my lawyers about the nature of these responses. I don't know I guess the very specifics.

MR. LEVIN: We have no more questions at this time. Do you wish to cross-examine? Do you have any questions of your witness?

MR. MEYER: We do not.

MR. LEVIN: I have no further questions. Before we adjourn the deposition, I want to remind the witness and counsel that this is an on-going enforcement matter of the

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Federal Election Commission and he is bound by the confidentiality requirements of 2 USC § 437(g)(a)(4) and (a) (12).

MR. MEYER: We do not waive signature on the deposition. We would appreciate a copy as soon as one becomes available.

(Discussion off the record.)

MR. LEVIN: Mr. Teeter, this is your check for the witness fee, a $30 check, and this is a $258 check covering your air fare.

This deposition is adjourned. It is not terminated, it is adjourned.

(Signature not waived.)

(Whereupon, the deposition in the above-entitled matter was adjourned sine die at 6:35 p.m.)

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, ELISABETH GRIFFIN, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing transcript was duly sworn by me; that testimony of said witness was taken verbatim by me and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me, or under my direction; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto; and further, that I have no financial or other interest in the outcome of the action.

Elisabeth Griffin
Notary Public in and for
the District of Columbia

My Commission expires: October 14, 1989.

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6/14/85

RNC National

FEC Ex No-1
7/30/86 E. J.

topics
Bush
life style

someway to connect business to political perceptions
need a
breakthrough

values
lifestyle
selfactualization

for a Bush theme and message

~~econ jobs~~ job: sound economic quality

is trade world economy theme for Bush ?
entrepreneurship
is [illegible] value sets

parents :

Bush - finding a theme taps into values

Bogan Hoeffler Grener MacIntyre
NRSC

~~What's~~ What is it for Bush : issues, conservative,
Reagan, party, personality

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~~If there are~~ some changes —

more or less likely

If more: Almost certainly vote for him or need to find out ~~more~~ quite a bit more before deciding

Republican

~~Opposed~~ Favored abortions ~~to save life or~~ in extreme circumstances but opposed ~~opposed~~ abortions ~~when to be~~ ~~the right~~ allowing women to have abortion ~~for any~~ for any reason

Strong supporter of Ronald Reagan

Held the position ~~office~~ of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations
" " " " ~~Am~~ " to China

~~Held the position~~ of Vice President of the United States

He generally considered a conservative
" " " liberal
" " " moderate

Held the office of governor of ~~at~~ one or more state.

~~He~~ ~~He~~ Was born and raised in the South
" " " " in the North

Graduated from Yale ~~University~~
" " ~~a midwestern~~ a large state university

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thermometer also picture w/ people // four next conference chart
Kemp - Bush among GOP

— correlation of 8 scales w/ vote, PSCALE, WBCON

185 Rep need significant changes - how vote in primary?

Q.17-22 pro picture : causes of trade deficit

Protectionism index #2
sex
status groups
need Q.14 by Q.24

Gunboat .06
Am 1st .03
Trad roles .06
Assist (.18)
Welfare .11
Unem A (.15)
Black A (.17)

~~745? Block now because of Q. 34~~

multiple regression

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2

Detroit : JRP, Jim L.,

6/19/85

FEC Ex. No. 2
7/30/86 E. G.

nouns infer traits
FBI man
astronaut
Vietnam veteran

vice president
politician — don't know he's honest unpersuade

don't give me another set of adjectives give me another set of nouns
Republican
football player
governor of large state
graduate of Yale
Texan
farmer
minister
college professor

"types"

"depth of processing hypotheses" in "memory search"
"person perception" "attribution search"

opposed to Reagan
strong supporter of Reagan
pro defense spending ⊃

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(2) map of nouns

① [illegible]
② prior knowledge
③ self-nouns

2-d dimensional
or reduce to 2 dimensions
competence
affect
trust

+

subgroups infer different traits

give me 3 out of 10 nouns for Pres

noun → affect — (trait) — support

similar / dissimilar to Pres

images

warm / cold toward nouns

trait differences by subgroup

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7/?/85

National #2 from RT

FEC Ex. No. 3
7/30/86 E.G.

little on [redacted] tax reform
star wars
terrorism (Bush chairman)

1st purpose: perceptions of G Bush
put in Kemp & other Republicans

[farmers]

Reagan/GOP coalition
where Bush fits, doesn't fit
trad. GOP
younger, populists (religious)
libertarian (yuppie)

what press feel
gossy w/ you

who replace those who
feel gossy

help w those who see
RR as anti women

. nuclear threat
young people v old people

mix: life styles & values

sewin theory

?/?/85

G Bush
what are G Bush's strengths & weaknesses
of decision had to be made on
tax reform
committing troops
etc

who trust most
G Bush
T Kennedy
Hunt, Kemp, O'Neil

880407-5329

FEC Ex No. 4
7/30/86 E. B.

Keep

4

8-26-85 RT

Beach
✓what think
✓why

why think he's a weak leader

Theme of a Beach
✓ trade
terriers

'88

what's acceptable and
what's not

Ideas Beach have edge on foreign policy

not Topical

✓less interested in politics now than before

✓want a manager that doesn't clean up after
or a flame thrower

✓Comfortable

gone

✓use more force against terrorist

Payton / Terrance

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National Omnibus / RT / August

International Terrorism : rebellion pre emptive strike
" trade :

Bush
how perceive now
why perceive him that way

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MEMORANDUM

FEC Ex No. 5
7/30/86 E.H.

TO: Barbara Kelley
FROM: Julie
RE: Terrorism
DATE: 8/12/85

Could you gather together the latest public polling data on international terrorism? Just the past few months in places like Gallup, Harris, L.A. Times... Teeter wants to ask some questions on this subject on our next U.S. National. I will be back in the office on Wednesday and will be working on the draft then , so I'll need this info for questionnaire fodder. Thanks.

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MEMORANDUM

republican national committee

FEC Ex No. 6
7/30/86 EB.

TO: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FROM: BILL PHILLIPS

DATE: MARCH 15, 1985

J 3/17

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The Teeter Project is on schedule. It probably will be done mid-April, depending on other projects that may be in the field at that time.

The effort will be done as an addendum on another project.

I don't know what this pertains to.

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5

FEC Ex No. 7
7/30/86 E.D.

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY LUKENS

FROM: KATHY SMITH

Craig Fuller has the following comments to Mr. Teeter's questionnaire:

1. A great questionnaire.

2. Page 2, Item 16:

   Please consider substituting U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manufacturers.

3. Page 5:

   Please consider adding to the list of names Peter Uberroth and Pat Robertson.

4. Page 6:

   I know you are reluctant to add any additional questions, but I would like you to consider a slightly different approach to the successor line of questioning. Something like the following:

   Since RR cannot serve a third term, some people are considering who best could follow RR. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree that the next President should be:

   1. Experienced in federal government;
   2. Conservative;
   3. Able to articulate new ideas;
   4. Respected by foreign leaders;
   5. Someone now in government;
   6. Someone who worked with RR;
   7. Someone who would keep America competitive;
   8. Someone who would strengthen U.S. defense capabilities;
   9. Someone who would spend more to help to poor;
   10. Someone who whould provide more help to farmers;

(There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas.)

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9/10

Jim —
Comments
given to
KS 8103 PD

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus
Draft Questionnaire #1
Quota N=1500
September 6, 1985

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think it needs significant changes?

3. (IF NEEDS CHANGES, ASK:) What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.
7. We should hlep <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.
8. It is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer.
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.

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Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

14. Has competition from foreign countries hurt the economy in your community, helped your local economy, or hasn't it made a difference?

15. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

RANDOMIZE

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so American consumers can have the widest choice possible on what to buy

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products

As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. I'm going to read you some things, and for each one, please tell me how much you think each one has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little, or not at all.

RANDOMIZE

Substitute: U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manuf.

16. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies
17. Wage demands by American labor unions
18. Better quality of foreign products
19. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries
20. Cheap labor in foreign countries
21. The selling of goods at less than cost by some foreign companies

22. Do you think our limits on foreign imports should be greater, about the same, or less than they are now?

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23. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

ROTATE

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

24. Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.

25. Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.

26. A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.

27. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.

28. Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.

29. Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently...

30. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

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31. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

32. (IF OPPOSE, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

33. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if the children in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

34. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Do you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack? ("Both" coded as a volunteered response)

35. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

36. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

37. Do you believe that the recent hijacking of the TWA airliner and other recent terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals or small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

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Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about him/her using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

38. Ronald Reagan
39. George Bush
40. Robert Dole
41. Howard Baker
42. Jack Kemp
43. James Thompson
44. Jeanne Kirkpatrick
45. Walter Mondale
46. Ted Kennedy
47. Tip O'Neill
48. Jesse Jackson
49. Mario Cuomo
50. Gary Hart
51. Geraldine Ferraro
52. John Glenn
53. Jane Fonda
54. Jerry Falwell
55. Gerald Ford
56. Jimmy Carter
57. George Wallace
59. Lee Iacocca

Peter Uberroth
Pat Robertson
Jerry Falwell

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

60. The Republican Party
62. The Democratic Party
63. Liberals
64. Conservatives

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Thinking ahead to 1988 for a moment. . .

65. Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term. Is there anyone, in particular, you would like to see be the next President of the United States? (Who?)

66. As you may know, George Bush may be a candidate for President in 1988. On a zero to ten scale, where zero means you would never consider voting for George Bush for President and ten means you would definitely vote for George Bush for President, where would you place yourself on this scale?

67. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

68. IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. George Bush
b. Bob Dole
c. Howard Baker
d. Jack Kemp
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

69. IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. Ted Kennedy
b. Gary Hart
c. Mario Cuomó
d. Lee Iacocca

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

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Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT NAME AND PARTY)?

RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES

70.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Ted Kennedy, Democrat
71.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Gary Hart, Democrat
72.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Lee Iacocca, Democrat

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

(HALF SAMPLE A)

73A. From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush. PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

74A. Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK: Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

(HALF SAMPLE B)

73B. If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the areas you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

74B. What are the areas you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

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I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

RANDOMIZE

75. Our relations with the Soviet Union
76. The federal budget deficit
77. Taxes
78. Abortion
79. Policies concerning minorities
80. Women's rights
81. National economic policy

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to one hundred scale where 100 means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT

Honesty

82. _____ Ronald Reagan
83. _____ George Bush
84. _____ Ted Kennedy

Concern

85. _____ Ronald Reagan
86. _____ George Bush
87. _____ Ted Kennedy

Leadership

88. _____ Ronald Reagan
89. _____ George Bush
90. _____ Ted Kennedy

Competence

91. _____ Ronald Reagan
92. _____ George Bush
93. _____ Ted Kennedy

8 8 0 4 0 7 0 5 3 4 2

Here are some statements concerning George Bush, in particular, and for each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

94. Bush has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
95. Bush looks like a President.
96. Bush, as President, would keep us out of war.
97. Bush sounds like a President.
98. Bush, as President, would keep our country prosperous.
99. Bush acts like a President.

Background Questions

100. Party identification
101. Past Party identification
102. Past voting behavior
103. Registered voter
104. Ideology
105. Age
106. Education
107. Employment status
108. Occupation
109. Health, education, welfare occupation
110. Marital status
111. Spouse employment status
112. Union/teacher household
113. Farm household
114. Religion
115. Frequency of church attendance
116. Reborn
117. Income
118. Race
119. Sex

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6

FEC Ex No. 8
7/30/86

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 9, 1985, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1985 whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than October 9 for preliminary report.

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985.

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate.

3. *Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information*

The interpretive report of the survey shall become the property of client after delivery of the report to client by MORC and the payment to MORC of the full fee provided in paragraph 2. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least two years and give client reasonable access to them. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising and public relations, the information obtained in the survey or included in the interpretive report without the written consent of client, provided, however, if the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by client or anyone else acting for client or on its behalf, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the method of obtaining the interviews including the size and design of the sample and the basis of the data if the sample is less than the total sample, the dates and times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the client's name. Client agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report that client or such other person will first notify MORC in writing and [illegible] the release, speech, or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be was done by MORC. Client agrees at all times both during the term of this Agreement and thereafter, to keep in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of MORC and not to disclose or make known such knowledge or information to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of MORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by MORC. Client further understands and agrees that the names or addresses of interviewers used by MORC and the names and addresses of persons sampled are confidential and will not be made available to client.

[illegible] Client may cancel this survey [illegible] days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event written notice of cancellation is received by MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the client with respect to said survey shall be refunded in full. In the event that the written notice of cancellation of the survey is received by MORC [illegible] prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, MORC shall be entitled to [illegible] MORC

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5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client	*If to MORC*
Mr. William Greener Republican National Committee 310 First Street, N.E. Washington, D. C. 20003	Market Opinion Research 550 Washington Blvd. Suite 1000 Detroit, Michigan 48226 Attn: Robert Teeter

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

7. *Additional provisions*

Client is a political committee with a chairman and a treasurer at least one of whom has authorized this expenditure by said committee as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and, as such, client has assured MORC that it will account for and disclose the cost of this survey as an expenditure as required by said Act and otherwise comply with any other applicable Federal or State law in connection with this matter.

MORC reserves the right to use the findings from this survey in anonymous form as to the specific population and client for purposes of aggregate and comparative analysis to be made available to other clients of MORC or publications.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

BY _____

Its _____

Client

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

BY _____

Its _____

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FEC Ex. No. 9
7/30/86 E.B.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

U.S. National #2 Study

Analysis/Report

8804070053446

Not to be released without the permission
of Market Opinion Research

Job #P85040
November, 1985

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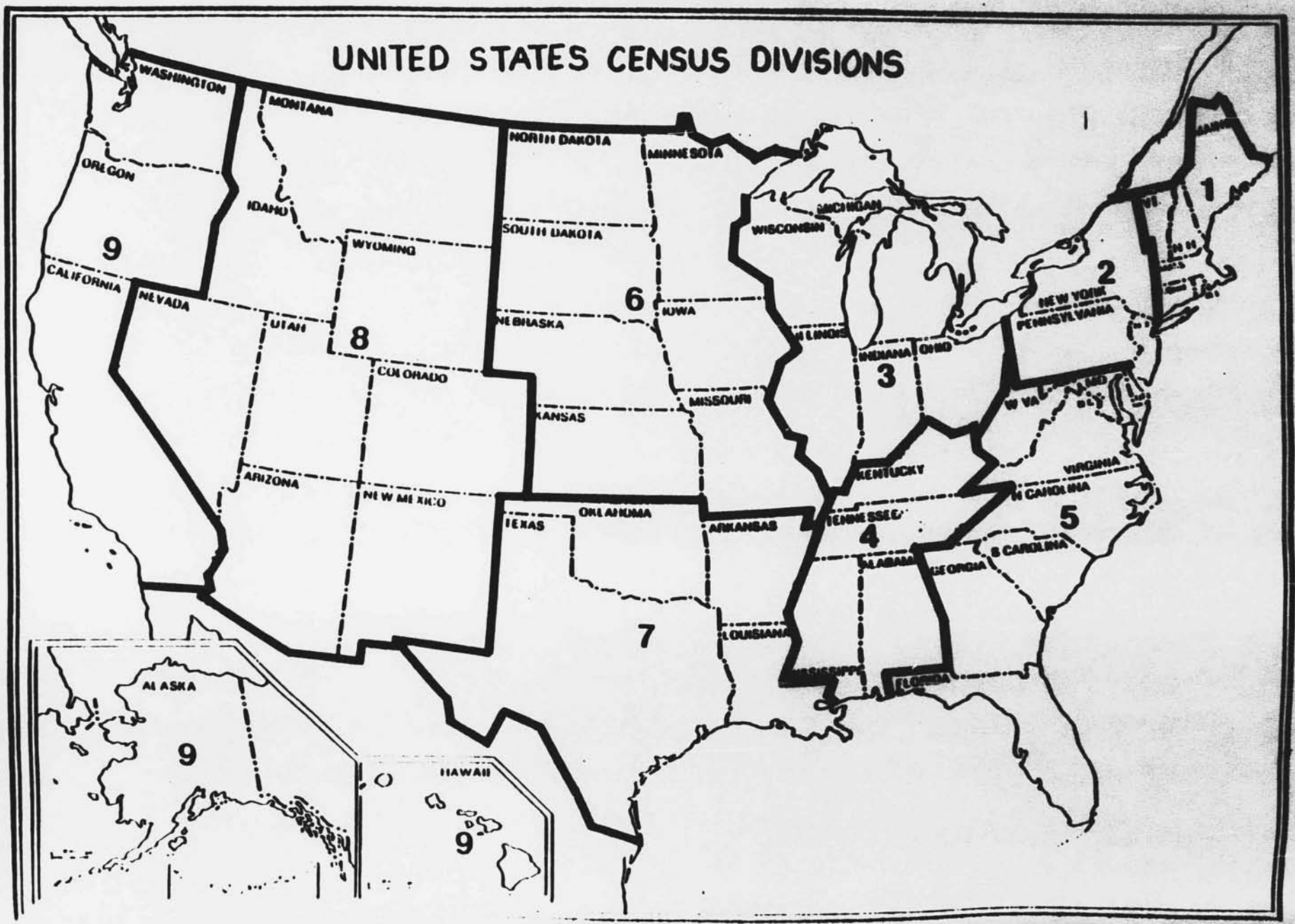
1 New England 2 Mid-Atlantic 3 East North Central 4 Border 5 Deep South 6 West North Central
7 Mountain 8 Pacific

8 8 0 4 0 7 5 3 4 9

1·New England 2·Middle Atlantic 3·East North Central 4·East South Central 5·South Atlantic
6·West North Central 7·West South Central 8·Mountain 9·Pacific



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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
* To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

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Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

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Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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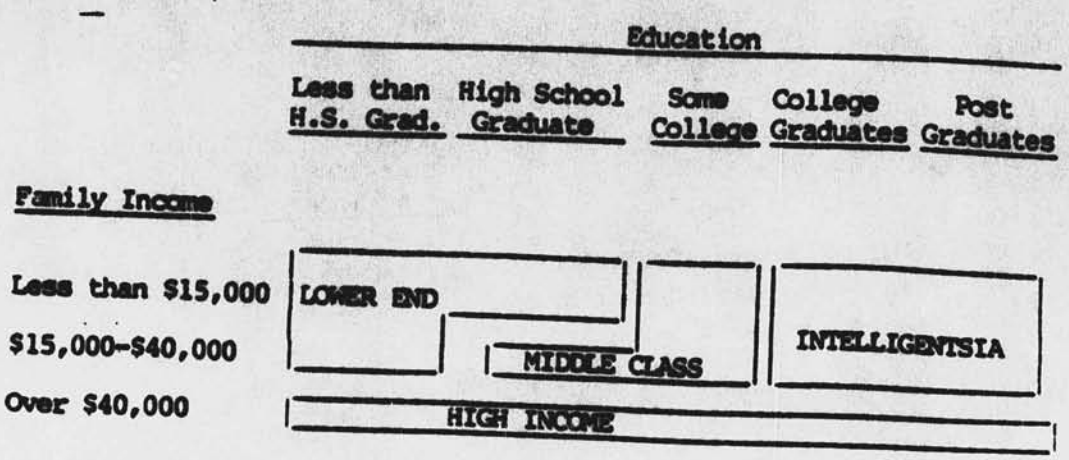
"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:



The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

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"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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Other Special Analytical Variables

Several other analytical variables were created to aid in the analysis. Unlike the previous special variables, these variables are composed of perceptual rather than demographic data.

The "Presidential Ballot Summary" is a combination of questions 78, 79, and 80. A Core Republican votes for Bush on all three ballots and a Core Democrat votes for the Democratic candidate all three times. Anti-(NAME) Democrats vote for the Democratic candidate in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot. The pro-(NAME) Republicans vote for Bush in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot.

	Distribution of Index
Core Democratic	24%
Anti-Kennedy Democrats	6
Anti-Hart Democrats	5
Anti-Iacocca Democrats	9
Pro-Kennedy Republicans	6
Pro-Hart Republicans	5
Pro-Iacocca Republicans	8
Core Republican	30
Others	7
Total	100%

There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	
2.	19	47%
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	
5. Free trader	6	23%
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	
Lean protectionist	25	42%
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	
Core anti-protectionist	17	45%
Total	100%	

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The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

		Distribution of Index
0	No military action	16%
1		25
2		28
3		23
4	Military action in all cases	9
Total		100%

Seven "master attitudes" were uncovered in a past U.S. National study. They were replicated in this study. These attitudes have been found to significantly divide the electorate. The questions used to make up these scales are listed in the question results. The distribution of the scales are listed below:

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplo-macy	America First	Tradi-tional Values	Gov't. Assis-tance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Liberal	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Distribution of American Public on Seven Master Attitude Scales

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplomacy	America First	Traditional Values	Gov't. Assistance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1985-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative position	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
1983-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	26	19	17	45	26	28	25
Mixed	19	27	34	18	19	24	30
Conservative position	55	54	49	37	55	48	45
1985-Republican Primary Electorate							
Liberal position	19	25	15	33	17	23	9
Mixed	31	42	52	25	17	22	20
Conservative position	49	33	32	43	66	55	71

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U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	Right direction	50%	66%
	Wrong track	39	24
	Don't know	10	8
	Refused/NA	1	1
2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	Working fairly well	53	69
	Need significant changes	43	29
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused/NA	*	*
3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)	SEE ATTACHED TABLE		
4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	34	53
	Somewhat approve	34	32
	Somewhat disapprove	12	4
	Strongly disapprove	15	4
	Don't know	4	2
	Refused/NA	2	*
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	22	[illegible]
	Somewhat approve	35	[illegible]
	Somewhat disapprove	8	[illegible]
	Strongly disapprove	9	[illegible]
	Don't know	23	[illegible]
	Refused/NA	3	[illegible]

R 8 0 4 0 7 0 5 3 6 0

(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3

	Total
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relationship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	17
Refused/No answer	*

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

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Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #4	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44

(Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

		Total Electorate	Re- li- Pri- [illegible] torate
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%	61%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4	2
	Hurts	36	32
	Don't know	5	5
	Refused/NA	*	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31	35
	About the same	28	27
	Less	34	31
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	1	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46	48
	No	51	49
	Don't know	2	2
	Refused/NA	*	—

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16
b.	Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53
c.	Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	1

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Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

Republican Primary Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	71%	17%	7%	1%	3%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	54	29	10	2	5
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	14	5	7
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	40	36	15	3	7
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	33	21	6	4
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	38	32	15	4	10

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

	Total Electorate	Rep Electorate
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%	36%
OR		
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58	58
Don't know	8	6
Refused/NA	1	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55
Don't know.	14
Refused/NA.	2

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More	9
About the same	36
Less	51
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war	35
Allowing fewer imports into country	58
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	*

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate	Repub. Elector.
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	36%	37%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	57	56
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	*	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	73	77
	Oppose	19	16
	Don't know	7	7
	Refused/NA	1	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	43	46
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	40	38
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	15	15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3	2
(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34) 35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	35	40
	Oppose	40	39
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	8	7
	Refused/NA	1	1
5. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists	28	33
	Favor only as retaliation	47	48
	Favor neither	4	3
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	*
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	36	43
	Oppose	40	37
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	7	5
	Refused/NA	1	1
(ASK ALL) 38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate	59	53
	Refuse to negotiate	34	41
	Don't know	6	5
	Refused/NA	1	1
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups	27	21
	Foreign government	66	73
	Don't know	7	5
	Refused/NA	1	*

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Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a to one hundred scale — with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68*
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

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Q.65-66 Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	32%	26%	56%	27%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	19	26	39	18	21
Is in government now	26	13	13	27	14	13
Conservative	25	14	11	32	19	14
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	9	11	29	14	15
None		9	--		6	--
No second mention		--	9		2	7
Don't know/Refused		3	3		--	2
		100%	100%		100%	100%

.67-68 I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like .ou to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below), the second (read below), the third (read below) and the fourth (read below). (IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:) Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	60%	35%	26%	64%	40%	25%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	60	27	35	63	28	36
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	36	20	16	37	19	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	34	15	19	29	11	18
None		1	--		1	--
o second choice		--	2		--	2
Don't know/Refused		2	1		--	1
		100%	100%		100%	100%

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Q.69-72 Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible President.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

Total Electorate	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	51	20	26	3	5.7	2.9
Jack Kemp	100%	18	13	17	51	4.9	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	44	16	38	2	5.2	3.3
Gary Hart	100%	43	21	25	10	5.4	2.7

Republican Primary Electorate

	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	67	17	14	2	6.8	2.4
Jack Kemp	100%	25	13	14	48	5.4	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	25	16	57	1	3.6	3.1
Gary Hart	100%	35	23	34	9	4.8	2.7

Avg. = Average on a zero to ten scale.

S.D. = Standard deviation around average.

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	Total Electorate
73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?	
Republican	36%
Democratic (GO TO Q.77)	40
Neither one (GO TO Q.78)	17
Don't know (GO TO Q.78)	6
Refused/NA (GO TO Q.78)	1
74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/ REFUSED: Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	
a. George Bush	58
b. Bob Dole	10
c. Howard Baker	12
d. Jack Kemp	8
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick	7
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	*
75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)	
George Bush	19
Bob Dole	22
Howard Baker	17
Jack Kemp	11
Jeane Kirkpatrick	15
Don't know	15
Refused/NA	1

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/REFUSED: ASK) Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	
a. Ted Kennedy	44
b. Gary Hart	22
c. Mario Cuomo	18
d. Lee Iacocca	14
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Q.78-80 Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SOME ORDER)

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Bush	51%	83%
Kennedy	45	16
Don't know/Refused	4	1
	100%	100%
Bush	50%	81%
Hart	45	16
Don't know/Refused	5	2
	100%	100%
Bush	49%	76%
Iacocca	43	22
Don't know/Refused	7	2
	100%	100%

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Q.81-82A (Half Sample A) From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush?

Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (RESPONSES OF 2% OR MORE)

LIKE BEST	Total
Reagan's man/Works with Reagan/Follows Reagan's Policies/Philosophies	7%
Honest/Integrity/Sincere/Fair	7
Experience/Background/Qualified	7
Straightforward/Forthright/Outspoken	4
Intelligent/Sharp/Educated	3
Foreign affairs/Foreign policies/Foreign relations	3
Alright/Okay/Doing a good job	3
Well-informed/Knowledgeable	3
Conservative	3
Personable/Personality/Likeable/Charismatic	3
Articulate/Talks well	2
Vice-President	2
Issues/Views/Policies/Philosophies	2
Good person/Fine	2
Leadership quality/Strong leader	2
Held a variety of government positions (unsp.)	2
All other issue related responses	2
None/Nothing	10
Don't know/Don't know him	38
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Competent	16
Issues	16
Strong	11
Trustworthy	7
Past positions/Resume	5
Personable	4
Concerned	4

DISLIKE	Total
Low profile/In the background/Not in the limelight/Needs more experience	5%
Obnoxious/Superior attitude/Arrogant/Pushy	3
Rubber stamp for Reagan/Second hand man	3
Not aggressive enough/Not forceful	3
Weak/Spineless	3
Not Presidential material/Not qualified as presidential candidate	2
Not outspoken/Does not take a stand	2
Talks too much/Too much talking/Talks, no action/Puts his foot in his mouth	2
Conservative	2
All other issue related responses	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything	1
None/Nothing	11
Don't know/Don't know him	46
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Weak	17
Issues	5
Not personable	4
Not concerned	2
Untrustworthy	2
Past positions/Resume	1
Incompetent	*

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Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (Responses of 2% or more)

HANDLE WELL	Total
Foreign policy/Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/International affairs/Negotiations with foreign countries/Experienced in foreign affairs	23%
National deficit/Reduce federal budget deficit/Budget/Balance the budget deficit	12
Carrying out some of the principles Reagan has instituted/Follows Reagan well/Continue to do what Reagan has done	5
Economy/Economics/Economic growth/Get economy moving	4
Defense/National defense/Defense of our nation/Security - military/Enforce the military/Our military position/Strengthening the military	4
Government spending/Federal spending - reduce it/Bringing down government spending/Cutting waste in government spending/Financial things	3
Administration management/Competent administration for bureaucracy cutting/Organization/Government as a whole, would be a better leader/More experience	3
Foreign trade/Foreign imports - get the trade going better/Straighten out foreign trade/Trade deficit/Trade with China and India	2
Domestic affairs/Handle domestic policy better than Reagan	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4

HANDLE POORLY	Total
Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/Foreign policy/Foreign policy, detrimental to certain sides	12%
Deficit/Budget deficit/Reducing the deficit/National debt/Not enough of an economist to help the deficit/Reduce deficit spending/Financial affairs	8
Defense/Military/National defense/Defense system/Concerns about disarmament/Would reduce the military	3
Public image, speaking ability, motivation lacking/Not making progress, doesn't show for the public/Public personality, doesn't come across on television well	3
Not strong enough/Does not have strong image/Not strong enough personality to stand up for what he believes/Not sure he would take a strong stand/Not a strong person, not forceful	2
Economy/Economics/Doesn't get publicity on economics/Everyone promises to get the economy in order	2
Foreign trade/Trade policy	2
Social Security/Cuts in Social Security	2
Welfare/Treatment of welfare people/The whole country - welfare	2
Unemployment/Jobs - not getting jobs/Employment	2

(continued on next page)

Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

(cont'd)

HANDLE WELL

	Total
Everything/Entire office	1%
Nothing/Don't think he does well/ Won't handle anything well	5
Don't know/Refused	44

Combined Responses

Foreign policy	30
Economic issues	20
Domestic/Social policy	5

HANDLE POORLY

	Total
Concerns about the poor/ lack of concern for the poor/Care of our poor/ The lower classes/Caught short in handling elementary human rights of the poor	2%
Lack of ability to work with Congress/Would not stand up to Congress/ Relations with Congress/ Doesn't have the personality to handle Congress that Reagan has	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything/Will do everything wrong	3
No, wouldn't go a bad job on anything/Would do a fine job	4
Don't know/Refused	49

Combined Responses

Foreign policy	18
Economic issues	13
Domestic/Social policy	12
Lack of leadership	7

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Q.83-89 I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me i you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

Total Electorate	Total	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know/ Ref.	PDI (a)
Women's rights	100%	24	47	16	13	+ 8
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	51	14	13	+ 8
The federal budget deficit	100%	21	49	19	10	+ 2
Abortion	100%	17	43	16	24	+ 1
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	23	46	23	8	+ 0
National economic policy	100%	18	52	18	12	+ 0
Taxes	100%	19	50	20	11	- 1
Republican Primary Electorate						
Women's rights	100%	25	53	14	8	--
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	59	11	8	--
The federal budget deficit	100%	26	51	18	5	-
Abortion	100%	18	44	18	20	-
National economic policy	100%	16	61	17	6	-
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	20	52	24	4	-
Taxes	100%	17	55	21	7	-

(a) Percentage Difference Index = % "Would handle it better" minus % "Would not handle it as well."

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Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

		Total Electorate Average	Republican Primary Electorate Average
	TRUSTWORTHINESS		
90.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
91.	George Bush	6.8	7.6
92.	Ted Kennedy	5.7	4.5
	CONCERN		
93.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
94.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
95.	Ted Kennedy	6.5	5.5
	LEADERSHIP		
96.	Ronald Reagan	7.7	8.8
97.	George Bush	6.4	7.4
98.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1
	COMPETENCE		
99.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.3
100.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
101.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1

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		Total Electorate	Republic Primary Elec
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%	[redacted]
	Fairly liberal	8	[redacted]
	Slightly liberal	4	4
	Moderate	52	45
	Slightly conservative	8	11
	Fairly conservative	13	20
	Extremely conservative	7	11
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	—

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	1
	Fairly liberal	5	6
	Slightly liberal	3	3
	Moderate	26	29
	Slightly conservative	10	[redacted]
	Fairly conservative	25	32
	Extremely conservative	20	[illegible]
	Don't know	8	[illegible]
	Refused/NA	1	*

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	[illegible]
	Fairly liberal	4	[illegible]
	Slightly liberal	4	[illegible]
	Moderate	36	[illegible]
	Slightly conservative	11	[illegible]
	Fairly conservative	21	[illegible]
	Extremely conservative	7	[illegible]
	Don't know	13	[illegible]
	Refused/NA	1	*

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Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?	Republican.	31%	73%
	Democrat.	34	3
	Independent	30	22
	No preference	3	1
	Other	*	—
	Don't know.	1	*
	Refused	*	—
	Party Identification Scale		
	Strong Democrat . . .	17	1
	Weak Democrat	17	2
	Independent Democrat.	12	2
	Independent	10	3
	Independent Republican	13	19
	Weak Republican . . .	17	37
	Strong Republican . .	14	36
	Other/Not ascertained	*	--
D2. (V6) In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)	Straight Democratic .	12	1
	Mostly Democratic . .	17	2
	A few more Democrats than Republicans. .	8	2
	About equally for both parties	21	16
	A few more Republicans than Democrats. . .	7	12
	Mostly Republican . .	18	41
	Straight Republican .	8	19
	Other	*	*
	Never voted	5	5
	Don't know.	2	1
	Refused/NA.	1	*
D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?	Yes	81	82
	No.	16	15
	Registered elsewhere.	3	3
	Don't know.	*	1
	Refused/NA.	--	--

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16	18
	25-29 years	11	12
	30-34 years	13	11
	35-39 years	11	12
	40-44 years	8	7
	45-49 years	6	7
	50-54 years	7	8
	55-59 years	6	4
	60-64 years	6	5
	65-74 years	11	11
	75 and over	4	5
	Refused	*	—
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5	3
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11	7
	Graduated high school	32	33
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3	2
	Some college-2 years or less	19	21
	Some college-more than 2 years	9	10
	Graduated college	14	17
	Post-graduate work	8	8
	Refused	--	--
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51	53
	Employed and working part-time	11	11
	Unemployed	5	4
	Retired	18	16
	Housewife	11	12
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	*
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	—	--
	Refused/NA	*	--

8 9 0 4 0 7 1 5 3 8 1

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	Single	24	24
	Married	62	63
	Divorced	7	7
	Separated	1	1
	Widow/Widower	7	6
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	—
D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	58	58
	Employed and working part-time	8	8
	Unemployed	1	1
	Retired	17	16
	Housewife	15	15
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	—
	Other	1	2
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	*
D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26	27
	Self-employed	10	13
	Retired	17	16
	Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8	9
	Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7	6
	Executive (corporate officer)	4	4
	Homemaker	1	1
	Services (nurse, police, military)	5	5
	Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12	9
	Student	1	1
	Education (teacher, counselor)	4	4
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused/NA	1	*

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		Total Electorate	Republi Primar Electo
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent	3	3
	Other member of household	2	2
	Both	2	1
	None	93	94
	Don't know	*	—
	Refused	—	—
D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent	11	10
	Other member of household	10	8
	Both	2	2
	None	77	79
	Don't know	*	1
	Refused	—	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member	Respondent	Other Member
Labor union	10	10	8	6
Teachers' association	4	5	5	4
No	85	83	88	86
Refused/Single member household	*	3	*	4

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?	— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	54	61
	— Roman Catholic	26	23
	Jewish	4	3
	— Other Christian	10	10
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2	2
	Agnostic/Atheist	*	*
	None	2	1
	Don't know	1	1
	Refused	1	1
D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)	Every week	28	31
	Almost every week	12	12
	Once or twice a month	17	16
	A few times a year	31	31
	Never	11	10
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused	*	*

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11	6
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12	11
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12	11
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11	14
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14	16
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7	8
	$50,000 and over	11	14
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused	5	3
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83	92
	Black	11	3
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4	3
	Oriental	*	1
	American Indian	1	*
	Other	1	1
	Not ascertained	*	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48	50
	Female	52	50
	Political Strata		
	Pacific	14	15
	Mountain	5	5
	East North Central	18	14
	West North Central	7	4
	Deep South	26	26
	Border	8	4
	Mid-Atlantic	16	17
	New England	5	4

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CHAPTER 1: PERCEPTIONS OF VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Though the office of Vice-President is often thought of as being an out-of-the-limelight office whose occupants often fade into the political background, Vice-President George Bush debunks that notion with a visible presence and fairly well-defined public image. Among the nation's eligible voters, only 23% do not have an opinion about his performance in office, and only 5% do not have an impression of him personally.

The American public reacts favorably toward Bush both in terms of his job performance and on a more personal level. Fifty-seven percent (57%) approve of the way he is handling his job as Vice-President while only 17% disapprove. On a zero to one hundred degree "thermometer" scale of personal favorability, Bush draws a rating of 59°, 5th out of a list of 21 political figures. Half of the voters (49%) have a favorable impression of Bush, 26% have neutral feelings about him, and 20% are unfavorably inclined toward Bush. Only Ronald Reagan (68°), Lee Iacocca (64°), Jeane Kirkpatrick (62°) and Howard Baker (60°) have higher average thermometer ratings than Bush. All but Reagan, however, have a much lower level of awareness. So, while their thermometer ratings may be higher, fewer people are able to offer an opinion about them. Bush is thus a much more familiar political person than these other potential Presidential candidates.

People were asked two open-ended questions about what they liked best and liked least about George Bush. Fifty-one percent (51%) can give an answer about what they like best about Bush, 39% can give no answer, and 10% say they like nothing about Bush. Among Republican primary voters, 68% can name something they like, 30% don't know, and only 2% say they don't like anything about him. Republicans (especially older, East North Central, and high income Republicans), Border South residents, men, senior citizens, and higher status Americans are those most able to relate something they like about Bush.

Adjectives dealing with competence are the most frequently volunteered as the basis for liking Bush (16%). Those are followed by adjectives relating to strength (11%) and trustworthiness (7%). Seven percent (7%) specifically say they like Bush because of his close association with Reagan. The following is a summary of the most frequent volunteered reasons for liking Bush.

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Competence: experienced, intelligent, knowledgeable, cool, etc.	16%	23%
Strength: forthright, strong leader, willing to take a stand, etc.	11	13
Trustworthiness: honest, sincere, fair, etc.	7	9
Reagan association: works with, follows Reagan's policies	7	13
Past positions: Vice President, held variety of positions, diplomat, C.I.A.	5	8
Total mentions	51	68
Nothing liked	10	2
Don't know	39	30

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Little more than a third of the American public (37%) are able to mention something they don't like about George Bush. Fully half (50%) can name nothing, and 13% say there is nothing they don't like about Bush. Those who do mention something about Bush they dislike are more apt to be Democrats, Jews, and East North Central residents.

While 11% of the voters volunteer adjectives attributing strength to Bush, more voters (17%) volunteer adjectives attributing weakness to Bush, e.g., "weak," "not aggressive enough," "does not take a stand," "not consistent," "wishy-washy," "too easily swayed," etc. Included in this 17% category are negative references to Bush's relationship to Reagan, e.g., "rubber stamp for Reagan" (3%) and "he's a 'yes' man" (1%). Significantly, less than 1% of the Republican primary voters say they don't like Bush because "he's not conservative enough." The following is a summary of the most frequent reasons for not liking Bush:

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Weakness: not aggressive, wishy-washy, not consistent, rubber stamp, etc.	17%	16%
Low profile/in the background/ not in the limelight	5	4
Not personable: arrogant, his personality, superior attitude	4	3
Total mentions	42	37
Nothing disliked	11	13
Don't know	47	50

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In comparison to the volunteered likes and dislikes of Bush, there is a greater concentration of answers when voters are asked what Bush would handle particularly well if elected President. Fully 23% volunteer foreign policy in general and another 7% volunteer such specific areas as national defense, foreign trade, relations with the Soviet Union, and nuclear arms control. By comparison to foreign policy, 20% volunteer economic issues including a 12% mention of handling the deficit as problems Bush would handle well.

Overall, 51% can volunteer something they think Bush would handle well; 5% say he would handle nothing well; and 44% have no perceptions of Bush in this context.

There is less focus to the answers on what the voters think Bush might handle poorly. Forty-seven percent (47%) of the voters do have something to volunteer, but these responses are spread across foreign policy/defense (18%), economic issues (13%), and other domestic issues (12%).

These general evaluative questions point out several findings:

- Bush is well-known as Vice-Presidents go, and enjoys a generally warm reception among the national electorate.
- Bush's major pluses at this time are public perceptions of experience, competence, his connection to President Reagan, and his ability to handle foreign policy issues.
- His major weakness at the present time is just that -- a number of voters see him as weak or a "yes" man.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Handle Well

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	23%	29%
National defense	4	5
Foreign trade	2	4
Relations with Soviets	1	2
Nuclear arms control	1	1
Military spending	1	2
Terrorists	1	1
Diplomacy	1	1
CIA covert activities	*	*
	30%	40%
Economic issues		
Reduce budget deficit	12%	16%
Economy/economic growth	4	6
Reduce government spending/ waste	3	4
Unemployment	1	2
Lower taxes	1	2
	20%	28%
Carrying out Reagan principles/continue to do what Reagan has done	5%	6%
Total mentions	51%	61%
Would handle nothing well	5	5
Don't know	44	34

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Handle Poorly

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	12%	13%
National defense	3	2
Foreign trade	2	2
Relations with communists	1	*
Terrorists	1	--
Relations with Soviets	1	1
Defense spending	*	--
	18%	17%
Economic Issues		
Budget deficit	8%	6%
Economy	2	2
Unemployment	2	2
Would spend more	1	1
Taxes	1	1
	13%	12%
Other Domestic/Social Policy		
Social Security	2%	1%
Welfare	2	*
Concern for the poor	2	*
Domestic affairs (unspec.)	1	1
Labor unions	1	1
Education	1	1
Women's rights/women's issues	1	1
Civil rights/affirmative action	1	1
Social services	1	1
Abortion	1	1
Concern for minorities	1	*
Concern for farmers	1	*
	12%	9%

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Bush's Personal Coalition

Who likes George Bush? To answer this question, perceptions of Bush were looked at by every demographic subgroup, both by themselves and in combination with other demographic variables. After performing this bi-variate and multi-variate analysis, it was found that, though most Americans approve of Bush's performance in office as Vice-President and have a generally warm and favorable personal perception of him, the following voter groups hold Bush in highest regard:

- Republican partisans
- Southerners
- voters 55 or older
- people with incomes over $40,000

There is not much significant interaction among these groups, that is, Southerners of all ages are more favorable toward Bush, as are high income voters of all ages residing in all parts of the country.

At the other end of the spectrum, white Democrats, blacks, Jews, and residents of the mid-Atlantic states are less favorably disposed toward Bush.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Factors Affecting Perceptions of George Bush

Why do people like George Bush? While that is a complicated question to answer, it seems to boil down to several key factors:

- he is a familiar quantity
- people sense that he is philosophically close to them
- people trust him
- people associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know, like, and trust

First of all, the public is familiar with Bush. Only President Reagan and former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are more familiar to the general public than Bush. And Bush is the most well-known of the potential 1988 presidential candidates. Nearly all (97%) of the country's Republicans have heard of Bush, while 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and 48% are unfamiliar with Kemp.

The American public is ideologically just right-of-center. On a 7-point liberal-conservative scale, where 1 is very liberal, 4 is moderate, and 7 is very conservative, the national average is 4.3. When asked where they would place George Bush on this scale, Republicans and Democrats alike place him at 4.6, close to the national average and closer to their respective averages than their placement of Reagan. However, perceived ideological distance from Bush only mildly explains why people like and dislike him. Party identifications, for example, explain more than twice the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings than do self-described ideological distances. Even so, it is important that most Americans feel ideologically comfortable with Bush.

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When asked how much of 4 qualities Bush possesses, trustworthiness appears on top. On a 0-10 scale of how much of that quality he possesses, Bush rates a 6.8 from the public on trustworthiness, a 6.6 on concern and competence, and a 6.4 on leadership. Trustworthiness and leadership are both highly related to overall opinion of Bush. The fact that he is rated high on trust is thus a positive finding, but his lower rating on leadership could prove to be a problem, since it is a further indication of a perception of weakness.

When voters asked what qualities from a list of five they would like in the next President (all five of which are Bush characteristics), one of them -- "has worked with Ronald Reagan" -- is highly associated with perceptions of Bush, meaning that evaluations of Bush are often made with Reagan in mind. In one sense this is good, since Reagan is very popular and visible. But in another sense it is a hindrance to Bush in developing his own political identity.

Of the five Bush characteristics, "respected by foreign leaders," is the attribute with the greatest potential impact with the voters. Nearly one-third (32%) selected it from the five as the most important characteristic for the next president to have, and another 26% selected it as the second most important attribute. However, the importance people place on this attribute currently is not related to their opinion of Bush. The same is true for the other three characteristics; none of them help explain the public's overall regard for Bush.

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The public's rank-ordering of the Bush characteristics is as follows:

	Important for Next President			
	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined Selection	Selected First	Combined Selection	Selected First
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	(32%)	56%	(27%)
Has held a variety of government positions	45	(19)	39	(18)
Is in government now	26	(13)	27	(14)
Conservative	25	(14)	32	(19)
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	(9)	29	(14)

It is interesting to see just who selects what characteristics as their first choice. Though all voter groups chose "respected by foreign leaders" over the other choices, holding a variety of government positions is more important than average to middle aged voters, members of the intelligentsia, and Jews. Being in government now is more important to residents of the South and voters aged 55 to 64. Being conservative is relatively more important to Mountain state residents, both strong and independent Republicans, and the intelligentsia. Having worked with Reagan is relatively more important to strong Republicans, lower end whites, and Border South residents.

While the Reagan connection would appear to be relatively unimportant, that would be an erroneous overall conclusion. From practically all the other results on Reagan, Bush's association with Reagan is a major asset for his candidacy. What these particular results do mean is that Bush's foreign policy experience and his wide ranging government background are major assets for him when the time comes to use them.

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In summary, the American public likes George Bush because he is familiar to them, they feel ideologically comfortable with him, they trust him, and they associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know and trust. Two factors that ought to play a stronger part in defining Bush as a political figure are his resume and his leadership qualities. Bush has an early perceptual advantage over his 1988 opponents because he is presently a more familiar public figure, but that advantage will disappear as the other candidates begin campaigning in earnest. The best thing that Bush could do in the coming months, as he campaigns for other Republicans around the country, is to broaden his public image and begin to highlight his resume and leadership experience.

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Comparing Bush and Reagan

As is alluded to earlier, George Bush's public image is closely related to Ronald Reagan's. It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences, and how Bush can both take advantage of public goodwill toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image.

Comparing the two on an issue dimension, a plurality of the nation's pool of voters believe Bush would handle seven specific issues about the same as Reagan has. The marginal differences are interesting, though, and prove Bush to be a more "centrist" political figure ideologically compared to President Reagan. Bush receives a small

advantage on handling policies concerning minorities (22% say he would handle it better, 51% the same, 14% not as well, for an 8-point advantage) and women's rights (24%, 47%, 16%). On the other 5 issues — the federal budget deficit, abortion, our relations with the Soviet Union, national economic policy, and taxes — there is no significant difference between Reagan and Bush on who would better handle them.

Among Republican primary voters, the margins come out much the same. Republicans generally believe that Bush would handle things pretty much as Reagan has, but would be somewhat better on women's rights, policies concerning minorities, and handling the federal budget deficit. They feel he'd handle taxes and relations with the Soviet Union somewhat less well.

Both the general and Republican primary electorates show the greatest indecision on the issue of abortion. Twenty-four percent (24%) of the general electorate and 20% of the Republican primary electorate does not know how Bush would handle abortion.

As discussed previously, on a 7-point ideological scale, Americans place themselves just slightly right of center, at 4.3. They place Ronald Regan at 5.1 on this same scale and George Bush at 4.6. Voters thus think of Bush as closer to themselves on an ideological basis than is Reagan.

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Republicans, who place themselves at 4.7 on the scale, also put Reagan and Bush at 5.1 and 4.6 — with Bush still closer to them than is Reagan. Democrats also place Bush and Reagan at 4.7 and 5.1, with their own placement shifting left of center to 3.9. Democrats and Republicans thus agree on where Reagan and Bush stand ideologically, and both place themselves closer to Bush than to Reagan.

These ideological distances, however, are more important in explaining the public's opinions of Reagan than their opinions of Bush. Thirty percent of the variance in Reagan's thermometer ratings can be explained by a combination of the voters' party identifications and their perceived ideological distances from him. In contrast, only 17% of the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings can be explained by the combination of party identifications and perceived ideological distances from him. (Indeed, perceived ideological distances <u>from Reagan</u> have a slightly higher correlation to their thermometer ratings <u>of Bush</u> than do the voters' reported ideological distances from Bush.)

Reagan has a strong personal appeal that does much to moderate his perceived conservatism. Fully 51% of the electorate, Democrat and Republican alike, like Reagan better than they like Bush (as reported on their thermometer ratings). Twenty-nine percent (29%) like Reagan a lot better than Bush (10 or more points) and 22% like Reagan less than 10 points more than Bush. Another 35% like them both equally well (or poorly), and 14% like Bush better than Reagan.

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In the general electorate, those who like Reagan much more than Bush give Reagan an 82° average rating and Bush a 47° rating. Those who like Reagan slightly more than Bush give Reagan a 79° rating and Bush a 70° rating. Those who like them equally give them both a 63° rating, and those who like Bush more than Reagan give Bush a 60° and Reagan a 36°. Thus, even though most voters like Reagan more than Bush, Bush still receives a warm and favorable rating among all but the core Reaganites. However, if voters like Bush more than Reagan, they really don't like Reagan.

Among the general electorate, those who like Reagan more than Bush are young and Republican. Those who like Bush better than Reagan are largely Democratic.

The major reasons these groups like Reagan more than Bush are:

- they trust Reagan more than Bush
- they believe Reagan is more of a leader
- they believe Reagan is better at handling relations with the Soviets than Bush would be

These reasons all point to a need for Bush to develop a stronger personal image.

Among Republican primary voters, 36% like Reagan a lot more than Bush, 30% like Reagan somewhat more than Bush, 36% like them equally, and 7% like Bush more than Reagan. In point of fact, however, all of these groups like both Bush and Reagan and there are very few significant

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differences among them. Among the few differences: the Republicans who like Reagan more than Bush are somewhat stronger then average partisans, and are of higher socioeconomic status and more likely to live west of the Mississippi; those who like Bush more than Reagan have a tendency to be older and less partisan than those who like Reagan more than Bush. They are also somewhat more concentrated in New England and the East North Central region.

The major reasons Republicans like Reagan more than Bush are:

- leadership
- trustworthiness
- handling the deficit
- handling relations with the Soviet Union

Republicans show little difference from the electorate at large in this respect.

One of the largest gaps between Bush and Reagan is on leadership. Among four important character traits (competence, trustworthiness, concern, and leadership), Bush compares most unfavorably to Reagan on leadership and, as we just saw, it is one reason that Reagan is more popular than Bush. This is partly because leadership is the quality most associated with Reagan. The gap also exists partly because the voters' ratings of Bush on leadership drop moderately below their ratings of him on the other three qualities. Out of a possible 10 on leadership, Bush receives a 6.4 average rating to Reagan's 7.7. The leadership gap between Reagan and Bush exists to about the same magnitude among Republican primary voters: Reagan 8.8/Bush 7.4.

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Bush compares most favorably to Reagan in the total electorate on trustworthiness. The voters give Bush a 6.8 average rating on possessing this character trait where zero means the person doesn't possess it at all and ten means the person possesses the trait "as much as any person possibly can." Reagan receives a 7.1 average rating. By way of further comparison, Ted Kennedy recives a low 5.7 rating on trustworthiness, substantially below Bush. The Reagan-Bush gap on trustworthiness is the most important in explaining the full range of differences in feelings toward Reagan and Bush. Trust can be a barometer of familiarity, however, As the electorate becomes more familiar with Bush, they may grow more trustful. Leadership is the most closely related to just the voters who like Reagan a lot more than Bush.

The difference between Reagan and Bush is the same on concern and competence with Bush drawing a 6.6 on each one and Reagan two more 7.1's. Interestingly, Ted Kennedy does not edge Bush or Reagan on concern although, expectedly, concern is the trait voters most associate with him. Kennedy pulls a 6.5 on concern.

The gaps between Bush and Reagan on concern, competence, and trustworthiness are moderately larger among Republican primary voters than for the total electorate. The ratings of both men are significantly more positive among Republicans, but Reagan's ratings increase by a larger amount than do Bush's. Moreover, the total electorate pattern of Bush comparing most favorably to Reagn on trustworthiness does not exist among Republicans. Instead, Bush drops just slightly on trustworthiness among Republicans.

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Leadership and trust are the two qualities of the four most strongly related to voters' overall evaluations of Reagan and Bush. Bush's relatively low score on leadership, combined with the sentiments among some that he is weak, show that Bush needs to find opportunities to demonstrate leadership and to develop an image less dependent upon his connection to Reagan. This is not to say that he should disavow the past six years, but that voters should have more information upon which to base their opinion of Bush than Bush's Vice-Presidency in the Reagan administration.

In summary, Vice-President George Bush stands in good stead as the 1988 election campaign draws nearer. Awareness of Bush is greater than that of the other contenders at the present time, voters feel ideologically comfortable with Bush, and they believe him to be honest and trustworthy. One perception that could dog him when the campaign gets underway, however, is lack of definition Bush has in terms of leadership abilities. This seems due to the fact that people identify him mainly as Reagan's Vice-President and do not know enough about his past positions in and out of government.

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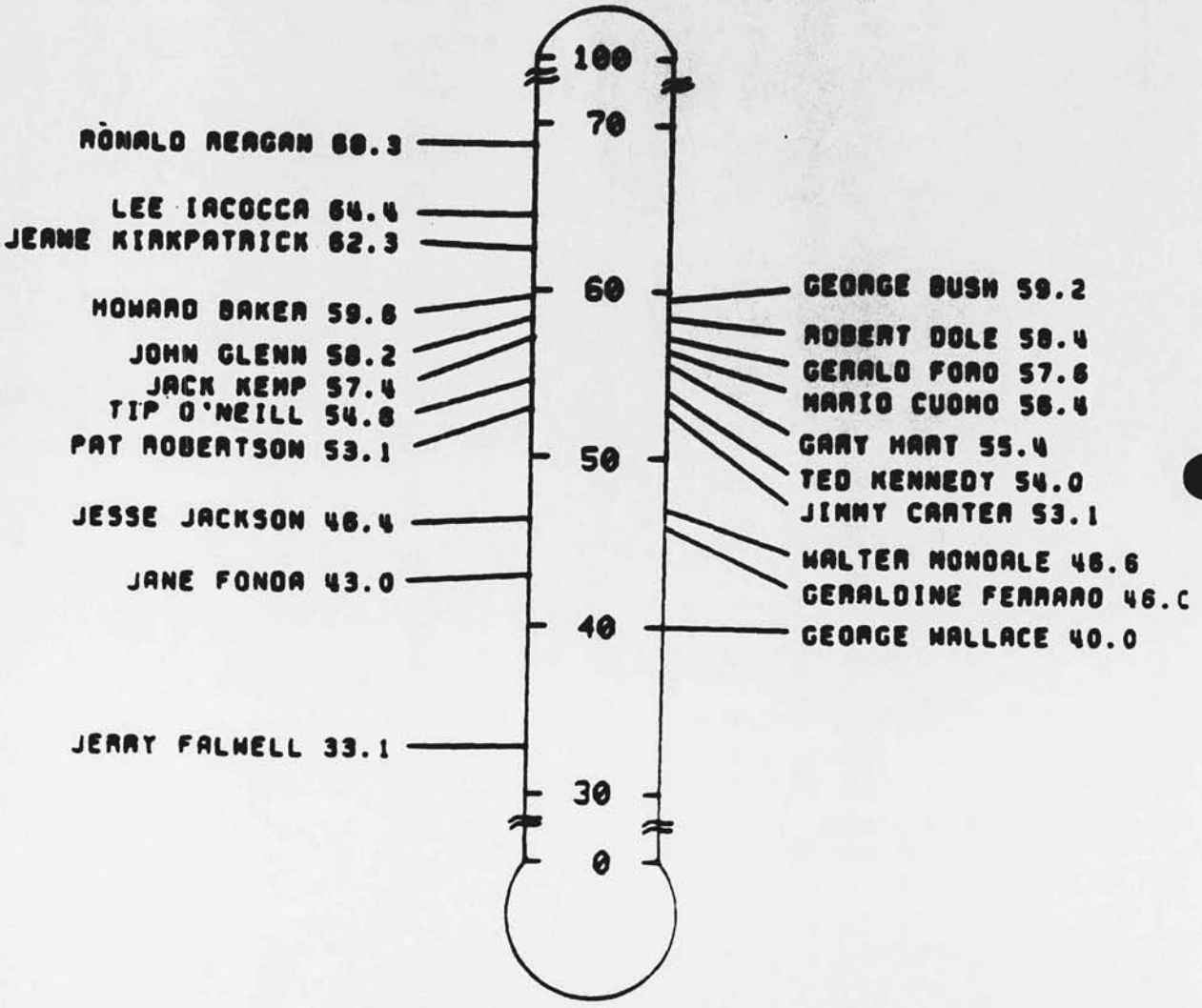
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling



Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

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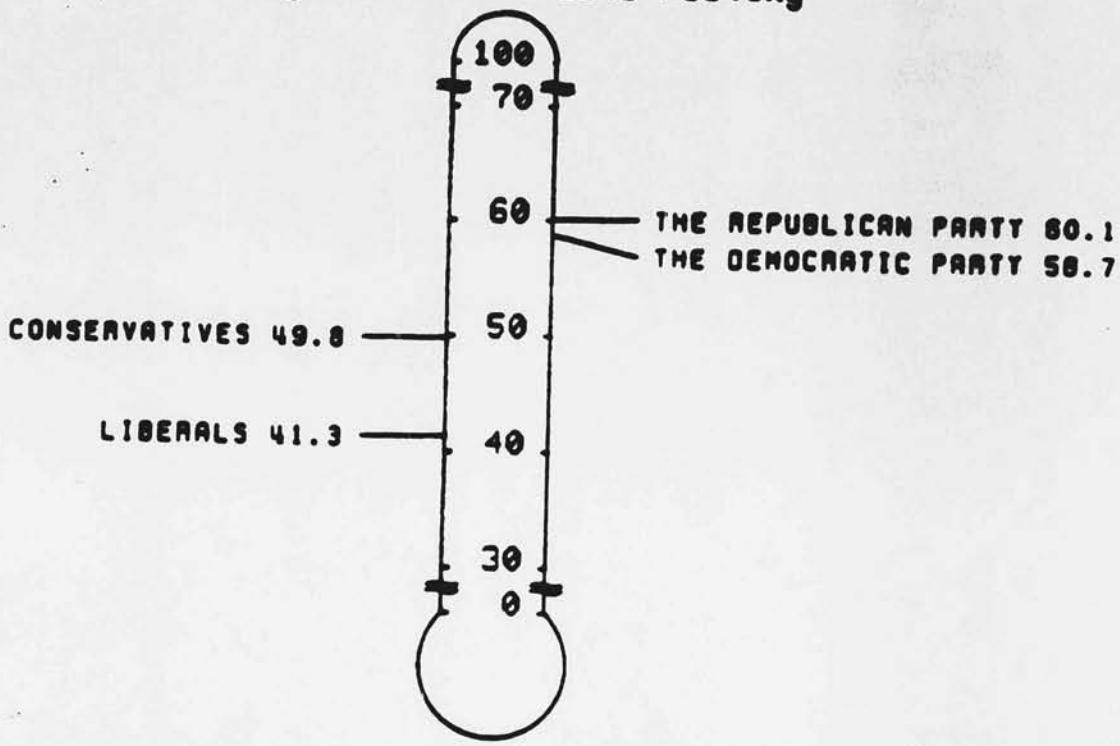
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling



Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Public Perceptions of George Bush

		George Bush				
	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average*
Total	100%	49%	26%	20%	5%	59*
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	68	21	8	5	70
Independent	100%	42	32	15	11	57
Democrat	100%	32	30	33	6	49
Political Region						
New England	100%	46	27	18	10	58
Mid-Atlantic	100%	40	30	26	4	54
East North Central	100%	45	28	25	3	56
West North Central	100%	53	25	18	4	63
Border	100%	58	24	14	4	65
Deep South	100%	55	23	16	7	64
Mountain	100%	50	26	18	6	60
Pacific	100%	45	28	22	5	56
Age						
18-24	100%	43	24	26	7	56
25-39	100%	47	30	21	3	57
40-54	100%	48	27	19	5	60
55-64	100%	51	25	20	4	61
65+	100%	57	21	13	8	66
Sex						
Male	100%	55	23	18	4	62
Female	100%	43	29	22	6	56
Status Groups						
High income	100%	60	25	13	2	65
Intelligentsia	100%	58	22	17	3	63
Middle class	100%	50	28	17	5	60
Lower end	100%	48	28	16	8	61
Jews	100%	34	28	30	8	52
Hispanics	100%	51	29	16	5	63
Blacks	100%	26	24	43	7	42

(continued on next page)

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Public Perceptions of George Bush

(cont'd.)

Tracer Groups	Total	George Bush: Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average*
Northern white Protestant	100%	54%	25%	17%	4%	63
Northern white Catholic	100%	46	31	18	5	59
Northern white union	100%	43	30	23	4	55
Southern white	100%	60	22	12	6	67

*Average is based on a 0° to 100° thermometer scale, where 0°=very cold and unfavorable and 100°=very warm and favorable.

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Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-General Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Don't Like About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	51%	10%	39%	42%	11%	47%
Party Identification							
Republican	100%	67	3	30	37	13	50
Independent	100%	36	7	57	31	11	58
Democrat	100%	40	16	44	48	9	43
Political Region							
New England	100%	33	13	54	43	13	44
Mid-Atlantic	100%	43	13	44	43	14	43
East North Central	100%	54	10	36	48	5	47
West North Central	100%	54	11	35	36	13	51
Border South	100%	56	2	42	36	8	56
Deep South	100%	55	10	35	37	14	49
Mountain	100%	45	—	55	35	5	60
Pacific	100%	52	12	36	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	45	10	45	38	11	51
25-39	100%	49	9	42	43	8	49
40-54	100%	47	11	42	36	11	53
55-64	100%	53	10	37	46	14	40
65+	100%	66	9	25	43	14	43
Sex							
Male	100%	61	8	31	48	9	43
Female	100%	42	11	47	35	13	52
Status Group							
High income	100%	67	8	25	45	12	43
Intelligentsia	100%	62	10	28	53	9	38
Middle class	100%	47	9	44	43	9	48
Lower end	100%	50	5	45	26	14	60
Jews	100%	53	17	30	69	9	22
Hispanics	100%	52	13	35	25	23	52
Blacks	100%	45	18	37	46	12	42

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-Republican Primary Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Dislike About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	68%	2%	30%	37%	13%	50%
Party Identification							
Strong Republican	100%	[77]	1	22	28	18	54
Weak Republican	100%	61	2	37	[46]	8	46
Independent Republican	100%	67	2	31	35	15	50
Political Region							
New England	100%	45	—	55	32	17	51
Mid-Atlantic	100%	72	—	28	34	20	46
East North Central	100%	[84]	—	16	[53]	5	42
West North Central	100%	67	—	33	40	8	52
Border South	100%	53	—	47	40	6	54
Deep South	100%	70	—	30	27	16	57
Mountain	100%	64	—	36	32	12	56
Pacific	100%	72	—	28	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	[79]	4	17	[45]	4	51
25-39	100%	66	2	32	44	12	44
40-54	100%	67	1	32	30	19	51
55-64	100%	[74]	—	26	28	17	55
65+	100%	[80]	—	20	27	17	56
Sex							
Male	100%	[76]	2	22	44	10	46
Female	100%	62	1	37	31	15	54
Status Group							
High income	100%	[82]	2	16	43	16	41
Intelligentsia	100%	[78]	—	22	[51]	12	37
Middle class	100%	65	4	31	43	10	47
Lower end	100%	52	—	48	18	14	68

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN

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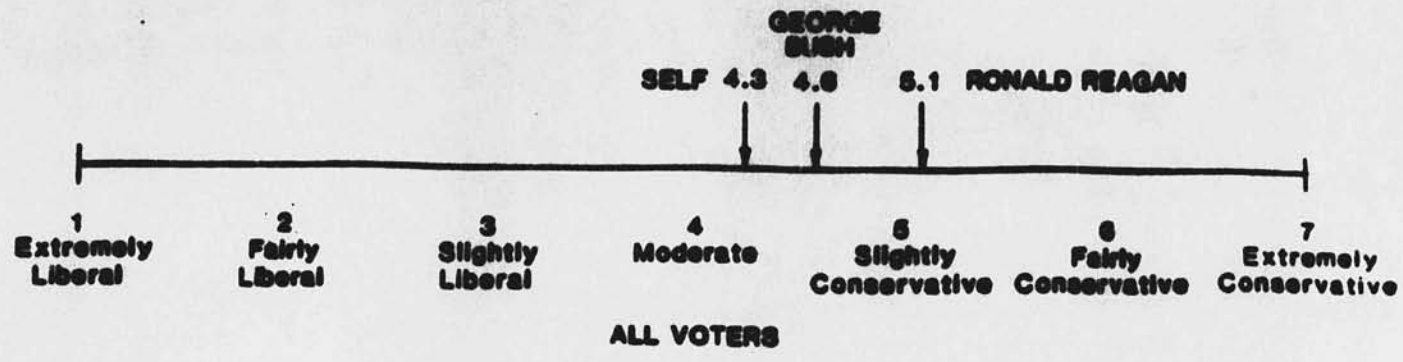
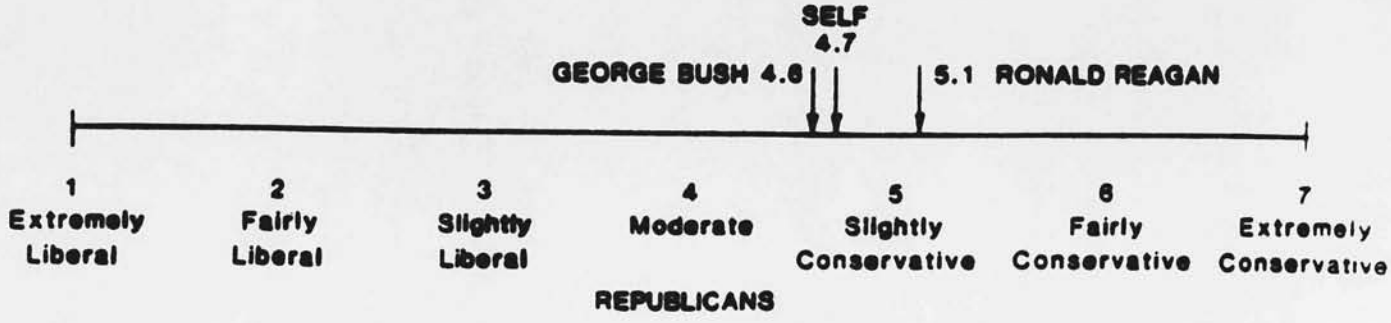
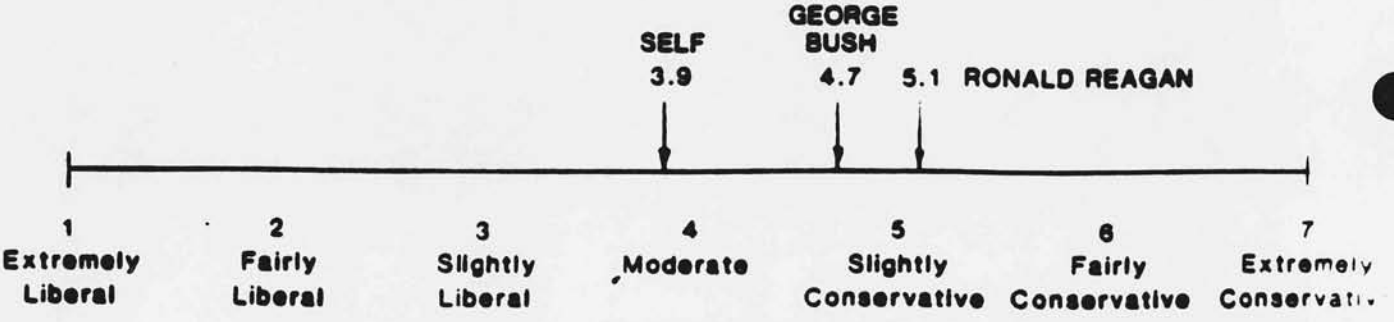


ALL VOTERS



REPUBLICANS



DEMOCRATS

Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(540)
Combined First & Second Mentions		
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	56%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	39
Is in government now	26	27
Conservative	25	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	29
None/No second mention	14	13
Don't know/Refused	3	2

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Importance of Presidential Characteristics

		Party ID			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Selected First												
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	27%	40%	34%	34%	34%	31%	45%	28%	27%	30%	32%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	19	19	21	16	22	23	17	14	17	24	21
Is in government now	14	20	8	10	9	15	13	10	14	17	19	14
Conservative	13	12	8	15	16	14	11	8	19	15	5	11
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	14	10	4	4	7	10	10	13	10	8	9
None	9	7	13	10	14	7	10	8	5	10	10	8
Don't know/Refused	3	2	3	5	8	*	3	2	6	4	4	4

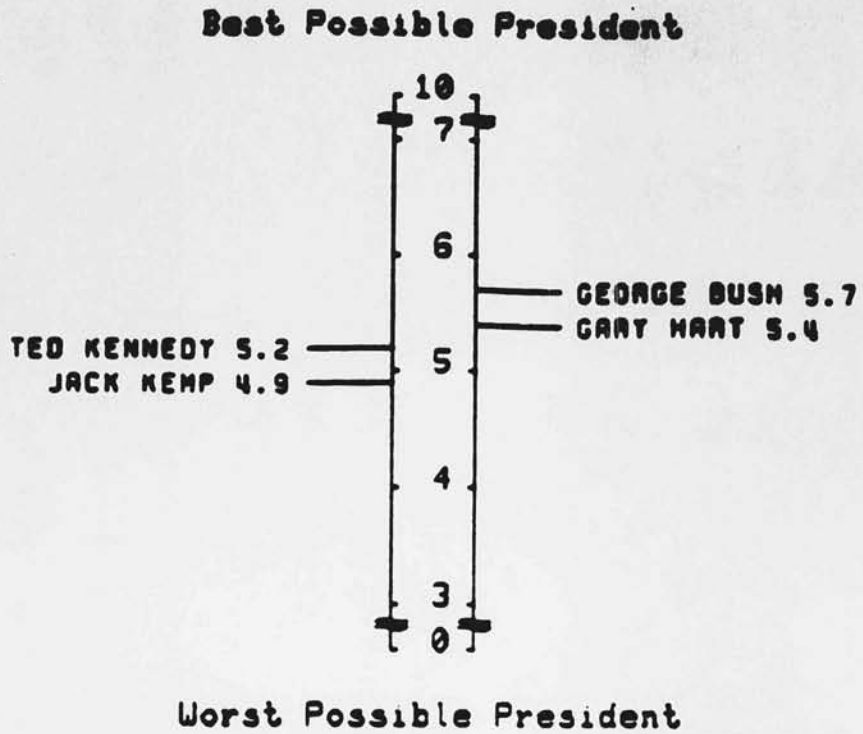
(continued on next page)

Importance of Presidential Characteristics
(cont'd.)

		Age					Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Selected First													
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	43%	33%	29%	27%	24%	32%	31%	33%	30%	28%	33%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	14	21	22	21	18	21	25	20	14	34	22	16
Is in government now	14	11	15	15	14	15	17	19	14	11	9	8	19
Conservative	13	13	11	13	18	13	11	9	13	13	11	21	19
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	10	9	8	7	12	8	8	8	16	2	11	5
None	9	9	8	10	10	8	10	7	8	10	11	2	11
Don't know/Refused	3	2	2	3	4	9	1	2	4	6	2	3	3

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

FEELINGS ON WHO WOULD MAKE THE BEST PRESIDENT



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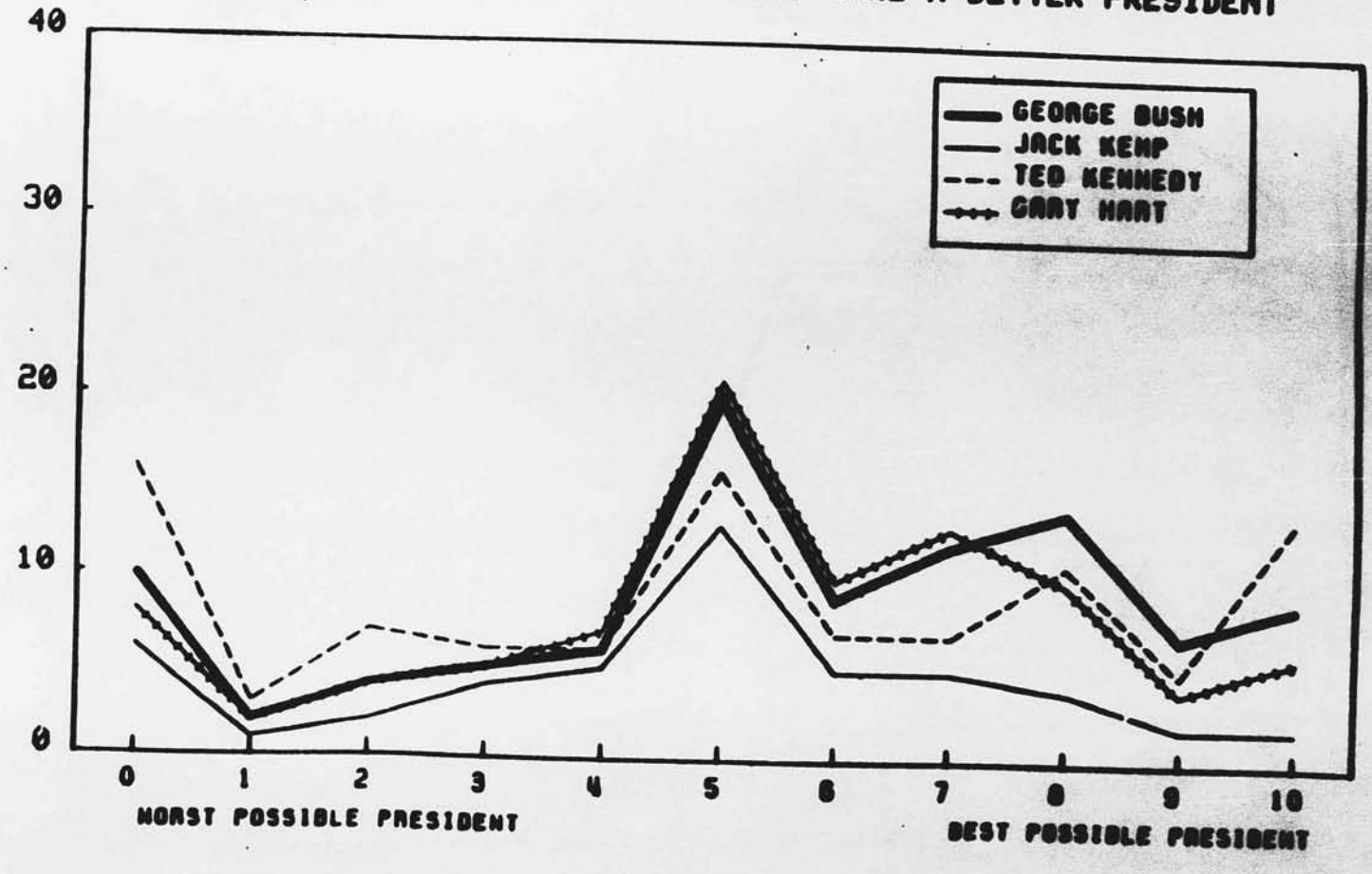
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF WHO WOULD MAKE A BETTER PRESIDENT



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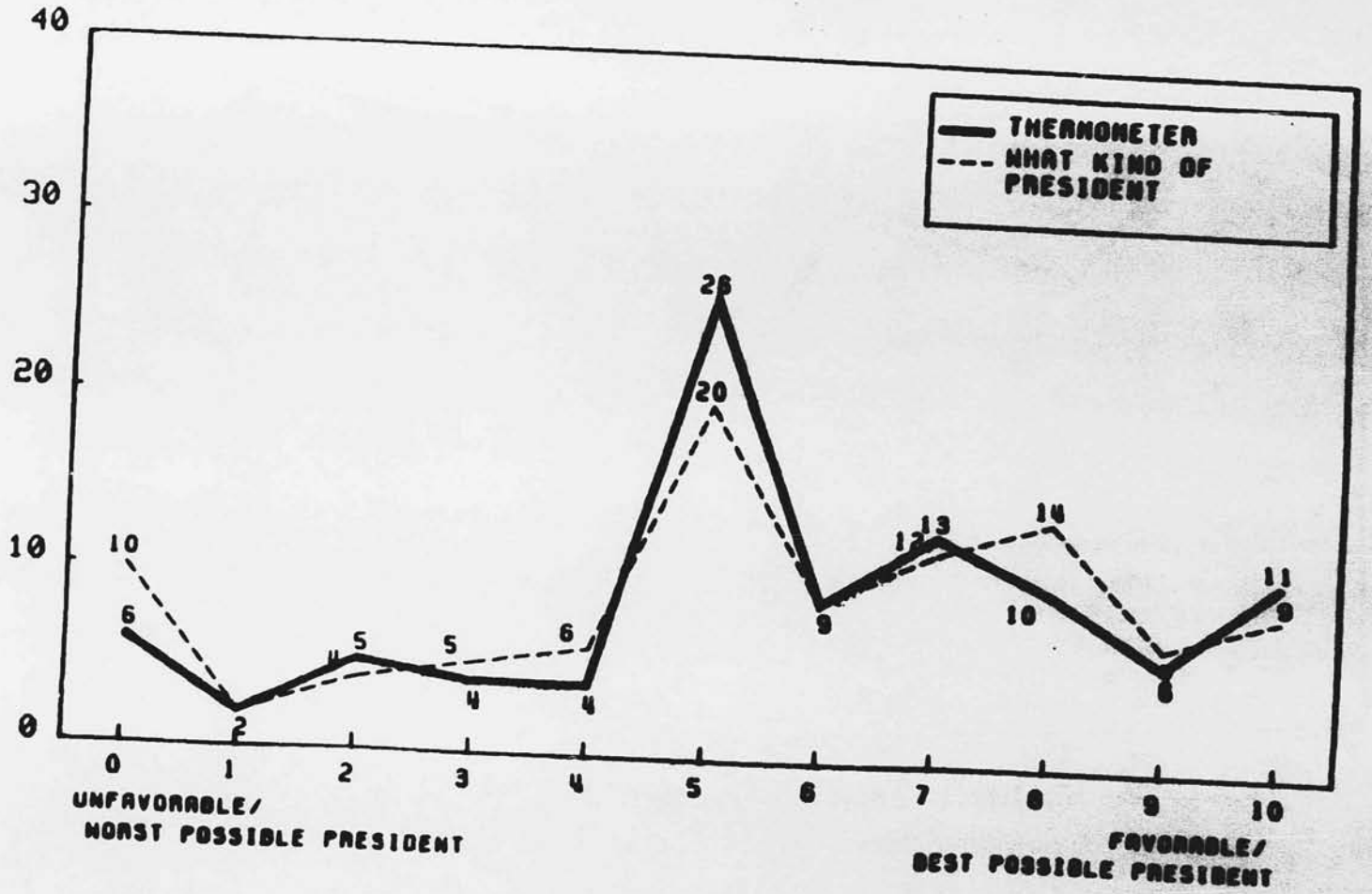
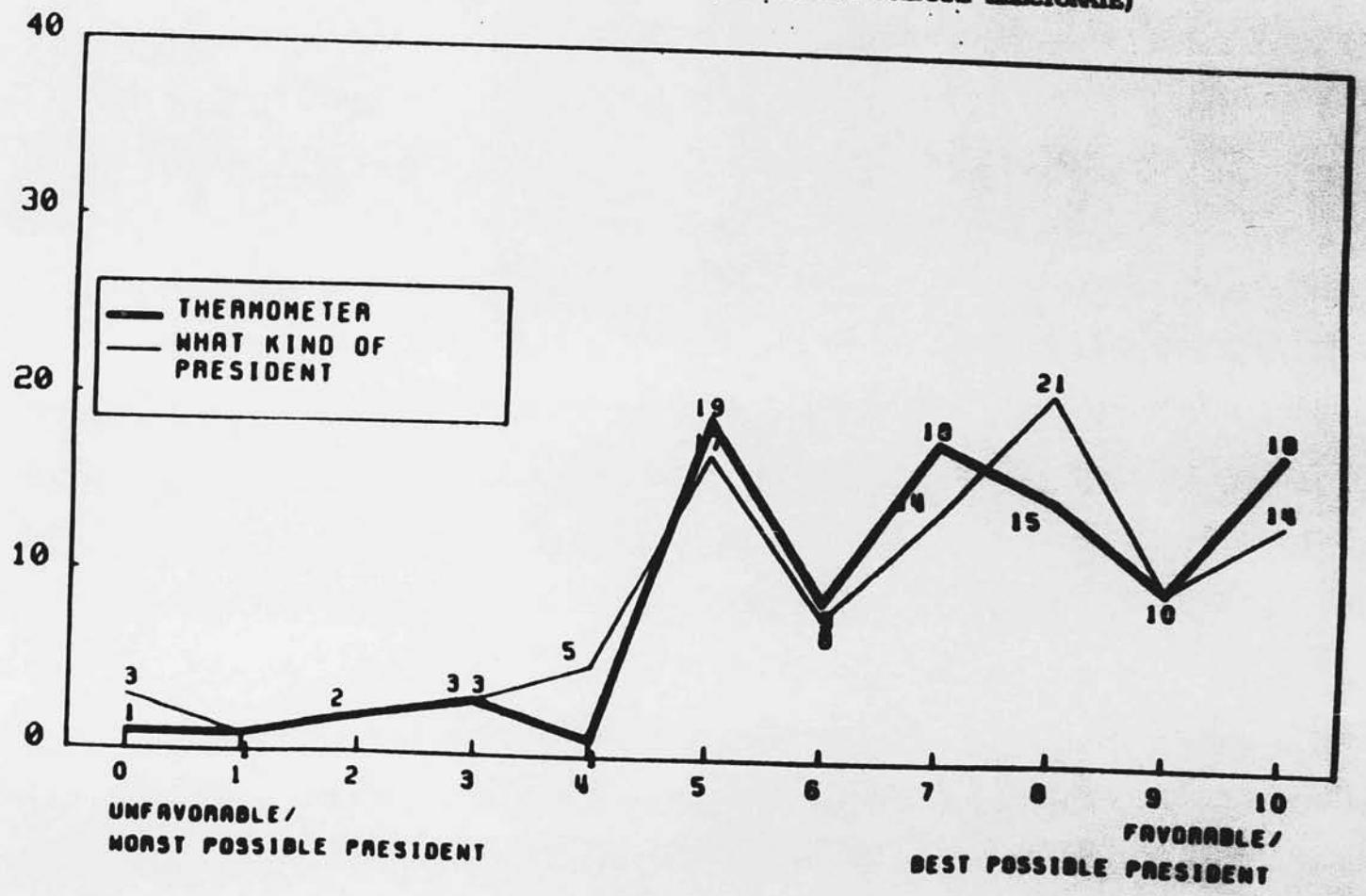
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (TOTAL ELECTORATE)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTORATE)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Feelings Toward Bush and Reagan

	Thermometer Comparison			
	Reagan>>Bush	Reagan>Bush	Reagan=Bush	Bush>Reagan
% of all voters	29%	22%	35%	14%
Reagan thermometer rating	82°	79°	63°	36°
Bush thermometer rating	47	70	63	60
% of Republican primary voters	36%	30%	29%	7%
Reagan thermometer rating	88°	88°	85°	53°
Bush thermometer rating	54	78	86	73

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(430)	(327)	(443)	(216)	(540)				
Party Identification										
Strong Democrat	17%	12%	11%	21%	31%	—	—	—	—	—
Weak Democrat	17	15	16	17	26	—	—	—	—	—
Independent Democrat	12	9	8	13	19	—	—	—	—	—
Independent	10	11	9	10	3	3	4	3	2	—
Independent Republican	13	17	16	12	8	19	19	16	22	26
Weak Republican	17	24	19	13	8	37	45	34	30	33
Strong Republican	14	13	22	15	6	37	29	43	42	27
Political Region										
New England	5	5	4	5	6	4	4	2	4	10
Mid Atlantic	16	20	14	16	16	17	19	17	15	23
East North Central	18	17	20	16	22	15	15	14	14	24
West North Central	7	7	7	9	6	9	10	9	11	2
Border South	8	6	9	9	9	9	6	10	10	6
Deep South	26	26	27	26	23	26	30	25	24	26
Mountain	5	4	5	7	5	5	4	5	8	4
Pacific	14	15	14	14	13	15	13	18	16	5

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

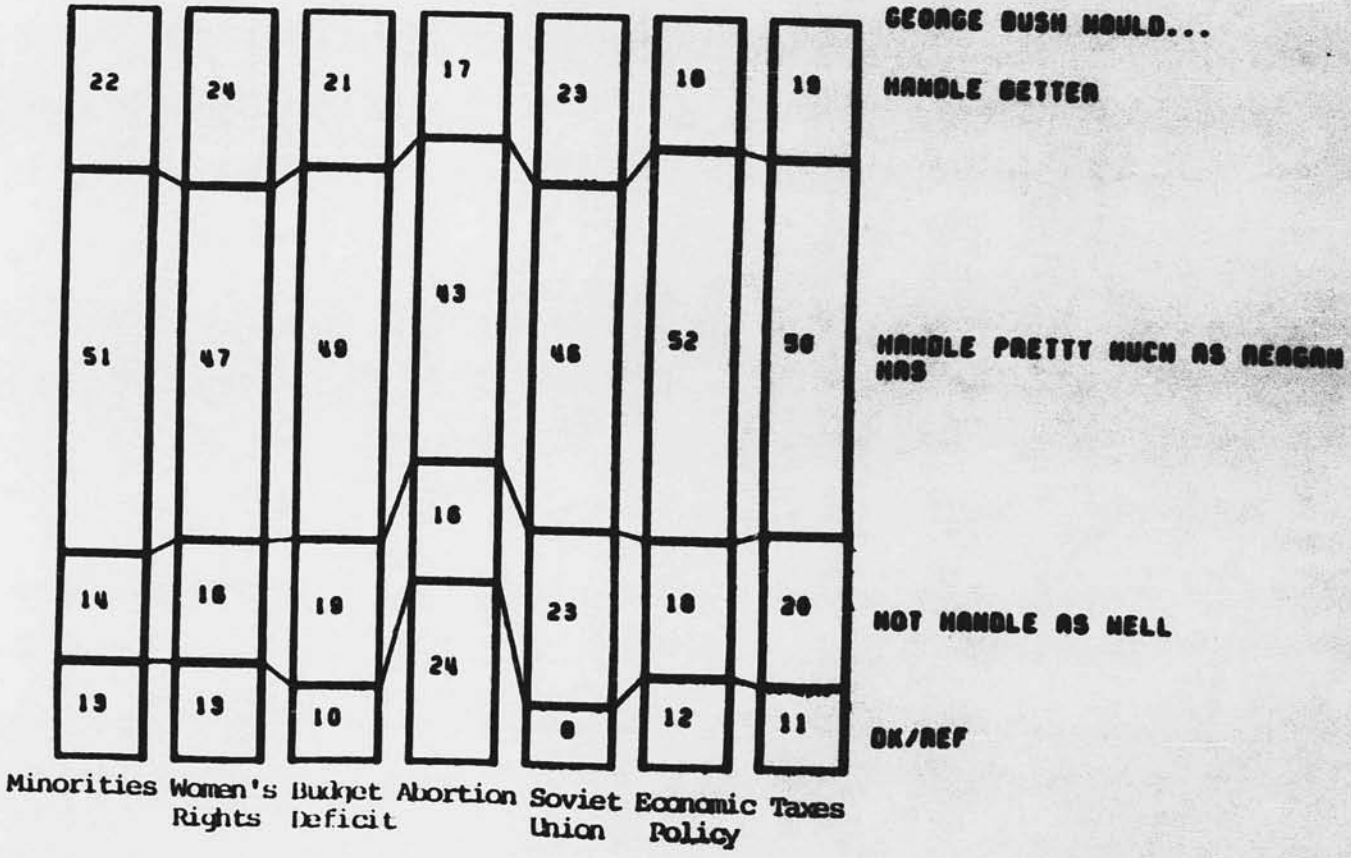
(cont'd.)

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Age										
18-24	16%	20%	14%	14%	12%	18%	19%	16%	18%	17%
25-39	35	40	36	32	36	35	41	32	30	37
40-54	21	20	21	23	17	22	24	20	25	16
55-64	12	9	12	15	18	9	8	10	11	7
65+	15	9	17	17	17	16	9	22	16	24
Sex										
Male	48	49	54	45	48	50	48	54	47	59
Female	52	51	46	55	52	50	52	46	53	41
Status Group										
High income	15	18	18	13	16	21	23	22	20	14
Intelligentsia	11	11	13	9	13	13	12	14	12	15
Middle class	31	35	32	30	22	38	38	38	39	26
Lower end	18	17	15	22	15	16	17	13	17	19
Jews	4	3	4	3	6	2	1	2	1	5
Hispanics	4	5	4	5	1	3	4	3	2	—
Blacks	11	5	6	14	21	3	1	3	3	14

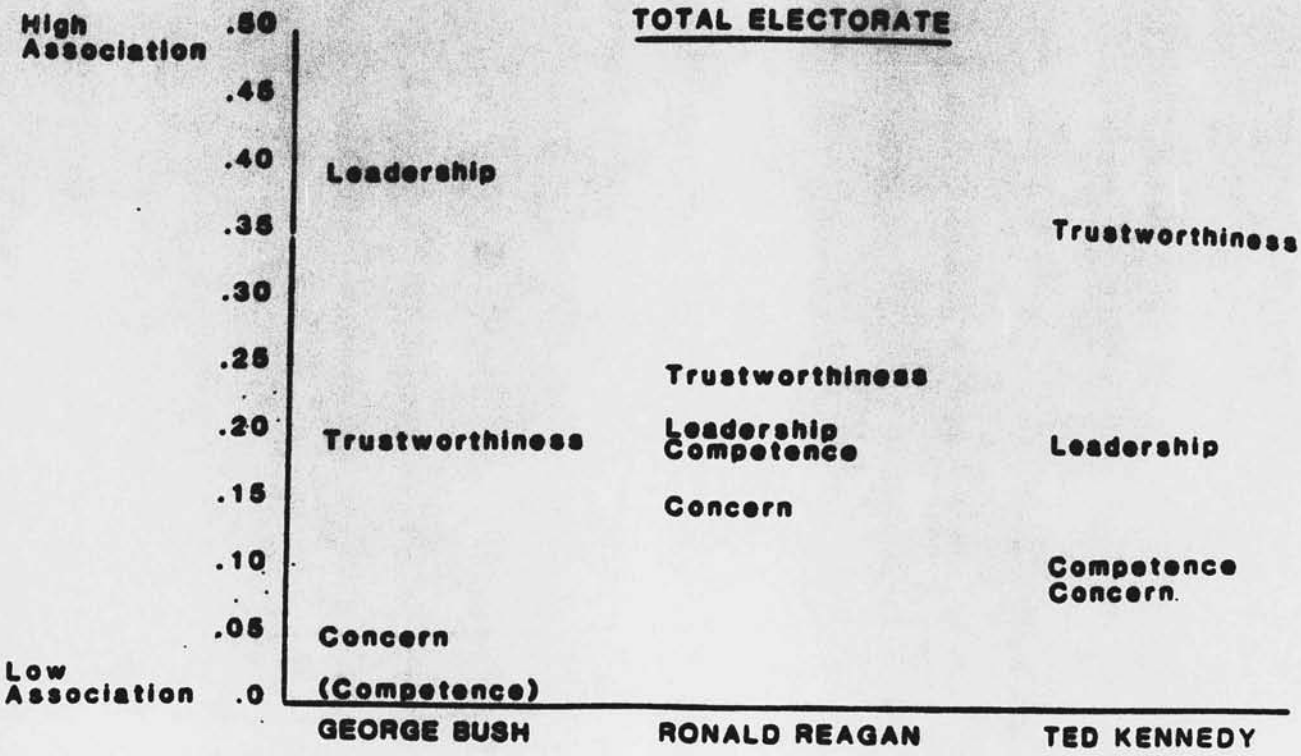
#This table analyzes the differences in perceptions of Reagan and Bush as measured on their respective 0-100° thermometer scales.

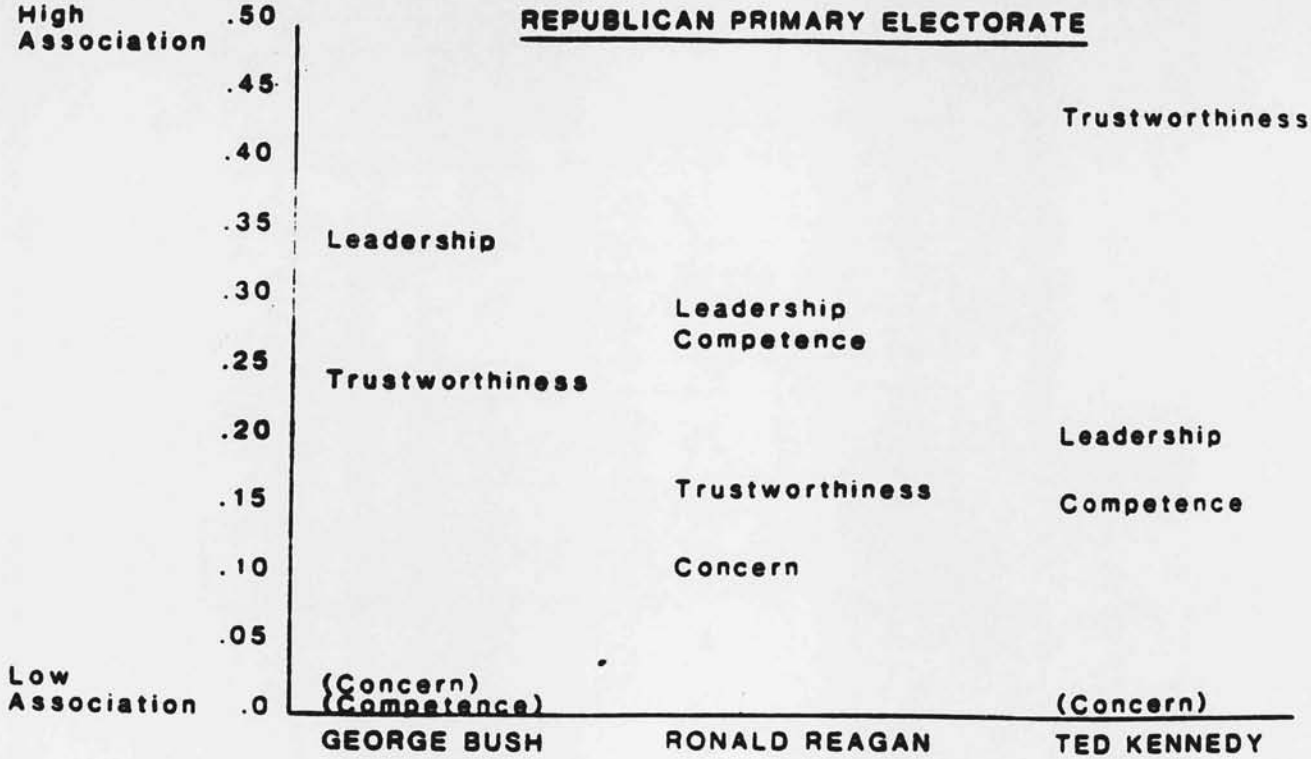
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ISSUE HANDLING COMPARISON OF GEORGE BUSH AND RONALD REAGAN



Perceptions Associated With Feelings Toward Bush, Reagan, and Kennedy





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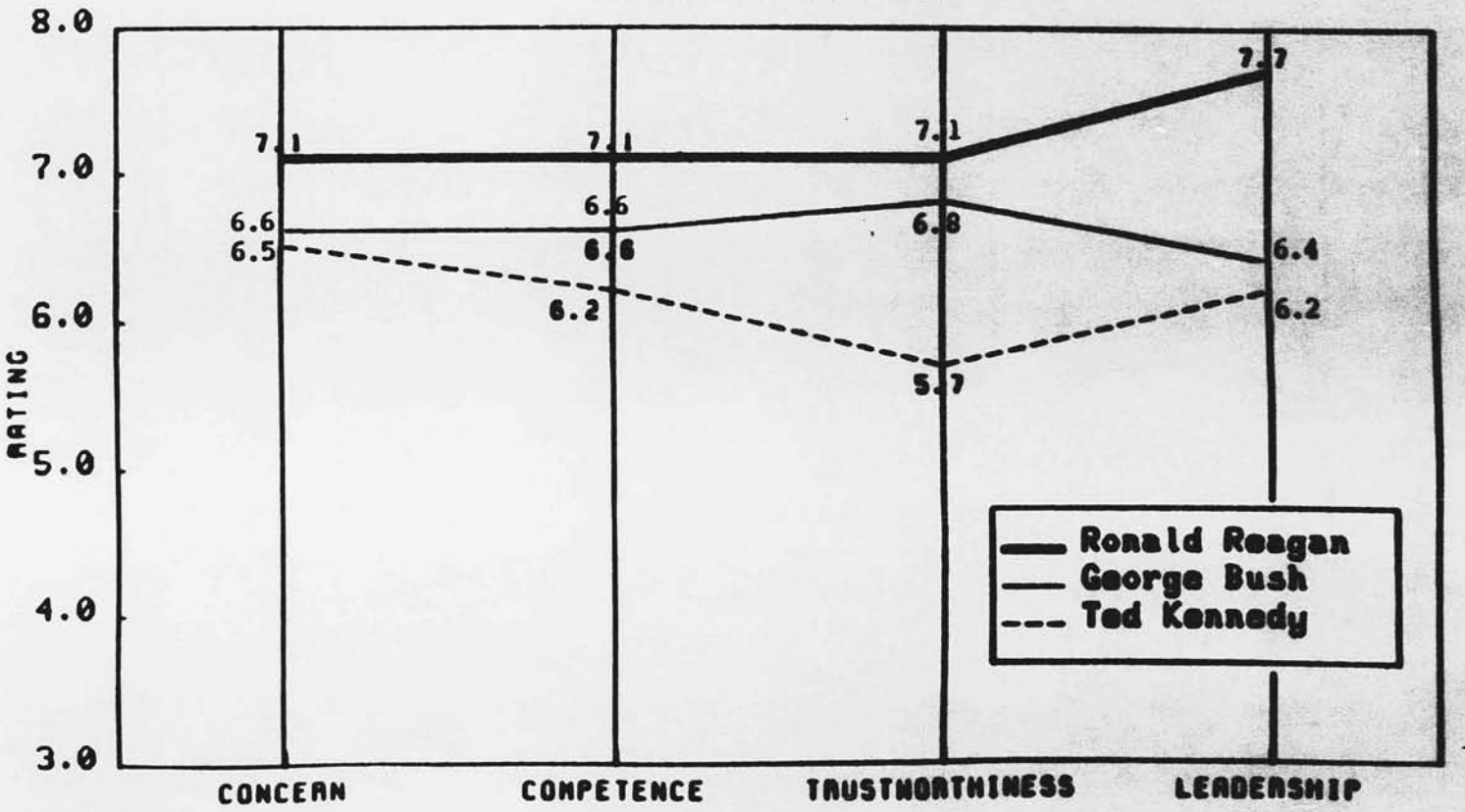
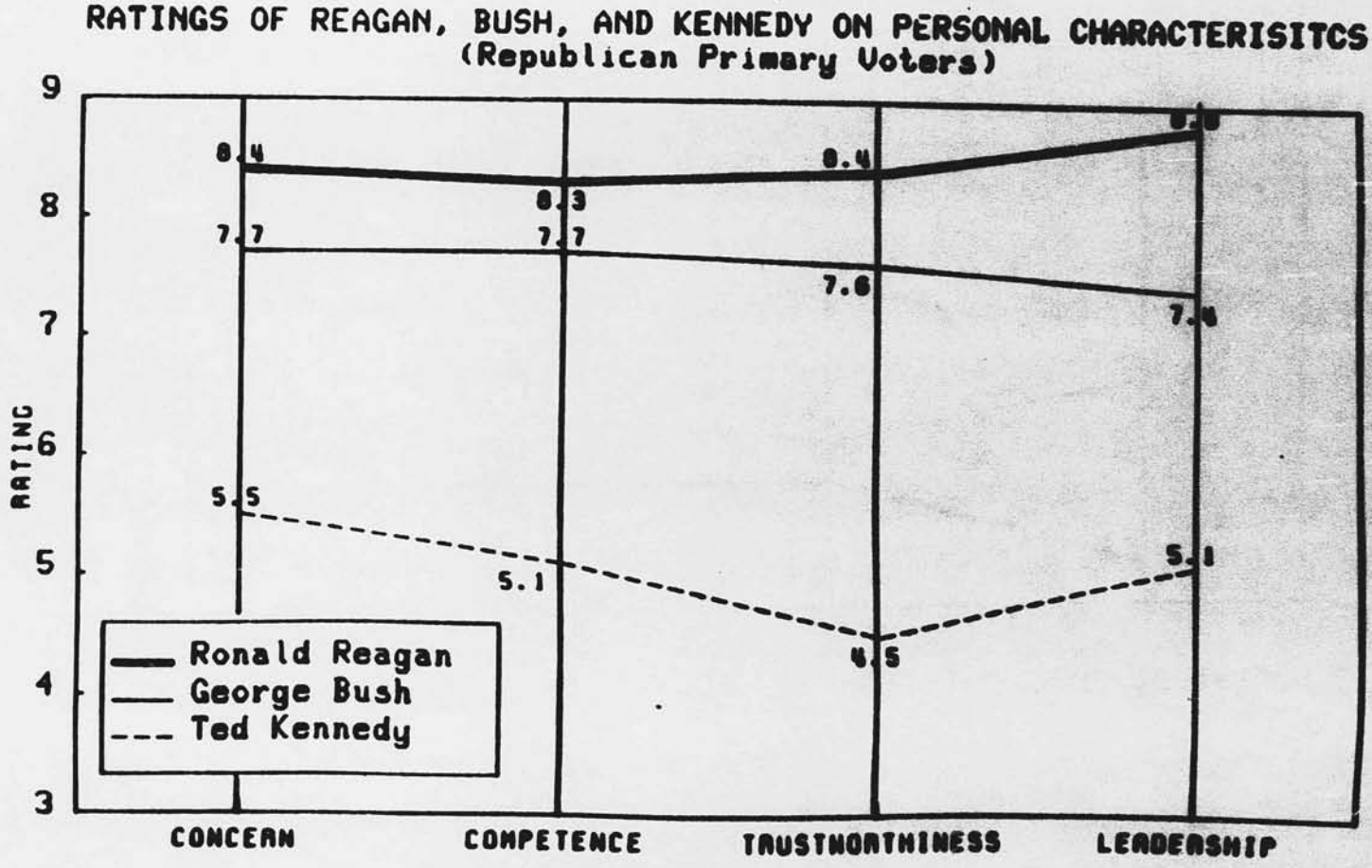
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS
(Total Electorate)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Analysis of Perceptions of Reagan and Bush*

	Thermometer Comparison General Electorate					Thermometer Comparison Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(431)	(328)	(525)	(216)	(540)	(190)	(158)	(154)	(39)
Personal Qualities										
Trustworthiness										
Ronald Reagan	7.1#	7.9	8.0	6.8	4.7	8.4	8.5	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.8	6.6	7.1	6.7	6.6	7.8	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.9
Leadership										
Ronald Reagan	7.6	8.5	8.5	7.3	5.5	8.8	8.9	9.1	8.9	6.7
George Bush	6.4	6.0	6.9	6.6	6.1	7.4	6.7	7.7	8.1	7.5
Competence										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.0	7.9	6.8	4.6	8.3	8.4	8.5	8.4	6.1
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.1	6.7	6.2	7.7	7.1	7.9	8.3	[illegible]
Concern										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	7.9	7.8	6.8	4.9	8.4	8.3	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.2	6.7	6.3	7.7	7.0	8.0	8.2	[illegible]
Handling of Issues										
Our relations with the Soviet Union	+ 0&	-24	- 7	+ 7	+44	- 4	-26	+ 2	+ 4	[illegible]
National economic policy	+ 0	-17	- 5	+ 4	+33	- 1	-13	- 5	+ 5	[illegible]
Taxes	- 1	-19	- 6	+ 4	+29	- 4	-17	- 3	+ 5	[illegible]
The federal budget deficit	+ 2	-19	+ 1	+ 8	+31	+ 8	-12	+ 6	+20	[illegible]
Abortion	+ 1	-11	- 3	+ 3	+26	+ 0	-15	+ 4	+ 8	[illegible]
Policies concerning minorities	+ 8	- 8	+ 8	+12	+35	+11	+ 2	+ 9	+17	[illegible]
Women's rights	+ 8	- 6	+ 7	+11	+33	+11	- 1	+12	+17	[illegible]

#Numbers are averages on a 0 to 10 scale, where 0=doesn't possess the characteristic at all and 10-possesses as much as any person possibly can.

&Numbers are the percent difference between "(George Bush) would handle it better" than Ronald Reagan and "would not handle it well." A positive number means Bush would handle it better than Reagan.

*Qualities and issues are listed in order of strength of effect on perceptions of Reagan and Bush. Boldfaced items indicate a significant relationship between that item and the difference in opinion of Reagan and Bush.

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CHAPTER 2: THE 1988 GENERAL ELECTION

Even though the 1988 Presidential election is 36 months away, three 1988 trial heats were tested in order to assess the early strength of George Bush against possible Democratic opponents. At the present time, Bush leads Ted Kennedy by a 51% to 45% margin, with 4% undecided; he tops Gary Hart by a 50% to 45% margin, with 5% undecided; and he edges out Lee Iacocca by a 49% to 43% margin, with 7% undecided.

All three races are similar in their overall margins, but each reveal a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart. He falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power. Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy.

Regionally, Bush leads all three men in all but the Eastern Seaboard, East North Central, and Mountain states. Kennedy's regional strength lies in New England, Hart's in New England and the Mountain states, and Iacocca in the Eastern Seaboard (New England and the Mid-Atlantic states).

F 8 0 4 0 7 0 5 4 2 4

Demographically, Bush tops the Democrats among adults under 25 and over 65, among high income and middle class whites, among the intelligentsia, and among men.

Combining all three ballots gives a good sense of the core Republican and Democratic presidential constituencies at the present time. In total, 49% of the vote is Republican — with 30% core Republican and 19% soft Republican — and 44% is Democratic -- 24% core Democratic, 20% soft Democratic. The other 7% are marginal voters who are undecided on the trial heats at the present time.

The core Republican vote against the 3 tested Democrats consists of:

- northern white Protestants (31%)
- whites in the South (37%)
- over 55 (30%)
- over $40,000 income (21%)

The soft Republican vote is made up of those who vote Republican on 2 out of the 3 ballots. A plurality of them (44%) are Lee Iacocca defectors. These eligible voters are largely weak or independent Republicans. Iacocca Republican defectors are older than Kennedy or Hart defectors; Hart's defectors are the youngest. Iacocca defectors are mostly male; Hart defectors are female. Iacocca defectors are also of higher socioeconomic status than are either Hart or Kennedy defectors. Regionally, Iacocca defectors live north of the Mason-Dixon line, while slightly over a third (34%) of the pro-Kennedy defectors are white Southerners. Also, union defectors go for Kennedy and Hart more than for Iacocca.

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The core Democratic vote, 24% of the electorate in these 3 trial heats, is young (15% are under 25, 37% are aged 25 to 39), middle class (25%) or lower end (16%), black (24%), and from the Eastern Seaboard (35%) or the East North Central states (20%).

A 46% plurality of the Democratic defectors, who vote for Bush on one of the three ballots, do so to vote against Iacocca. They are strongly Democratic, lower status, and largely female. They just don't like Lee Iacocca.

Each Democrat appears, then, to have his own constituency. Kennedy is supported most by the party regulars, Hart draws a younger vote, and Iacocca grasps a larger share of the centrist vote. None currently has a larger or broad enough constituency to outdraw George Bush. Each contest looks as though it would be a tight one, however.

Looking at these data, the demographic profile of the defectors, and their perceptions of Bush, it appears that the voter groups Bush can most easily lose are:

- Northern whites under 40 with incomes under $40,000, who could go Democratic
- Northern high income whites over 55, who could defect in a primary situation, but probably would not in a general election

Thus, Bush may have difficulty holding onto the younger, marginal voter, who came over to the Republican column because of Reagan.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush	51%	82%	51%	20%	34%	49%	45%	54%	55%	54%	55%	53%
Ted Kennedy	45	16	38	74	61	48	51	41	41	42	39	41
Don't know/Refused	4	1	11	5	5	2	5	5	5	4	6	5
George Bush	50%	80%	44%	24%	33%	47%	44%	58%	57%	56%	43%	53%
Gary Hart	45	17	40	72	61	48	50	41	38	41	50	40
Don't know/Refused	5	2	17	4	6	5	6	2	5	4	8	6
George Bush	49%	73%	39%	29%	42%	44%	46%	51%	58%	57%	45%	45%
Lee Iacocca	43	25	42	61	53	51	47	39	32	38	46	43
Don't know/Refused	7	2	18	10	6	5	7	11	10	6	9	11

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ARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ere are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who ou would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

hich way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
tal	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
mber of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
orge Bush	51%	54%	46%	53%	48%	57%	56%	45%	66%	62%	57%	46%	34%	44%	13%
d Kennedy	45	43	50	42	49	38	40	50	30	33	40	51	62	51	83
n't know/Refused	4	3	3	6	4	6	4	5	4	7	4	3	4	6	4
orge Bush	50%	53%	47%	51%	50%	56%	54%	46%	62%	52%	54%	53%	32%	49%	25%
ry Hart	45	43	50	44	46	36	41	49	36	39	42	41	68	43	69
n't know/Refused	5	5	4	5	6	7	5	5	1	9	4	5	—	8	6
orge Bush	49%	54%	48%	50%	46%	51%	48%	51%	54%	52%	52%	55%	38%	43%	28%
e Iacocca	43	40	46	42	43	43	48	39	42	42	42	36	55	41	63
n't know/Refused	7	5	6	7	12	7	5	10	4	6	6	9	8	16	10

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

		Presidential Ballot Summary*							
	Total	Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(359)	(87)	(70)	(137)	(83)	(72)	(120)	(457)
Party Identification									
Republican	44%	6%	30%	28%	19%	44%	53%	75%	80%
Independent	10	6	16	11	8	9	12	12	7
Democrat	46	88	54	61	73	47	35	13	13
Political Region									
New England	5	7	6	10	9	5	7	6	16
Mid-Atlantic	16	19	17	21	14	17	19	22	[illegible]
East North Central	18	20	17	20	21	16	20	15	[illegible]
West North Central	7	7	7	7	5	9	9	6	8
Border South	8	6	4	6	8	9	8	7	10
Deep South	26	22	30	22	24	35	24	22	
Mountain	5	5	10	2	8	3	4	7	
Pacific	14	14	9	13	12	8	9	17	15
Age									
18-24	16	15	16	17	10	22	28	12	17
25-39	35	37	38	43	49	31	34	35	31
40-54	21	21	24	13	16	27	23	21	22
55-64	13	14	12	10	16	12	4	11	[illegible]
65+	15	14	12	17	9	9	12	20	[illegible]
Sex									
Male	48	45	56	54	34	45	47	73	[illegible]
Female	52	55	44	46	66	55	53	27	51
Status Groups									
High income	15	12	20	13	6	11	17	23	[illegible]
Intelligentsia	11	8	12	8	9	4	14	15	[illegible]
Middle class	31	25	35	23	32	35	30	42	[illegible]
Lower end	18	16	12	26	22	27	19	11	[illegible]
Jewish	4	5	5	6	7	2	4	2	[illegible]
Hispanic	4	5	3	3	6	1	—	4	[illegible]
Black	11	24	6	14	13	15	2	—	[illegible]

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

(cont'd.)

Tracer Group	Total	Presidential Ballot Summary*							
		Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
White northern Protestant	25%	19%	21%	25%	22%	13%	29%	31%	31%
White northern Catholic	14	14	21	14	14	14	15	22	9
White northern union	14	17	10	17	15	18	19	11	12
Southern white	26	14	29	20	18	34	30	27	37

*Boxes drawn compare core Democratic and Republican constituencies.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Geodemographic Analysis of Key Bush Support Groups

		General Election				Primary Election		Bush Thermometer		
	Total	Core Republican	Republican Defectors	Democratic Defectors	Core Democrat	Bush	All Others	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
Total	100%	30%	19%	20%	24%	58%	42%	49%	26%	20%
Northern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	27	22	25	19	59	41	46	32	19
40-54, under $40,000	100%	27	23	19	24	55	45	43	25	26
55+, under $40,000	100%	34	14	19	26	46	[54]	52	25	15
18-39, over $40,000	100%	33	18	19	26	52	48	56	28	15
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[40]	[27]	14	13	60	40	49	35	14
55+, over $40,000	100%	35	[26]	16	23	49	[51]	[56]	26	18
Southern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	41	22	19	14	68	32	54	24	15
40-54, under $40,000	100%	34	23	17	23	55	45	51	26	18
55+, under $40,000	100%	32	19	18	18	65	35	[64]	22	8
18-39, over $40,000	100%	[42]	26	16	16	43	57	63	21	13
40-54, over $40,000	100%	58	15	15	6	58	42	[79]	12	6
55+, over $40,000	100%	[71]	9	—	10	[75]	25	[87]	13	—
Jews	100%	15	16	[35]	[32]	55	45	34	28	[30]
Hispanics	100%	33	10	20	27	100	—	51	29	16
Blacks	100%	9	9	20	[53]	42	58	26	24	[43]

CHAPTER 3: THE 1988 REPUBLICAN PRIMARY BATTLE

The Republican Primary Electorate: 1985 vs. 1979

It is instructive to take a look at the changes in the composition of the Republican primary electorate since the 1980 Presidential campaign before taking a hard look at organizing for 1988. As we know, the "Reagan Revolution" has had a significant impact on partisan politics. Republicans have gone from the minority party to party parity over the past three election cycles.

Republicans today are younger and better educated than were Republicans in 1979. In 1979, 44% of the Republicans were under 40. Now, 54% are. The percent of college educated (at least some college) Republicans has gone from 46% six years ago to 56% today.

Republican gains in the South are very evident when looking at the geographic distribution of the national electorate. In 1979, 27% of the nation's behavioral Republicans lived in the South. That number has gone up to 33% today. Gains are biggest in the Deep South, where the contribution has gone from 16% to 26%.

So, the party's constituency has changed in the last six years. There are more young Republicans and more Republicans in the South, especially the Deep South.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

The Race for the Republican Nomination

Vice-President George Bush is the clear front-runner for the Republican nomination for President at this juncture. He leads fellow Republicans Bob Dole, Howard Baker, Jack Kemp, and Jeane Kirkpatrick with 58% of the first choice vote and 76% of the combined first and second choice vote. The others are far behind — Dole with 30% of the combined first and second choice vote, Baker with 27%, Kirkpatrick with 21% and Kemp with 18%.

Voting intentions are strongly related to awareness at the present time. Only 3% of the country's Republicans have never heard of Bush, but 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and fully 48% have never heard of Kemp.

Bush is the clear choice among Republicans across the country. None of the other candidates comes close in any geographic or demographic subgroup. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see where the other candidates get the support they do receive.

Bob Dole receives his highest levels of support from independent Republicans, West North Central state residents, Republicans under 25, and those 65 or older.

Howard Baker draws from Republicans of all strengths of partisanship and gets 41% of the Border South vote and higher than (his) average levels of support from Republicans 55 or older.

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Jeane Kirkpatrick is most popular in the Mid-Atlantic states, among members of the intelligentsia, women, and primary voters over 55.

Kemp draws mainly from Republican party regulars and gets his highest geographic share from the Mid-Atlantic and Pacific states. He is far more popular among men than women, and draws more from middle aged Republicans than from either young or old Republicans.

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Republican Generic Preferences

Primary trial heats taken three years before the first state primary have little predictive value. The main reason for this is that early trial heats are primarily driven by large descripencies in the voters' familiarity with the tested candidates. These "name I.D. gaps" usually disappear by the time the real vote is taken, and the election outcome often bares slight resemblence to the early survey data.

In this study an attempt was made to provide some data that could be projected into the future. The voters were presented with the description of the central themes of four candidacies. By design, three of the themes were meant to correspond to the themes with which George Bush, Bob Dole, and Jack Kemp might become uniquely associated by 1988. The fourth theme is not known to be uniquely associated with any 1988 contender, but it was added as the possible unclaimed winner. (Its resemblence to the meaning of Reagan's presidency is clear enough, however.)

The four themes, randomly presented, were:

- Has the best personal qualifications for the job. (Bush)
- Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority. (Dole)
- Is a fighter for making major changes in government. (Kemp)
- Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world. (Unclaimed)

As the Republican primary voters first choice, the unclaimed theme beats Dole, 40% to 28%. Bush (19%) and Kemp (11%) trail considerably behind. Dole gains strength in the Republicans' second choices (36%) against the unclaimed theme (25%) and finishes in a virtual tie of combined choices: unclaimed theme 64%, Dole 63%. Bush finishes a distant third (37%) and Kemp is last (29%).

One clear lesson of this experiment is that Bush is not going to cross the goal line with the theme most commonly associated with him. His resume characteristics are an important asset for him, but, alone, they will not get him elected.

The results, just as clearly demonstrate the great appeal of an issue theme and the need for Bush to be associated with one. Moreover, six years into the Reagan Revolution the two principle themes of that revolution still exhibit significant appeal. This, of course, may change by 1988. Nevertheless, these results confirm that the candidate who is most associated with carrying on the Reagan Revolution would have the inside track in the Republican primary.

For the most part, the potential Republican primary candidates have not successfully associated themselves with one of these generic preferences of Republican primary voters. The primary trial heat result among Bush, Dole, Kemp, et al does not significantly change across three of the four generic preferences of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who prefer the candidate with the best personal qualifications for the job. Bush is their candidate; 66% vote for him against 31% for the combined field.

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A similar lack of association is seen in the groupings of Republicans by their selections of the five Bush characteristics as most important for a president to have, e.g. respected by foreign leaders, held a variety of government positions, etc. The trial heat results do not significantly change across four of the five groups of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who select "has worked with Ronald Reagan." Bush is their candidate; 68% vote for him against 25% for the combined field. As previously discussed, the latter characteristic is the only one of the five which in now associated with Bush and helps explain why voters like or dislike him. The relationship of the primary trial heat to these selections is an important demonstration of the earlier finding.

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Demographic Profile of Republican Electorate 1985 vs. 1979

	Year	
	1979	1985
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(457)	(659)
Political Region		
New England	6%	4%
Mid-Atlantic	19	18
East North Central	19	16
West North Central	10	8
Border South	11	7
Deep South	16	26
Mountain	6	6
Pacific	13	15
Age		
18-24	16	19
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	10
65+	21	15
Sex		
Male	51	53
Female	50	47
Education		
Less than high school	17	10
High school/Vocational	37	34
Some college	24	31
College graduate	22	25
Other Groups		
Hispanics	2	4
Blacks	3	2

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(530)	(498)	(16)	(26)	(22)	(93)	(78)	(47)	(46)	(142)	(29)	(83)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices												
George Bush	76%	76%	63%	74%	71%	73%	72%	75%	73%	83%	71%	75%
Bob Dole	30	30	17	43	25	25	34	38	27	33	26	30
Howard Baker	27	28	34	20	30	28	24	33	41	26	25	22
Jack Kemp	18	19	6	13	13	23	19	11	16	18	8	24
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	21	29	19	28	31	22	21	13	12	25	24
Don't know/Refused	20	20	31	21	25	18	23	16	18	23	29	16
First Choice												
George Bush	58%	59%	58%	47%	60%	55%	54%	54%	55%	64%	52%	61%
Bob Dole	10	9	11	21	--	8	9	16	13	11	10	9
Howard Baker	12	12	5	17	21	11	11	15	14	12	16	5
Jack Kemp	8	8	--	6	--	11	11	9	9	4	—	11
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	7	6	5	11	13	10	2	—	5	6	8
Don't know/Refused	6	5	20	4	8	3	5	4	9	4	16	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(540)	(99)	(188)	(119)	(50)	(84)	(270)	(270)	(115)	(68)	(204)	(85)	(10)	(17)	(15)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices															
George Bush	76%	81%	77%	71%	70%	76%	78%	74%	75%	78%	76%	72%	73%	100%	75%
Bob Dole	30	38	29	24	29	36	33	28	31	21	35	35	—	16	25
Howard Baker	27	19	29	23	31	38	28	27	32	34	25	22	46	8	42
Jack Kemp	18	16	17	26	20	11	25	12	25	22	15	16	19	24	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	20	18	20	29	24	18	23	21	30	18	21	27	45	—
Don't know/Refused	20	22	23	26	10	11	14	27	14	12	25	25	18	6	17
First Choice															
George Bush	58%	69%	55%	56%	57%	54%	61%	55%	55%	58%	58%	58%	55%	100%	42%
Bob Dole	10	15	11	7	7	8	11	9	13	4	13	5	—	—	21
Howard Baker	12	5	15	10	9	17	11	12	12	11	13	12	18	—	7
Jack Kemp	8	4	7	14	5	6	10	6	12	11	5	6	—	—	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	5	6	4	13	12	4	9	6	13	5	11	9	—	—
Don't know/Refused	6	3	6	8	8	3	3	8	2	4	5	8	18	—	10

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

Which one would you choose second?

	Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined	First Choice
Combined First & Second Choices		
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	64%	40%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority	63	28
Has the best personal qualifications for the job	37	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government	29	11
None/No second choice	2	1
Don't know/Refused	2	1

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Republican Primary Trial Heat by Republicans' Generic Preferences

		Primary Trial Heat			
	Total	Bush	All Others	Undecided	Republican Distribution
Total	100%	58	36	6	100%
Most Important Presidential Characteristics*					
Respected by foreign leaders	100%	61	34	5	56
Has held a variety of government positions	100%	55	39	6	39
Is in government now	100%	54	39	7	27
Conservative	100%	57	40	3	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	100%	68	25	7	29
Most Appealing Candidate*					
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	100%	56	38	6	64%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	100%	55	39	6	63
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	100%	66	31	3	37
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	100%	57	34	9	29

*Combined first and second choice used in each row.

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of disucssion in the 1988 Presidential campaign and, as such, is an important area to explore here.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englanders, women, Democrats, and senior citizens are the most pacifist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

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The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue. Pro Bush voters are more pro military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him. This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience.

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Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	[12]	[2.1]	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	[24]	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	[30]	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	[27]	11	[2.1]	(39[illegible]
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	([illegible])
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(2[illegible]
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237)
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531)
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	[14]	[2.0]	(313)
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(189)
65+	100%	[24]	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225)
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	[28]	[13]	[2.1]	([illegible]
Female	100%	[20]	[30]	27	13	5	[1.6]	([illegible]
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(225
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(165
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	[1.9]	([illegible]
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	[27]	[12]	[2.1]	([illegible]
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	[16]	[2.1]	(53
Black	100%	[27]	26	20	20	6	1.5	([illegible]
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	[29]	4	[2.0]	([illegible]

#Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index*

		Sex	
	Total	Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index*

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	—

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*Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

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CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy.

A small 34% plurality of voters state that there should be less "trade" with other countries than there is now. A lesser 31% believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. However, fully 51% say that there should be fewer "imports." Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist," 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- Democrats
- mid-Atlantic state residents
- women
- blacks
- middle class lower end whites
- those with no college education

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

The electorate's relative perceptions of Bush and Reagan do not appear to be affected by the trade issue. Core Reaganites are somewhat more protectionist than the anti-Reagan, pro-Bush voter, but those who rate them equally also lean toward protectionism. It is therefore an issue that Bush can develop without concern about alienating the Reagan constituency. The only concern should be not to appear too "free trade-ish," but that would alienate most voters, including Reagan supporters.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely than free traders to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign

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competition. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

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There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

The placement of blame for trade problems does not divide the Reagan-Bush coalition groups. All groups feel that the blame lies with foreign contries more than U.S. business, and secondarily that the blame should be shared.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept should be explored. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

		Protectionism Index			
	Total	Protec-tionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	100%	47%	30%	23%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[36]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[36]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[36]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

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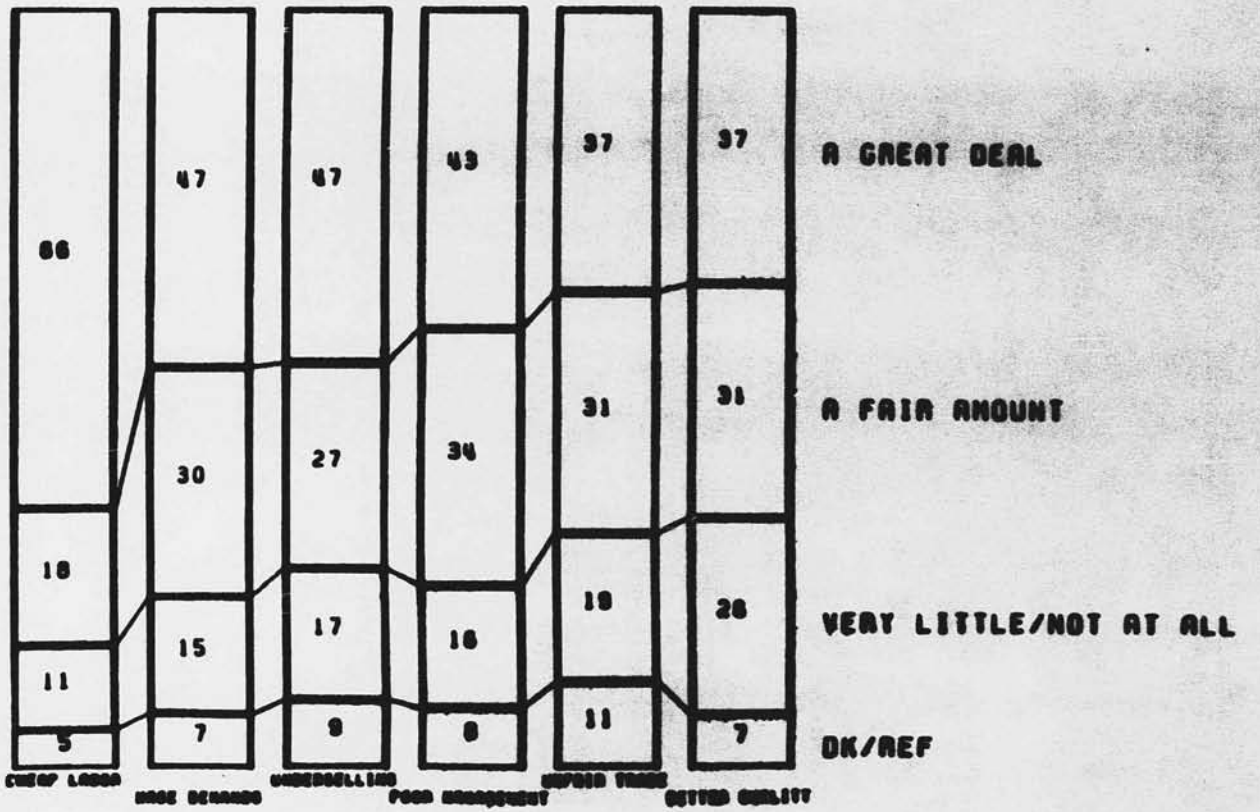
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a] Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	30	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	43	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

(continued next page)

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Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a] Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	39	34	27	(421)
RR>GB	100%	41	36	23	(328)
RR=GB	100%	38	39	23	(444)
GB>RR	100%	36	34	30	(216)

(a) Composite index of questions 17-22.

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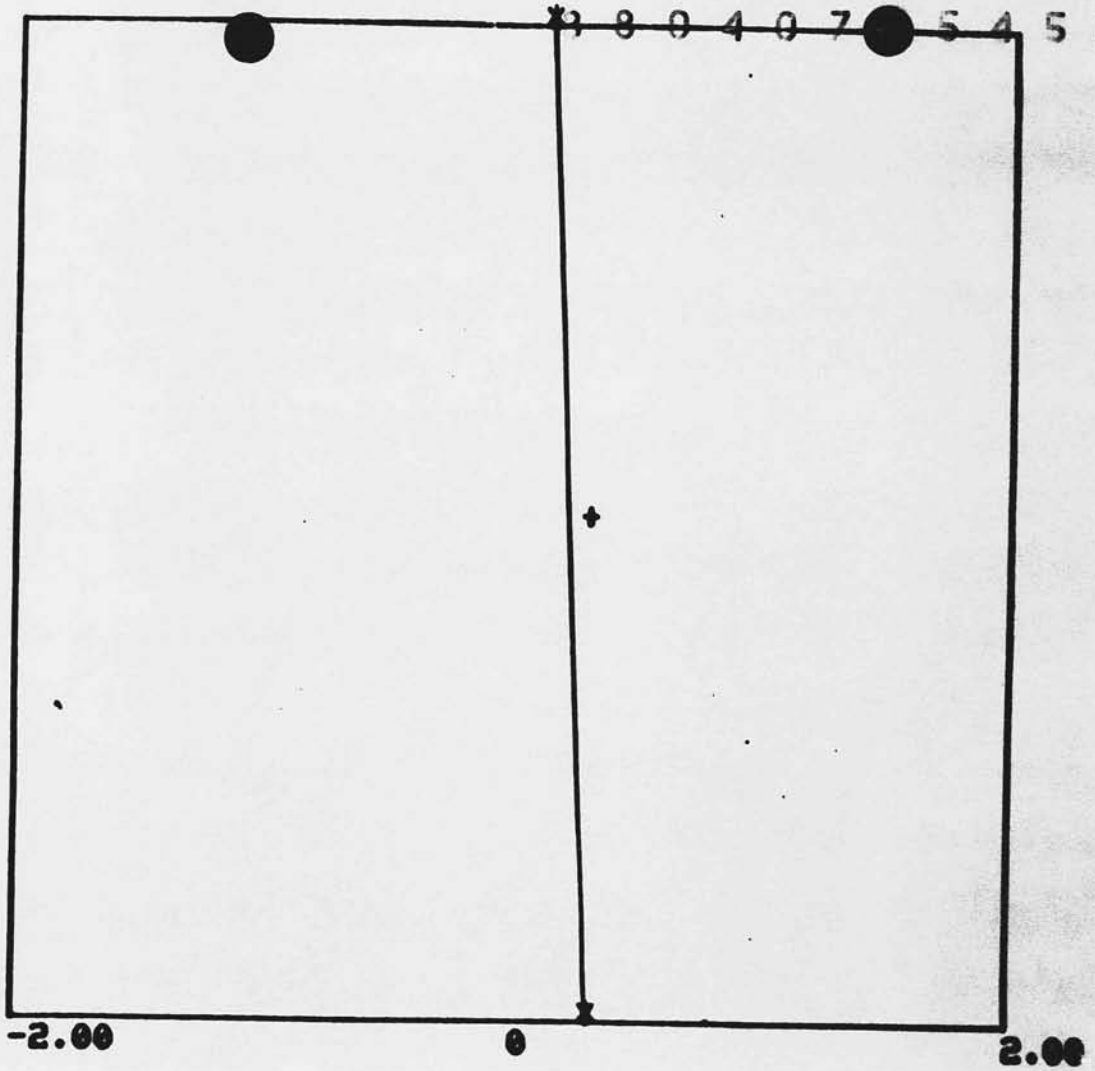
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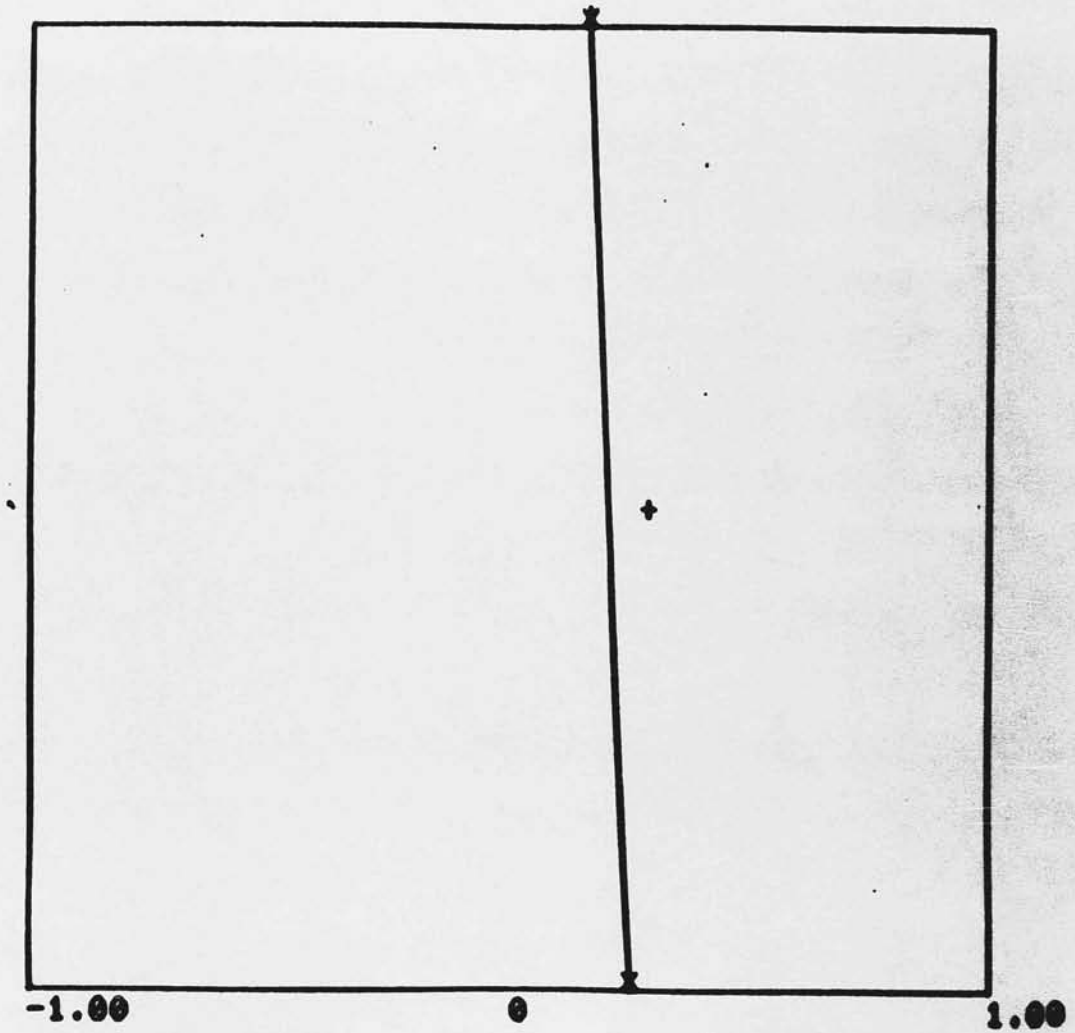
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

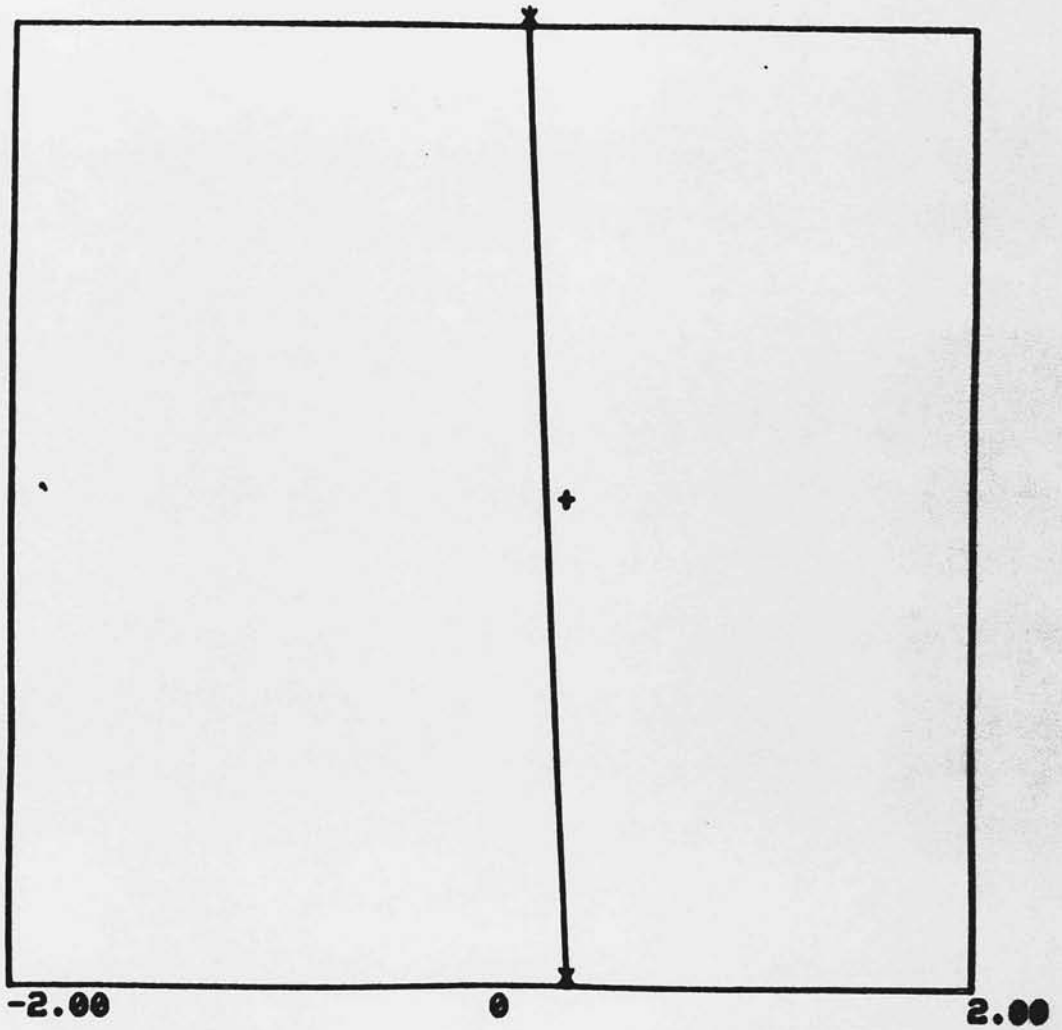


Key:

+ = Total population mean

*]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale

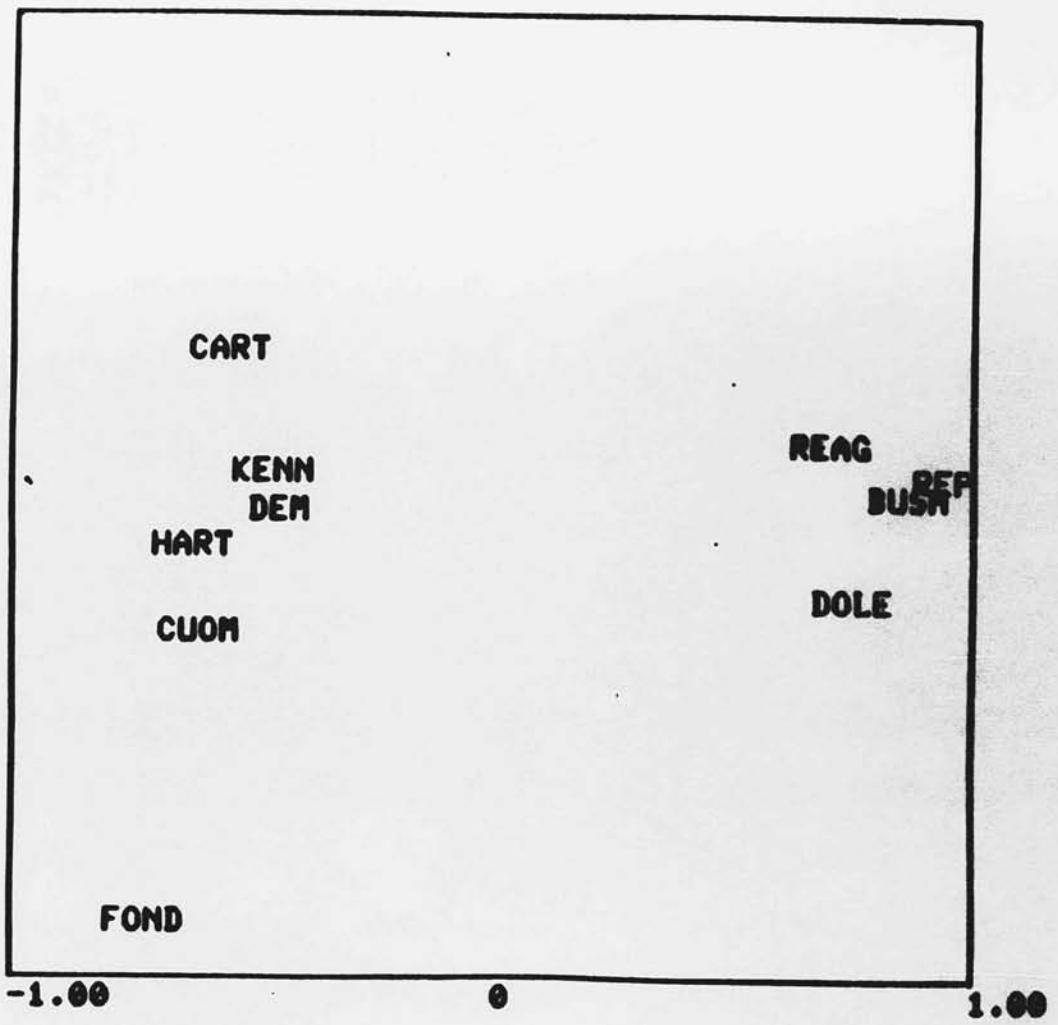


Key:

+ = Total population mean

| = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

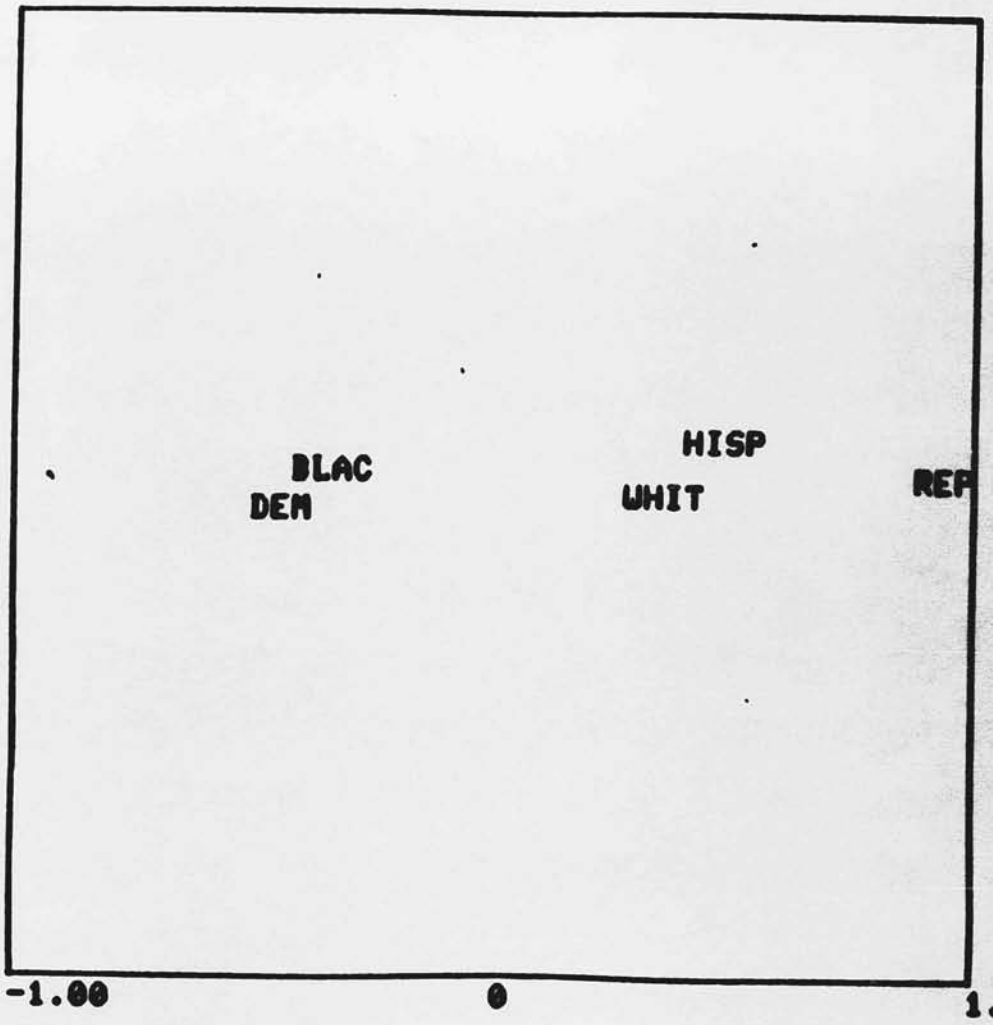
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
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HISPANIC

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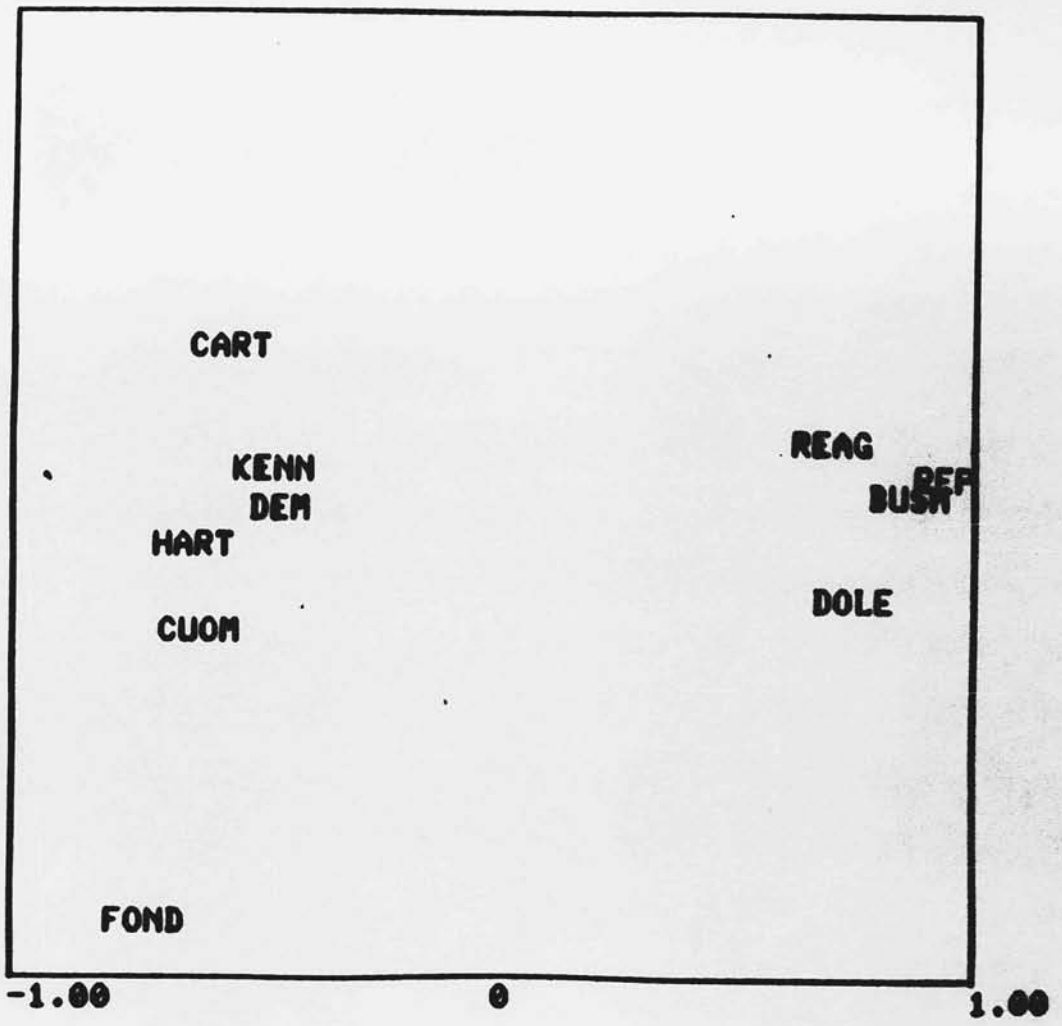
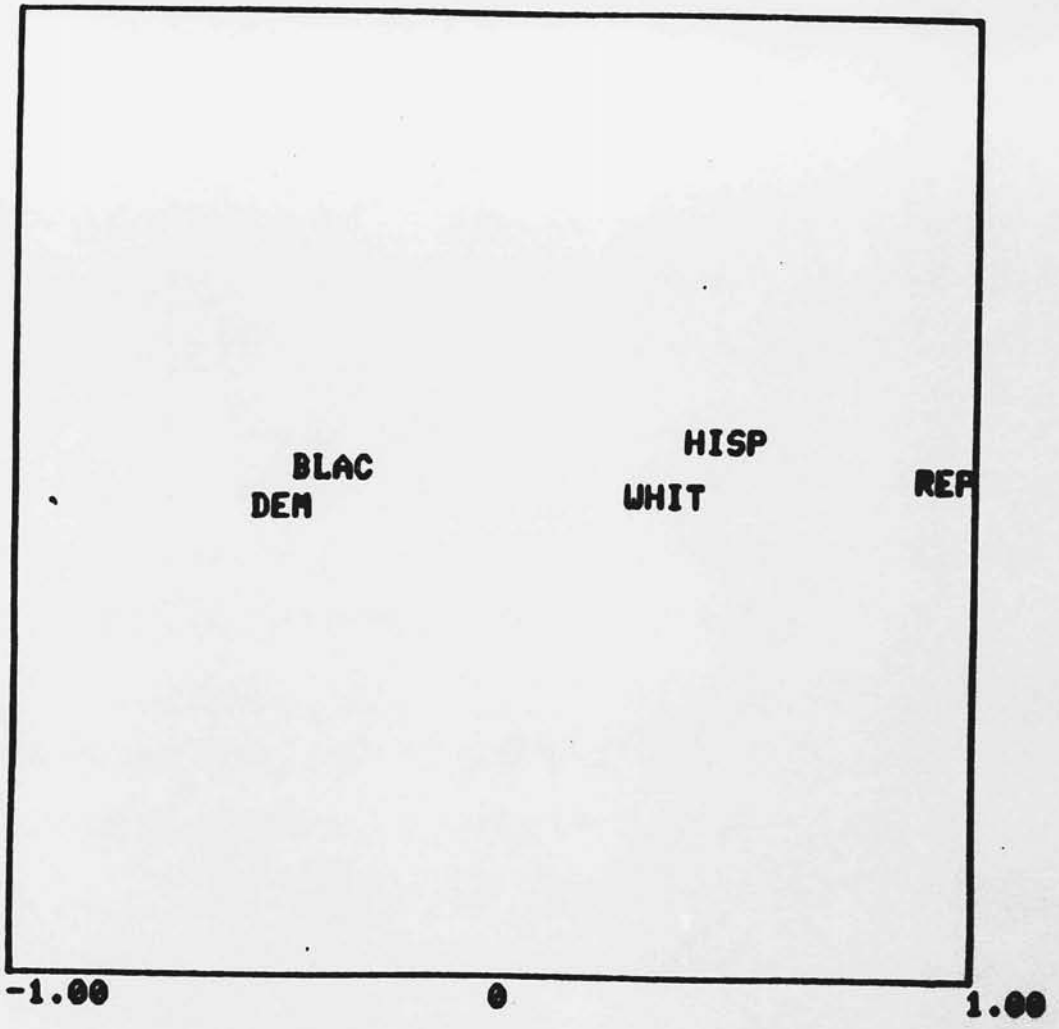
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

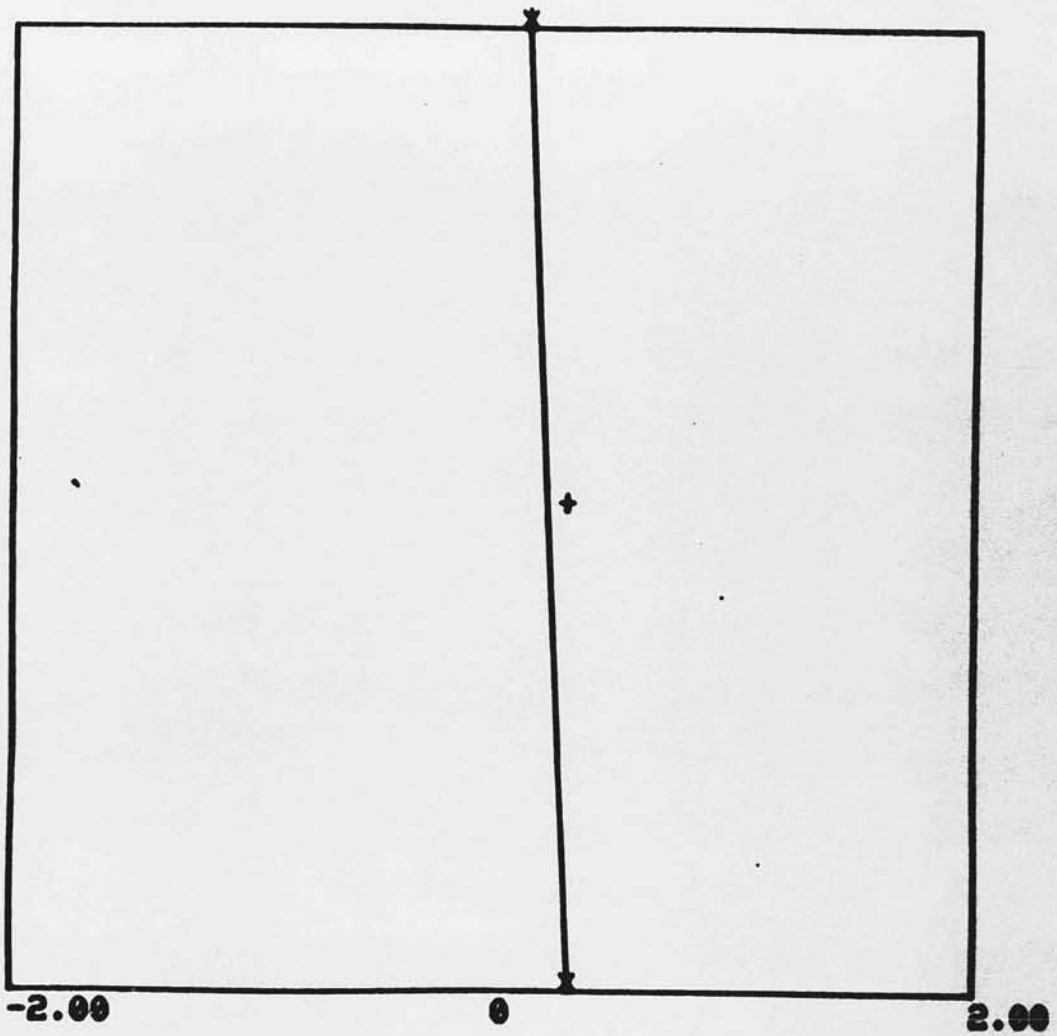


Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale

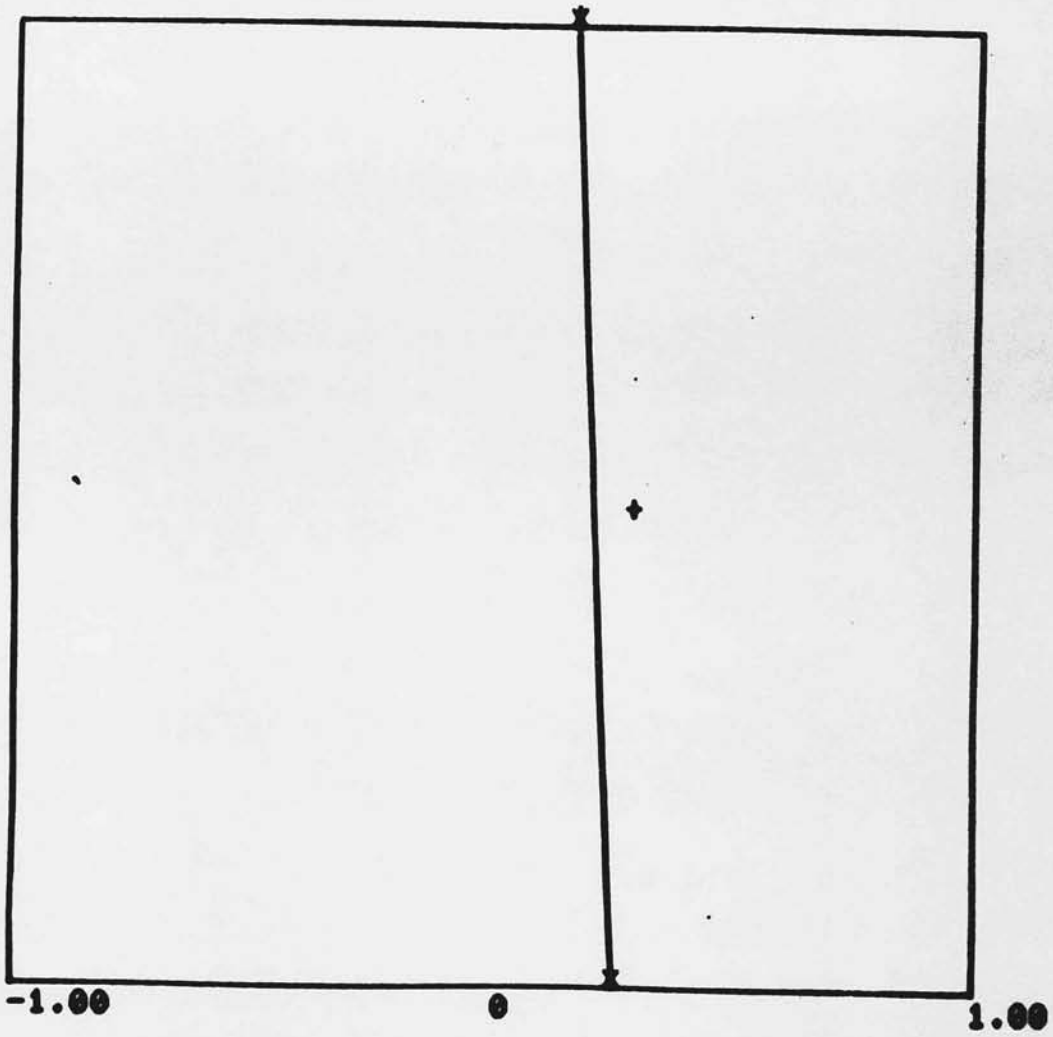


Key:

= Total population mean

= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

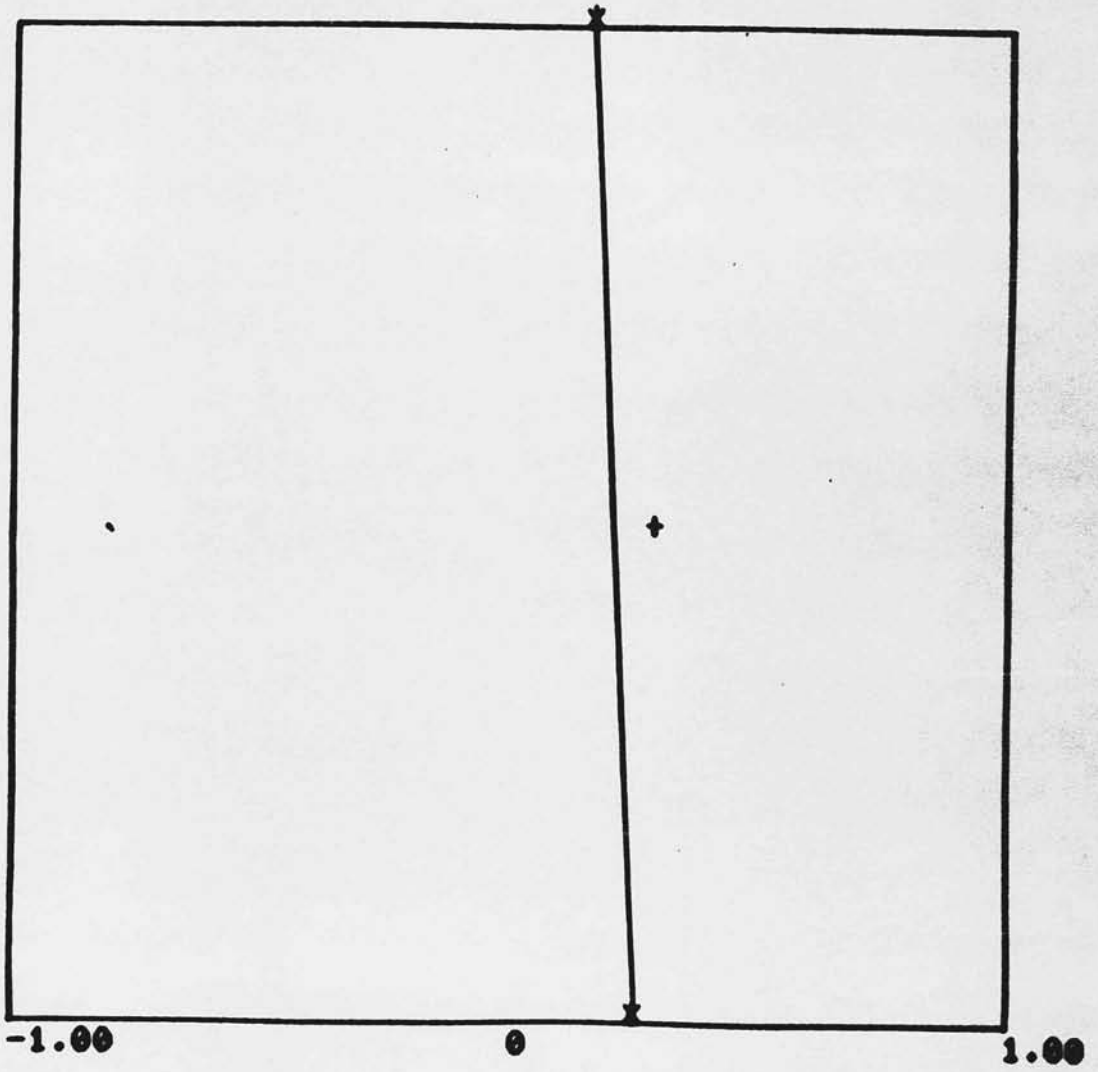
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space. ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

+ = Total population mean

* = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

- To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
- To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
- To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

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Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

FEC Ex. No. (11)
7/30/86 E.G.

U.S. National Study

Analysis Report

Prepared For:

The Republican National Committee

19040705468

Not to be released without the joint permission
of Market Opinion Research and
the Republican National Committee

December, 1985
#P85040

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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To measure public support for the Republican and Democratic parties, profile their respective coalitions, and analyze their strengths and weaknesses.
* To uncover whether or not the 1984 post-election party parity has been maintained through 1985.
* To compare the current 44% Republican Party coalition with the minority coalitions of years past.
* To assess the mood of the national electorate with regard to their perceptions of the direction of the country and approval of President Reagan and Vice-President Bush.
* To measure the basic issue attitudes of the American public with regard to such areas as traditionalism, government assistance, unions, and foreign aid and intervention.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.
* To map voter perceptions of major political figures on a two-dimensional space containing partisan and ideological axes.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S.

citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

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Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:

	Education				
	Less than H.S. Grad.	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduates	Post Graduates
Family Income					
Less than $15,000	LOWER END			INTELLIGENTSIA	
$15,000-$40,000		MIDDLE CLASS			
Over $40,000	HIGH INCOME				

The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

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"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	47%
2.	19	
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	23%
5. Free trader	6	
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	42%
Lean protectionist	25	
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	45%
Core anti-protectionist	17	
Total	100%	

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The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

		Distribution of Index
0	No military action	16%
1		25
2		28
3		23
4	Military action in all cases	9
Total		100%

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U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

		Total Electorate
1.	Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	
	Right direction	50%
	Wrong track	39
	Don't know	10
	Refused/NA	1
2.	Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	
	Working fairly well	53
	Need significant changes	43
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	*
3.	What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)	
	SEE ATTACHED TABLE	
4.	Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	
	Strongly approve	34
	Somewhat approve	34
	Somewhat disapprove	12
	Strongly disapprove	15
	Don't know	4
	Refused/NA	2
5.	Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	
	Strongly approve	22
	Somewhat approve	35
	Somewhat disapprove	8
	Strongly disapprove	9
	Don't know	23
	Refused/NA	3

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(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

	Total
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relationship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	17
Refused/No answer	*

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Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #4	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	MOI (a)
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44
(Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)								

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

		Total Electorate
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4
	Hurts	36
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31
	About the same	28
	Less	34
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46
	No	51
	Don't know	2
	Refused/NA	*

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16
b.	Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53
c.	Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	1

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Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

	Total Electorate
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55
Don't know.	14
Refused/NA.	2

---

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?	More . . . . . 9 About the same . . . . . 36 Less . . . . . 51 Don't know . . . . . 3 Refused/NA 1

---

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)	Avoiding a trade war . . . . . 35 Allowing fewer imports into country 58 Don't know . . . . . 7 Refused/NA . . . . . *

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	.36%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	.57
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	.73
	Oppose	.19
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	.43
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	.40
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	.15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	.35
	Oppose	.40
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16
	Don't know	8
	Refused/NA	1
16. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists	.28
	Favor only as retaliation	.47
	Favor neither	4
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	.16
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	1
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	.36
	Oppose	.40
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	.16
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate	.59
	Refuse to negotiate	.34
	Don't know	6
	Refused/NA	1
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups	.27
	Foreign government	.66
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1

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Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68*
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

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Here are some characte[illegible]raits and I'm going to ask you [illegible] much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(Q. 90 - 101)

	Total Electorate Average
TRUSTWORTHINESS	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	5.7
CONCERN	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	6.5
LEADERSHIP	
Ronald Reagan	7.7
Ted Kennedy	6.2
COMPETENCE	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	6.2

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		Total Electorate
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%
	Fairly liberal	8
	Slightly liberal	4
	Moderate	52
	Slightly conservative	8
	Fairly conservative	13
	Extremely conservative	7
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	1

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2
	Fairly liberal	5
	Slightly liberal	3
	Moderate	26
	Slightly conservative	10
	Fairly conservative	25
	Extremely conservative	20
	Don't know	8
	Refused/NA	1

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2
	Fairly liberal	4
	Slightly liberal	4
	Moderate	36
	Slightly conservative	11
	Fairly conservative	21
	Extremely conservative	7
	Don't know	13
	Refused/NA	1

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Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate
D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?	Republican.	31%
	Democrat.	34
	Independent	30
	No preference	3
	Other	*
	Don't know.	1
	Refused	*

Party Identification Scale	
Strong Democrat . . .	17
Weak Democrat	17
Independent Democrat.	12
Independent	10
Independent Republican	13
Weak Republican . . .	17
Strong Republican . .	14
Other/Not ascertained	*

D2. (V6)	In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)	Straight Democratic . 12 Mostly Democratic . . 17 A few more Democrats than Republicans. . 8 About equally for both parties . . . . . 21 A few more Republicans than Democrats. . . 7 Mostly Republican . . 18 Straight Republican . 8 Other . . . . . * Never voted . . . . . 5 Don't know. . . . . 2 Refused/NA. 1
D3.	Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?	Yes . . . . . 81 No. . . . . 16 Registered elsewhere. 3 Don't know. . . . . * Refused/NA. . . . . —

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		Total Electorate
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16
	25-29 years	11
	30-34 years	13
	35-39 years	11
	40-44 years	8
	45-49 years	6
	50-54 years	7
	55-59 years	6
	60-64 years	6
	65-74 years	11
	75 and over	4
	Refused	*
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11
	Graduated high school	32
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3
	Some college-2 years or less	19
	Some college-more than 2 years	9
	Graduated college	14
	Post-graduate work	8
	Refused	--
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51
	Employed and working part-time	11
	Unemployed	5
	Retired	18
	Housewife	11
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*
	Other	4
	Don't know	--
	Refused/NA	*

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	Total Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	
Single	24
Married	62
Divorced	7
Separated	1
Widow/Widower	7
Don't know	—
Refused/NA	*

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	
Employed and working full-time	58
Employed and working part-time	8
Unemployed	1
Retired	17
Housewife	15
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*
Other	1
Don't know	—
Refused/NA	*

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	
Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26
Self-employed	10
Retired	17
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7
Executive (corporate officer)	4
Homemaker	1
Services (nurse, police, military)	5
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12
Student	1
Education (teacher, counselor)	4
Other	4
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	1

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		Total Electorate
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent.	3
	Other member of household	2
	Both.	2
	None.	93
	Don't know.	*
	Refused	—

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent.	11
	Other member of household.	10
	Both.	2
	None.	77
	Don't know.	*
	Refused	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member
Labor union.	10	10
Teachers' association.	4	5
No	85	83
Refused/Single member household.	*	3

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.). . .	54
— Roman Catholic.	26
Jewish.	4
— Other Christian	10
Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2
Agnostic/Atheist. . . .	*
None.	2
Don't know.	1
Refused	1

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D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)	Every week.	28
	Almost every week . . .	12
	Once or twice a month .	17
	A few times a year. . .	31
	Never	11
	Don't know.	*
	Refused	*

		Total Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7
	$50,000 and over	11
	Don't know	3
	Refused	5
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83
	Black	11
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4
	Oriental	*
	American Indian	1
	Other	1
	Not ascertained	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48
	Female	52
	Political Strata	
	Pacific	14
	Mountain	5
	East North Central	18
	West North Central	7
	Deep South	26
	Border	8
	Mid-Atlantic	16
	New England	5

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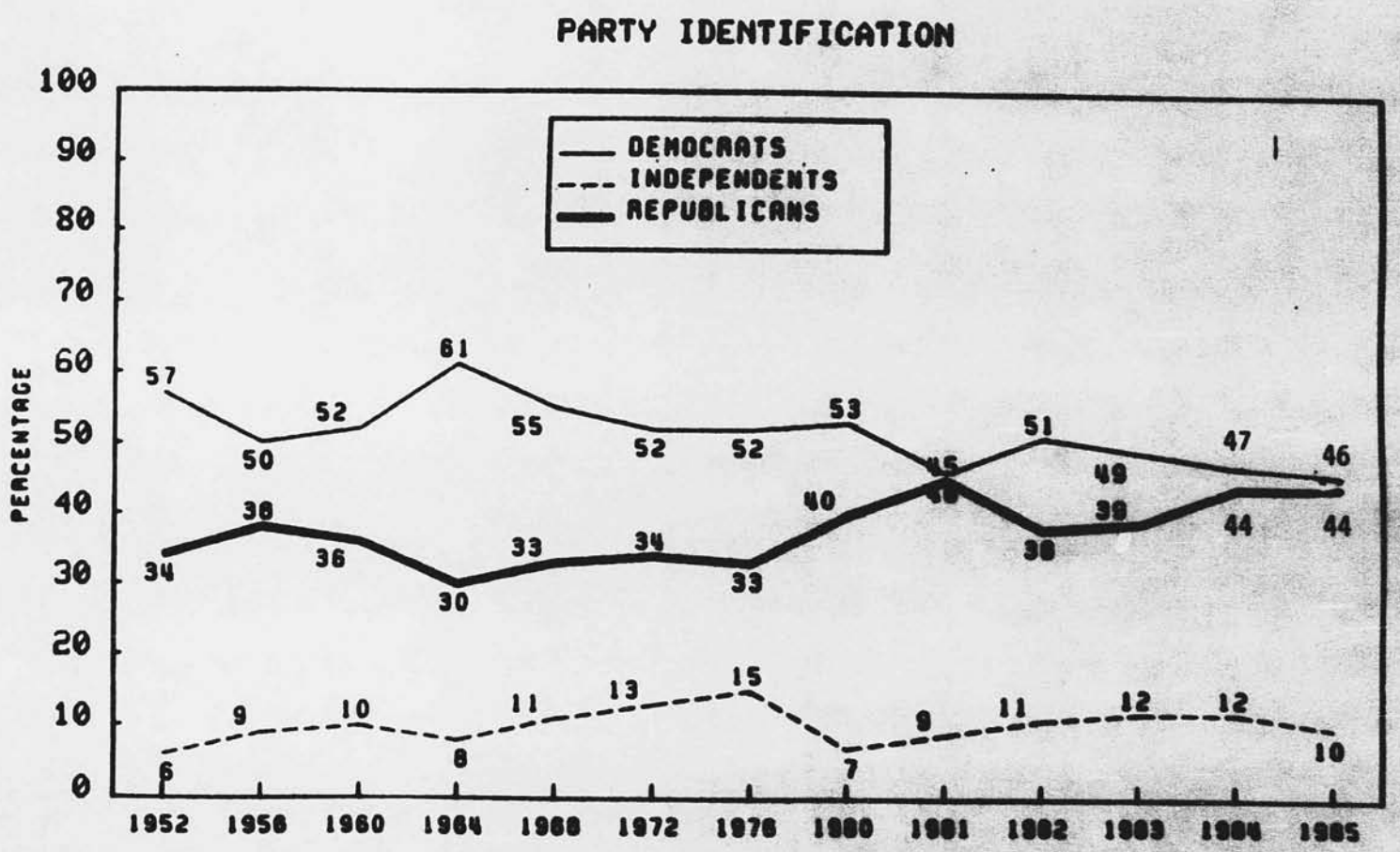
CHAPTER 1: REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY COALITIONS

During the year after the 1984 elections, the Republican Party has maintained the party identification gap between itself and the Democratic Party. At the present time, 44% of the nation's adults identify themselves as Republicans, while 46% call themselves Democrats. This 2-point margin continues the trend begun after Ronald Reagan's 1980 election to the Presidency, and is about the same as last year's 3-point, 44% to 47%, gap and 1981's 3-point, 45% to 48%, gap. The Republican Party is truly at parity with the Democratic Party.

A major question that remains to be answered is whether those voters who have climbed on the Republican bandwagon because of President Reagan will remain on the wagon after Reagan has gotten off. In other words, is this party parity transitory because it is based largely on the power of President Reagan's personality, or are these newfound Republicans on the bandwagon for the long haul? And, if some of these voters can go either way, what issues and policies will solidify their new partisan inclinations? The answers to these questions are critical for the future of the Republican Party.

Before answering the what and how of keeping these voters in the Party, it is necessary to discuss who they are, and how the Republican Party coalition differs from the Democratic Party coalition.


PARTY IDENTIFICATION
DEMOCRATS
INDEPENDENTS
REPUBLICANS
PERCENTAGE
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
57
50
52
61
55
52
52
53
45
51
47
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1952
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1984
1985

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Major Determinants of Partisanship

There are several factors — generational, lifestyle, and situational -- that have a bearing on one's partisan inclination. At the present time, the major determinants of partisanship are income, race, sex, religion, education, age, and ideology.

The household income at which partisanship changes is $25,000. Over half of the voters with incomes under $25,000 a year, who comprise 53% of the electorate, are Democrats, while over half of those with incomes over $25,000 a year (47% of the electorate) are Republicans. Income is one of the most clear-cut delimiters of partisanship.

Party identification among whites is fairly evenly divided, although the Republican Party holds a 49% to 41% plurality over the Democrats. Among blacks, the Democratic Party is the overwhelming favorite. Fully 85% of the nation's blacks identify themselves as Democrats; only 9% call themselves Republican. Hispanics identify more with Democrats as well, but the gap is not nearly as large. Fifty percent (50%) of the nation's Hispanics call themselves Democrats, 39% say they are Republican.

Though the differences are not great, men identify themselves as Republicans (by a 48% to 42% margin) while women generally think of themselves as Democrats (50% to 40%). This gender difference became prominent after 1980 along with the so-called Reagan "gender gap." In the mid-1970's, there was little or no difference in party identification between men and women.

The pattern of age and partisanship has changed over the course of the last generation. In the past, younger voters were more liberal and thus more inclined to be Democratic. Political theory stated that, as one grew older and had to deal with buying a house, raising children, planning for retirement, etc., one was likely to become more conservative and more Republican. However, now it is voters under 25, those who are being politicized in the Reagan years, who are most likely to be Republican. Fully 51% of adults under 25 say they are Republican, while only 39% report to be Democrats. That margin shifts in mid-age, and voters over 55 are more likely to be Democrats -- those 55 to 64 by a margin of 56% to 37%, those 65 and older by a 49% to 44% margin. These partisan differences show how important <u>when</u> one enters the electorate is. The New Deal generation, who entered the electorate 40 years ago, are more Democratic than Republican, and those entering the electorate now are more Republican than Democratic.

Religion has always been a source of political differences, though the partisanship of Protestants and Catholics is not as different as one might think. Only a small 48% to 44% plurality of the nation's Protestants call themselves Republicans, and an almost equally small 49% to 40% plurality of the country's Catholics call themselves Democratic. The biggest gap comes among the country's Jews, a 63% majority of whom identify themselves as Democrats. Only 28% say they are Republican.

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As education increases, so does the likelihood of being a Republican — until graduate school. Most of those voters with less than a high school education (58%) consider themselves as Democrats. That gap narrows to 47% to 43% with the acquisition of a high school diploma, and reverses to a 49% to 41% Republican advantage with some college education, and 53% to 41% with a college degree. Those who continue onto graduate school, however, are more likely (49% to 43%) to be Democrats.

The relationship between ideology and partisanship has been clouded somewhat in recent years due to changing definitions of the words liberal and conservative. Given the choice, most people eschew the words liberal and conservative and call themselves moderate. Indeed, 52% of the country's adults say they are moderate on political issues, while 28% describe themselves as conservative and 15% say they are liberal. Republicans and Democrats alike are more likely to label themselves moderate than either liberal or conservative.

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Relationship Between Ideology and Partisanship

		Party Identification		
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat
Ideology				
Conservative	28%	42%	17%	18%
Moderate	52	45	60	56
Liberal	15	9	13	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

There is still a relationship between ideology and partisanship, albeit not a strong one. Many more Republicans call themselves conservative (42%) than liberal (9%). There are only a few more Democrats calling themselves liberal (21%) than conservative (18%) -- most (56%) prefer the label "moderate."

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**44%**	**46%**	**37%**	**(1500)**
Ideology					
Conservative	100%	64	30	24	(427)
Moderate	100%	39	50	40	(774)
Liberal	100%	27	65	53	(220)
Age					
18-24	100%	51	39	27	(237)
25-34	100%	43	45	37	(365)
35-44	100%	42	47	36	(283)
45-54	100%	47	44	37	(196)
55-64	100%	37	56	44	(189)
65+	100%	44	49	46	(225)
Education					
Less than high school	100%	29	58	47	(228)
High school/Vocational school	100%	43	47	38	(521)
Some college	100%	49	41	31	(419)
College graduate	100%	53	41	33	(215)
Post graduate	100%	43	49	45	(117)
Occupational Group					
Farm household	100%	39	46	39	(99)
Union household	100%	33	56	44	(265)
Teacher household	100%	42	50	34	(113)
Religion					
Protestant	100%	48	44	33	(811)
Catholic	100%	40	49	47	(391)
Jewish	100%	28	63	59	(54)

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

(cont'd.)

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Income					
Under $15,000	100%	34%	55%	42%	(359)
$15,000-$25,000	100%	39	50	39	(370)
$25,000-$40,000	100%	53	37	30	(377)
$40,000 and over	100%	54	40	35	(268)
Race					
White	100%	49	41	41	(1244)
Black	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Hispanic	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Sex					
Male	100%	48	42	33	(726)
Female	100%	40	50	41	(774)
Combined Demographics					
Men					
18-44 years old	100%	49	41	31	(444)
45 years and older	100%	47	45	36	(280)
Women					
18-44 years old	100%	41	48	37	(441)
45 years and older	100%	39	53	47	(331)
College					
18-44 years old	100%	46	46	41	(229)
45 years and older	100%	57	37	29	(102)
Non-College					
18-44 years old	100%	45	43	31	(656)
45 years and older	100%	40	52	45	(509)
White					
Men	100%	53	37	37	(599)
Women	100%	44	45	45	(645)
Black					
Men	100%	12	83	—	(78)
Women	100%	7	86	—	(81)

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

(cont'd.)

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	60%	36%	36%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	57	35	35	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	36	36	(458)
Lower end	100%	38	51	51	(275)
Jews	100%	28	63	60	(53)
Hispanics	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Blacks	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Tracer Group					
White northern Protestant	100%	57	34	34	(373)
White northern Catholic	100%	41	48	48	(202)
White northern union	100%	45	45	45	(209)
Southern white	100%	51	40	40	(395)
Jews	100%	28	63	60	(53)
Blacks	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Hispanics	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Political Region					
New England	100%	33	55	51	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	48	46	38	(246)
East North Central	100%	40	51	42	(263)
West North Central	100%	50	38	36	(111)
Border South	100%	39	51	42	(118)
Deep South	100%	44	47	32	(392)
Mountain	100%	45	41	40	(80)
Pacific	100%	47	40	24	(210)

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Demographic Profile of the Republican Party

Though partisanship is related to income, race, sex, age, education, religion, and ideology, the stereotype of Republicans as being white, Protestant, rich, stodgy, older white men is simply not true. The Democratic Party has often been cast as the party of the working man, the "average Joe." However, it is actually the case that more middle class Americans (as defined by income and education -- see the Foreword for the definition) call themselves Republicans than Democrats. A demographic profile of the nation's Republican partisans reveals that:

* 53% are under 40
* 36% are middle class
* only 24% have incomes over $40,000
* 31% are Southern whites
* 24% are Catholic

It is the case that 92% are white and 53% are male, and it is true that, as a group, Republicans have higher incomes and more education than Democrats. But these tendencies can hide the diversity that exists within the Party.

Geographically, the only area where the Republicans have a slight advantage over the Democrats is among Southern whites. In all other areas of the country the two party coalitions are close to equal in strength, though the Eastern Seaboard (New England, Mid-Atlantic regions) leans Democratic, while the West Coast is slightly more Republicans.

The most recent additions to the Republican coalition are younger voters and voters from the South. These voter groups are key elements of the new Republican coalition. The Republican coalition is no longer predominately older, northern WASP's. The social group profile of the Republican Party ten years ago shows that 51% were Northern white Protestants and only 21% were white Southerners. Now, the northern WASP component of the Republican Party has dropped to 32% and white Southerners now comprise 31% of the party. The increased contribution of white Southerners to Republican coalition makes the Republican coalition a truly national coalition for the first time in its history. The Republican new plurality is also slightly younger than the Democratic coalition. A 53% majority of the Republican identifiers and leaners are under 40 years old. Conversely, a 54% majority of the Democratic coalition is 40 yers old or older.

It is among these key voter groups -- white Southerners and voters under 40 — that work must be done to make their changing partisanship a lasting rather than a temporary phenomenon.

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Demographic Profile of the Democratic Party

Comparing the Democratic party coalition with the Republican coalition shows that, among the Democratic Party:

* 48% are under 40
* 24% are middle class
* 12% have incomes over $40,000
* 23% are Southern whites
* 28% are Catholic

The groups among whom Democrats outdraw Republicans are:

* Blacks (19% of the Democratic coalition are blacks, vs. 2% of the Republican coalition)
* lower end whites (20% vs. 16%)
* union household members (21% vs.13%)
* Jews (5% vs. 2%)

Blacks, as a proportion of the Democratic coalition, have doubled their importance, increasing from 10% of the Democratic identifiers in the 1950's to a 20% share today.

Where 44% of the Republicans have incomes under $25,000, 60% of the Democrats do. Where 44% of the Republicans have no more than a high school education, 55% of the Democrats do. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the Republicans are classified as middle class on the basis of income and education, while only 24% of the Democratic coalition are middle class. There are indeed demographic differences between the two parties, and the Republican Party is quite competitive with the Democrats on the middle ground.

Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(695)	(559)
Ideology				
Conservative	28%	42%	18%	18%
Moderate	52	45	56	56
Liberal	15	9	21	21
Age				
18-24	16	18	13	11
25-34	24	24	24	24
35-44	19	18	19	18
45-54	13	14	12	13
55-64	13	11	15	15
65+	15	15	16	19
Education				
Less than high school	15	10	19	19
High school/Vocational school	35	34	36	36
Some college	28	31	25	23
College graduate	22	25	21	22
Occupational Group				
Farm household	7	6	7	7
Union household	18	13	21	21
Teacher household	8	7	8	7
Religion				
Protestant	54	59	52	48
Catholic	26	24	28	33
Jewish	4	2	5	6

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Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

(cont'd.)

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Income				
Under $15,000	26%	20%	31%	27%
$15,000-$25,000	27	24	29	26
$25,000-$40,000	27	33	22	20
$40,000 and over	20	24	17	17
Race				
White	83	92	74	94
Black	11	2	19	—
Hispanic	4	4	4	3
Sex				
Male	48	53	44	43
Female	52	47	56	57
Combined Demographics				
Men				
18-44 years old	30	33	26	25
45 years and older	19	20	18	18
Women				
18-44 years old	29	27	30	29
45 years and older	22	20	25	28
College				
18-44 years old	15	16	15	17
45 years and older	17	9	5	5
Non-College				
18-44 years old	44	44	41	37
45 years and older	34	31	38	41
White				
Men	40	48	32	39
Women	43	43	42	52
Black				
Men	5	1	9	—
Women	5	1	10	—

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Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

(cont'd.)

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Status Group				
High income	15%	21%	12%	15%
Intelligentsia	11	14	8	10
Middle class	31	36	24	30
Lower end	18	16	20	25
Jews	4	2	5	6
Hispanics	4	4	4	3
Blacks	11	2	19	—
Tracer Group				
White northern Protestant	25	32	18	22
White northern Catholic	13	13	14	17
White northern union	14	14	14	17
Southern white	26	31	23	28
Jews	4	2	5	6
Blacks	11	2	19	—
Hispanics	4	4	4	3
Political Region				
New England	5	4	6	7
Mid-Atlantic	16	18	16	17
East North Central	18	16	19	20
West North Central	7	8	6	7
Border South	8	7	9	9
Deep South	26	26	27	22
Mountain	5	5	5	6
Pacific	14	15	12	13

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Social Group Profile of the Party Coalitions, 1952-1982

	Democratic Party Identifiers					
	1952-1960	1962-1972	1976	1980	1984	1985
WASPs	19%	20%	17%	17%	19%	18%
Catholics	13	16	19	16	23	14
Northern Union	22	19	18	18	13	14
White Southerners	31	25	23	23	20	23
Jews	5	3	4	6	5	5
Blacks	10	16	18	21	20	19
	100%	100%	109%	100%	100%	100%

	Republican Party Identifiers					
	1952-1960	1962-1972	1976	1980	1984	1985
WASPs	56%	51%	51%	43%	34%	32%
Catholics	10	10	14	16	16	13
Northern Union	18	13	11	14	10	14
White Southerners	11	23	21	24	34	31
Jews	1	1	1	*	2	2
Blacks	5	2	2	3	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Age Profile of the Party Coalitions

	Democratic Identifiers	
	1979	1985
18-24	19%	13%
25-39	31	35
40-54	20	21
55-64	14	15
65+	16	16
	100%	100%

	Republican Identifiers	
	1979	1985
18-24	16%	18%
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	13
65+	21	15
	100%	100%

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CHAPTER 2: MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

The American public is generally satisfied with the way things are going in the country today. When asked, "Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?", 50% answer that things are going in the right direction while 39% feel that things are off on the wrong track.

This 50% to 39% positive majority is a dramatic turnaround from the 1972-1980 period, when more voters felt the country was seriously off on the wrong track than believed they were heading in the right direction.

Not surprisingly, their satisfaction with the way things are going is reflected in the public's feeling that the political system is "working fairly well at the present time." A 53% to 43% majority opine that the system is working well and needs no significant changes.

These two evaluations go hand in hand -- those who feel things in the country are going well feel that the political system is running well, and those who think things are off on the wrong track also feel that the political system needs changes.

Those voters who are the most satisfied with the status quo are those who support the party in the White House:

* Republicans
* high income voters
* northern white Protestants
* voters under 25

Also satisfied with the way things are going are: Jews, Eastern Seaboard residents (New England, Mid-Atlantic), and members of the intelligentsia. Though they are not what one would call die-hard Republicans or Reaganites, they are more likely to be fairly well-off economically.

Those who are the least satisfied with the way things are going are the most Democratic and the least financially secure elements of society:

* Democratic party identifiers
* blacks
* women
* low income whites
* voters over 55
* residents of the Midwest

The least satisfied of these voters are blacks, 64% of whom think things are on the wrong track and 66% of whom feel that the political system needs changes.

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One interesting finding comes from Mountain state residents. Though a 49% to 41% plurality feel things are going well in the country, a 58% to 40% majority nonetheless feel that the political system needs changes.

When those who reply that the political system needs significant changes were asked what kinds of changes are needed, very few offer any systemic changes. Most responses are related to issues:

"The deficit/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control"	7%
"Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/ Need fair taxation"	4
"Less foreign aid/Stay out of countries"	4
"Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work"	4

All told, 23% mention social domestic policy issues, 18% mention economic issues, and 15% mention foreign policy.

Some responses related to the way leaders respond to the people:

"More concern for people/Interaction with people instead of issues"	4%
"Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majority's opinions"	3
"More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values"	3

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Only 7% of the voters who want changes, and 3% of the total electorate, offer systemic changes. Those few who do mention the need for systemic change respond with the following suggestions:

"The judicial system needs to be changed/ Supreme Court overhaul"	2%
"Our political system/Need a new system/ Not a well-balanced system"	2
"No one in office more than 6 years/Let legislature run for 1 term, not 2"	1
"The way they run Congress/The administration/Relationship between Congress and the President"	1

So, even though 43% of the nation's voters want to see "significant changes," not very many actually want our system of government to change. Rather, they want the deficit reduced, the tax system reformed, less money spent on national defense and foreign aid, and more concern for people from government officials and elected representatives.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Things in this country												
Right direction	50%	66%	40%	36%	54%	57%	45%	46%	48%	49%	49%	50%
Wrong track	39	25	44	52	32	34	43	46	38	40	41	39
Don't know/Refused	11	9	16	11	14	9	12	8	14	11	11	11
Our political system												
Working fairly well	53	70	41	40	63	55	51	50	51	55	40	54
Need significant changes	43	28	51	56	33	41	46	50	45	40	58	43
Don't know/Refused	3	2	8	4	4	3	3	1	4	6	2	3

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Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
Things in this country								
Right direction	50%	62%	52%	49%	43%	39%	57%	43%
Wrong track	39	30	39	40	45	45	32	46
Don't know/Refused	11	8	10	12	12	15	10	11
Our political system								
Working fairly well	53	62	53	54	52	45	60	46
Need significant changes	43	35	44	43	45	49	36	50
Don't know/Refused	3	4	3	4	3	6	3	4

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks	Protestant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
Things in this country												
Right direction	50%	71%	60%	52%	37%	60%	46%	27%	55%	51%	52%	53%
Wrong track	39	23	33	37	47	28	41	64	35	36	40	36
Don't know/Refused	11	7	7	11	16	13	13	9	11	13	8	11
Our political system												
Working fairly well	53	68	62	54	46	64	49	30	53	57	55	59
Need significant changes	43	30	37	42	48	32	48	66	44	39	43	37
Don't know/Refused	3	2	1	4	5	4	3	4	3	4	2	4

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The Reagan Administration

Public approval of both President Reagan and Vice-President Bush is high — President Reagan enjoys a 68% to 26% approval rating, Vice President Bush a 57% to 17% rating.

Perceptions of President Reagan, naturally, are more well-formed than those of Bush. Only 6% have no opinion of Reagan's job performance, while 26% have no opinion of Bush's performance.

President Reagan enjoys nearly universal approval among the nation's Republicans — 90% approve and only 8% disapprove of the job he is doing as President. Democrats, on the other hand, are evenly divided in their opinions of Reagan -- 47% approve, 46% disapprove. Independents side with the Republicans, as 70% approve of Reagan and only 19% disapprove.

Demographically, Reagan is well-liked among all but the most Democratic voters — blacks and Jews. He is well-liked among all other voter groups, especially:

* voters under 25
* Southern whites
* Hispanics
* high income whites
* middle class whites
* West North Central state residents

The oft-commented upon gender gap is currently 9 points. Men approve of Reagan by a 73% to 23% margin, women by a 64% to 30% margin.

The fact that young voters and Southern whites are included in the "high on Reagan" group is an indication that at least part of their new-found attraction to the Republican Party is because of their warm feelings and support for President Reagan. It will be doubly important, then, to profile their issue attitudes to uncover what issues are attracting and can keep them in the Republican Party.

Vice-President Bush is also well-liked among his own partisans. Republicans approve of Bush by a 74% to 7% margin. Democrats approve by a less positive 42% to 28% margin, although 30% could offer no opinion. Likewise, Independent voters approve of Bush by a 53% to 14% margin, but 34% have no opinion.

Geographically, Bush gets his highest marks in the West North Central, Mountain, and Border South states, where 68%, 61%, and 60%, respectively, approve of the job he is doing as Vice-President. New Englanders give him both the lowest marks and the most undecideds -- 48% approve, 19% disapprove, and 35% have no opinion.

Demographically, Bush receives his highest marks from the same voter groups that applaud Reagan, with the following exception: older voters like Bush better than younger voters. Voters aged 55 to 64 approve of Bush by a 62% to 16% margin, and those 65 and older approve by a 61% to 14% margin. Eighteen to twenty-four year olds only approve by a 53% to 16% margin. The difference between the two age extremes is due to less familiarity with Bush among younger voters. While only 22% and 24% of the two older age groups have no opinion of Bush, fully 30% of those under 25 are undecided about Bush.

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In summary, voter perceptions of the direction of the country and their evaluations of the Reagan administration are both positive. Only the most Democratic elements of society want to change the status quo and give the Reagan administration a thumbs-down.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Ronald Reagan												
Strongly approve	34%	57%	30%	13%	27%	36%	26%	40%	37%	39%	31%	31%
Somewhat approve	34	32	40	35	41	31	36	35	31	32	30	38
Somewhat disapprove	12	5	11	19	9	13	16	9	11	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	15	3	8	27	16	17	18	13	9	11	20	16
Don't know/Refused	6	2	10	7	8	4	4	3	10	6	9	4
Collapsed												
Approve	68	90	70	47	67	67	62	75	69	71	63	69
Disapprove	26	8	19	46	25	30	33	23	20	22	29	27

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
Ronald Reagan								
Strongly approve	34%	29%	32%	37%	38%	36%	38%	30%
Somewhat approve	34	44	36	35	26	27	35	33
Somewhat disapprove	12	15	13	7	14	9	11	13
Strongly disapprove	15	7	14	16	20	19	12	17
Don't know/Refused	6	5	6	5	3	8	5	7
Collapsed								
Approve	68	73	68	72	64	63	73	64
Disapprove	26	22	27	23	34	28	23	30

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelli-gentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	His-panics	Blacks	Prot-estant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
Ronald Reagan												
Strongly approve	34%	50%	38%	37%	31%	26%	27%	9%	41%	29%	29%	45%
Somewhat approve	34	31	31	36	38	25	51	28	33	42	35	33
Somewhat disapprove	12	8	12	10	12	19	11	21	9	10	15	9
Strongly disapprove	15	10	15	11	12	30	6	32	13	15	16	8
Don't know/Refused	6	2	6	5	6	2	5	10	4	5	5	6
Collapsed												
Approve	68	80	69	74	69	51	78	37	74	71	64	78
Disapprove	26	18	26	21	24	47	17	54	22	24	31	17

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush												
Strongly approve	22%	37%	13%	11%	19%	23%	19%	23%	25%	26%	19%	19%
Somewhat approve	35	37	40	32	29	34	33	44	34	34	43	37
Somewhat disapprove	8	4	5	13	10	8	11	5	7	9	4	9
Strongly disapprove	9	3	9	15	9	9	10	7	4	9	9	10
Don't know/Refused	26	19	34	30	35	26	28	20	30	22	25	25
Collapsed												
Approve	57	74	53	42	48	57	52	68	58	60	61	56
Disapprove	17	7	14	28	19	17	21	13	11	18	13	19

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RNC

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
George Bush								
Strongly approve	22%	19%	17%	25%	26%	31%	25%	20%
Somewhat approve	35	35	38	33	37	31	36	35
Somewhat disapprove	8	11	9	8	7	7	8	8
Strongly disapprove	9	6	11	10	8	7	8	10
Don't know/Refused	26	30	25	26	22	24	24	27
Collapsed								
Approve	57	53	56	58	62	61	60	55
Disapprove	17	16	19	17	16	14	16	18

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks	Protestant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
George Bush												
Strongly approve	22%	33%	23%	23%	23%	13%	30%	5%	24%	23%	19%	29%
Somewhat approve	35	35	42	36	34	28	33	31	40	34	34	36
Somewhat disapprove	8	6	5	7	12	8	3	16	5	8	12	7
Strongly disapprove	9	6	7	7	7	17	6	19	8	8	9	6
Don't know/Refused	26	21	24	28	24	35	27	29	23	27	26	12
Collapsed												
Approve	57	68	66	59	56	42	63	36	64	57	53	65
Disapprove	17	12	12	14	19	23	10	36	13	16	21	13

CHAPTER 3: BASIC ISSUE ATTITUDES IN THE ELECTORATE

In past national opinion studies, Market Opinion Research has explored the underlying basic issue attitudes and beliefs that govern public opinion. MOR has uncovered eight basic issue attitudes that tap into the major issue areas on the public issue agenda today. Exploring how the electorate is arrayed on these attitudinal dimensions gives a better sense of the fundamental beliefs held by the American public. With this base, public opinion on topical questions is better understood.

The seven basic attitudinal dimensions are:

* gunboat diplomacy/interventionism
* America first
* traditional values
* government assistance
* government welfare
* union agenda
* black agenda
* protectionism

To uncover these dimensions, a long series of agree-disagree statements were read to the adults being interviewed for earlier studies. For this study, the two questions with the best explanatory power on each dimension were used. The eighth dimension, protectionism, is looked at in Chapter 5.

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An analysis of each dimension will help develop the what and how of the Republican party coalition -- what attitudes are most strongly held by Republican partisans and how the Party can, through issues, solidify younger voters and Southerners as more permanent members of the coalition.

Gunboat Diplomacy

There are two foreign policy dimensions at work in the American public. The first is a combative one, which taps voter sentiment on our military involvement around the world. The two statements which make up this dimension are, "The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely" and "Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world." Voters agree by a 73% to 23% margin that our security would suffer if we did not use military troops, and a more evenly divided 51% to 40% disagree that we should never send troops to foreign countries.

The largest share of the electorate falls into the "gunboater" category. Gunboaters disagree that the U.S. should never send troops, and they agree that our national security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests. Forty-four percent (44%) of the electorate falls into this category. At the other extreme are anti-interventionists, who number 23%. They are against the U.S. sending troops abroad. In the middle, with mixed opinions, is the remaining third (33%) of the electorate.

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The most interventionist elements of the electorate are:

* Republicans
* Southern whites
* voters aged 25 to 39

The most anti-interventionist groups in the electorate are:

* New England and Pacific Coast residents
* senior citizens
* Jews

This, then is a good issue for Republicans and one that can solidify Southern whites.

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Composition and Distribution of Gunboat Diplomacy Attitude Scale

The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	6%	1%	3%	5%	22%
Somewhat agree	6	7	1	4	2	19
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	4	4	1	1	*	9
Somewhat disagree	9	10	1	4	1	25
Strongly disagree	15	5	1	2	2	26
Total	41	32	5	13	10	100%

Distribution

Anti-interventionists	.000	5%
	.125	5
	.250	5
	.375	9
Mixed	.500	20
	.625	12
	.750	15
	.875	15
Gunboaters	1.000	15
Total		100%
Average		.62

Combined

Anti-interventionists	23%
Mixed	33
Gunboaters	44

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Voter Attitudes on Gunboat Diplomacy Scale

		Gunboat Diplomacy			
	Total	Anti-Inter-ventionists	Mixed	Gunboaters	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**23%**	**33%**	**44%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	**100%**	**20**	**30**	**50**	**(659)**
Independent	**100%**	**19**	**42**	**39**	**(144)**
Democrat	**100%**	**26**	**34**	**40**	**(695)**
Political Region					
New England	**100%**	**39**	**28**	**34**	**(79)**
Mid-Atlantic	**100%**	**24**	**32**	**44**	**(246)**
East North Central	**100%**	**27**	**32**	**41**	**(263)**
West North Central	**100%**	**22**	**32**	**48**	**(111)**
Border South	**100%**	**17**	**36**	**47**	**(118)**
Deep South	**100%**	**17**	**33**	**50**	**(392)**
Mountain	**100%**	**18**	**46**	**36**	**(80)**
Pacific	**100%**	**28**	**30**	**42**	**(210)**
Age					
18-24	100%	23	37	41	(237)
25-39	100%	20	30	50	(531)
40-54	100%	19	33	47	(313)
55-64	100%	25	34	40	(189)
65+	100%	33	33	34	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	25	30	46	(726)
Female	100%	21	36	43	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	24	27	49	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	24	37	38	(163)
Middle class	100%	23	31	47	(458)
Lower end	100%	18	36	46	(275)
Jews	100%	40	23	36	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	37	40	(63)
Blacks	100%	21	36	42	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	22	35	43	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	28	32	41	(202)
Northern white union	100%	28	27	44	(209)
Southern whites	100%	18	33	49	(395)

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America First

The second foreign policy dimension taps voter sentiment about the U.S. as a member of the "world community." It is more aid-related than intervention-related. The questions that make up this dimension are, "We should help only those countries which are for us and not help those which are against us," to which a 62% to 30% majority agrees, and "Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries." A 56% to 39% majority agrees with that statement.

As there is an inherent dissonance in those two responses, a plurality of the voters (41%) has mixed opinions. The remainder of the electorate divides 33% America First, 25% internationalist.

The strongest America First-ers in the electorate are:

* voters over 55
* lower end whites
* Jews

Younger voters, members of the intelligentsia, high income voters, and West North Central residents have a greater share of internationalist sentiment. This issue is non-partisan; there is no significant difference in opinion between Democrats and Republicans. Both are mixed, but lean toward the America First view.

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Composition and Distribution of America First Attitude Scale

We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	6%	10%	2%	8%	15%	41%
Somewhat agree	4	10	1	4	3	21
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	2	1	1	1	8
Somewhat disagree	5	9	*	3	1	19
Strongly disagree	5	3	1	1	1	11
Total	22	34	5	17	21	100%

		Distribution
Internationalist	.000	5%
	.125	9
	.250	12
	.375	7
Mixed	.500	21
	.625	13
	.750	8
	.875	11
America First	1.000	15
Total		100%
Average		.55

Combined

Internationalist	25%
Mixed	41
America First	33

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Voter Attitudes on America First Scale

	Total	America First: Internationalist	America First: Mixed	America First: America First	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**25%**	**41%**	**33%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	24	42	34	(659)
Independent	100%	23	44	33	(144)
Democrat	100%	27	40	33	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	29	46	25	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	26	41	33	(246)
East North Central	100%	27	42	31	(263)
West North Central	100%	31	32	37	(111)
Border South	100%	22	49	29	(118)
Deep South	100%	23	41	37	(392)
Mountain	100%	24	46	30	(80)
Pacific	100%	26	40	33	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	42	25	(237)
25-39	100%	26	43	31	(531)
40-54	100%	26	39	35	(313)
55-64	100%	20	42	39	(189)
65+	100%	19	41	40	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	27	44	29	(726)
Female	100%	24	39	37	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	32	39	29	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	37	41	22	(163)
Middle class	100%	25	41	34	(458)
Lower end	100%	16	41	42	(275)
Jews	100%	26	32	40	(53)
Hispanics	100%	17	52	30	(63)
Blacks	100%	29	43	28	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	27	37	36	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	27	43	30	(202)
Northern white union	100%	25	42	33	(209)
Southern whites	100%	22	43	35	(395)

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Traditional Values

The third dimension taps people's beliefs in traditional values. The two statements used to form this dimension are "It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer" and "A woman should have the legal right to an abortion if she wants one." Abortion and school prayer are at the heart of the difference between traditionalists and non-traditionalists, but a large share of the electorate is divided. On the issue of school prayer, a 75% to 20% majority favor letting prayer into public schools, but on the issue of abortion, a 66% to 30% favor allowing women to have an abortion if they choose.

Thus, a 51% majority of the electorate has mixed views on the traditional values dimension. Twenty-nine percent (29%) have consistent traditional values, 20% have consistently anti-traditional values. So, though it is an area which has received a great deal of attention in recent years, relatively few voters are diehard traditionalists as it relates to these two issues. It must be said, though, that when the issues of marijuana reform, gay rights, and pornography are included in the scale, as they were in the earlier study, the dimension polarizes somewhat. In that instance, 49% were classified as traditionalists and 17% were anti-traditionalist.

Those voter groups who are more traditionalist than the electorate at large are:

* Southern whites
* West North Central residents
* voters over 40

Anti-traditionalists are more likely to be:

* Pacific and Mid-Atlantic residents
* under 40
* Jews
* high income whites

This issue dimension is non-partisan. There is very little difference between the parties on the dimension. It is a good issue dimension with which to attract Southern whites, but not a good one to attract younger voters. This is largely because of the abortion issue. Younger voters strongly favor a woman's right to an abortion, Southern whites are less supportive. Both of these groups favor prayer in schools, however.

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Composition and Distribution of Traditional Values Attitude Scale

	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.						
Strongly agree	20%	10%	3%	3%	19%	55%
Somewhat agree	10	5	1	2	2	20
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	3	1	*	*	1	5
Somewhat disagree	3	2	*	1	1	7
Strongly disagree	10	1	*	1	1	14
Total	46	19	5	6	24	100%

		Distribution
Anti-traditional values	.000	10%
	.125	5
	.250	5
	.375	11
Mixed	.500	28
	.625	13
	.750	5
	.875	5
Traditional values	1.000	19
Total		100%
Average		.55

Combined

Anti-traditional values	20%
Mixed	51
Traditional values	29

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Voter Attitudes on Traditional Values Scale

	Total	Traditional Values: Anti-Traditional Values	Mixed	Pro-Traditional Values	Number of Cases
Total	100%	20%	51%	29%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	16	53	31	(659)
Independent	100%	17	58	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	24	48	28	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	16	61	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	28	49	22	(246)
East North Central	100%	21	52	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	20	46	35	(111)
Border South	100%	12	53	35	(118)
Deep South	100%	13	53	35	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	53	31	(80)
Pacific	100%	28	48	24	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	27	49	24	(237)
25-39	100%	24	54	23	(531)
40-54	100%	16	50	35	(313)
55-64	100%	14	53	33	(189)
65+	100%	13	51	36	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	21	53	25	(726)
Female	100%	18	49	33	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	25	58	17	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	25	42	33	(163)
Middle class	100%	15	55	30	(458)
Lower end	100%	10	49	41	(275)
Jews	100%	60	36	4	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	51	25	(63)
Blacks	100%	23	48	29	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	20	53	27	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	15	47	38	(202)
Northern white union	100%	19	59	22	(209)
Southern whites	100%	11	53	36	(395)

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Government Assistance

There are two government action/domestic policy dimensions. The first one, government assistance, taps voter attitudes on how much the government should do to ensure quality of life. It differs from the government welfare dimension in that government assistance is seen to help everyone, while government welare is directed at the low income groups in the electorate. The two statements that comprise the government assistance dimension are "If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need" and "The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living." The public supports the first statement by a 63% to 31% margin but is evenly divided, 50% agree to 47% disagree on the second. When the two are combined to form the index, 42% are pro-government assistance, 32% are anti-government assistance, and 26% are mixed.

This index is highly partisan. A 43% to 32% plurality of the nation's Republicans are anti-government assistance, and a 53% to 20% majority of the Democrats are pro-government assistance.

Other groups who agree with Republicans that less government assistance is best are:

* voters over 55
* Mountain state residents
* high income, intelligentsia voters
* Southern whites
* Northern white Protestants

On the "more is better" side of the coin are:

* Eastern Seaboard (New England & Mid-Atlantic) and Pacific residents
* Blacks
* Hispanics
* Jews
* women
* lower end whites

Again, this agenda item is an attraction for Southern whites, but not for younger voters.

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Composition and Distribution of Government Assistance Attitude Scale

If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	19%	8%	1%	6%	5%	39%
Somewhat agree	5	8	1	7	4	24
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	1	1	1	2	6
Somewhat disagree	2	3	*	5	5	15
Strongly disagree	2	2	*	3	10	16
Total	30	21	3	22	25	100%

		Distribution
Anti-government assistance	.000	9%
	.125	8
	.250	7
	.375	7
Mixed	.500	17
	.625	9
	.750	11
	.875	13
Government assistance	1.000	19
Total		100%
Average		.58

Combined

Anti-government assistance	32%
Mixed	26
Government assistance	42

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Voter Attitudes on Government Assistance Scale

	Total	Government Assistance: Anti-Government Assistance	Mixed	Pro-Government Assistance	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**32%**	**26%**	**42%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	43	25	32	(659)
Independent	100%	32	28	39	(144)
Democrat	100%	20	27	53	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	23	20	57	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	23	27	50	(246)
East North Central	100%	32	23	45	(263)
West North Central	100%	32	35	33	(111)
Border South	100%	32	28	39	(118)
Deep South	100%	34	27	39	(392)
Mountain	100%	43	33	25	(80)
Pacific	100%	35	20	45	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	15	32	52	(237)
25-39	100%	27	27	46	(531)
40-54	100%	41	21	38	(313)
55-64	100%	42	23	36	(189)
65+	100%	40	26	34	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	35	26	39	(726)
Female	100%	28	26	46	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	50	26	25	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	43	26	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	35	27	39	(458)
Lower end	100%	23	25	52	(275)
Jews	100%	25	32	43	(53)
Hispanics	100%	13	22	63	(63)
Blacks	100%	8	28	65	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	41	23	35	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	29	25	47	(202)
Northern white union	100%	30	31	40	(209)
Southern whites	100%	40	27	34	(395)

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Government Welfare

The next government involvement/domestic policy dimension deals with government welfare, which is a separate area in voters' minds from government assistance. This is a very one-sided dimension, a majority or plurality of all voter groups are anti-government welfare.

The statements that comprise this dimension are "Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated, most people receiving assistance truly need it," which garners 47% agreement and 45% disagreement, and "Tighter controls are needed in the federal good stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them," to which a strong 77% to 18% majority agree. All told, 58% of the electorate is anti-government welfare, 22% are pro-government welfare, and 21% have mixed opinions.

Though all voters are anti-government welfare, those most strongly opposed are:

* Republicans
* Mountain state residents
* Southern whites
* middle class whites

Those the least opposed include:

* Blacks
* Jews
* Democrats
* New England and East North Central residents

Attitudes about government welfare do not vary significantly by age or gender.

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Composition and Distribution of Government Welfare Attitude Scale

Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	4%	1%	3%	5%	20%
Somewhat agree	9	10	2	4	2	27
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	4	2	1	*	*	8
Somewhat disagree	11	6	*	1	1	19
Strongly disagree	22	3	*	1	1	27
Total	53	24	5	9	9	100%

		Distribution
Anti-government welfare	.000	22%
	.125	13
	.250	10
	.375	12
Mixed	.500	21
	.625	7
	.750	6
	.875	4
Pro-government welfare	1.000	5
Total		100%
Average		.36

Combined

Anti-government welfare	58%
Mixed	21
Pro-government welfare	22

Voter Attitudes on Government Welfare Scale

	Total	Government Welfare: Anti-Government Welfare	Mixed	Pro-Government Welfare	Number of Cases
Total	100%	58%	21%	22%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	67	18	15	(659)
Independent	100%	59	20	21	(144)
Democrat	100%	49	23	28	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	54	19	27	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	55	24	22	(246)
East North Central	100%	52	22	26	(263)
West North Central	100%	59	23	19	(111)
Border South	100%	55	21	24	(118)
Deep South	100%	62	19	19	(392)
Mountain	100%	70	13	18	(80)
Pacific	100%	59	20	20	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	52	24	24	(237)
25-39	100%	60	18	22	(531)
40-54	100%	57	19	24	(313)
55-64	100%	57	23	20	(189)
65+	100%	62	23	16	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	58	22	20	(726)
Female	100%	58	19	23	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	54	21	25	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	53	21	25	(163)
Middle class	100%	66	16	19	(458)
Lower end	100%	60	23	17	(275)
Jews	100%	51	21	28	(53)
Hispanics	100%	49	25	24	(63)
Blacks	100%	41	28	31	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	63	18	19	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	51	24	24	(202)
Northern white union	100%	58	20	23	(209)
Southern whites	100%	65	17	18	(395)

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Labor Unions

Public opinion on the usefulness of and necessity for labor unions is another major attitudinal dimension in the electorate. This dimension does not predict attitudes on the right of labor unions to exist, but to what extent they have more power and influence than they should. The electorate leans against labor unions in that regard by a 42% to 35% margin, with 23% mixed. The statements which are combined to form this dimension are "Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country," to which a 65% to 30% majority agree, and "Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man," to which a nearly equal 66% to 31% majority agree.

As expected, this is a highly partisan dimension. Republicans are anti-union by a 54% to 25% margin, Democrats are pro-union by a 44% to 32% margin. Age, region, status, and race are also divided on the union dimension. Besides Republicans, these voters are anti-union:

* Mountain state residents
* senior citizens
* northern white Protestants
* Southern whites

Siding with Democrats on the union dimension are:

* northern white union members
* voters under 25
* Jews
* Hispanics
* Blacks

This, again, could attract Southern whites, but is not a good arena in which to attract blue collar or young votes.

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Composition and Distribution of Labor Union Attitude Scale

Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man: Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	14%	1%	8%	12%	42%
Somewhat agree	6	12	1	4	1	23
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	2	1	1	1	6
Somewhat disagree	7	5	*	2	1	15
Strongly disagree	11	2	*	1	1	15
Total	31	35	3	16	16	100%

		Distribution
Anti-labor union	.000	12%
	.125	9
	.250	5
	.375	16
Mixed	.500	23
	.625	9
	.750	6
	.875	9
Pro-labor union	1.000	11
Total		100%
Average		.49

Combined

Anti-labor union	42%
Mixed	23
Pro-labor union	35

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Voter Attitudes on Labor Union Scale

	Total	Labor Union: Anti-Labor Union	Mixed	Pro-Labor Union	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**42%**	**23%**	**35%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	54	21	25	(659)
Independent	100%	40	23	37	(144)
Democrat	100%	32	24	44	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	38	24	39	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	23	40	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	21	36	(263)
West North Central	100%	40	24	37	(111)
Border South	100%	37	22	40	(118)
Deep South	100%	46	26	28	(392)
Mountain	100%	56	16	28	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	20	39	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	29	29	43	(237)
25-39	100%	41	24	35	(531)
40-54	100%	46	17	37	(313)
55-64	100%	44	20	37	(189)
65+	100%	52	26	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	42	22	36	(726)
Female	100%	42	24	34	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	48	15	37	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	48	23	29	(163)
Middle class	100%	48	24	28	(458)
Lower end	100%	45	23	32	(275)
Jews	100%	34	21	43	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	22	54	(63)
Blacks	100%	18	25	57	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	54	22	24	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	40	26	35	(202)
Northern white union	100%	31	19	51	(209)
Southern whites	100%	52	24	24	(395)

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Black Agenda

Race is one of the major sociological divisions of the electorate. On the black agenda dimension one finds blacks at one end and everyone else at the other. This is not to say that non-blacks are anti-black or anti civil rights, but are against special treatment or privileges for blacks. The two items that make up this dimension are the statement that "Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them" and the 0° to 100° thermometer rating of Jesse Jackson. Blacks agree by a 60% to 38% margin to the statement and give Jackson a 77° rating. All other voters, however disagree with the statement by a 74% to 22% margin and give Jackson only a lukewarm 43° rating. In total, 60% of the electorate are anti-black agenda, 17% are pro-black agenda, and 23% are mixed.

The strongest sentiment against the black agenda is found among:

* Republicans
* senior citizens
* Southern whites
* lower end whites
* Jews
* Mountain state residents

Only among blacks is there a majority (54%) in favor of the black agenda, and only the following groups top 20% pro-black agenda:

* Democrats (24%)
* Hispanics (24%)
* voters under 25 (22%)

Non-black America is definitely against giving special consideration to blacks because of past discrimination.

In summary, there are eight attitudinal dimensions which account for most of the variance in opinions on major issues of the day. The seven dimensions which are described in this chapter are: gunboat diplomacy, America first, traditional values, government assistance, government welfare, union agenda, and black agenda. Each is listed below with the major voter groups the conservative position on the dimension attracts:

Gunboat diplomacy:	Southern whites, voters aged 25 to 39
America first:	voters over 55, lower end whites, Jews (non-partisan)
Traditional values:	Southern whites, West North Central, over 40 (non-partisan)
Government assistance:	over 55, Mountain, Southern whites, Northern white Protestants, high income, intelligentsia
Governmnt welfare:	Mountain, middle class, Southern whites
Labor unions:	Mountain, over 65, northern white Protestant, Southern white
Black agenda:	over 65, Southern white, lower end, Jews, Mountain

Comparing the Republican and Democratic coalitions on these dimensions shows that Republicans are significantly more conservative than Democrats on the black agenda (25 pts.), labor unions (22 pts.), government assistance (23 pts.), government welfare (18 pts.), and gunboat diplomacy dimensions (10 pts.), while there is little difference between the two parties on the traditional values (3 pts.) and America first (1 pt.) dimensions.

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Composition and Distribution of Black Agenda Attitude Scale

Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	Thermometer Rating of Jesse Jackson: Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Total
Strongly agree	6%	3%	2%	11%
Somewhat agree	8	4	4	15
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	1	1	1	4
Somewhat disagree	10	7	8	25
Strongly disagree	11	10	24	45
Total	36	25	39	100%

		Distribution
Anti-black agenda	.000	18%
	.125	11
	.250	15
	.375	17
Mixed	.500	14
	.625	9
	.750	7
	.875	5
Pro-black agenda	1.000	4
Total		100%
Average		.38

Combined

Anti-black agenda	60%
Mixed	23
Pro-black agenda	17

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Voter Attitudes on Black Agenda Scale

	Total	Black Agenda: Anti-Black Agenda	Mixed	Pro-Black Agenda	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**80%**	**23%**	**17%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	**100%**	**72**	**19**	**9**	**(659)**
Independent	**100%**	**69**	**17**	**14**	**(144)**
Democrat	**100%**	**47**	**28**	**24**	**(695)**
Political Region					
New England	**100%**	**51**	**30**	**20**	**(79)**
Mid-Atlantic	**100%**	**62**	**22**	**17**	**(246)**
East North Central	**100%**	**61**	**21**	**19**	**(263)**
West North Central	**100%**	**59**	**24**	**16**	**(111)**
Border South	**100%**	**58**	**25**	**18**	**(118)**
Deep South	**100%**	**60**	**22**	**17**	**(392)**
Mountain	**100%**	**74**	**21**	**6**	**(80)**
Pacific	**100%**	**59**	**24**	**17**	**(210)**
Age					
18-24	100%	53	24	22	(237)
25-39	100%	56	27	18	(531)
40-54	100%	64	20	16	(313)
55-64	100%	65	21	15	(189)
65+	100%	70	18	12	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	61	21	18	(726)
Female	100%	60	25	16	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	62	23	15	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	67	19	13	(163)
Middle class	100%	66	23	10	(458)
Lower end	100%	70	20	10	(275)
Jews	100%	75	17	8	(53)
Hispanics	100%	48	29	24	(63)
Blacks	100%	12	34	54	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	68	18	15	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	58	26	16	(202)
Northern white union	100%	65	25	11	(209)
Southern whites	100%	72	20	8	(395)

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of discussion in the 1986 and 1988 campaigns and is an important area for the Republican Party and its candidates to understand.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. This points out the desire on the part of the public that the government take an active role in trying to reduce terrorism around the world, including both military and diplomatic action.

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One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors, in general, taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, however, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englanders, women,

Democrats, and senior citizens are the most anti-interventionist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

Comparing the Republican and Democratic coalitions on this scale shows the Republicans to have a 2.1 average on the scale and the Democrats a 1.6. Independent voters echo the national average of 1.9.

Despite their sentiments in favor of retaliatory action against terrorists, Americans also feel that the U.S. government should negotiate with terrorists if they are holding American hostages. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of the public supports negotiation, while 34% say the government should stand steadfast and refuse to negotiate.

Refusal to negotiate is more prevalent among Republicans, Mountain state residents, Jews, men, high income voters, and members of the intelligentsia. It is not, therefore, entirely a "shoot first, ask questions later" group. Many of these voters surely believe that negotiating with terrorists will only act to encourage future terrorist actions.

Americans are of a mind, then, that the U.S. government can and should act tough to discourage terrorism, but that when American lives are in the balance, there should be efforts made to save them.

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Public Opinion on Terrorism Issues

		Party ID		
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)
Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?				
Not much government can do	36%	37%	39%	35%
Government can significantly reduce	57	57	51	58
Don't know/Refused	7	6	10	7
Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?				
Favor	73%	77%	74%	68%
Oppose	19	15	15	24
Don't know/Refused	8	8	11	8
If oppose U.S. taking military action against terrorists, don't know or refused:				
Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?				
Favor	43%	48%	44%	40%
Oppose	40	36	30	44
Don't know/Refused	18	16	27	16

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Public Opinion on Terrorism Issues

(cont'd.)

	Total	Party ID: Republican	Independent	Democrat
If favor U.S. taking military action against terrorists:				
Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?				
Favor	35%	42%	32%	29%
Oppose	40	37	38	43
Don't know/Refused	9	8	15	9
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19
Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?				
Favor against suspected terrorists	28%	33%	33%	23%
Favor only as retaliation	47	47	37	49
Favor neither	4	3	6	4
Don't know/Refused	6	5	10	5
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19
Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?				
Favor	36%	43%	34%	31%
Oppose	40	37	39	42
Don't know/Refused	8	7	12	9
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19

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Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	[12]	[2.1]	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	[24]	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	[30]	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	[27]	11	[2.1]	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	(80)
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(210)
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237)
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531)
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	[14]	[2.0]	(313)
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(189)
65+	100%	[24]	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225)
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	[28]	[13]	[2.1]	([illegible]
Female	100%	[20]	[30]	27	18	5	[1.6]	([illegible]
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(244
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(163
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	[1.9]	(456
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	[27]	[12]	[2.1]	(279
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	[16]	[2.1]	(51
Black	100%	[27]	26	20	20	6	1.5	(63
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	[29]	4	[2.0]	(154

#Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

		Sex	
	Total	Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.8	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	—

#Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Our government negotiate with terrorists												
Should negotiate	59%	54%	52%	65%	61%	61%	64%	59%	53%	61%	45%	55%
Refuse to negotiate	34	42	32	27	28	36	30	35	31	33	44	38
Don't know/Refused	7	4	16	7	12	4	6	6	17	6	11	6
Believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of. . .												
Individual/Small groups	27	27	24	28	29	27	32	32	25	23	20	28
Foreign government	66	66	67	65	65	67	62	60	63	70	66	66
Don't know/Refused	8	7	9	8	6	5	7	8	13	7	14	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Our government negotiate with terrorists															
Should negotiate	59%	68%	58%	55%	58%	58%	55%	63%	50%	48%	59%	61%	42%	62%	81%
Refuse to negotiate	34	28	37	37	31	33	40	28	46	42	33	31	51	38	15
Don't know/Refused	7	4	6	8	12	9	5	9	5	10	8	7	8	—	4
Believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of. . .															
Individual/Small groups	27	30	30	25	26	21	26	28	34	33	30	16	36	21	23
Foreign government	66	66	62	67	67	71	67	64	60	61	63	76	55	78	67
Don't know/Refused	8	4	8	7	8	9	7	8	7	7	7	7	10	—	11

CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

The eighth master issue dimension uncovered in earlier research is protectionism. Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. Protectionism to most Americans, though, means "fair trade" rather than "no trade." The public's lack of knowledge about trade issues fosters some ambivalence on this issue, however.

A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that foreign trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy. It is also the case, however, that a small 34% plurality of voters believe that there should be less trade with other countries than there is now. Thirty-one percent (31%) believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. In addition, fully 51% say that there should be fewer imports in the next few years than there is now. Thirty-six percent (36%) say it should stay the same, and only 9% feel there should be more foreign imports. Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist" to some degree, 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only

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from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries, the "fair trade" position. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- Democrats
- mid-Atlantic state residents
- women
- blacks
- middle class lower end whites
- those with no college education

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign competition than are free traders. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free

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traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt. Other than protectionists, those most likely to know of a local business that has been hurt by foreign imports are New England and East North Central residents, men, high income voters, and voters aged 40 to 64.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

It is somewhat surprising that Americans are as quick to admit some of the blame lies within the U.S. as to point the finger elsewhere. Indeed, over half of the voters feel that "American industries are blaming the Japanese/Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive costs," while less than a third feel that "the Japanese/Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries." This question, half-sampled to alternate "Japanese" with "European," came out very similar in each case, with a 58% to 32% majority pointing the finger at U.S. industry vis-a-vis the Japanese, and a 55% to 30% majority doing so vis-a-vis the Europeans.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On

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the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

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Where do the parties stand on the protectionism issue? Democrats are more protectionist than Republicans. Fifty-four percent (54%) of the nation's Democrats are protectionist, 19% are free traders, compared to a 40% protectionist, 28% free trader plurality among Republicans. Both voter groups support the notion of fair trade, Republicans to the tune of 56%, Democrats with 49%. More Democrats (32%) than Republicans (24%) favor the across-the-board trade restriction option, but neither feel that there should be no trade restrictions.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept is generally supported as a policy option. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Foreign Trade												
More	31%	37%	28%	26%	28%	31%	34%	36%	22%	29%	29%	34%
About the same	28	28	29	27	30	26	27	26	30	29	24	27
Less	34	29	30	40	30	37	30	33	39	37	36	29
Don't know/Refused	8	7	13	8	10	6	9	6	9	5	11	10
Foreign Imports												
More	9	9	10	9	14	9	9	6	11	10	6	8
About the same	36	43	35	29	32	35	37	41	31	35	28	41
Less	51	45	49	58	54	53	50	51	53	52	58	44
Don't know/Refused	4	2	7	4	1	4	4	2	5	3	8	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Foreign Trade															
More	31%	29%	30%	30%	34%	34%	44%	18%	46%	41%	30%	17%	42%	33%	19%
About the same	28	35	29	28	21	22	23	32	32	33	22	27	32	30	31
Less	34	32	35	35	35	32	27	41	18	20	39	46	19	33	45
Don't know/Refused	8	4	6	7	11	12	6	9	4	7	9	9	8	2	4
Foreign Imports															
More	9	8	11	9	9	6	11	7	11	10	7	6	7	22	13
About the same	36	39	34	35	30	41	40	31	51	50	36	26	46	18	20
Less	51	51	52	52	54	46	45	57	34	39	53	64	40	57	63
Don't know/Refused	4	1	3	4	7	7	4	5	4	2	3	4	6	3	4

Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

	Total	Protectionism Index: Protectionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	100%	47%	30%	23%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[56]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[56]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[56]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

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Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

	Total	Country's Foreign Trade Policy (1) No Restrictions	(2) "Fair Trade"	(3) Restrictions	Don't Know/ Refused	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**16%**	**53%**	**27%**	**4%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	17	56	24	3	(659)
Independent	100%	17	57	19	7	(144)
Democrat	100%	15	49	32	4	(695)
Political Region						
New England	100%	16	48	29	6	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	24	52	22	1	(246)
East North Central	100%	12	57	26	5	(263)
West North Central	100%	15	56	25	4	(111)
Border South	100%	14	42	42	1	(118)
Deep South	100%	16	51	29	4	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	50	26	7	(80)
Pacific	100%	15	59	24	3	(210)
Age						
18-24	100%	20	46	32	2	(237)
25-39	100%	15	57	26	3	(532)
40-54	100%	14	57	26	4	(312)
55-64	100%	17	49	30	4	(144)
65+	100%	17	46	26	11	(225)
Sex						
Male	100%	18	56	23	3	(726)
Female	100%	15	49	32	5	(774)

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Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(cont'd.)

	Country's Foreign Trade Policy					
	Total	(1) No Restrictions	(2) "Fair Trade"	(3) Restrictions	Don't Know/ Refused	Number of Cases
Status Group						
High income	100%	17%	65%	14%	3%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	16	64	18	2	(163)
Middle class	100%	15	55	28	3	(458)
Lower end	100%	13	44	35	7	(275)
Jews	100%	19	58	23	3	(53)
Hispanics	100%	32	43	25	—	(63)
Blacks	100%	20	35	41	5	(159)

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(1) Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price.

(2) Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries.

(3) Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Public Assessment of Source of Trade Problems (Half-Sampled)

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
First Half-Sample												
The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries	32%	32%	29%	32%	30%	33%	30%	31%	43%	35%	28%	24%
American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	58	61	55	57	63	60	59	54	44	57	64	65
Don't know/Refused	9	7	15	12	7	7	11	15	14	9	8	11
Second Half-Sample												
The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	29	16	34	26	26	33	38	35	31	17	25
American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	55	55	67	52	50	59	57	46	54	52	60	57
Don't know/Refused	16	17	18	15	24	15	10	16	11	16	24	17

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

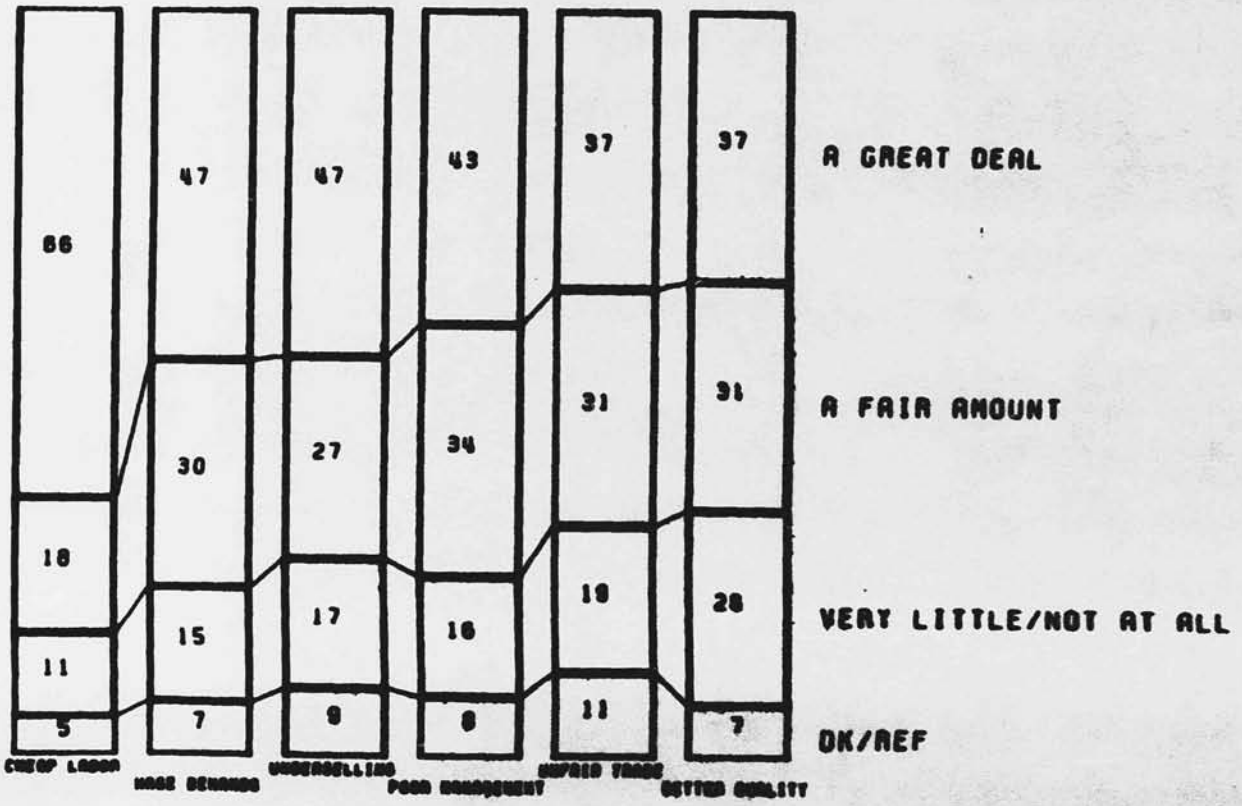
Public Assessment of Source of Trade Problems (Half-Sampled)

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
First Half-Sample															
The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries	32%	35%	23%	31%	37%	46%	28%	36%	27%	25%	32%	42%	30%	28%	31%
American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	58	64	68	59	51	36	63	54	66	67	60	43	61	72	57
Don't know/Refused	9	1	9	10	12	18	9	11	8	8	7	16	9	—	12
Second Half-Sample															
The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	38	22	29	36	33	30	29	20	17	31	43	10	49	33
American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	55	55	64	55	43	43	56	54	57	72	55	44	74	39	57
Don't know/Refused	16	7	14	17	20	24	14	17	22	10	15	13	16	12	10

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a]: Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	30	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	43	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

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(continued next page)

Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems (a) Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)

(a) Composite Index of questions 17-22.

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CHAPTER SIX: PERCEPTUAL SPACE

Using multidimensional scaling techniques it is possible to construct the underlying attitudes people use to rate political figures. The main advantage of this technique is that allows the data to produce the dimensions; it does not impose predetermined dimensions on the data.

When this technique was first used for the Republican National Committee in 1976, two dimensions were found to account for a significant amount of variance in the thermometer ratings of the prominent political figures that year. The two dimensions were:

* Party affiliation
* Traditional American values

The public first sorted the political figures by Republicans and Democrats. While this initial sort was the most obvious one, subsequent analysis revealed that scales measuring the government's role in the economy was closely associated with the party affiliation dimension. Consequently, the public perceived virtually all the Democrats as economic liberals and virtually all the Republicans as economic conservatives, with some moderate differences within each party grouping.

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To a greater extent the public used the second dimension, traditional American values, to distinguish Democrats from other Democrats, and, similarly, Republicans from other Republicans. This dimension lead to one of the key findings of the 1976 study: that Jimmy Carter was the only Democrat who was clearly perceived as a social conservative. This placed him in the most advantageous place in the 1976 political space: a liberal on government economic activism and a conservative on social issues. This positioning placed him closer to more voters than any other political figure at the time of the study (June, 1986).

The structure of the current political space, as measured in this study, has changed in a significant way from the one found in 1976. The space is much more one-dimensional than it was in 1976. The public still makes an initial sort by Republicans and Democrats, but this initial sort seems to carry with it a greater issue content than in 1976. The power of the first dimension, arbitrarily shown as the horizontal axis in the following pages, in explaining the individual thermometer ratings dominates the space to such an extent that the second dimension, represented by the vertical axis, is little more than a picture of random error differences.

This interpretion would mean that the public perceives more issue differences between the two major parties than in 1976. For one, the traditional American values dimension has collapsed onto the party affiliation dimension. In addition, attitudes about the Black Agenda

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and the Labor Union Agenda, described elsewhere in the report, are now part of the basic party affiliation dimension. In short, the public now perceives a greater variety of issues distinguishing Republicans from Democrats than it did in 1976.

Lastly, there is a simple but very significant difference between the 1976 and 1985 political spaces. In 1976 the average voter (the weighted center point in the space) was closer to the Democratic cluster of names than to the Republican cluster of names. In 1985, the average voter is closer to the Republican cluster.

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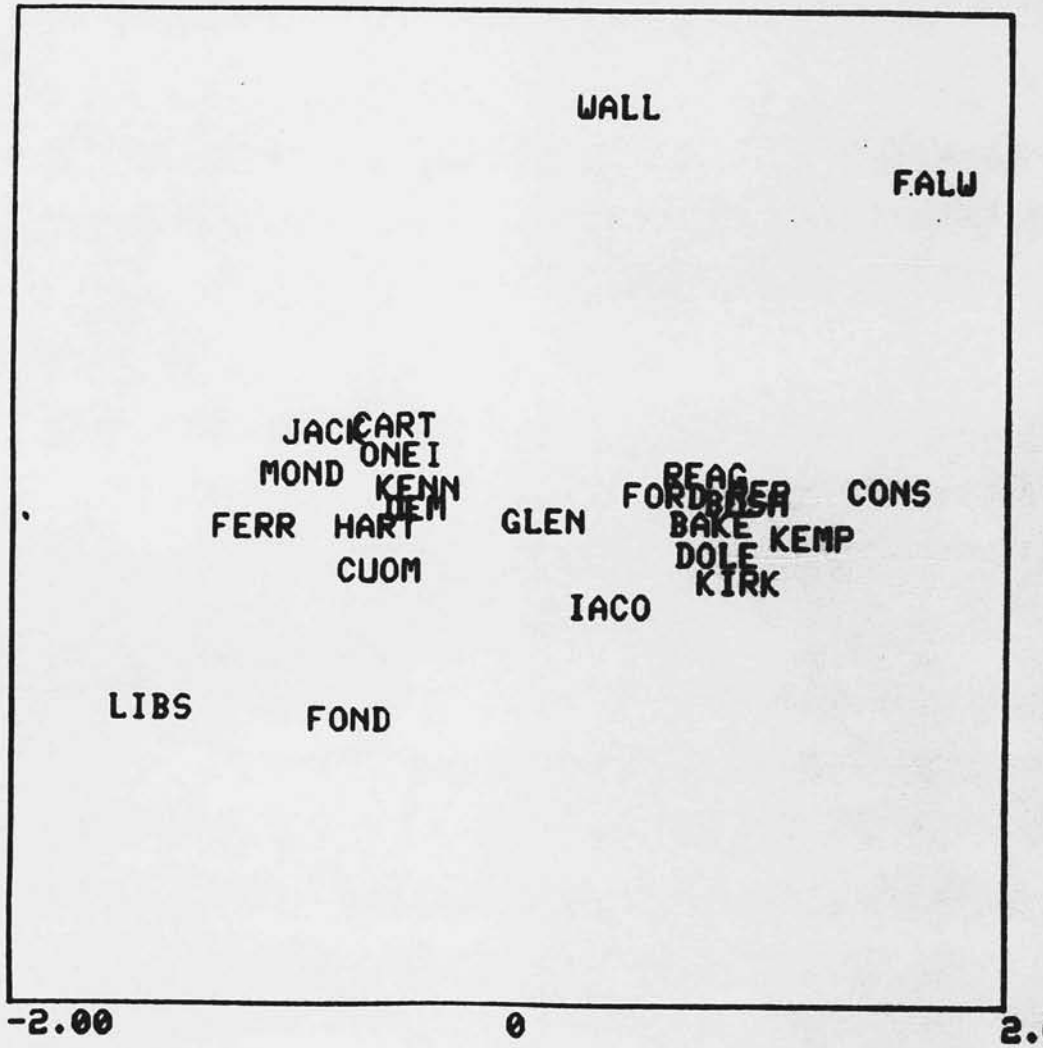
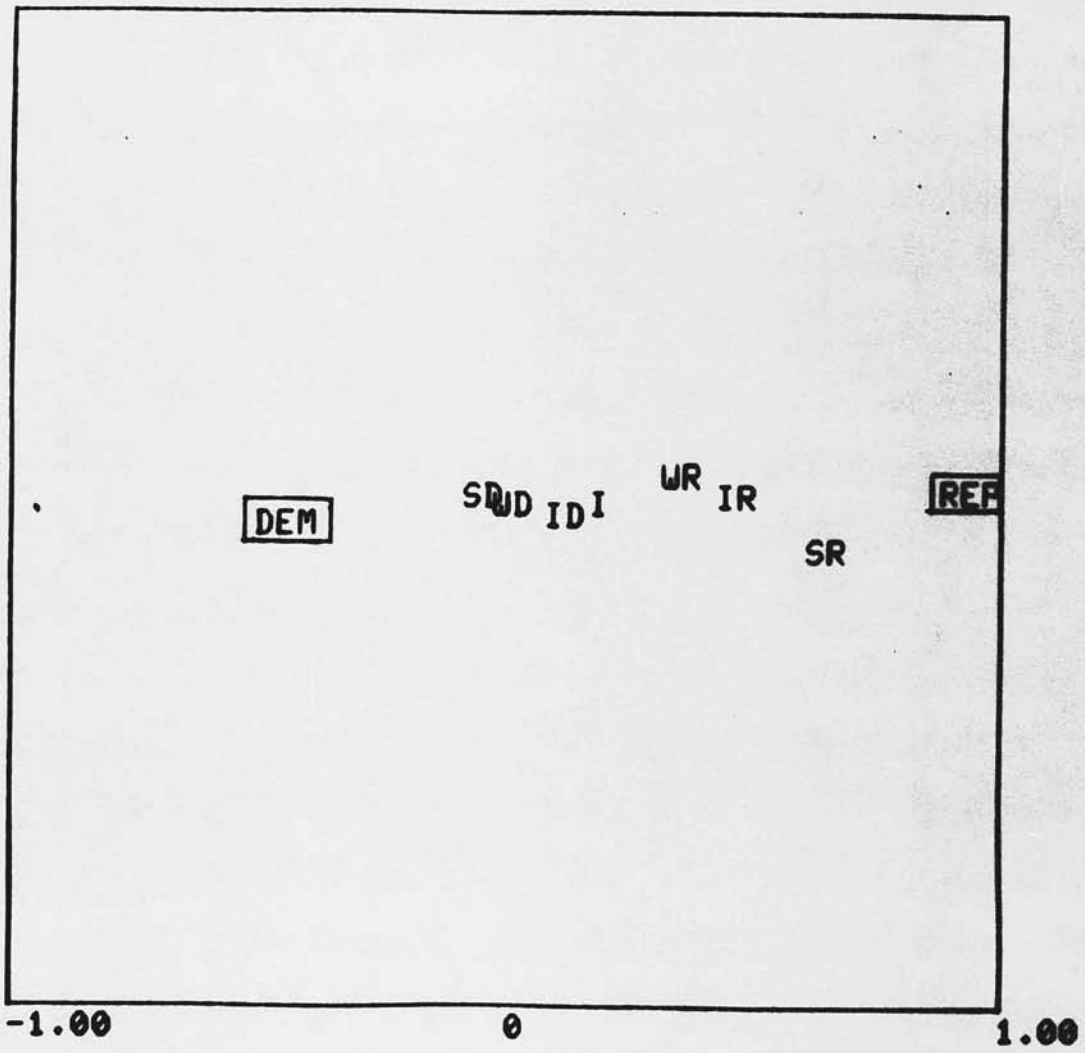
1985 Political Space



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS

Party Identification in the 1985 Political Space



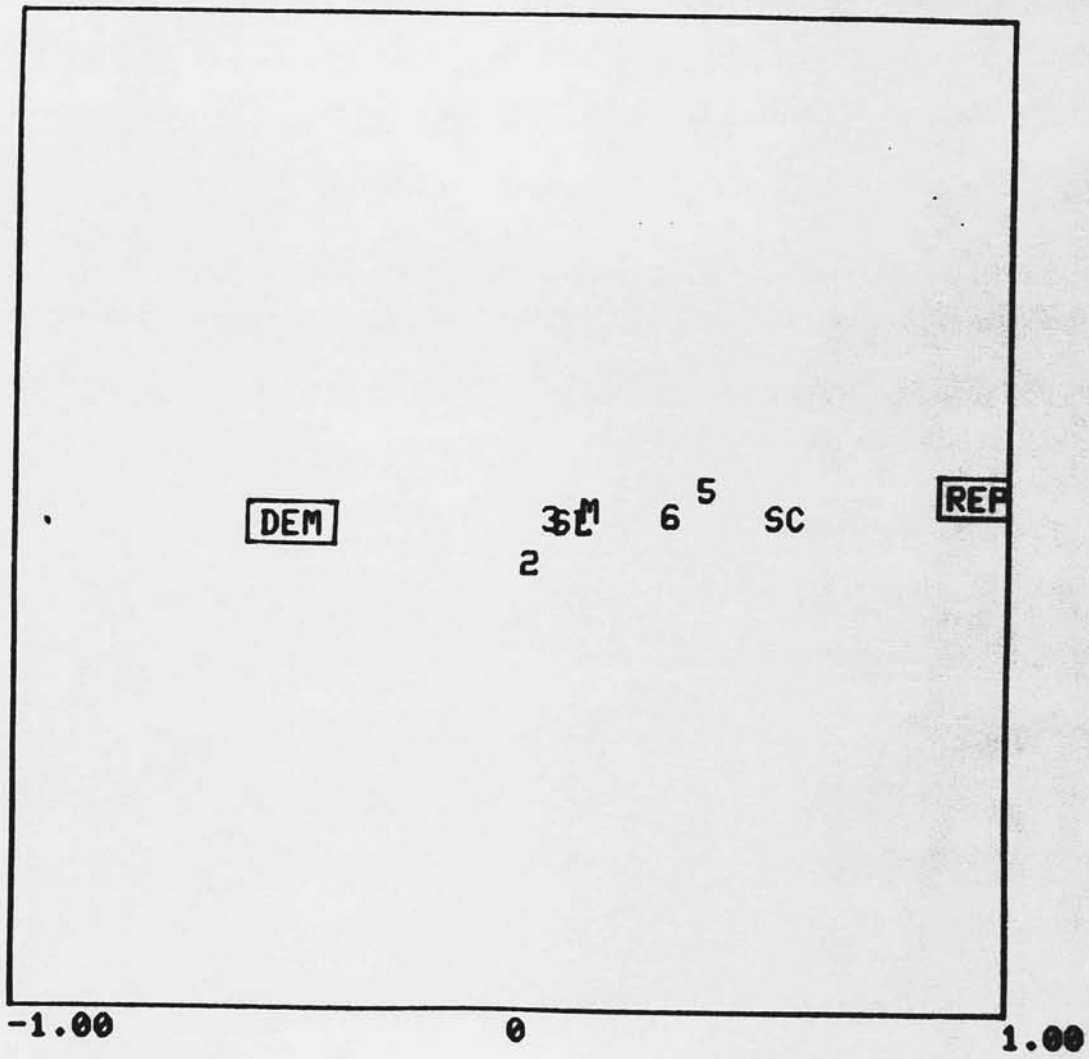
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

SD = Strong Democrat
WD = Weak Democrat
ID = Independent Democrat
I = Independent
IR = Independent Republican
WR = Weak Republican
SR = Strong Republican

Liberal/Conservative Self-Description
in the 1985 Political Space

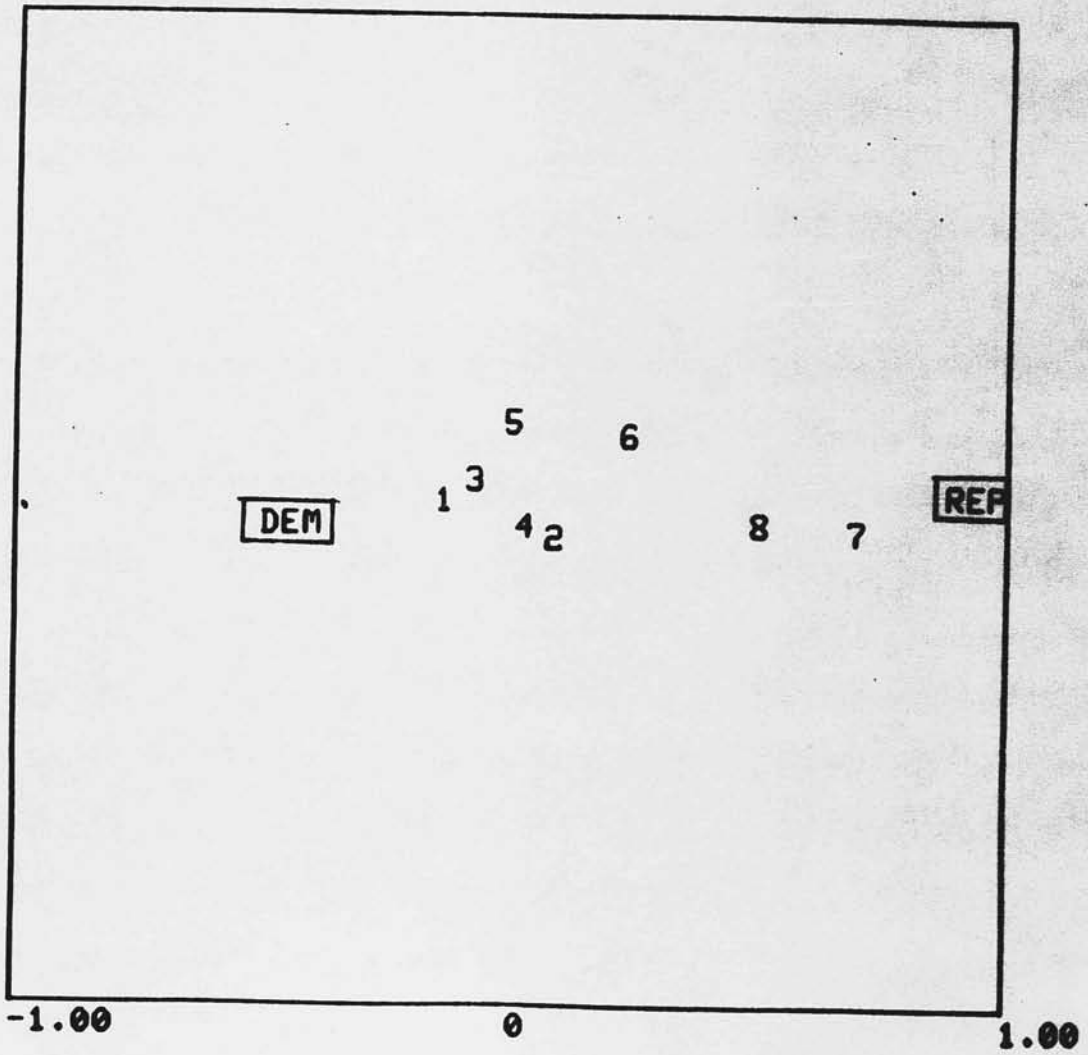


Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
SL = Extremely liberal
2 = Fairly liberal
3 = Slightly liberal
M = Moderate
5 = Slightly conservative
6 = Fairly conservative
SC = Extremely conservative

Presidential Trial Heat Summary Index
in the 1985 Political Space



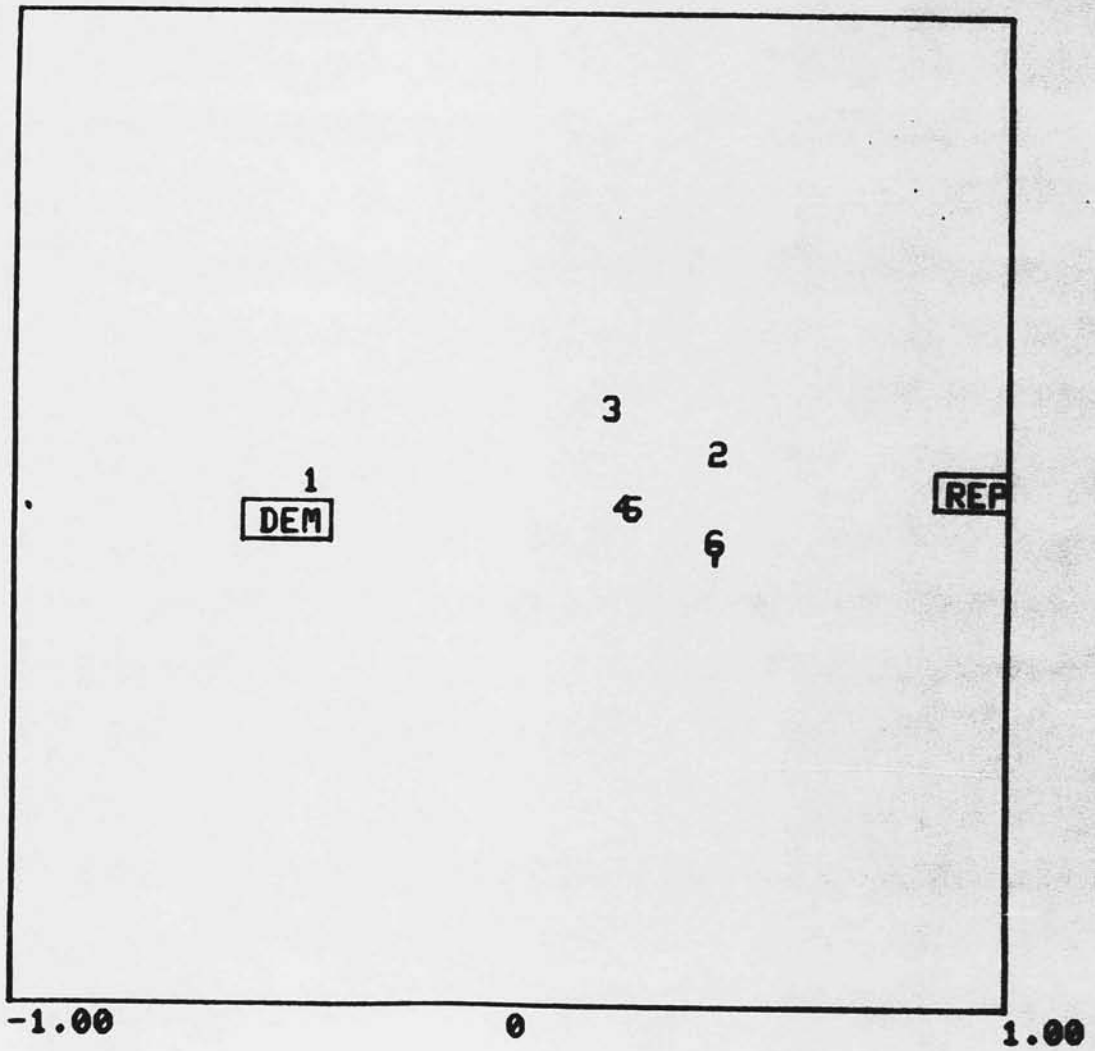
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Core Democrat
2 = Anti-Kennedy Democrats
3 = Anti-Hart Democrats
4 = Anti-Iacocca Democrats
5 = Pro-Kennedy Republicans
6 = Pro-Hart Republicans
7 = Pro-Iacocca Republicans
8 = Core Republican

Status Groups in the 1985 Political Space



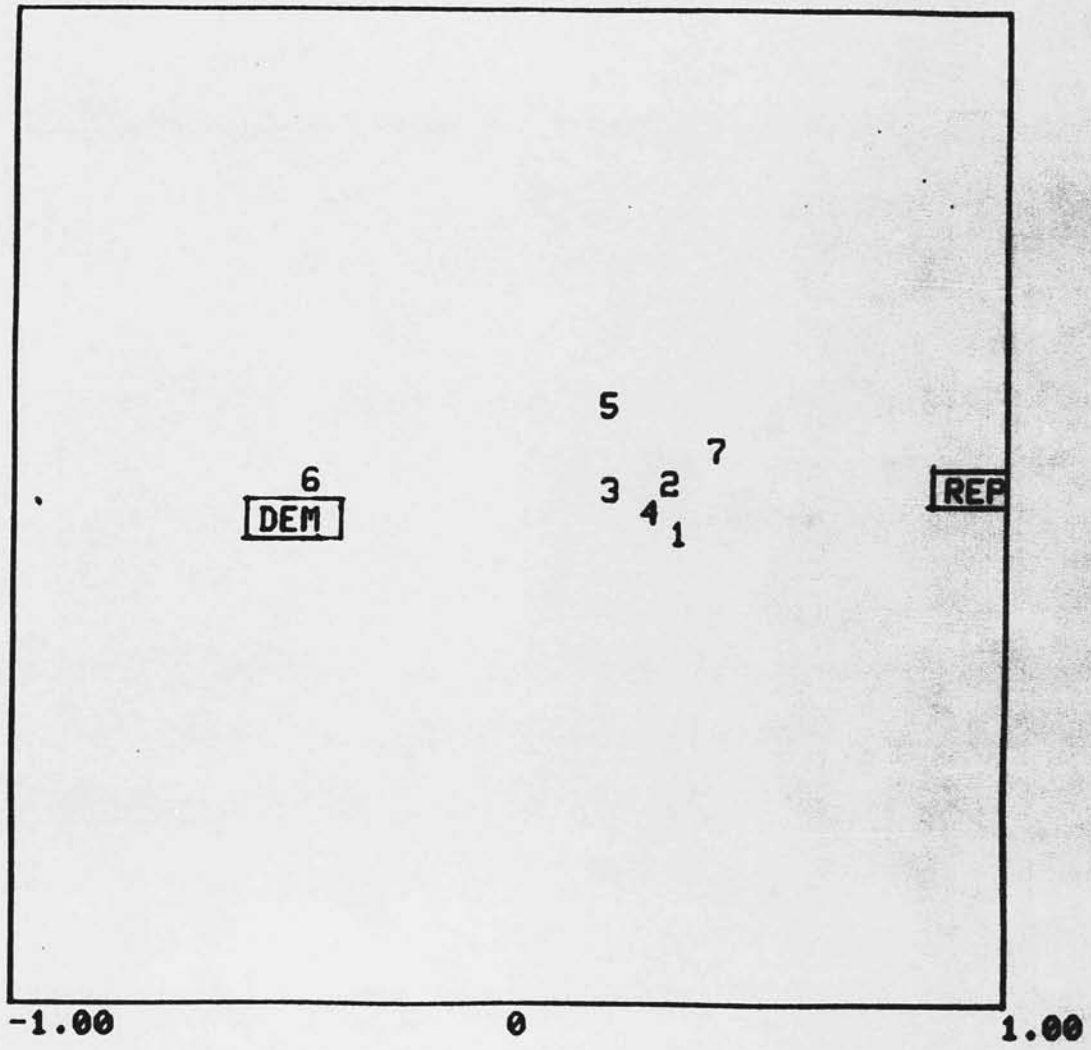
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Blacks
2 = Hispanics
3 = Jews
4 = Lower end whites
5 = Middle class
6 = Intelligentsia
7 = High income

Cultural Groups in the 1985 Political Space



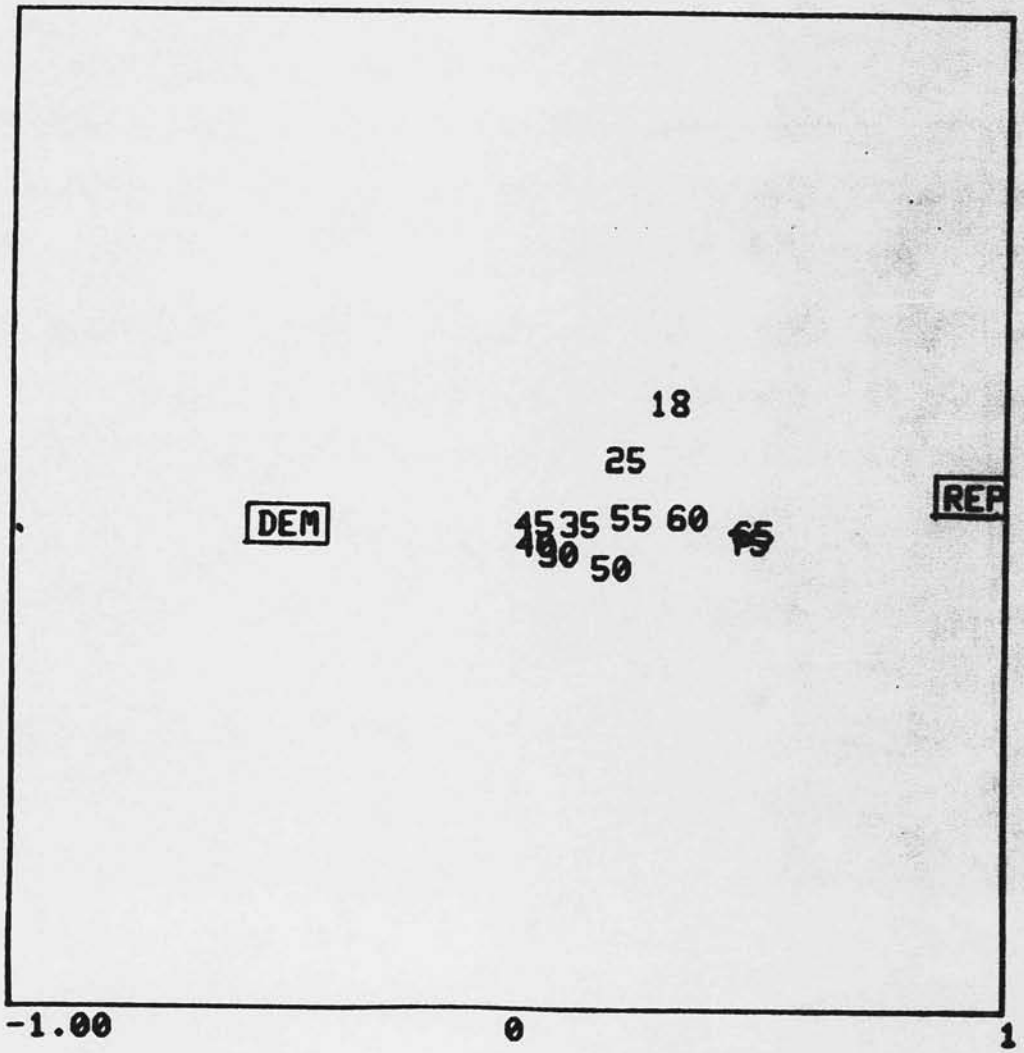
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Northern Protestants
2 = Catholics
3 = Union
4 = Southern whites
5 = Jews
6 = Blacks
7 = Hispanics

Age in the 1985 Political Space



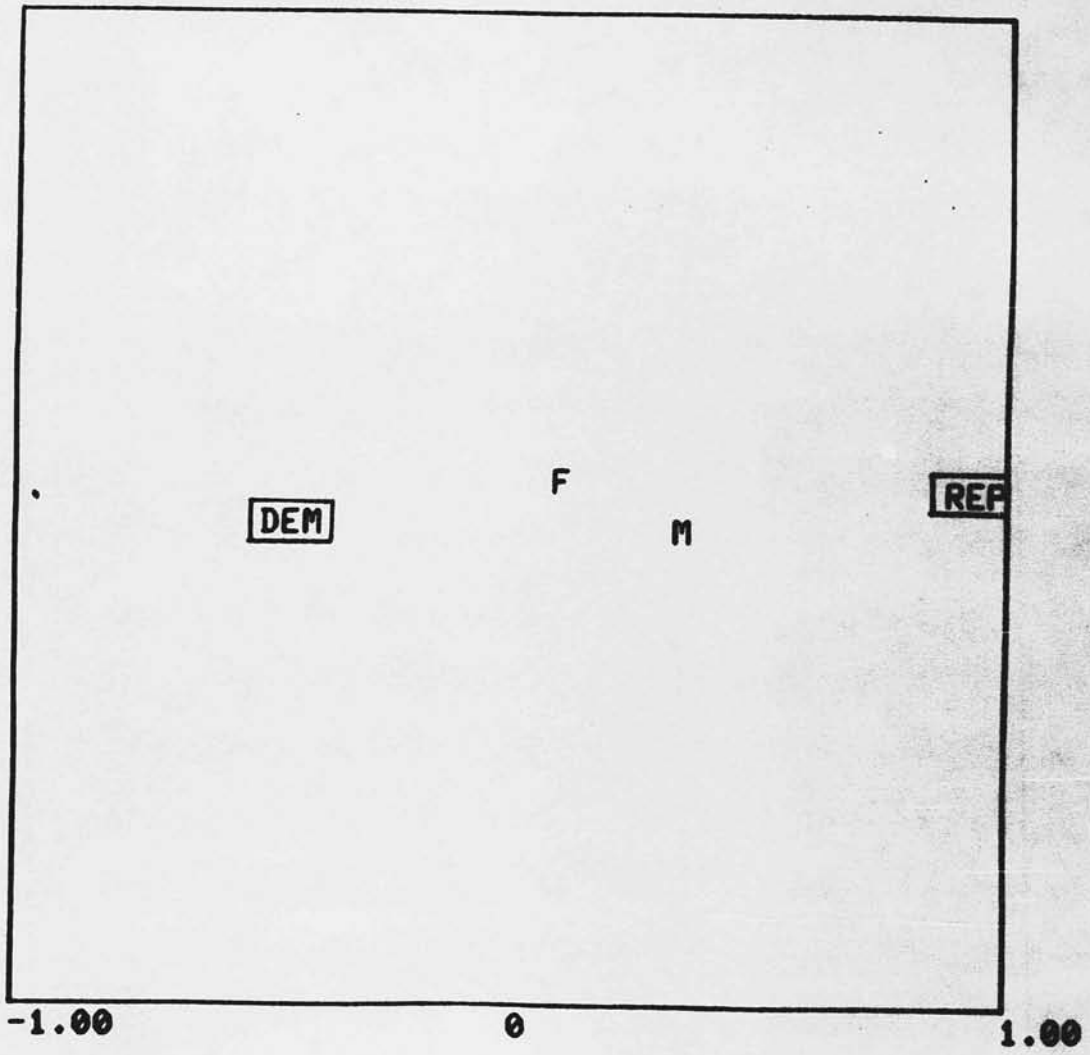
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

18 = 18-24
25 = 25-29
30 = 30-34
35 = 35-39
40 = 40-44
45 = 45-49
50 = 50-54
55 = 55-59
60 = 60-64
65 = 65-74
75 = 75 and over

Gender in the 1985 Political Space



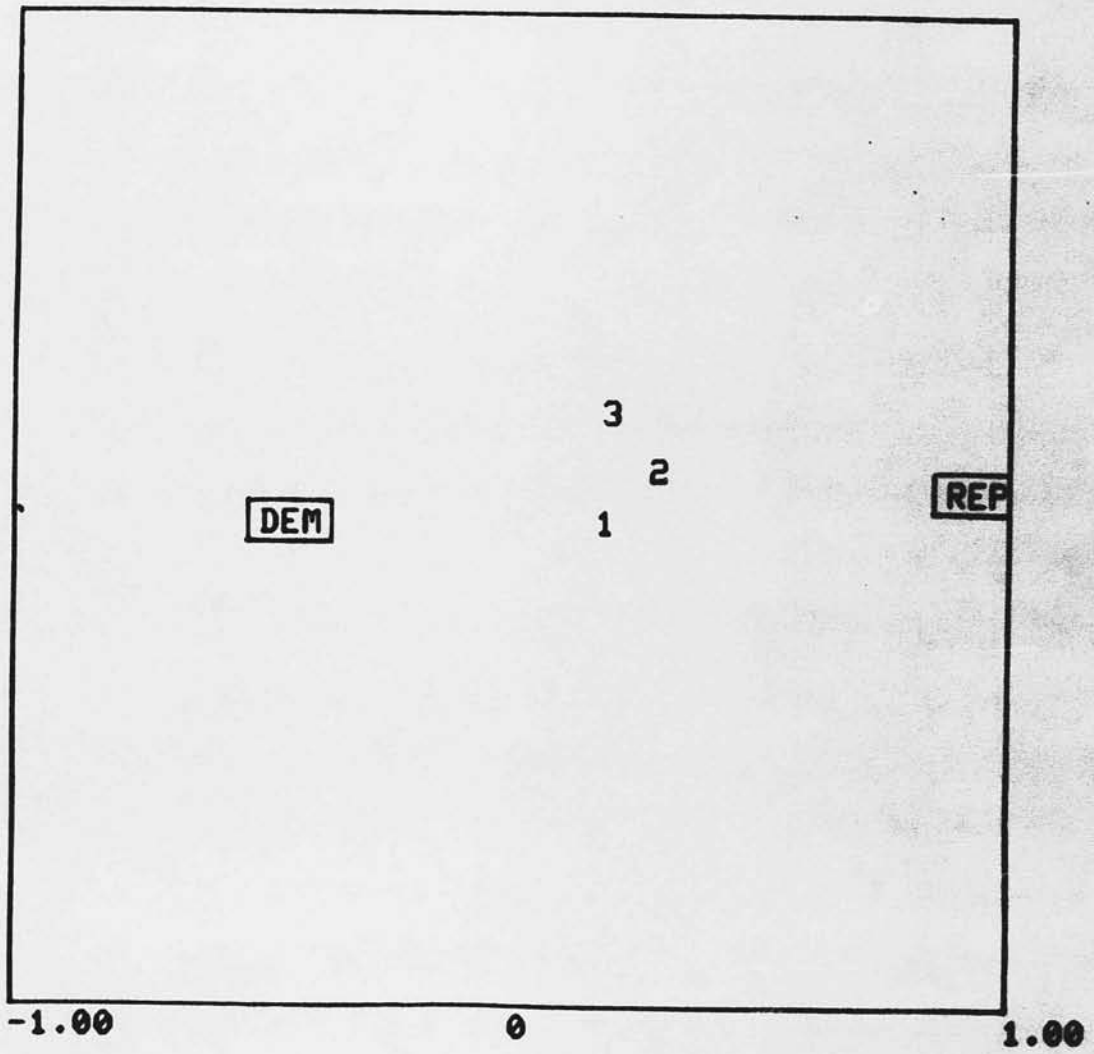
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

M = Males
F = Females

Religion in the 1985 Political Space

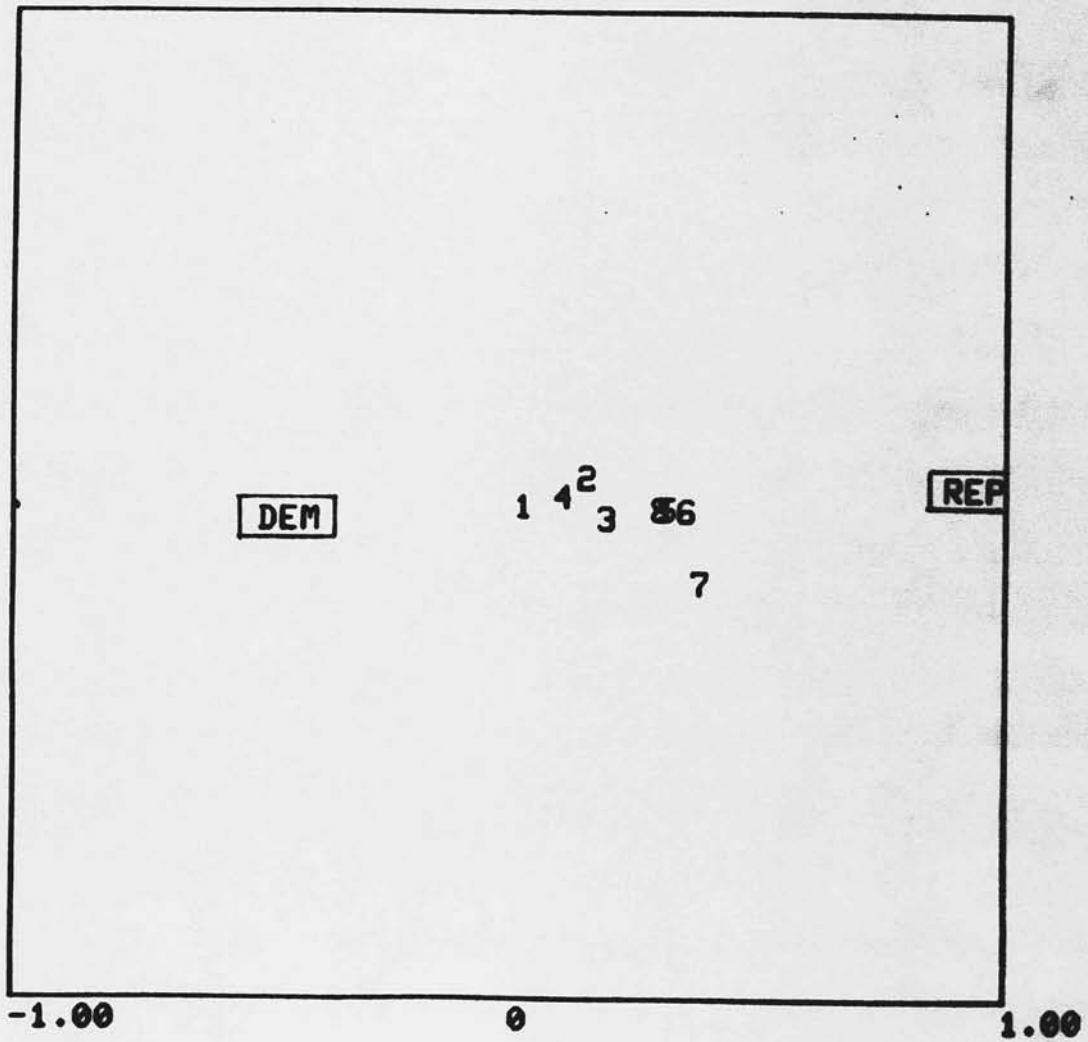


Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
1 = Protestant
2 = Catholic
3 = Jew

Income in the 1985 Political Space



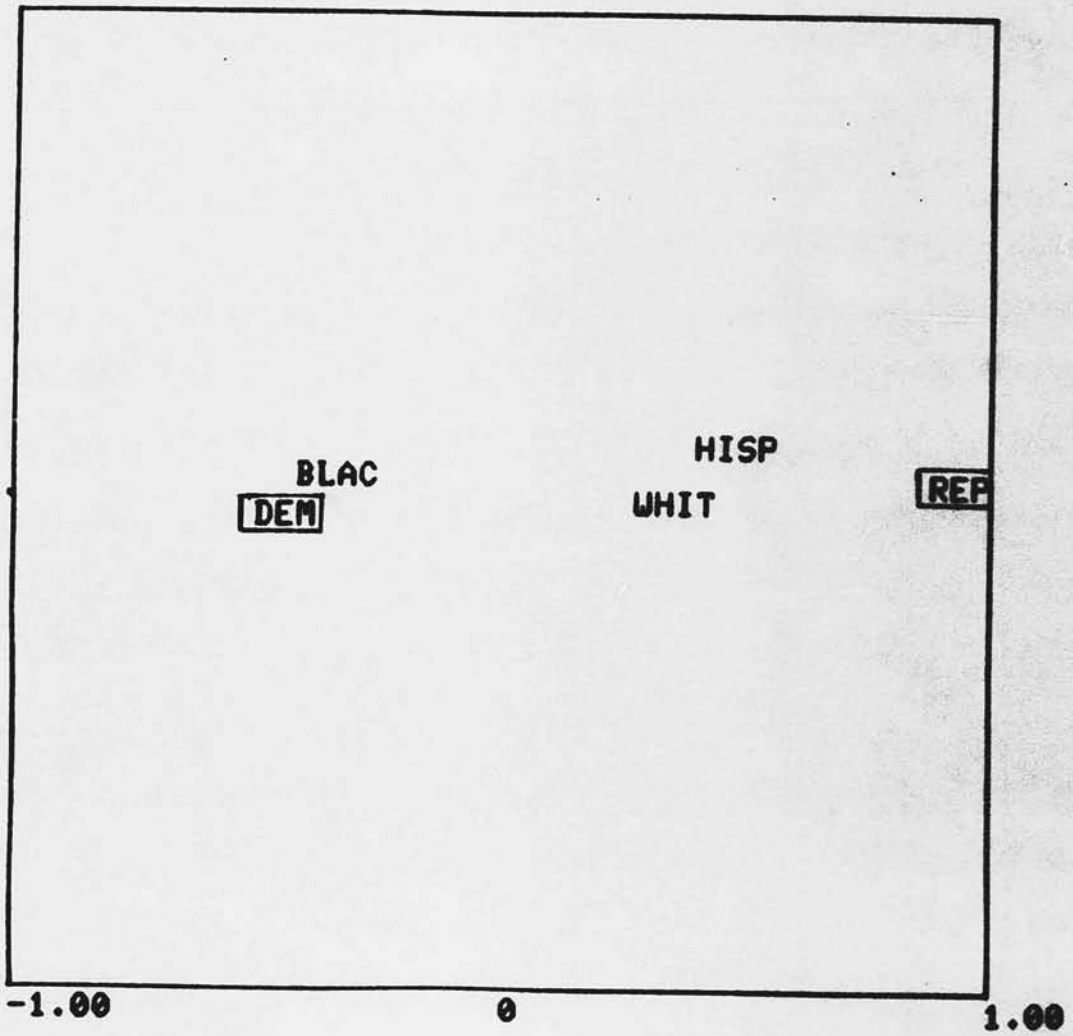
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Under $10,000
2 = $10,000-$15,000
3 = $15,000-$20,000
4 = $20,000-$25,000
5 = $25,000-$30,000
6 = $30,000-$40,000
7 = $40,000-$50,000
8 = $50,000 and over

Race in the 1985 Political Space



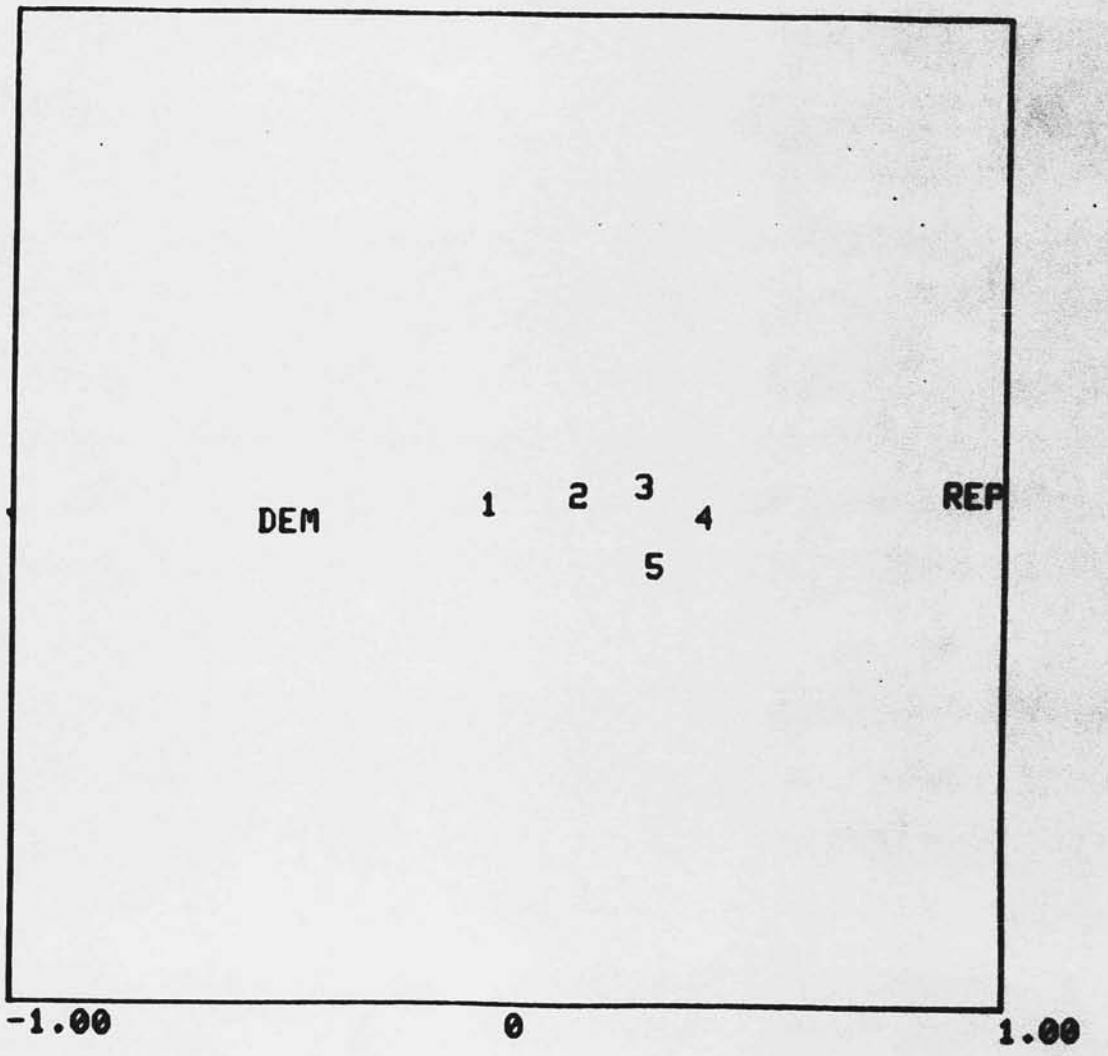
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

Military Action Against Terrorists Scale
in the Political Space



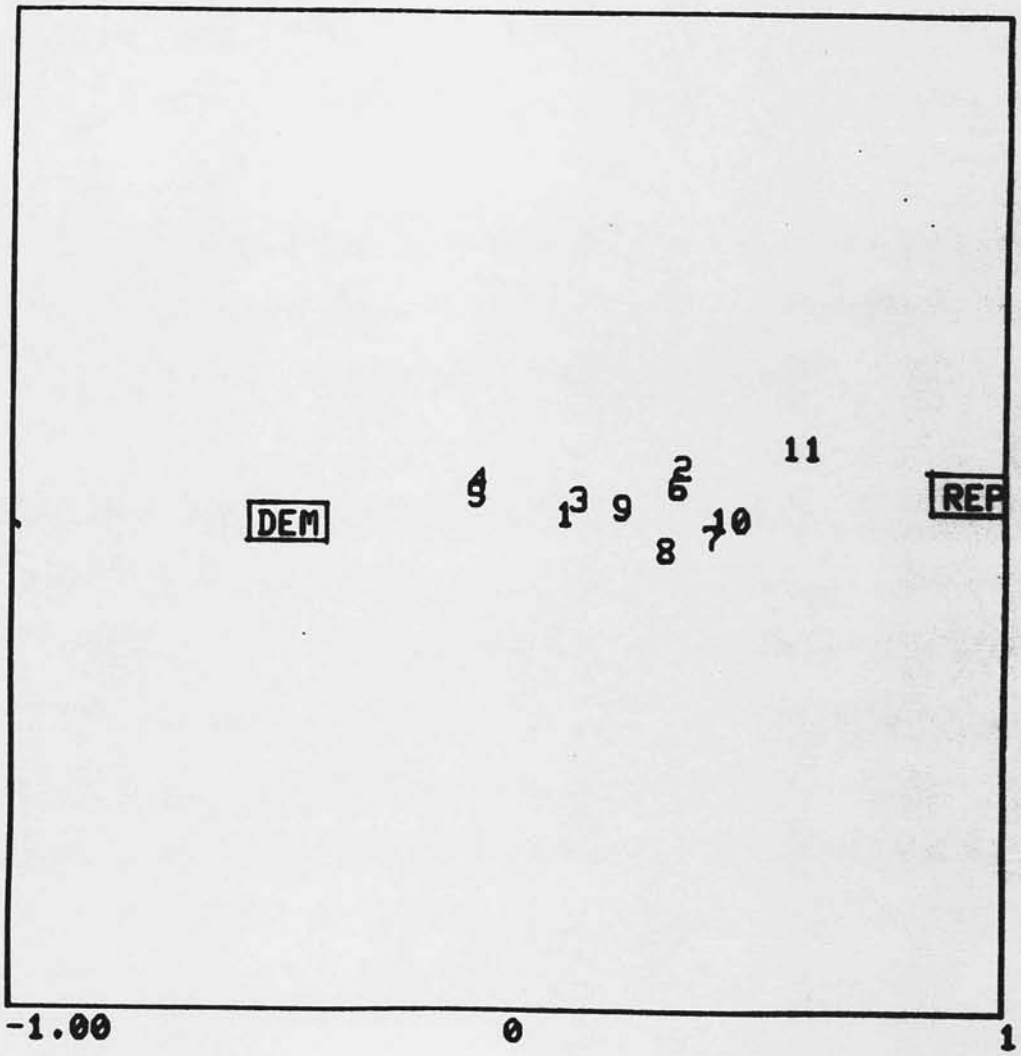
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Oppose any military action
2
3
4
5 = Favor military action in all cases

International Trade Scale #1 in the 1985 Political Space



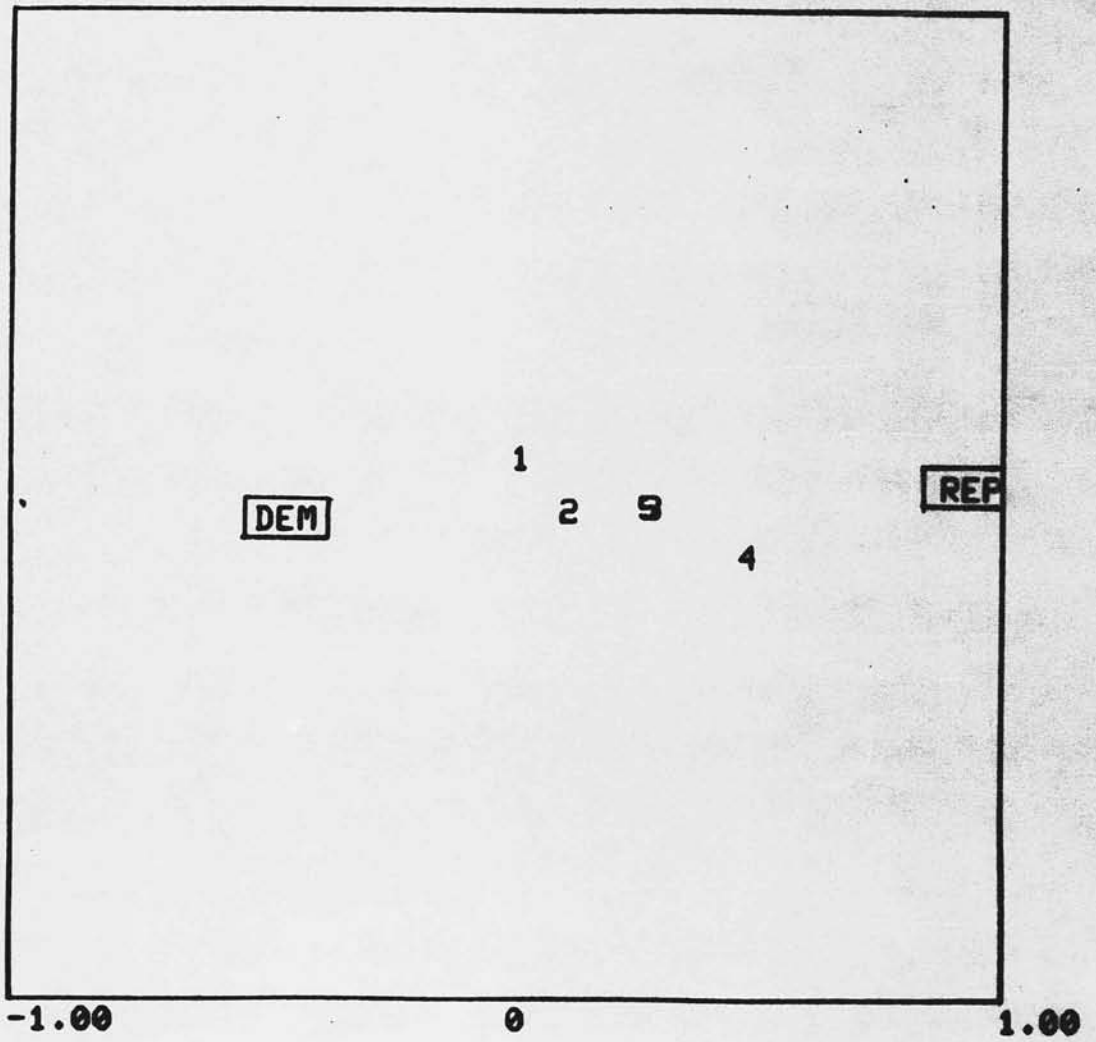
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Pro-Protectionism
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11 = Anti-Protectionism

International Trade Scale #2 in the 1985
Political Space



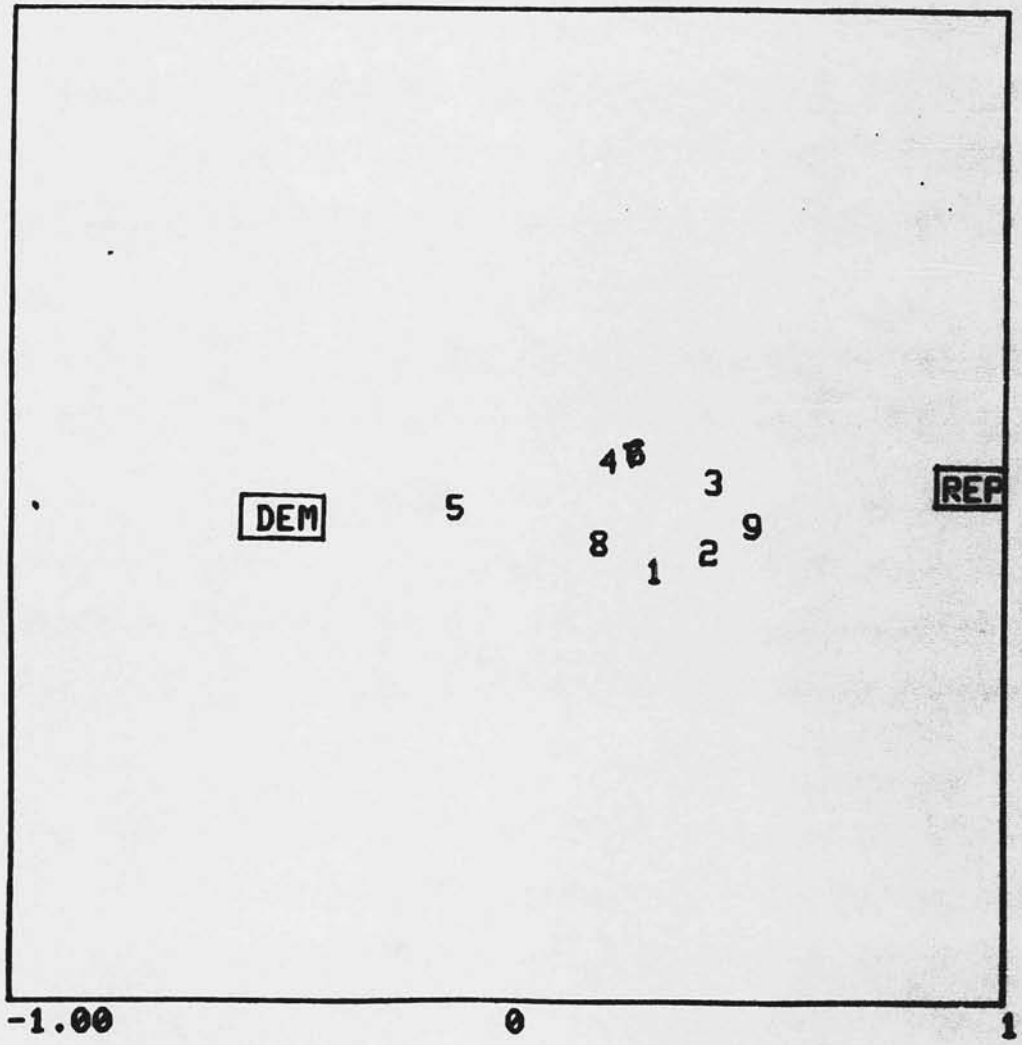
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Protectionists
2
3
4
5 = Free-traders

Gunboat Diplomacy Scale in the 1985 Political Space



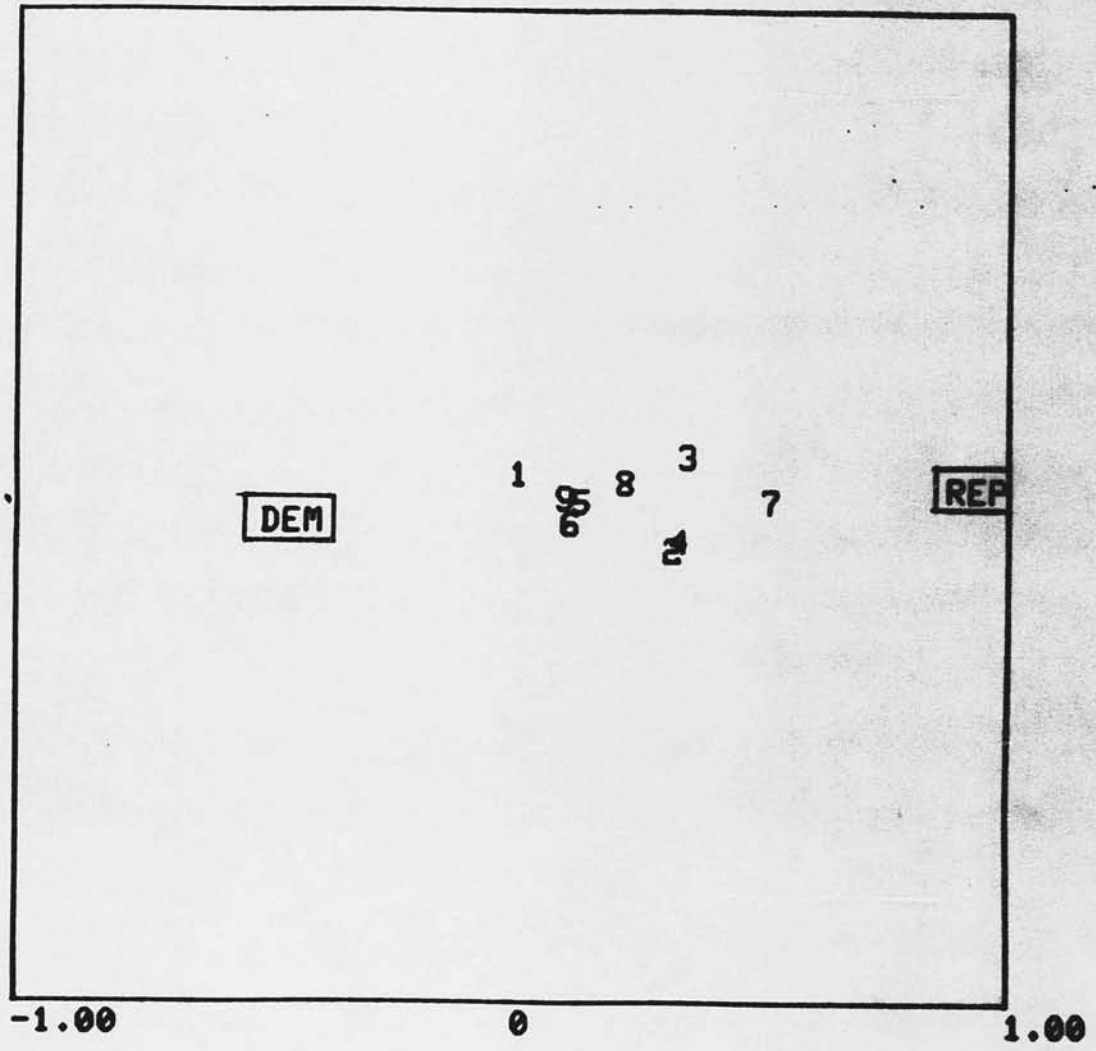
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Pacifists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme Gunboaters/Nationalists

America Firsters Scale in the 1985 Political Space



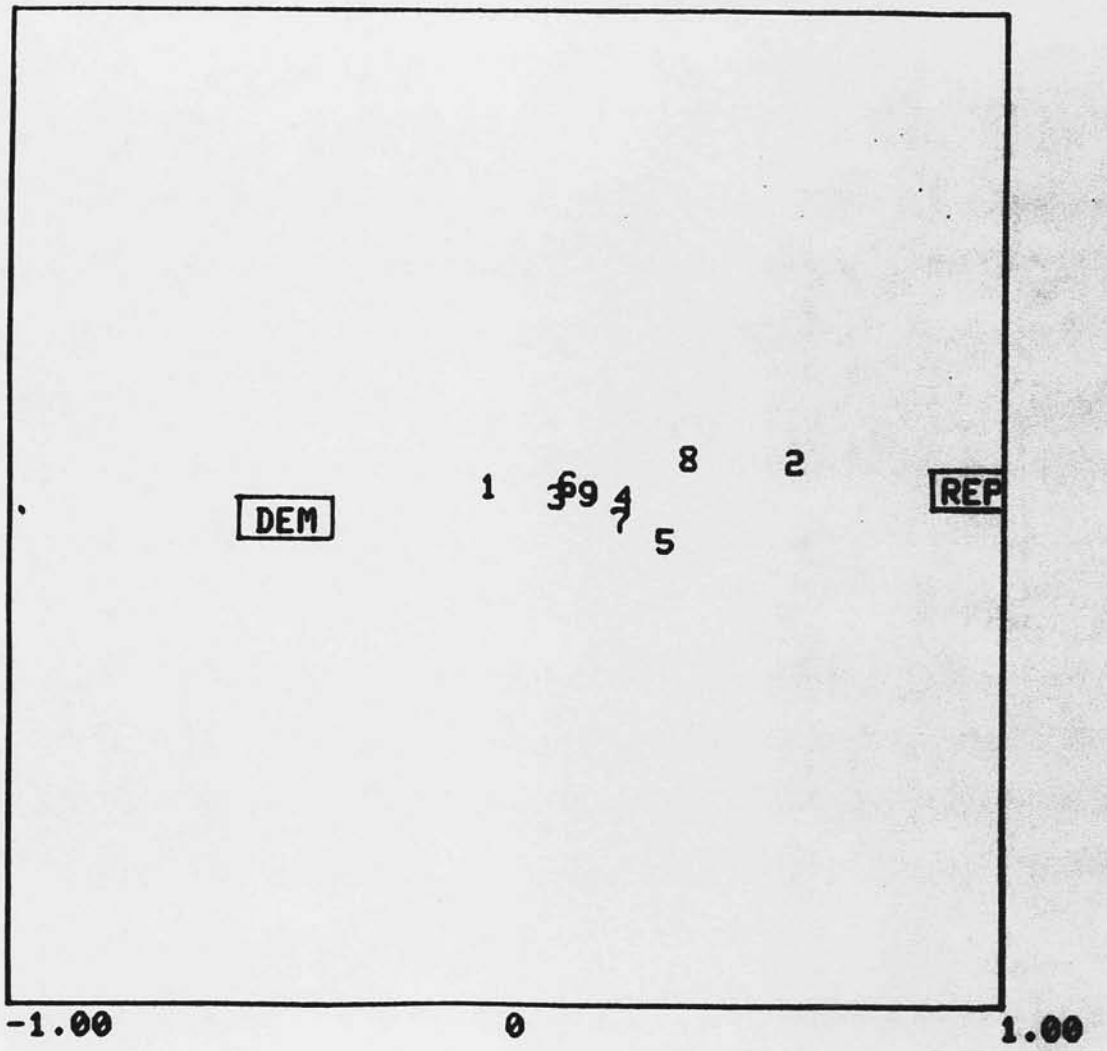
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Internationalists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme America Firsters

Traditional Values Scale in the 1985 Political Space



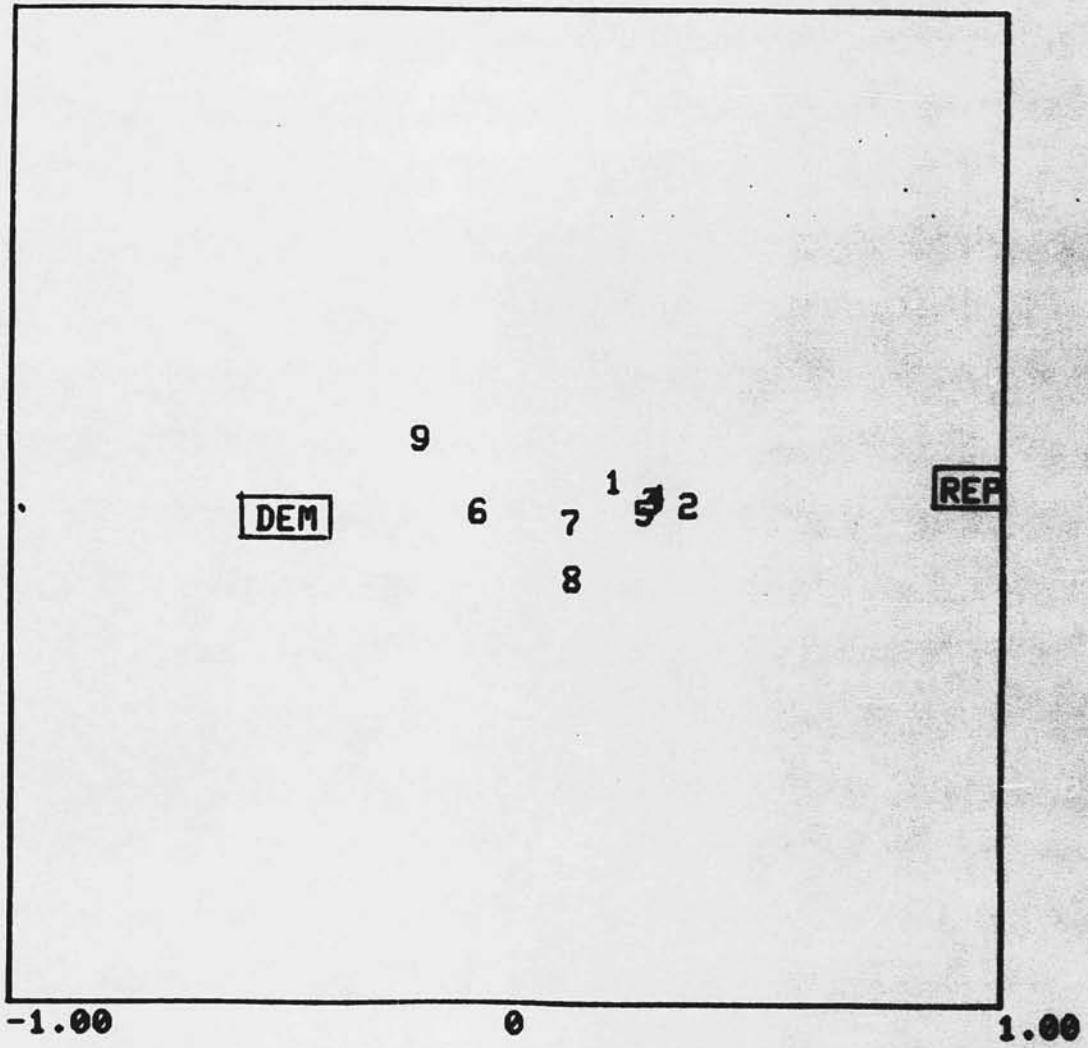
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme civil libertarians
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme traditionalists

Welfare Scale in the 1985 Political Space



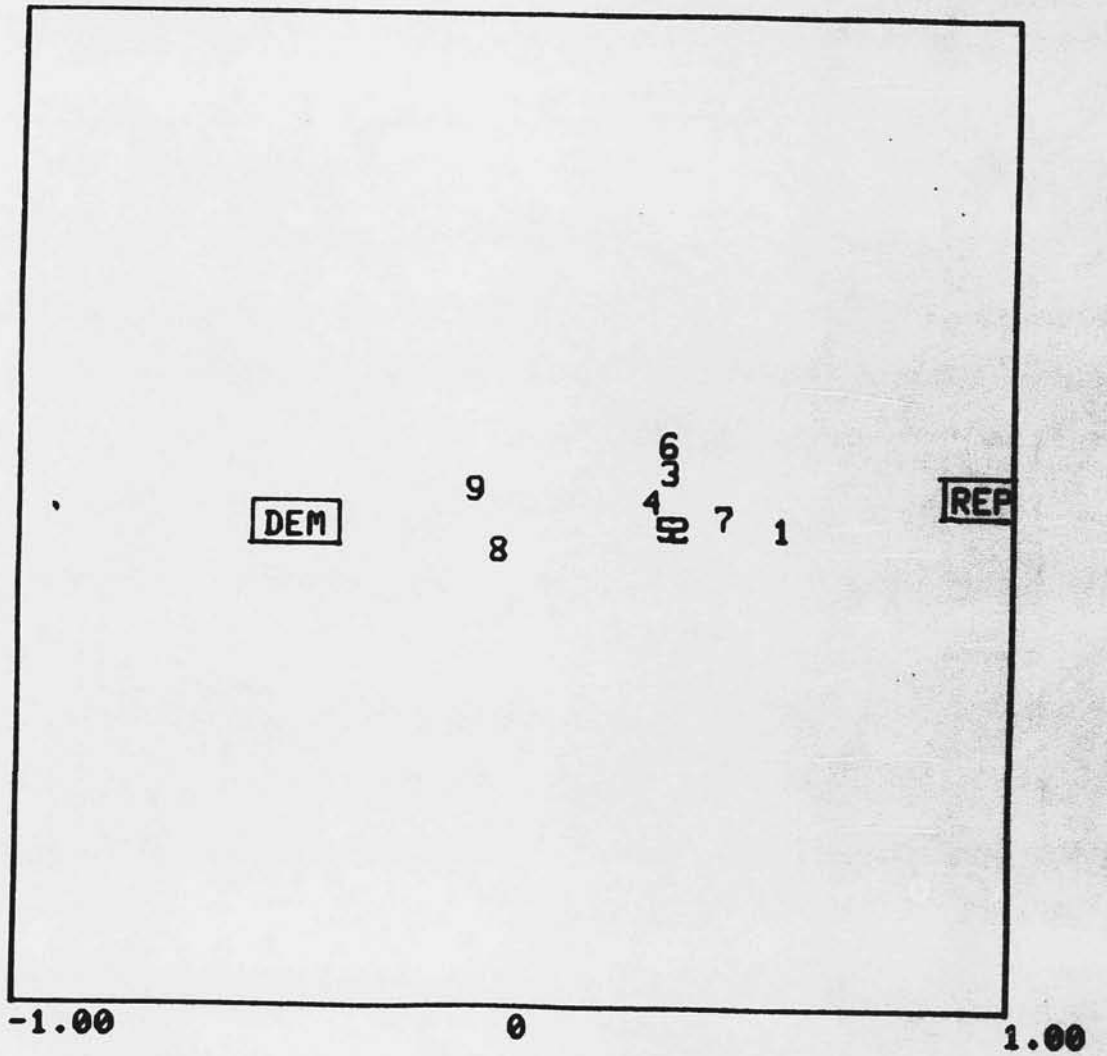
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-welfare
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-welfare

Government Assistance Scale in the 1985 Political Space



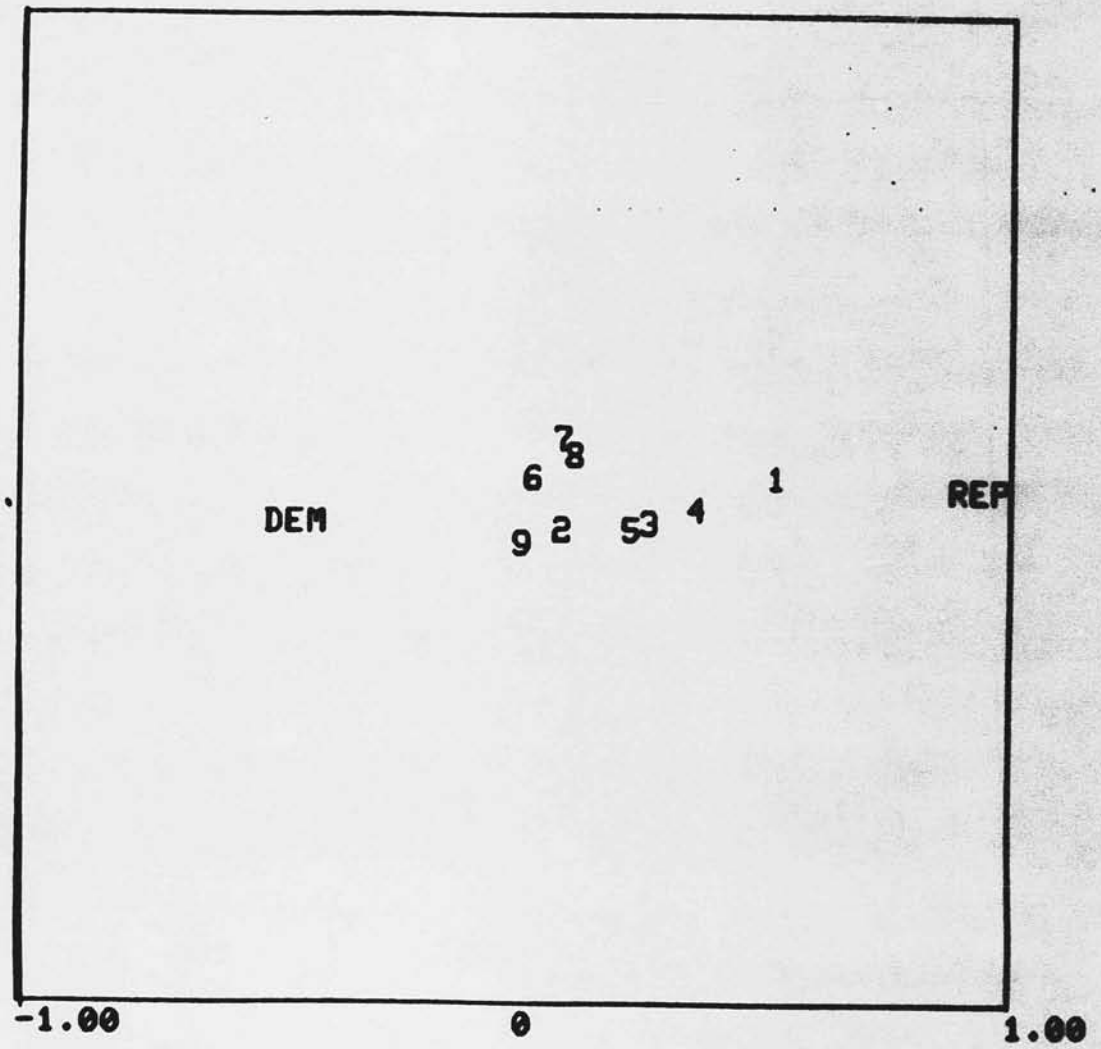
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-assistance
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-assistance

Labor Union Scale in the 1985 Political Space



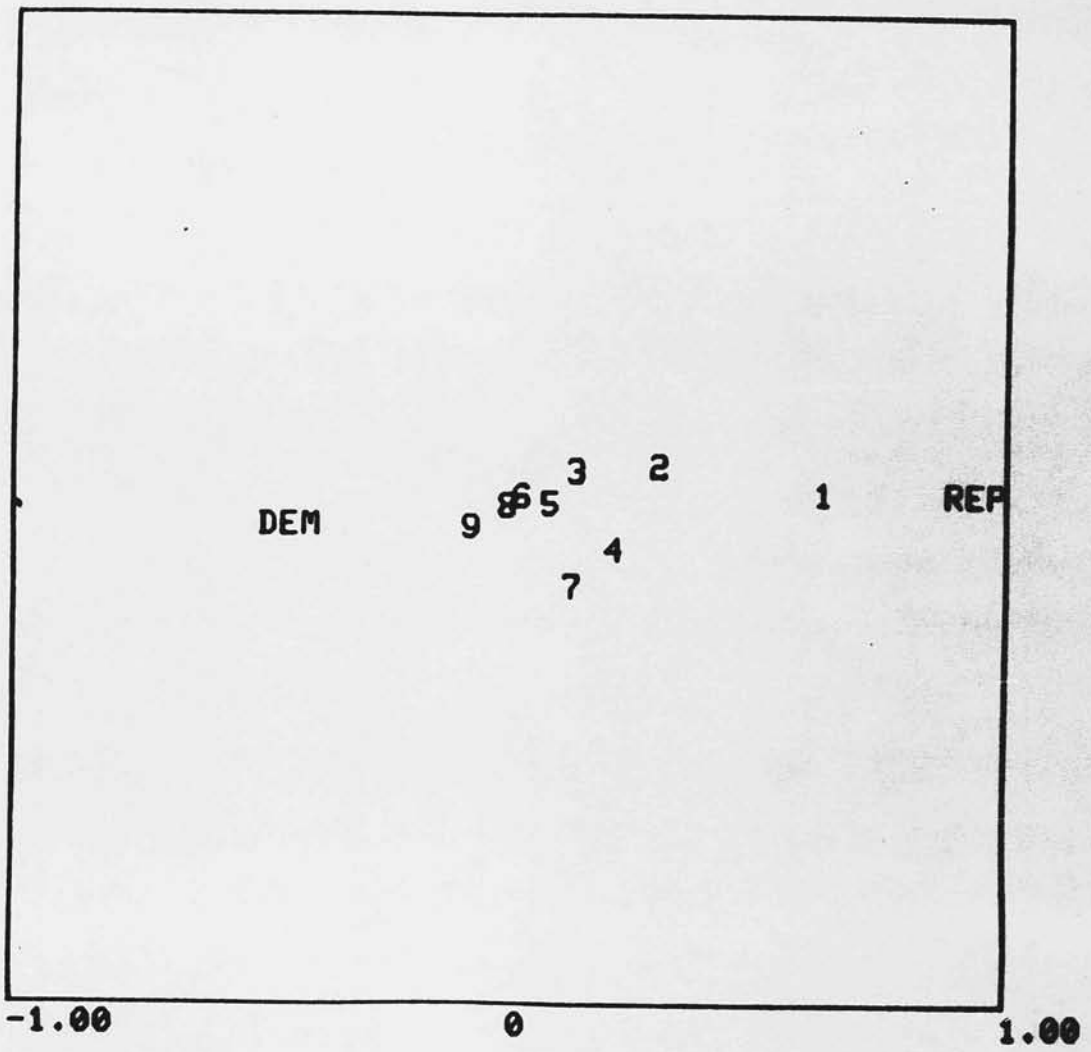
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-labor unions
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-labor unions

Black Agenda Scale in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-black agenda
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-black agenda

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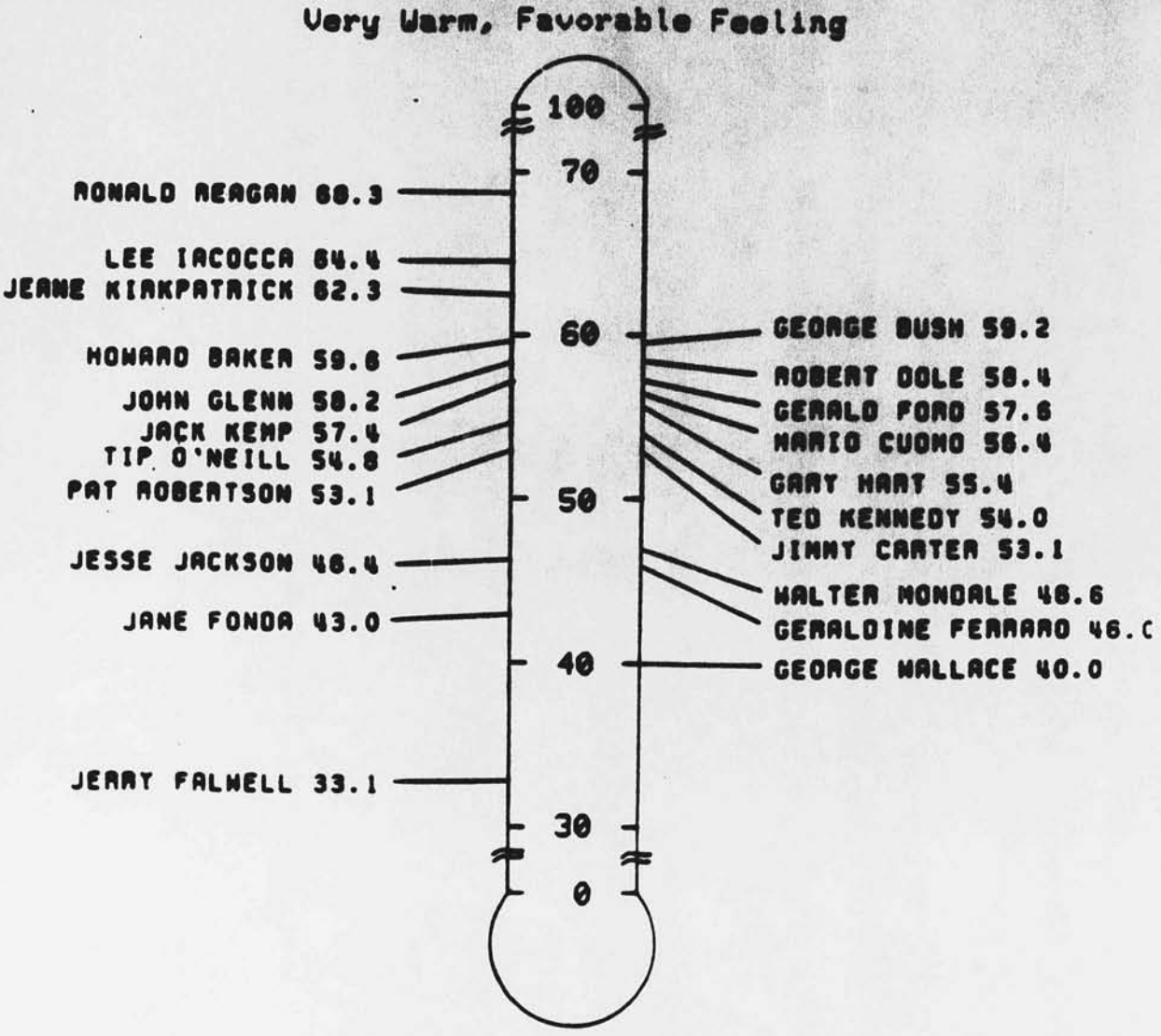
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS



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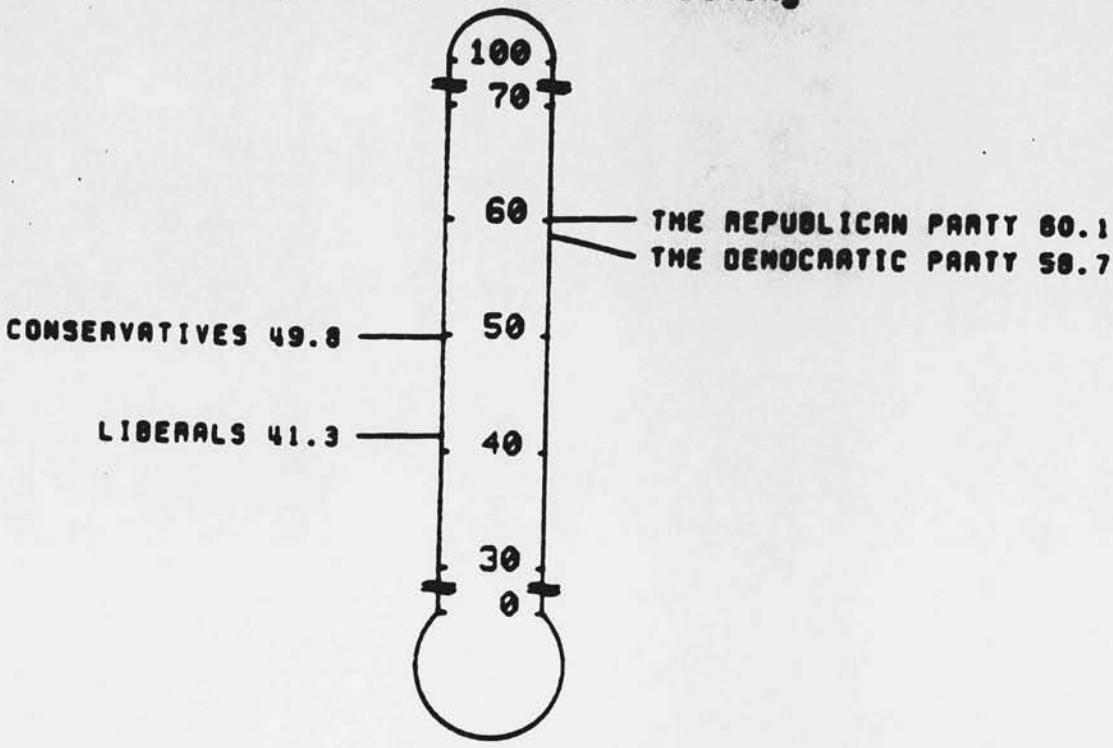
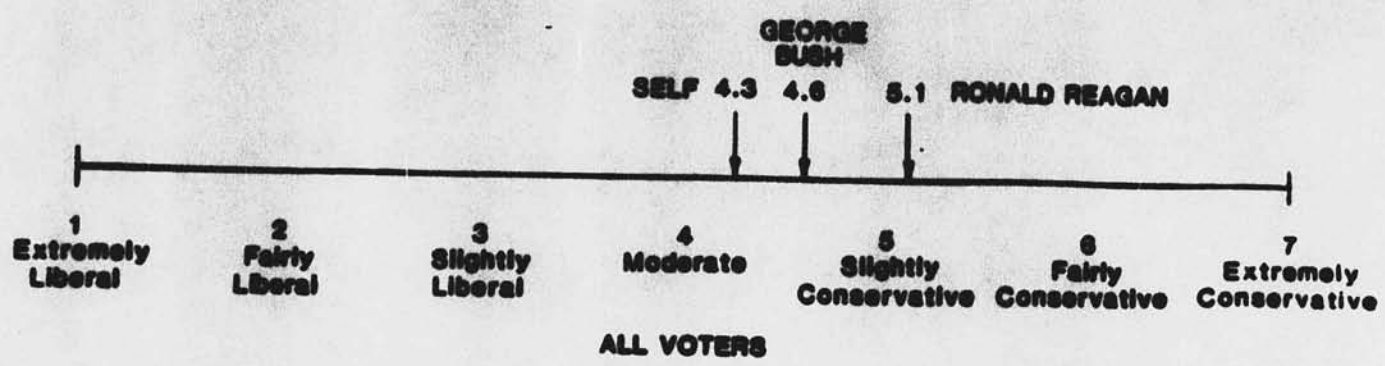
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling

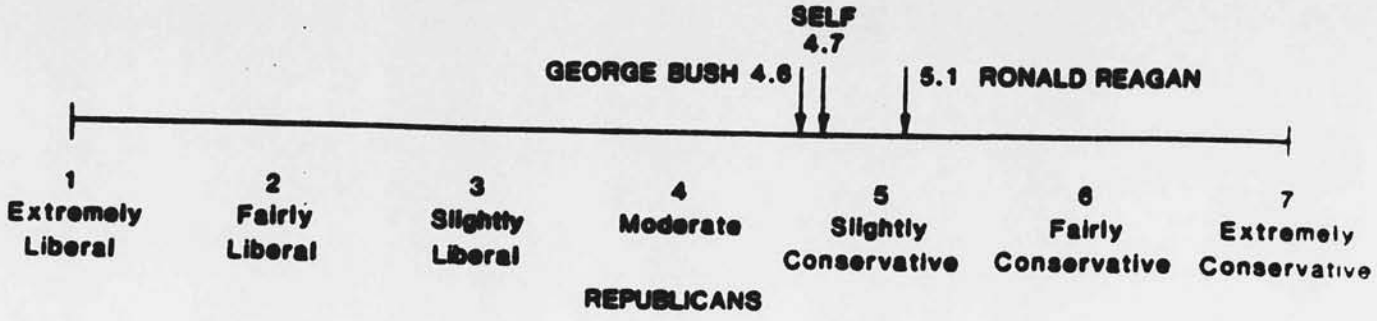


Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

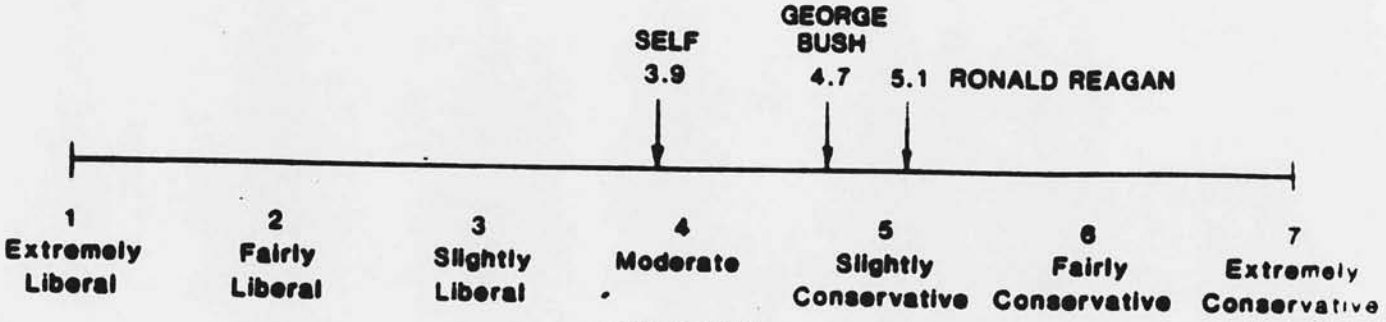
IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN



ALL VOTERS



REPUBLICANS



DEMOCRATS

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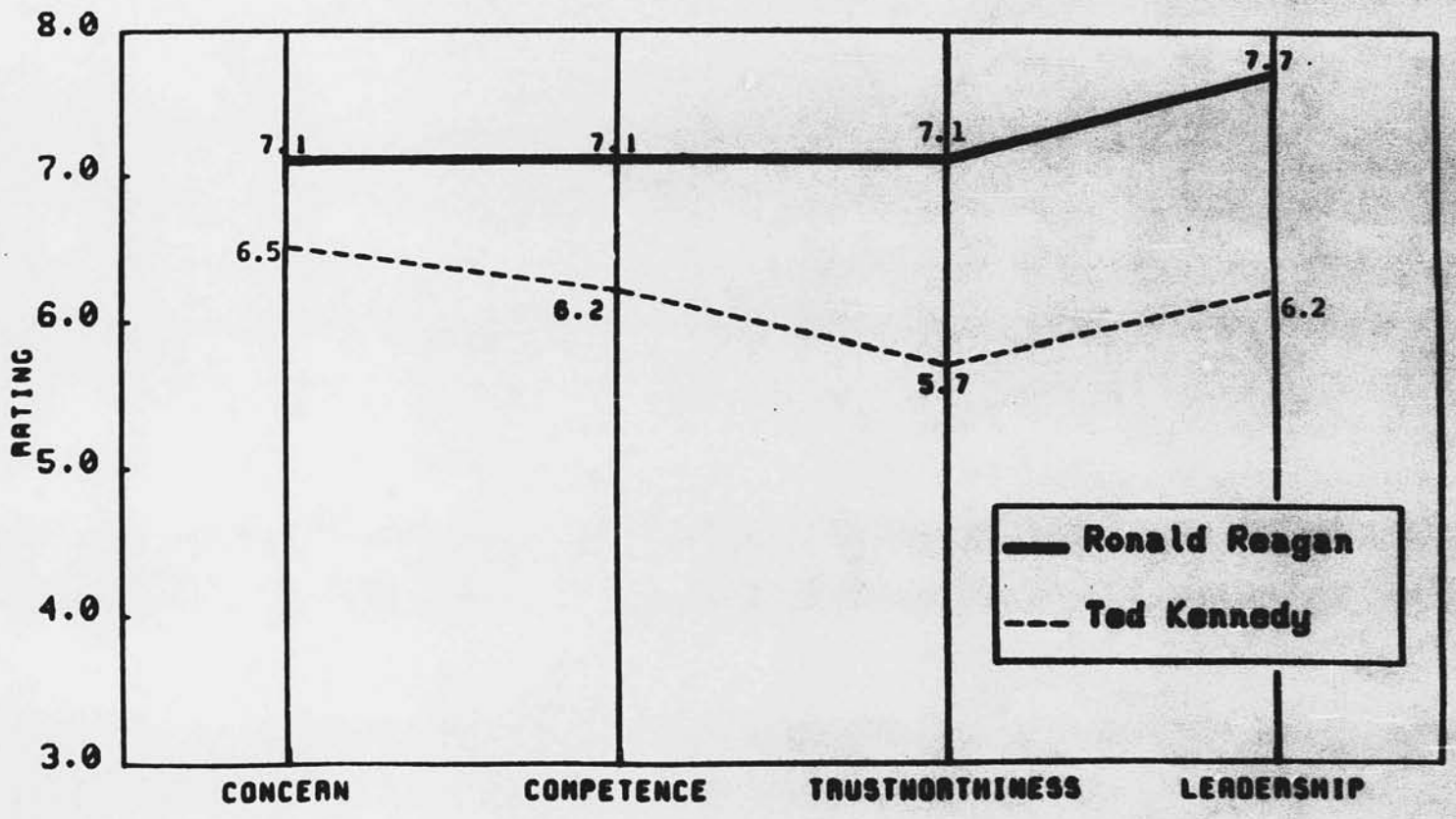
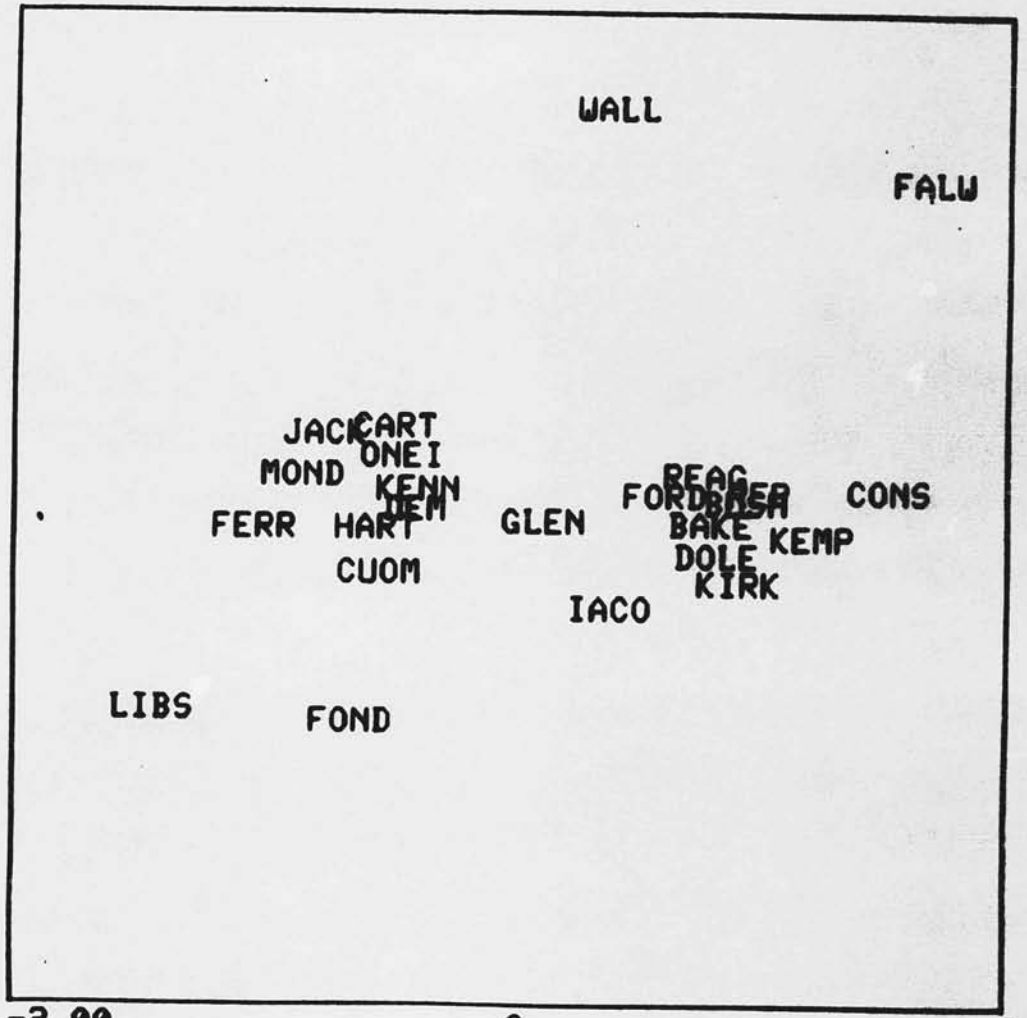
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS



1985 Candidate Space



Key:

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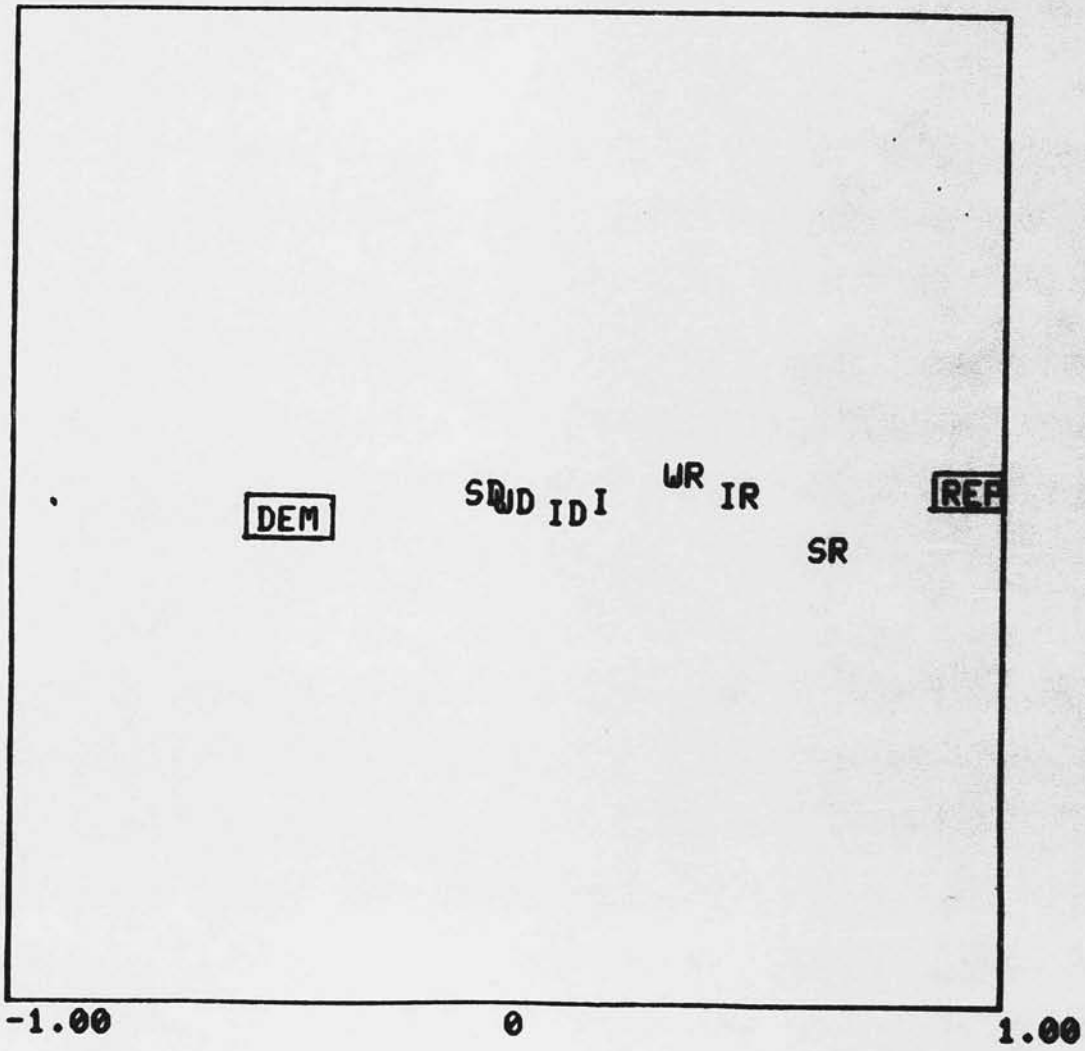
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS

Party Identification in the 1985 Candidate Space



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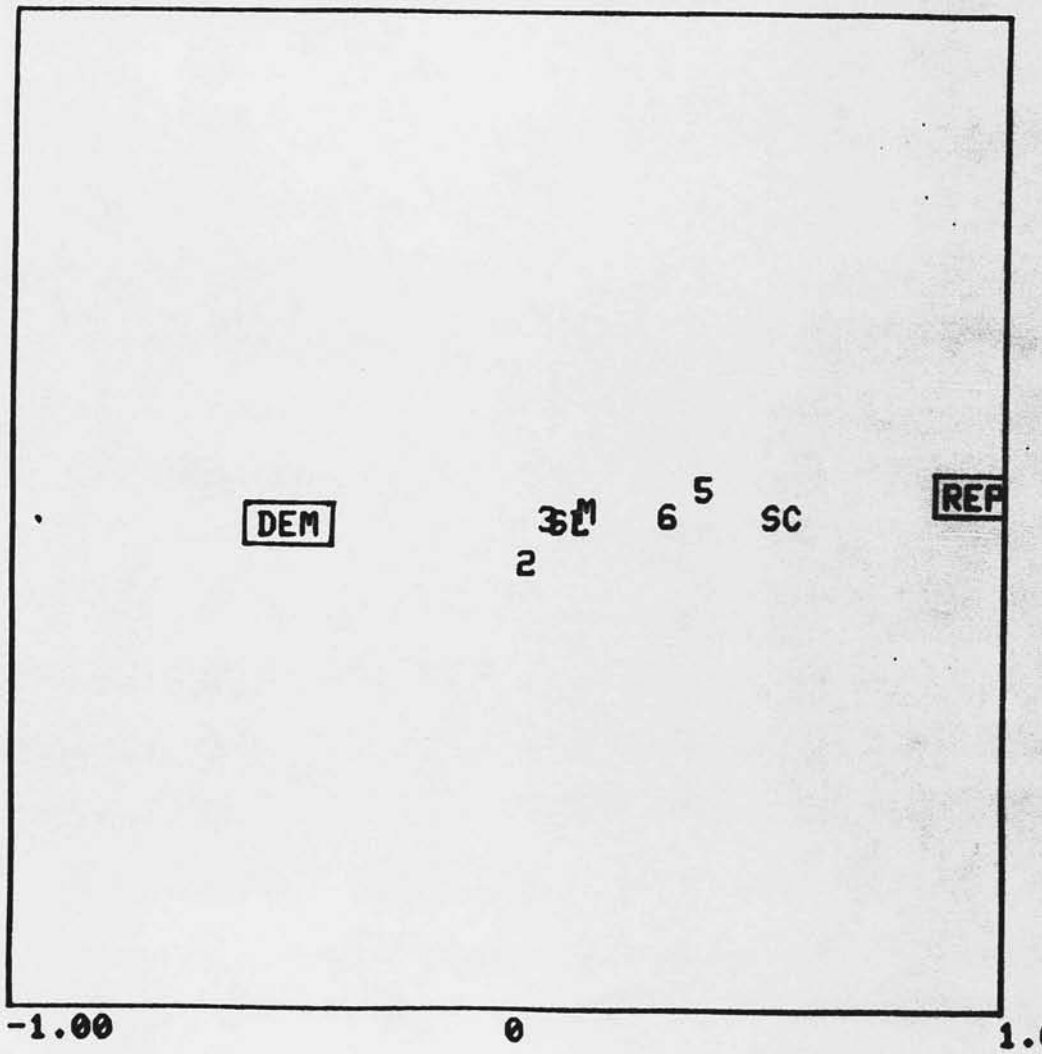
Liberal/Conservative Self-Description
in the 1985 Candidate Space



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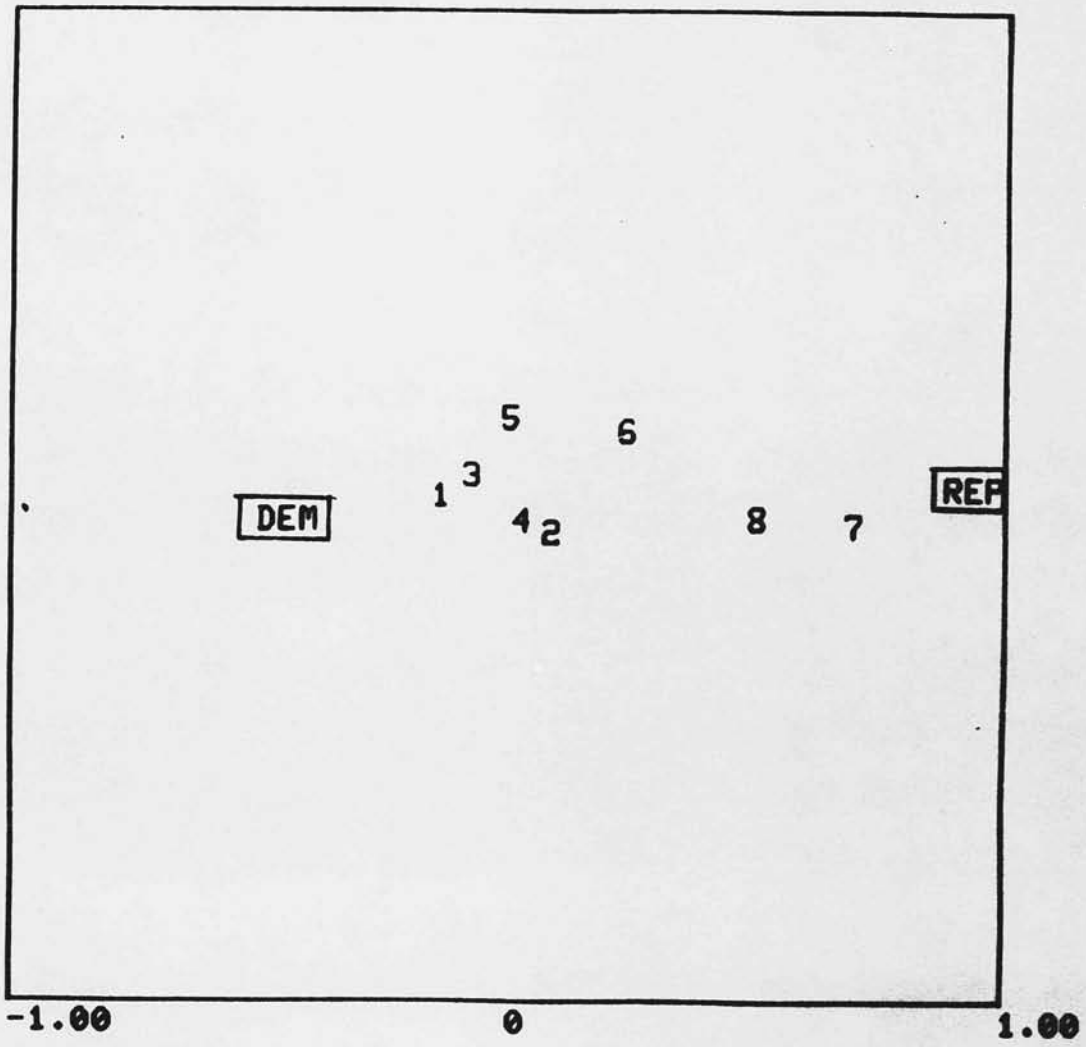
M = Moderate
5 = Slightly conservative
6 = Fairly conservative
SC = Extremely conservative

Presidential Trial Heat Summary Index
in the 1985 Candidate Space



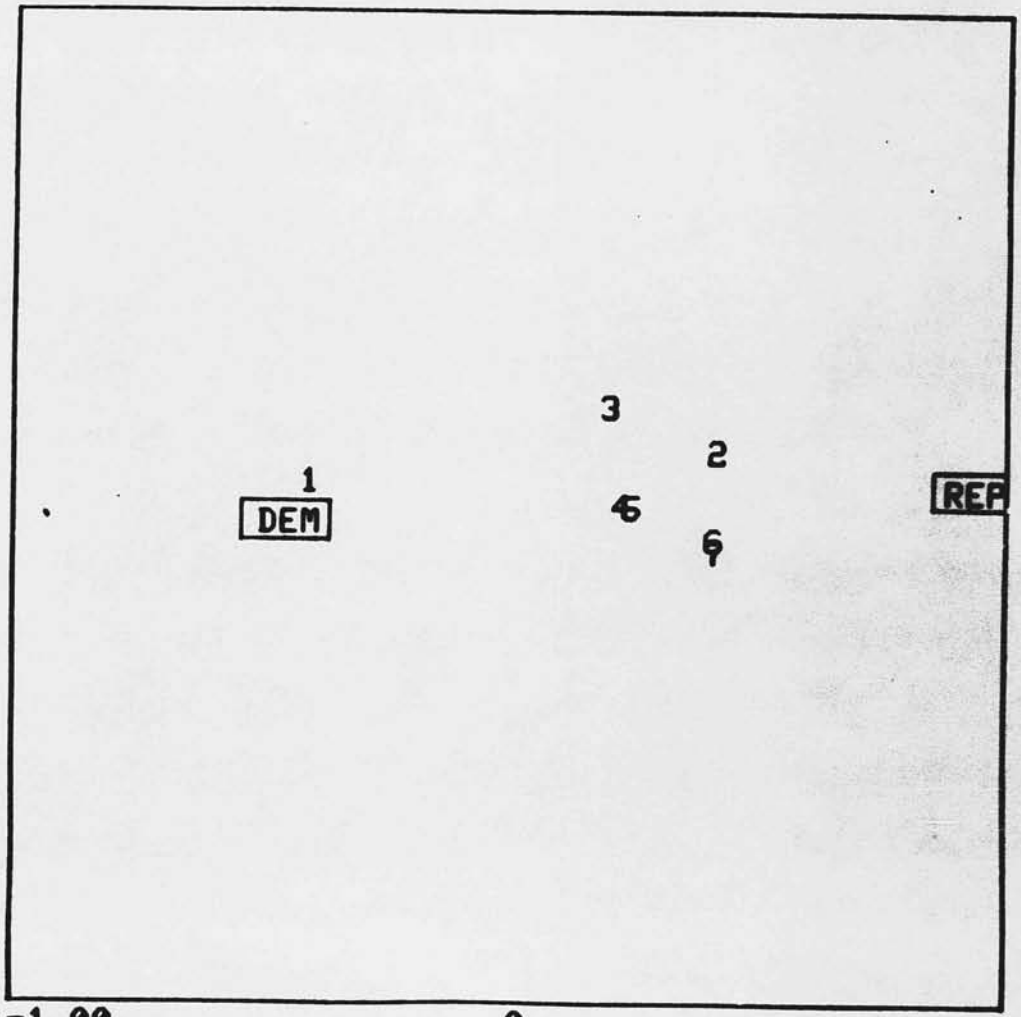
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Core Democrat
2 = Anti-Kennedy Democrats
3 = Anti-Hart Democrats
4 = Anti-Iacocca Democrats
5 = Pro-Kennedy Republicans
6 = Pro-Hart Republicans
7 = Pro-Iacocca Republicans
8 = Core Republican

Status Groups in the 1985 Candidate Space



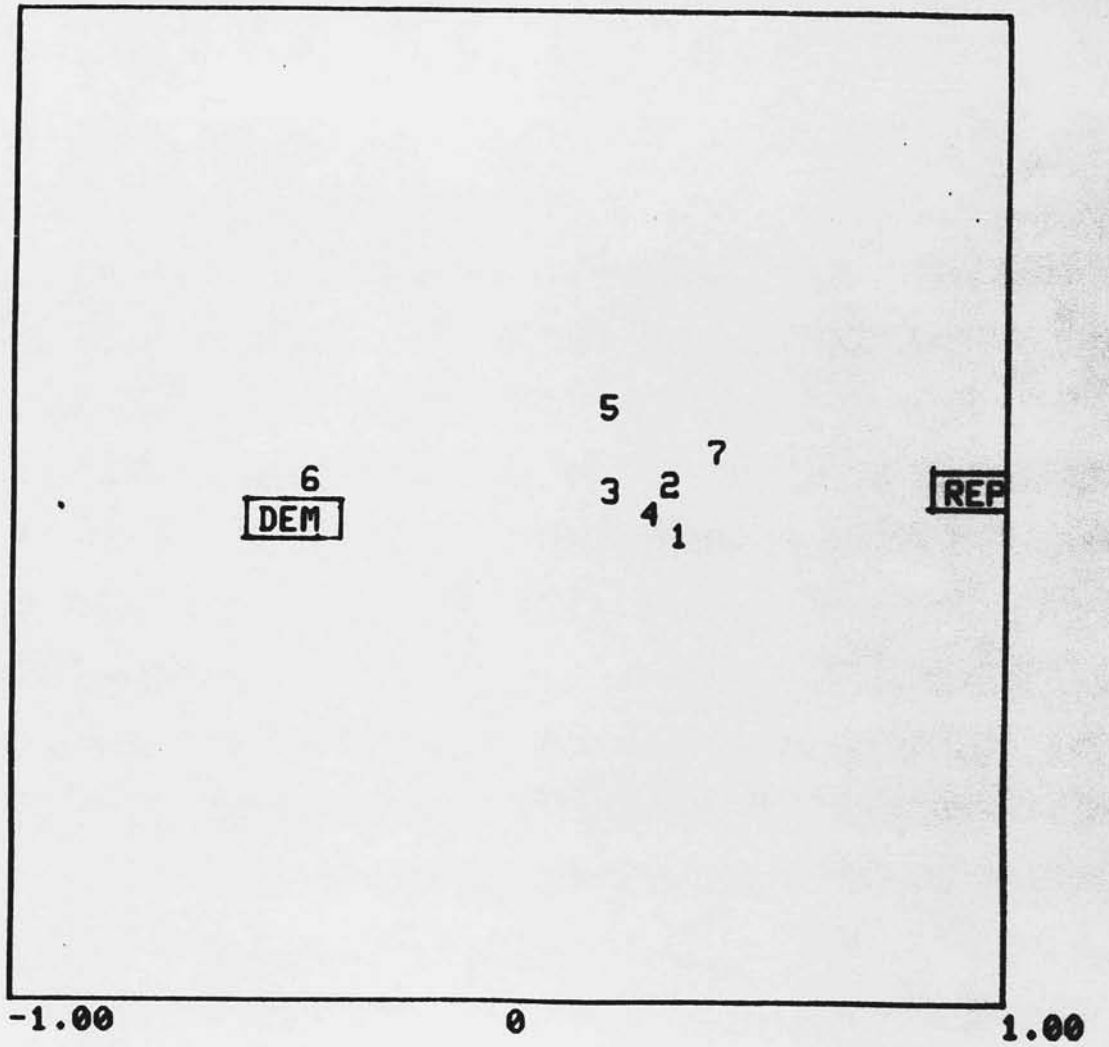
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Blacks
2 = Hispanics
3 = Jews
4 = Lower end whites
5 = Middle class
6 = Intelligentsia
7 = High income

Cultural Groups in the 1985 Candidate Space



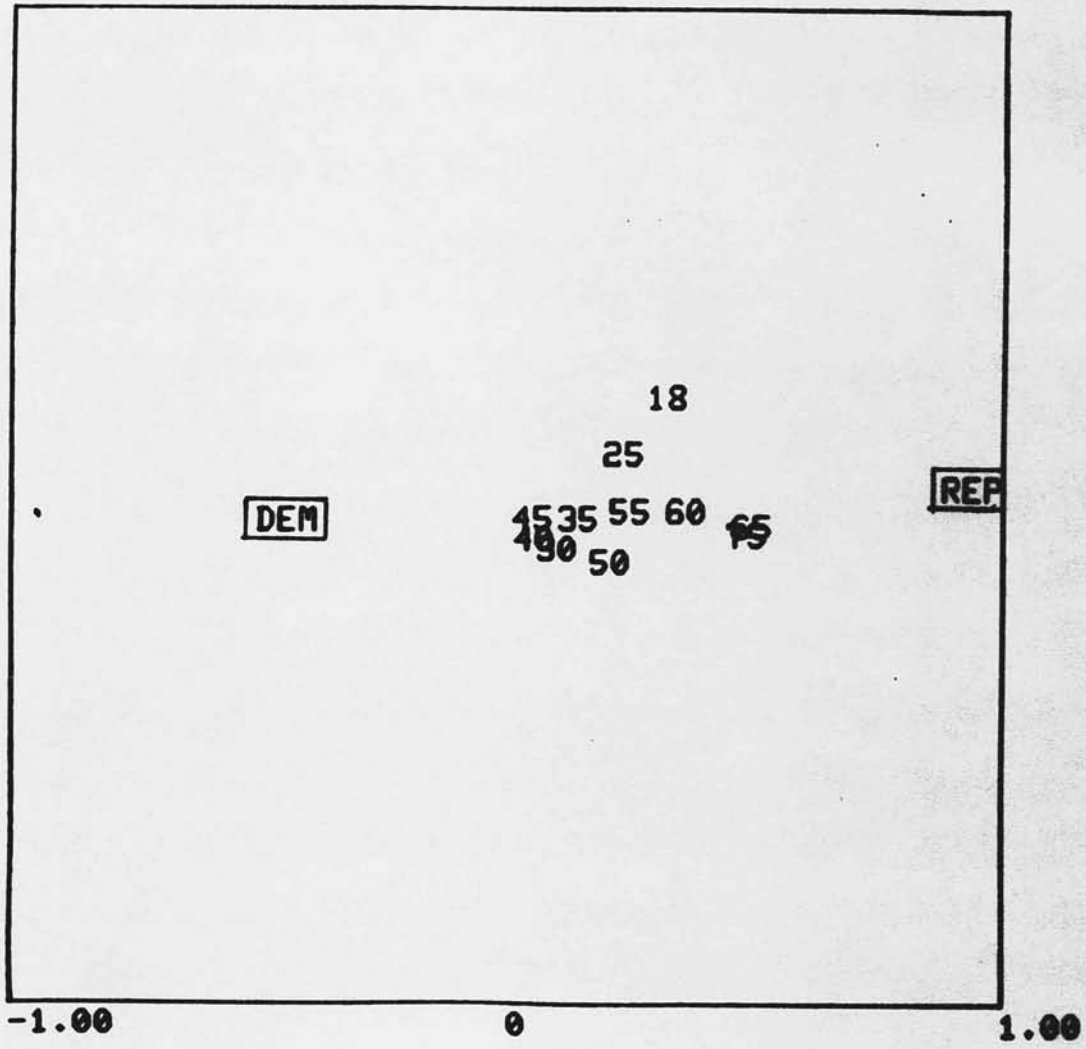
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Northern Protestants
2 = Catholics
3 = Union
4 = Southern whites
5 = Jews
6 = Blacks
7 = Hispanics

Age in the 1985 Candidate Space



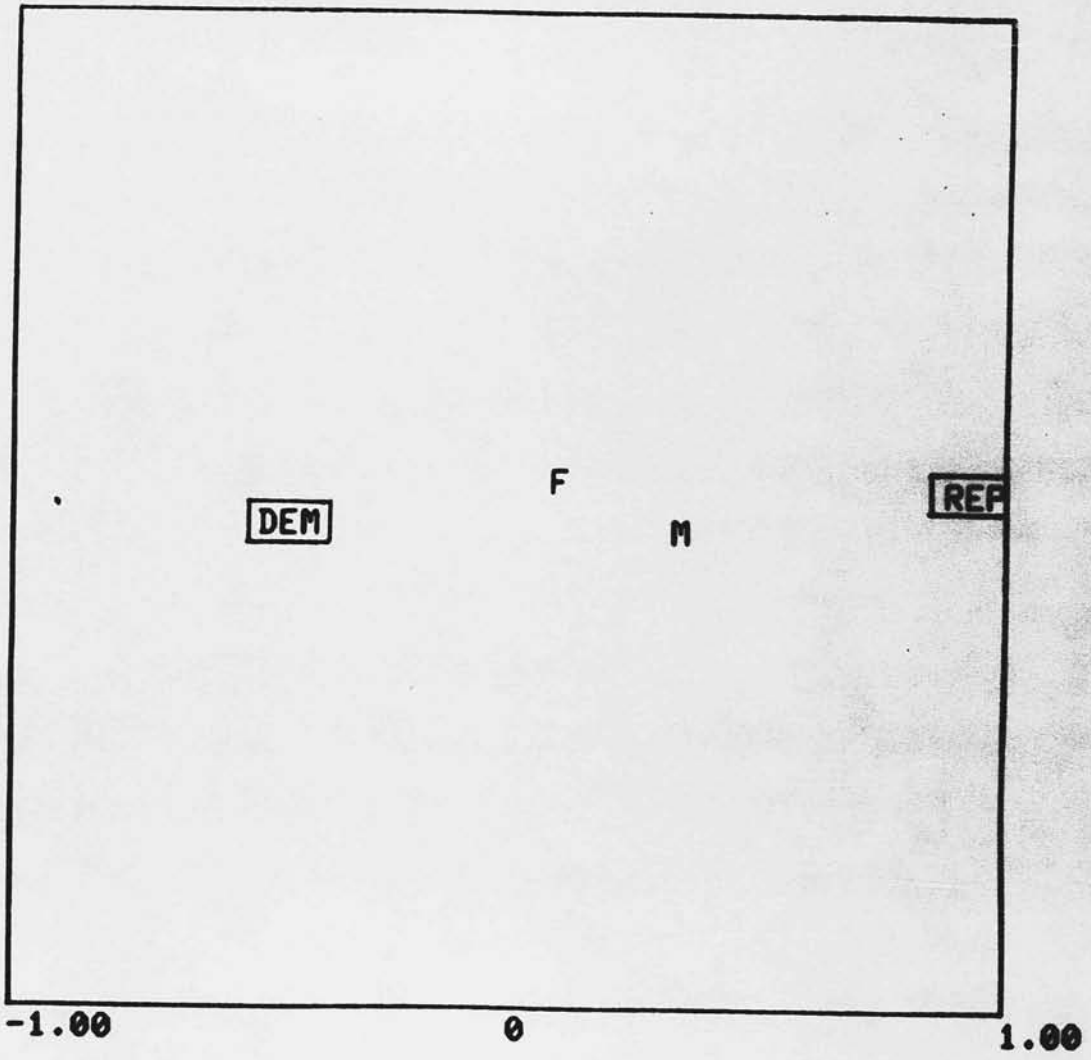
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

18 = 18-24
25 = 25-29
30 = 30-34
35 = 35-39
40 = 40-44
45 = 45-49
50 = 50-54
55 = 55-59
60 = 60-64
65 = 65-74
75 = 75 and over

Gender in the 1985 Candidate Space



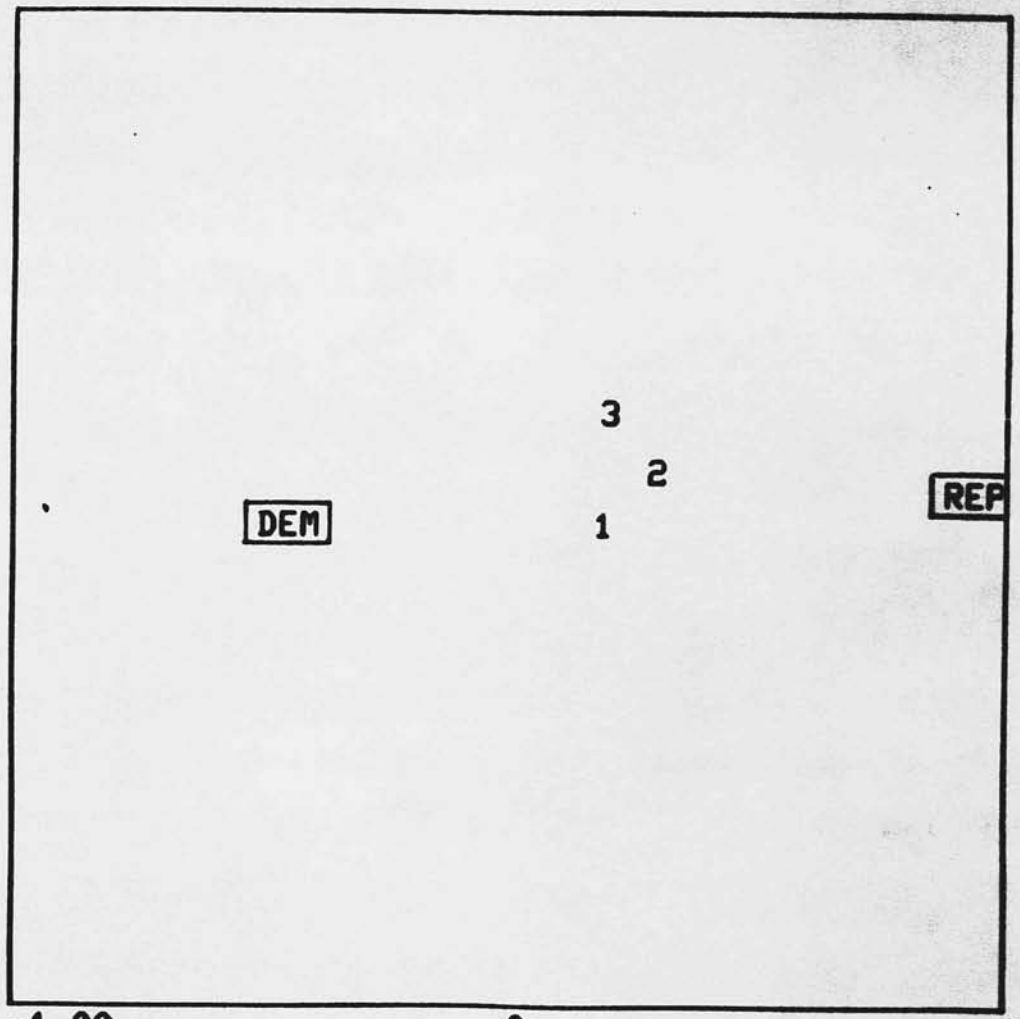
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

M = Males
F = Females

Religion in the 1985 Candidate Space



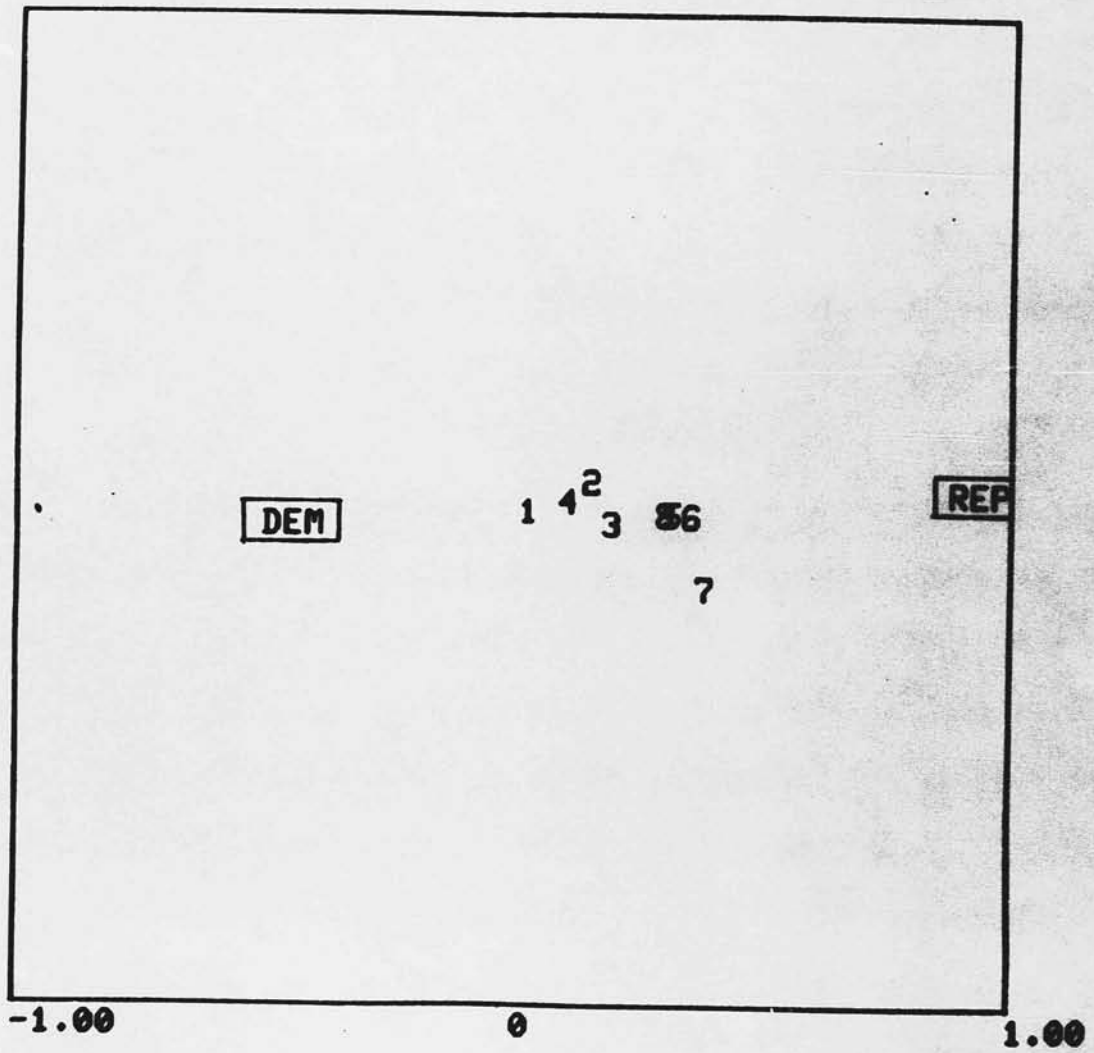
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
1 = Protestant
2 = Catholic
3 = Jew

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS *PRAX*
?

Income in the 1985 Candidate Space



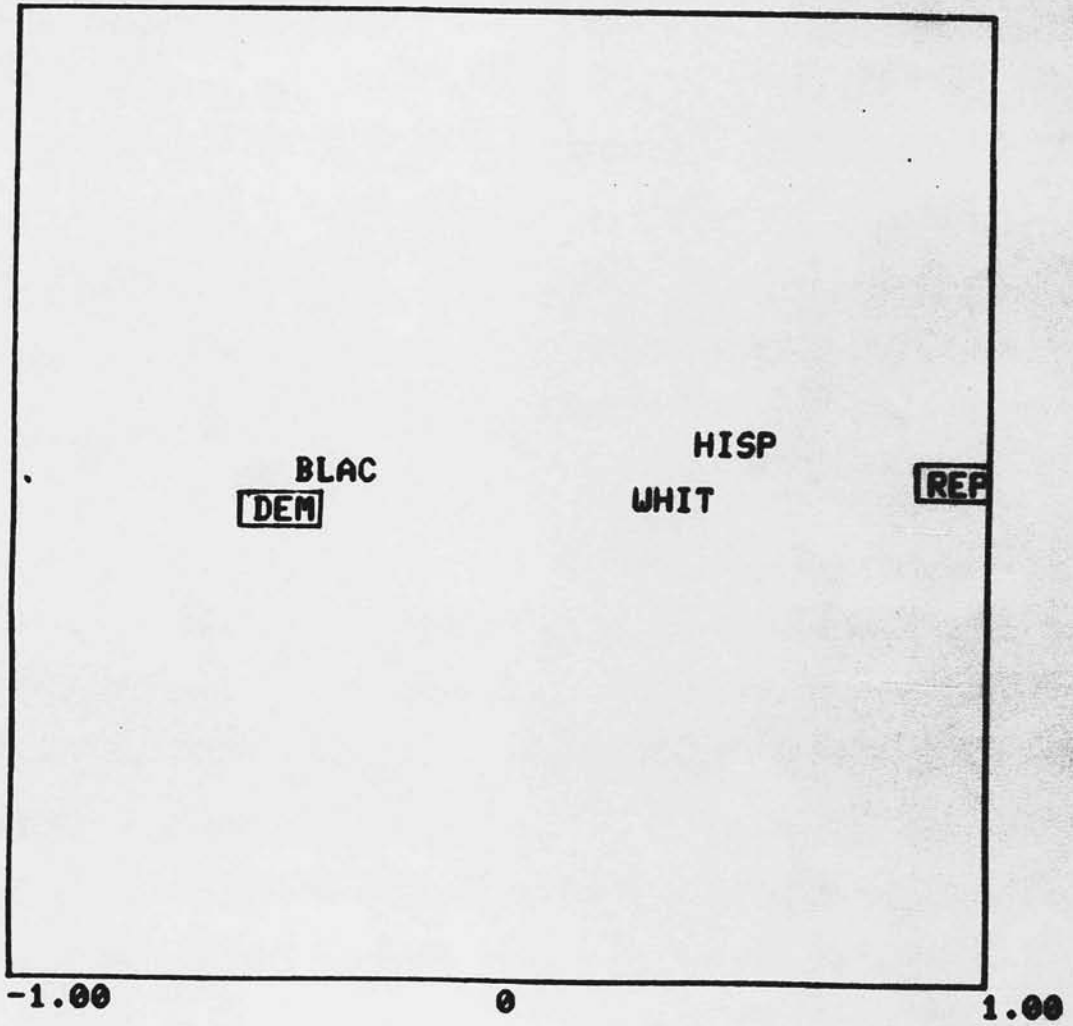
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Under $10,000
2 = $10,000-$15,000
3 = $15,000-$20,000
4 = $20,000-$25,000
5 = $25,000-$30,000
6 = $30,000-$40,000
7 = $40,000-$50,000
8 = $50,000 and over

Race in the 1985 Candidate Space



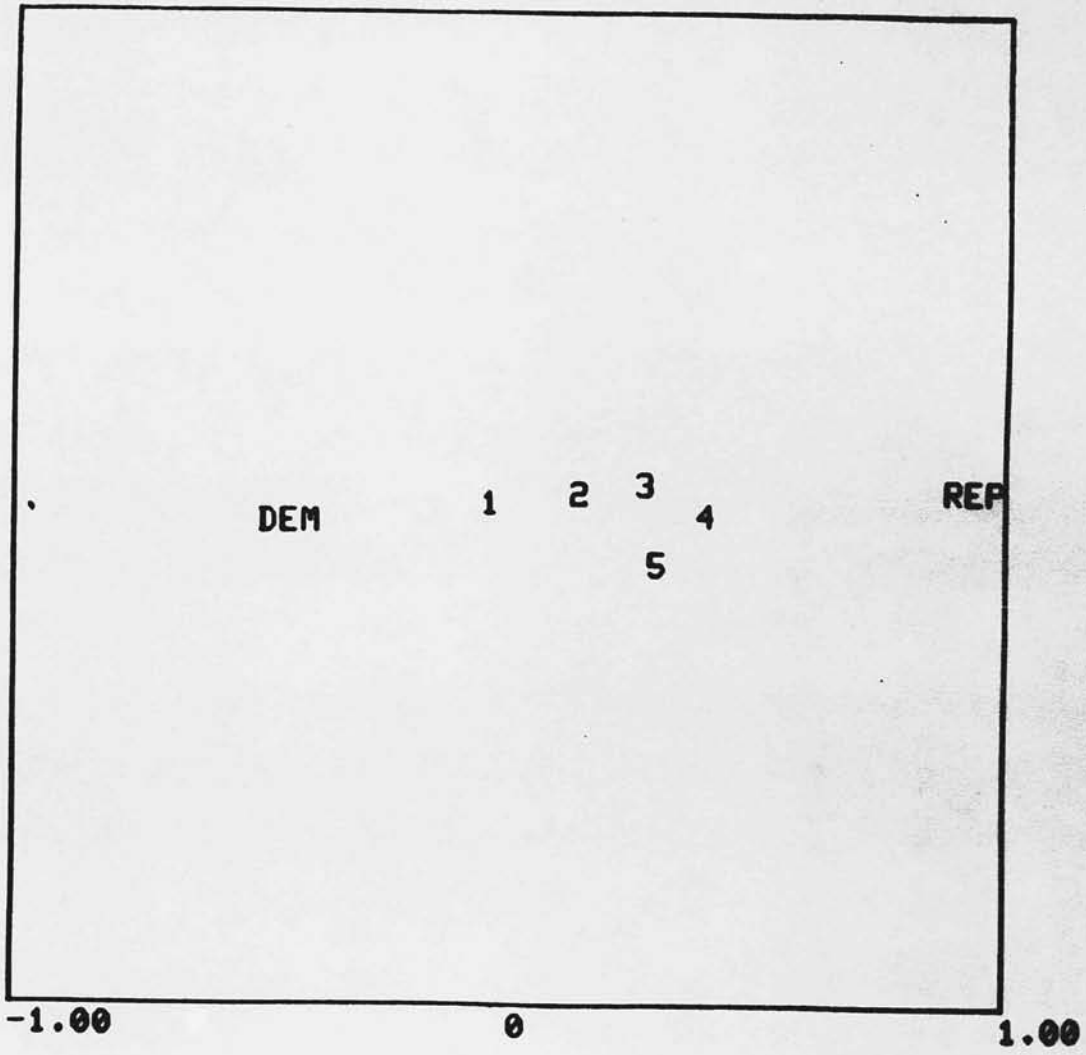
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

Military Action Against Terrorists Scale
in the 1985 Candidate Space



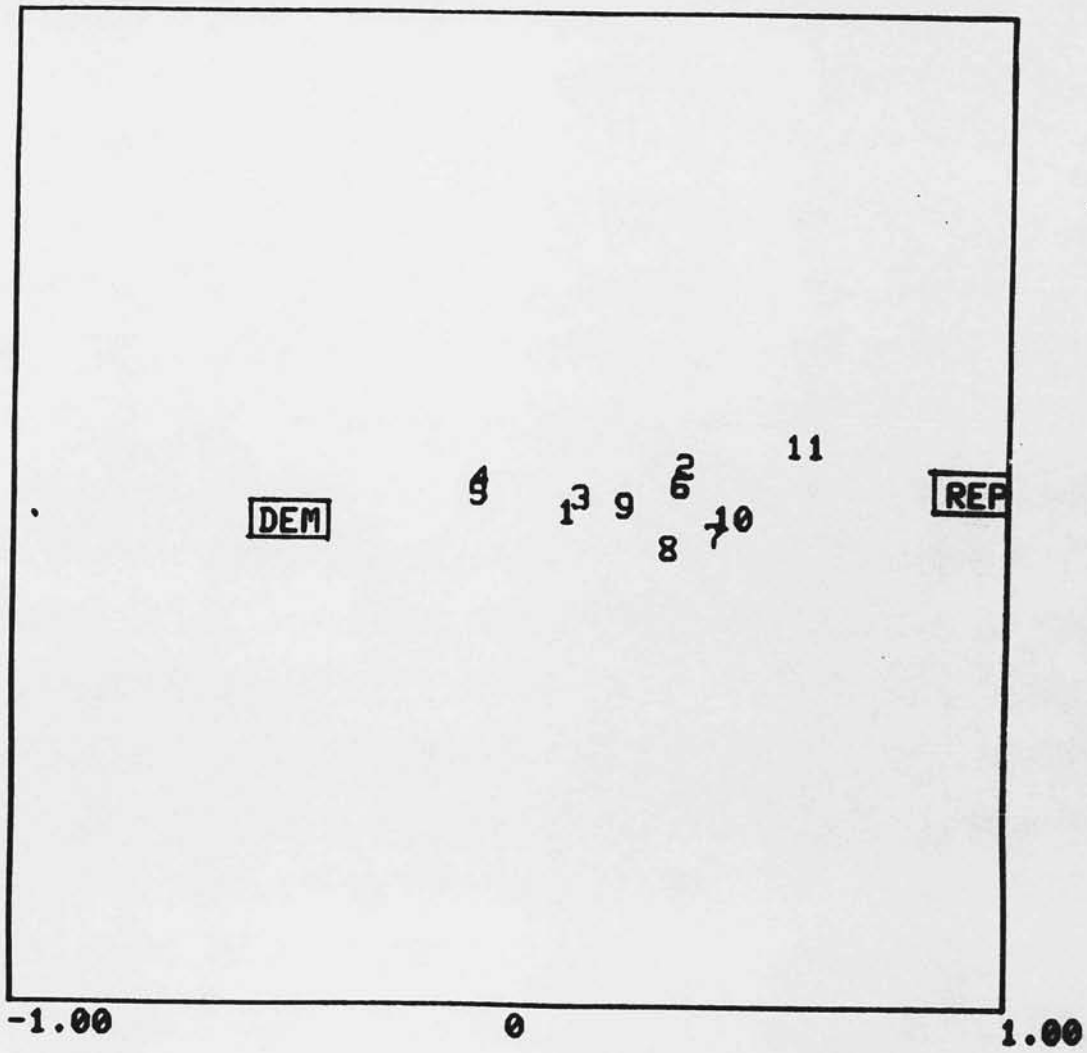
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Oppose any military action
2
3
4
5 = Favor military action in all cases

International Trade Scale #1 in the 1985
Candidate Space



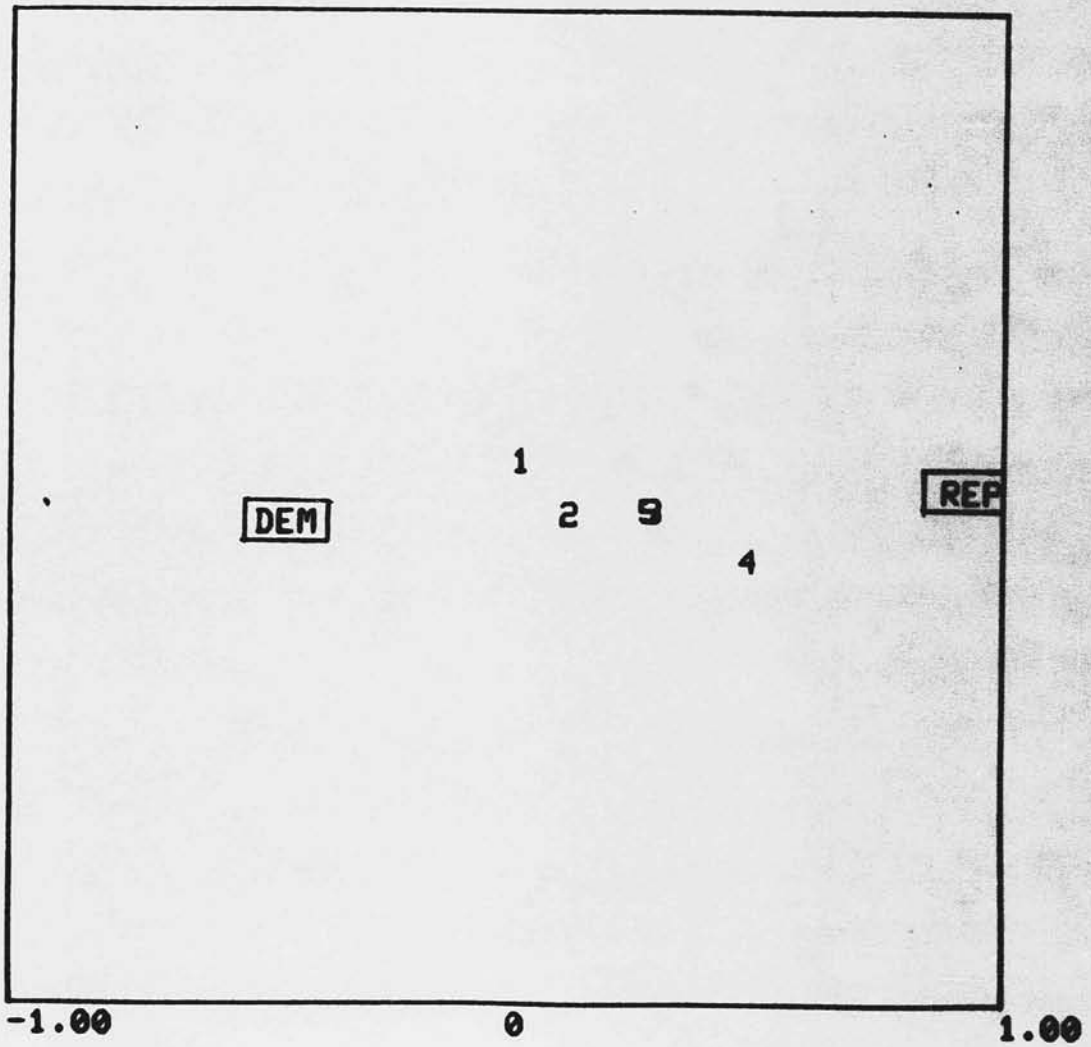
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Pro-Protectionism
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11 = Anti-Protectionism

International Trade Scale #2 in the 1985
Candidate Space



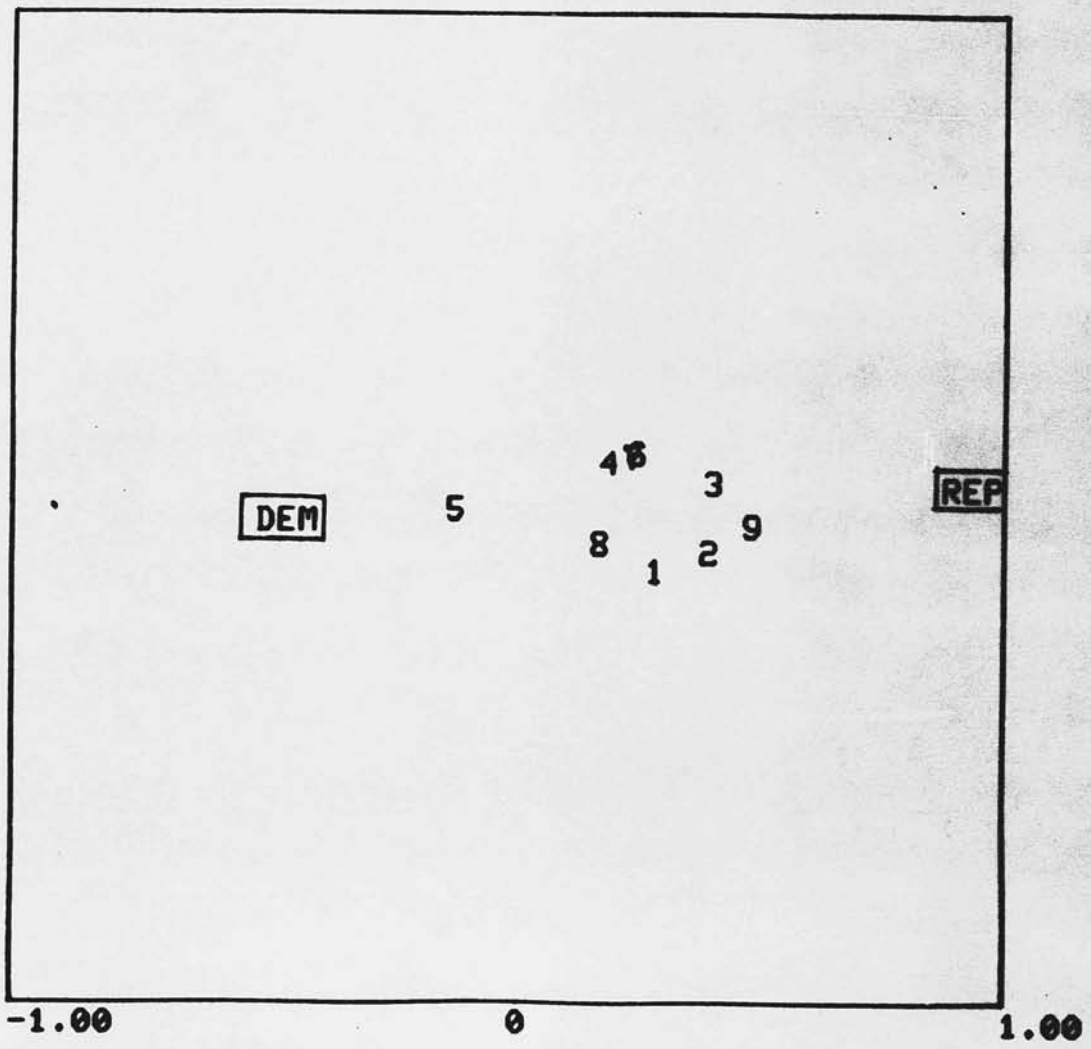
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Protectionists
2
3
4
5 = Free-traders

Gunboat Diplomacy Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



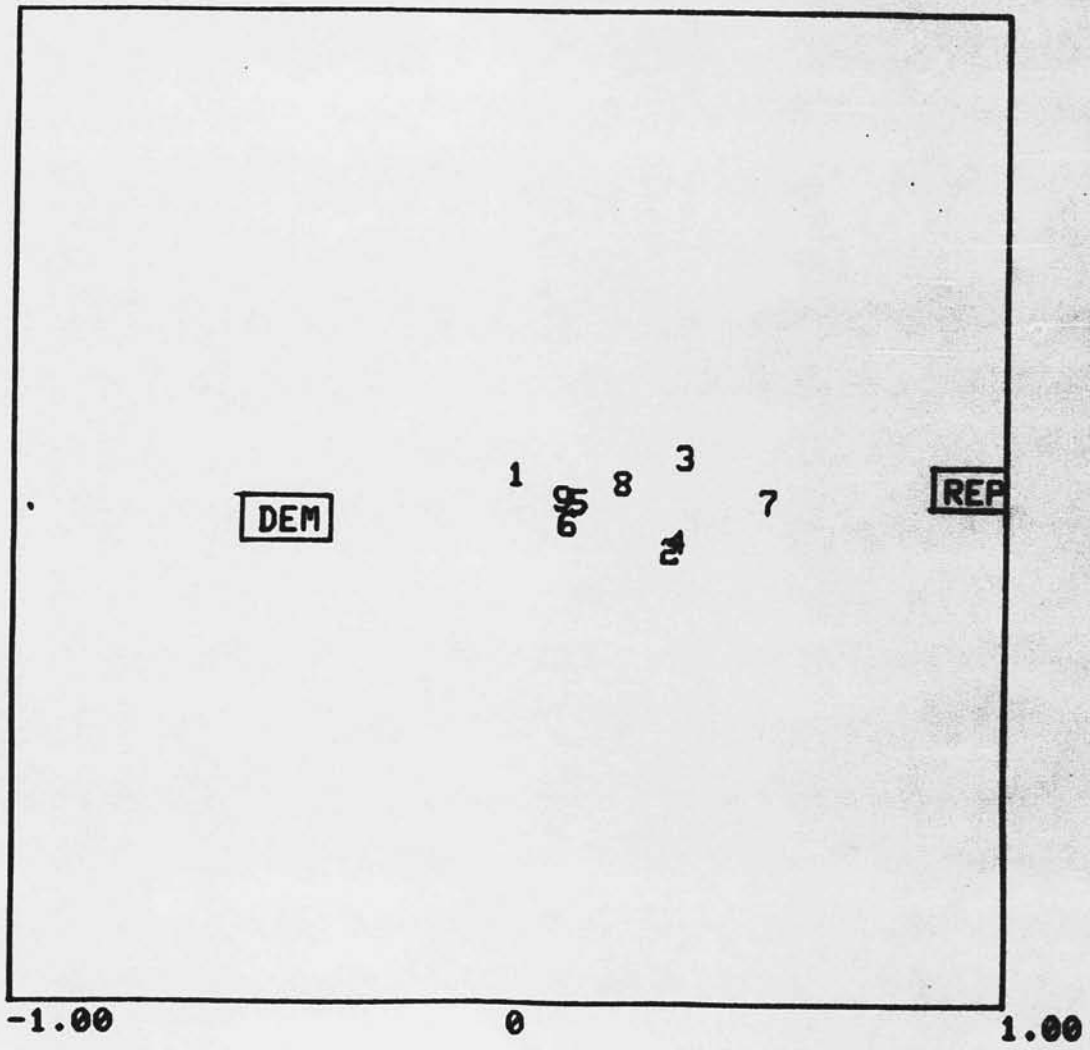
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Pacifists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme Gunboaters/Nationalists

America Firsters Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



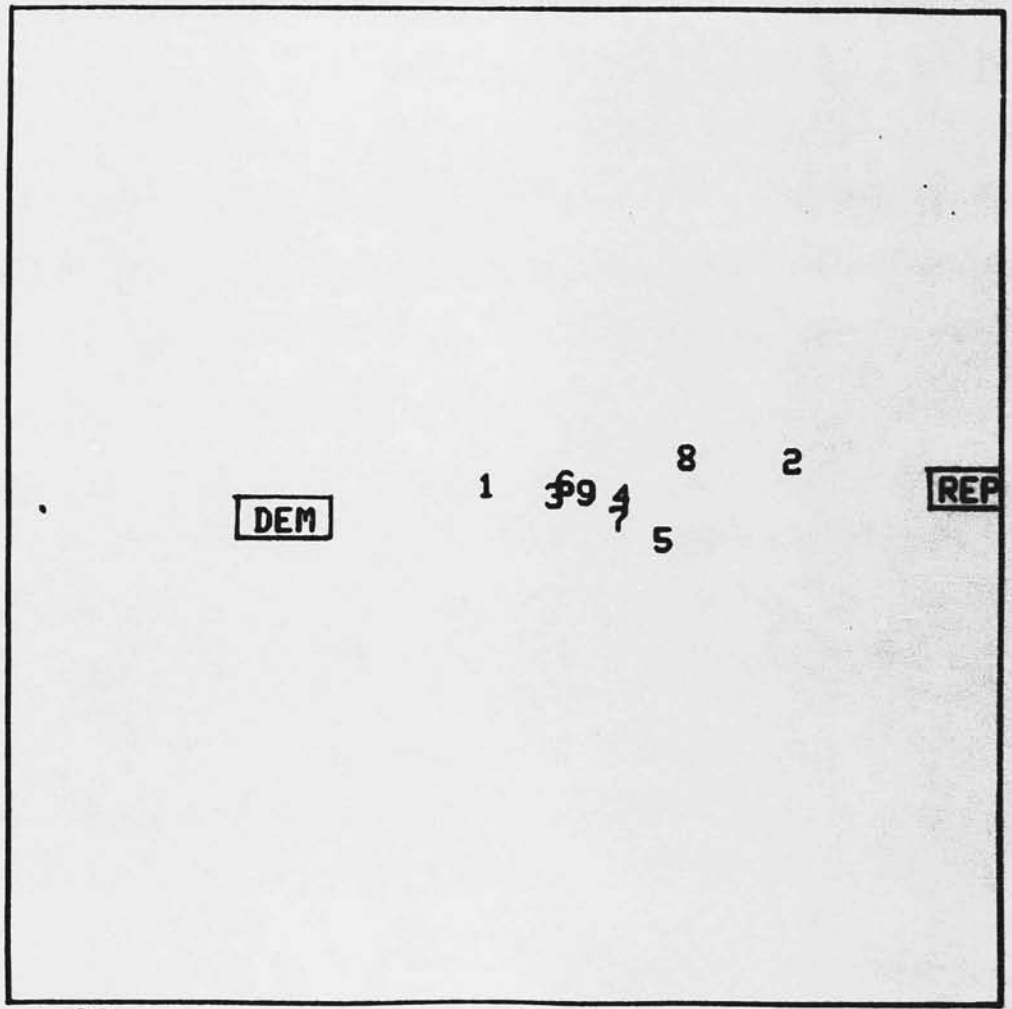
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Internationalists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme America Firsters

Traditional Values Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



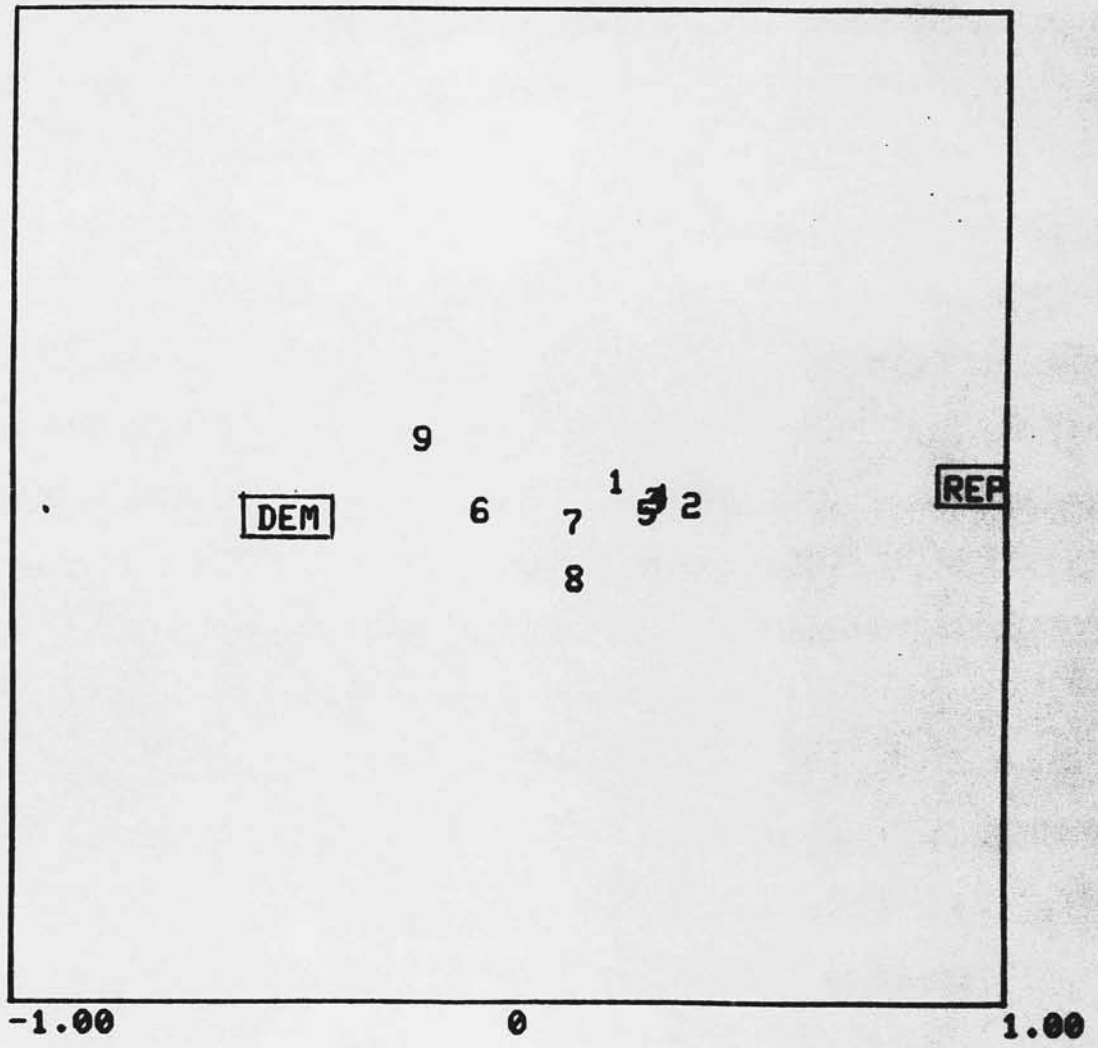
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme civil libertarians
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme traditionalists

Welfare Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



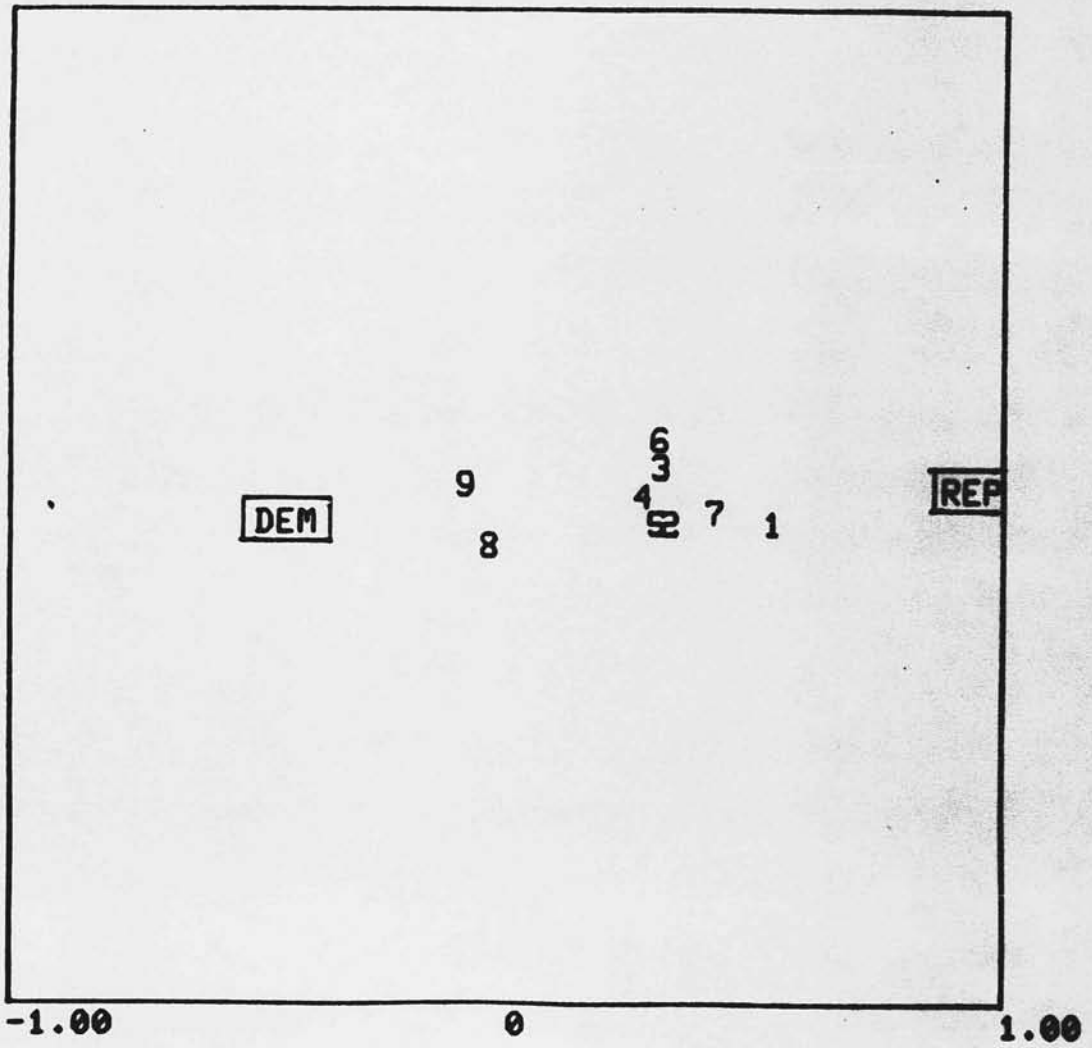
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-welfare
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-welfare

Government Assistance Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



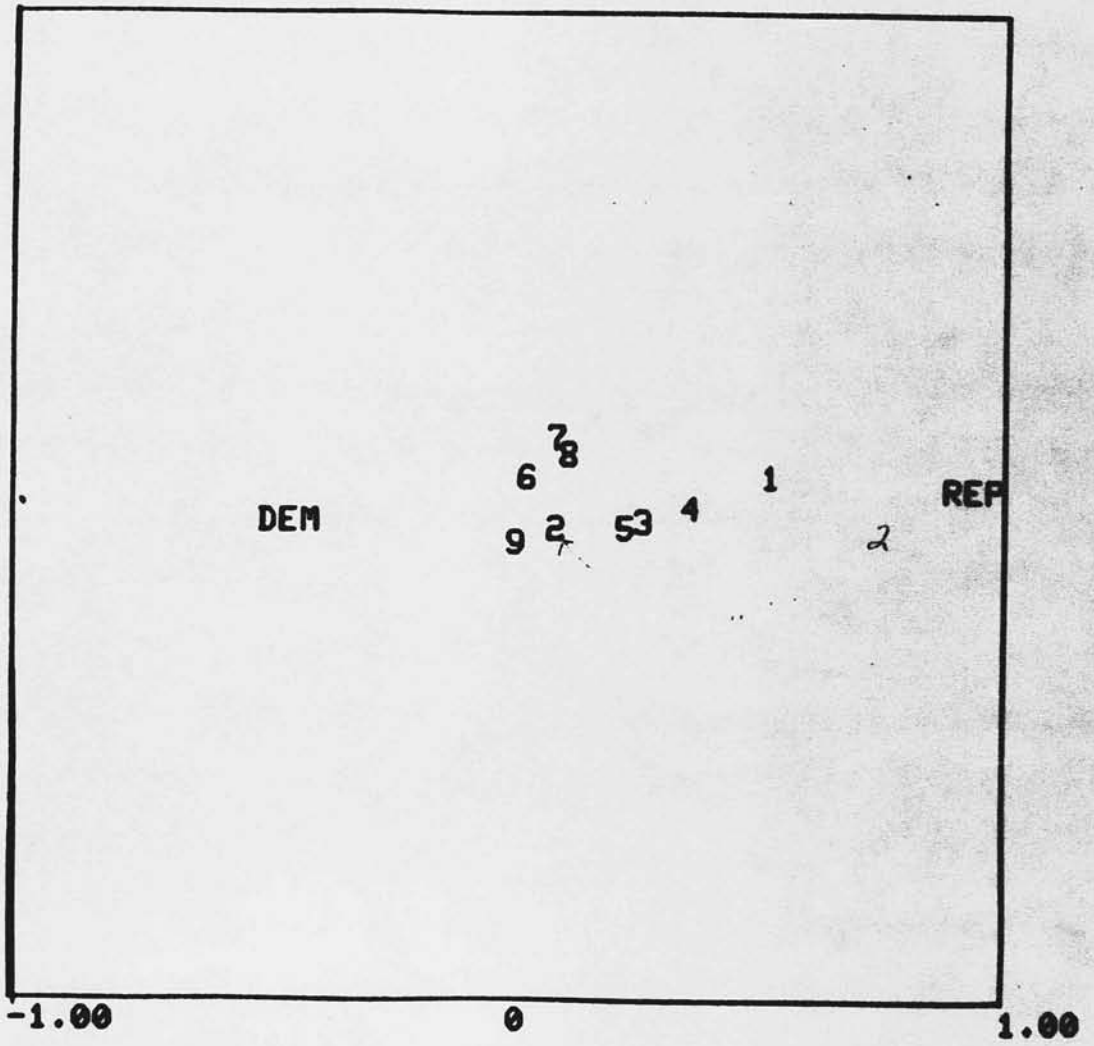
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-assistance
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-assistance

Labor Union Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



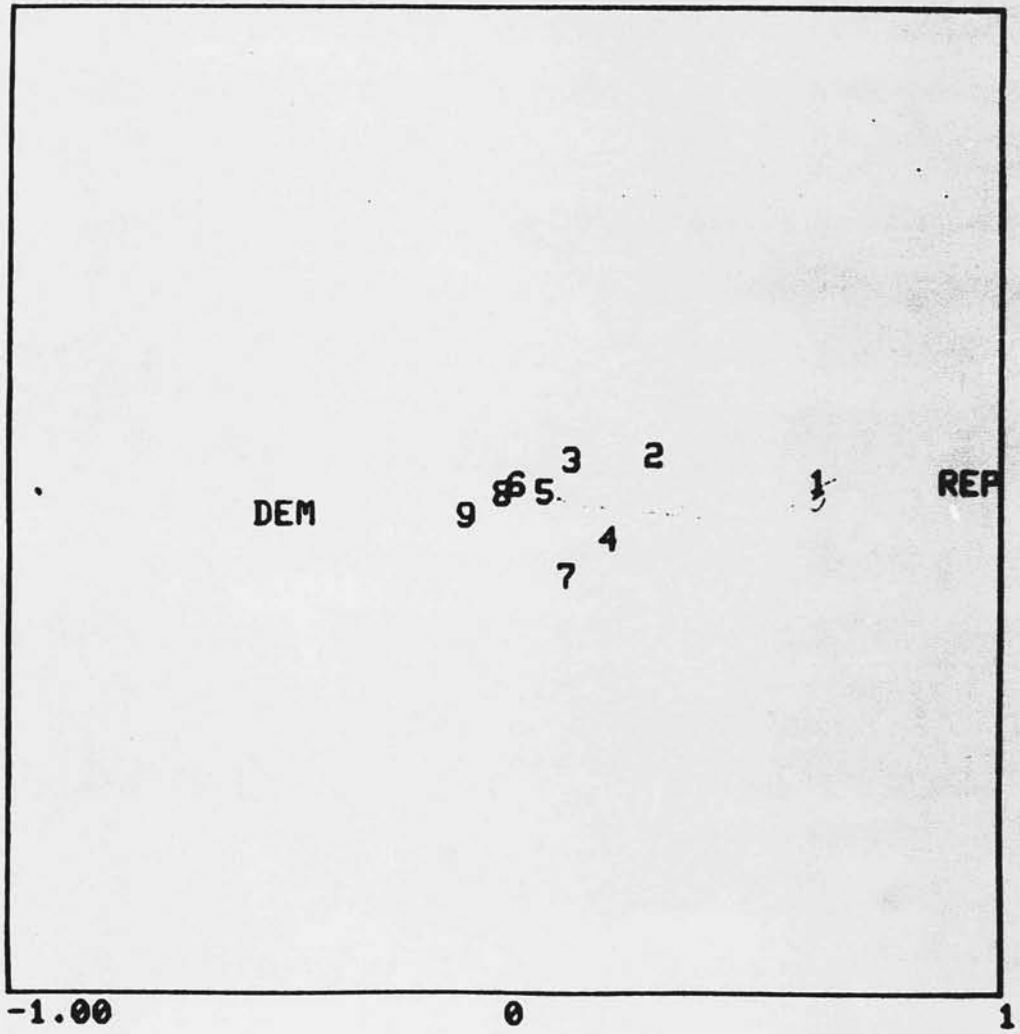
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-labor unions
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-labor unions

Black Agenda Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-black agenda
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-black agenda

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MUR # 2133 IS CONTINUED ON MUR ROLL # 72, BEGINNING WITH FRAME # 0003.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS A CONTINUATION OF MUR # 2133, THE BEGINNING OF THIS FILE CAN BE FOUND ON ROLL # 71, STARTING AT FRAME # 4014.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

MUR 2133

Thursday, July 31, 1986

Washington, D. C.

Deposition of

William I. Greener, III

a witness in the above-entitled matter, called for examination by counsel for the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to notice, taken in the offices of the Federal Election Commission, Sixth Floor, 999 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., beginning at 10:12 a.m. before Lu Anne Dawson, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

On behalf of the Federal Election Commission:

Lois Lerner, Esq.
Assistant General Counsel
Jonathan Levin, Esq.
Sixth Floor
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20463
(202) 376-8200

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On behalf of Mr. Greener and the RNC:

E. Mark Braden, Esq.
Chief Counsel Republican National Committee
310 First Street, Southeast Washington, D. C. 20003
(202) 863-8638

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C O N T E N T S

WITNESS:	EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR: THE FEC (Mr. Levin)	MR. GREENER AND THE RNC (Mr. Braden)
William I. Greener, III	4	---

E X I B I T S

Marked for identification and attached:	Page:
FEC Exhibit No. 1	22
FEC Exhibit No. 2	29
FEC Exhibit No. 3	34
FEC Exhibit No. 4	56
FEC Exhibit No. 5	64
FEC Exhibit No. 6	68
FEC Exhibit No. 7	69
FEC Exhibit No. 8	79
FEC Exhibit No. 9	110
FEC Exhibit Nos. 10 and 11	113
FEC Exhibit No. 12	117
FEC Exhibit No. 13	118

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William I. Greener, III

a witness, was called for examination by counsel for the Federal Election Commiccion, and, after having been first duly sworn by the Notary, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE FEC

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q State your name, please, for the record?

A William I. Greener, III.

Q And your business address?

A 310 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

Q And your position?

A Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations.

Q Of?

A The Republican National Committee.

Q Have you ever been deposed before?

A Never.

Q I am going to ask you a series of questions. If at any time you do not understand a question I ask, tell me that you do not understand it, and I will either repeat the question or try to rephrase the question so that you understand it. If you fail to tell me that you do not understand a question, I will assume that you understand it.

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Is that clear?

A Yes.

Q Are you represented by counsel here today?

A Yes, I am.

Q Do you wish to state counsel's name for the record?

A E. Mark Braden.

MR. BRADEN: You haven't been deposed before?

THE WITNESS: Ever, in my entire life.

MR. BRADEN: A virgin here.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Is he representing you personally?

MR. BRADEN: I am representing him both personally, and I am also representing the Republican National Committee.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you consulted with anybody in preparation for your testimony today?

A Yes.

Q Who was that?

A Counsel.

Q Have you consulted with anybody else?

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A No, I've not consulted with anyone else.

Q Have you discussed this, your appearance at the deposition, with anybody else?

A My wife; I mean, the Chief of Staff of the RNC, who knew I was being deposed. I have not discussed the fact that I'm coming here and what it is that it's about with anyone.

Q Who is the Chief of Staff of the RNC?

A Robin Carle.

Q What was the nature of your discussions with Robin Carle?

A Just making sure, yesterday after she was going home, saying that, and I said, "Don't forget tomorrow I won't be at senior staff, I'm being deposed."

Q How long have you been --

A Let me just say. I'm just trying to think. I have, I had breakfast with Bob Teeter over the course of, when we knew we were going to be deposed and when we have been deposed and we knew we were going to be deposed. But the discussion of what would be said, et cetera, was not said there. So people that knew of this knew that I would be deposed.

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Q But you did not discuss --

A No.

Q -- the subject?

A No. The mention of it occurred, but the discussion of it didn't, I guess, is the accurate way to say it. How's that?

Q That's fine. How long have you been the Deputy Director of Political Operations at the Republican National Committee?

A Deputy Chief of Staff?

Q Chief of Staff?

A Since April of 1985.

Q What were you before April of 1985?

A Director of Communications.

Q What do you do in your present position at the Republican National Committee?

A I am responsible for the supervision of the Political Division and the Communications Division.

Q In other words, your present job subsumes part of your former job?

A That's correct.

Q What did you do in the former job, anything

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different or just that it is now contained within the present job?

A The two principal operating divisions of the Republican National Committee, the vote-getting arms, if you will, are Communications and Political, and now I'm responsible for both divisions. There is a Communication Director who reports to me, and there isn't a political director, per se. I handle, hands-on, the major managers of the Political Division. As Director of Communications, I had responsibility only for the Communications Division.

Q As Director of Communications, did you play a role in the Republican National Committee's contacts in coordination with those doing polls for the Republican National Committee?

A Only peripherally, as it referred to communications.

Q Since April of 1985, when you assumed the new title, do you play a role in the Committee's contacts and coordination with those making polls?

A Yes. Yes.

Q What does that entail?

A Our principal polster is Decision Making

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Information, and I work with Decision Making Information in formulation of the contract, the monitoring of the contract, the analysis of the data on a monthly basis. In addition to that, we do statewide polls with Decision Making Information and other polling firms, and I very often look at the instruments, look at the commitment of dollars that we are going to expend with regard to a poll, et cetera.

We do about -- in 1986, we have two six-month contracts, for instance, with Decision Making Information, and my best recollection is about $1.3 million. It includes, like, 22 statewide surveys and 12 monthly monitors, inclusive of so many questions per monitor, which varies, depending on each quarter. They get a little bit bigger. Each quarter has a survey with a bigger instrument, more questions on it, et cetera. So that sort of activity.

Q Did you perform a similar function with Market Opinion Research Company last year?

A Not precisely, no.

Q Did you perform that function on the poll that is the subject of this matter?

A I just described a lot of functions.

Q Right. Were you involved with the contract to

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have the poll done by Market Opinion Research?

A Yes.

Q And how were you involved?

A I was made aware of the fact that Market Opinion Research would be doing a poll on behalf of the Republican National Committee and the logistical aspect of it, I should work to get that done, and I held discussions with Bob Teeter to see that that was accomplished.

Q What I'm trying to get at was, in performing those functions, was that similar to the --

A There never was a -- Go ahead, I'm sorry.

Q Was that similar to the kinds of things you did for Decision --

A Making Information? DMI.

Q DMI?

A Not quite, because the arrangement with Decision Making Information is a yearly contract inclusive of a multitude of activities. The poll that you are discussing with Market Opinion Research was a single shot, if that makes sense.

Q Did the RNC do any other polls with Market Opinion Research?

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A Statewide polls, yes, sure.

Q The questions to come will refer to the poll conducted by Market Opinion Research from September 17th through the 25th for the Republican National Committee, which has been the subject of this matter unless my question specifically indicates otherwise.

A Okay.

Q When was this poll first discussed by any persons at the RNC?

A I don't know, first hand.

Q What have you been told about that, to your knowledge?

A I was told in the March time frame when it had been decided I was going to become Deputy Chief of Staff that, in fact, a national survey using Market Opinion Research was going to be done. I was told that came about as the result of a discussion between the Vice President and the Chairman, Chairman Fahrenkopf.

Q This is March of 1985?

A Yes.

Q What were you told about the discussion between the Chairman and Vice President Bush?

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A Simply that the Chairman had come to believe that or come to recognize that there had been a considerable amount of criticism over the fact that we only used Decision Making Information for our national polls and we wanted to do somewhat better about involving other pollsters in our national surveys. We were going to use Market Opinion Research. The Chairman informed the Vice President of that, and from there, events ensued.

Q Did the Chairman tell you about any conversations he had had with Bob Teeter?

A I never had a conversation with Frank Fahrenkopf about this particular poll until, until it became a public matter that the poll existed. I never discussed it with him at all. I want to say Tuesday after Thanksgiving, which would have been the 3rd.

Q Of December?

A 3rd of December, yes, was the first time that I had ever had any discussion with Chairman Fahrenkopf about the poll, its existence or anything else relating to it.

Q So you knew nothing about the Chairman's intention to call the Vice President and discuss a poll at the time that it occurred?

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A I only had second-hand knowledge. What I was told: There is a poll that is going to be done. Here is who is going to do the poll. You handle the mechanics with regard to it.

Q When you found out, and this was in March of 1985?

A Yes.

Q Did you find out anything about the mechanics of the poll as to, for instance, how it was to be conducted? Who was to receive an analysis of the poll?

A No, not at that point, I did not. I was told that Market Opinion Research was going to do the poll and that the discussions would principally on the matter be between Bill Phillips, who was Chief of Staff of the Republican National Committee at that point, and Bob Teeter. I was, in effect, the bookkeeper, the accountant on this particular matter at that point in the process.

Q Were you told that the Vice President would be involved in discussions at that time?

A No.

Q Were you told that Craig Fuller would be involved in discussions at that time?

A No.

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Q Were you told that Lee Atwater would be involved in discussions at that time?

A No, I was not told that.

Q How did you find that out?

A In the early summer, late spring-early summer, I was informed that the poll had been postponed. It was not going to be fielded for a period of time, and the notion was there had been some terrorist activity; and secondly, they wanted to have information pertaining to the future as opposed to -- we had already done a post-election survey after the 1984 election with Decision Making Information. We didn't need to generate one right on the heels in depth. We wanted to examine our coalition, what constituted our coalition; and secondly, what were the major issues confronting that coalition.

That was what we were looking at, and we had some data on it, and in terms of going into great depth, there was a notion, hey, let's wait a little bit; and secondly, there had been some terrorist activity, which also came up a little later in the summer, that the terrorist activity, hey, wait a minute, we don't want to so skew the data based on current, hot events that we don't get some feel for attitudinal sets.

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Polls tend to be snapshots, and that's, if you talk to most pollsters and ask them to define what a poll is, they'll say to you: A poll is a snapshot of voter attitudes at a given point in time.

Let me have that just a second. What we wanted to do --

Q I note, for the record, that the witness is referring to?

A This is, there are two of these. This is the analysis report.

Q Which analysis is that?

A That is December 1985 analysis. This is the analysis.

This is marked P85040 12/85, U. S. National Study Analysis Report, which I'm certain you have a copy of.

MR. BRADEN: A copy was provided to you.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Could you state the date at the bottom right-hand corner?

A December 1985.

Q Thank you.

A What we wanted to do was get some sort of a feel

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for what was going on, as I said, among our people and their people. And we did not want to have any overarching event skew the data, so that the postponing of it in the spring and then early summer time frame lagged over what's called the field date of the poll.

Q What do you mean by those terms? You have used the term "our coalition" and "our people" and "their people". What do you mean?

A Our coalition, those people who identify themselves as Republican or are gettable as Republican. Who are those people? What are their ages? What are the regions from whence they emanate and that sort of information.

Q And "their people" need meaning the Democrats?

A Right, cowboys, indians, good guys, bad guys.

Q After March, when was the next time you heard a reference to this poll, after March of 1985?

A That's what I was saying. In the late spring, in the spring time frame I was told: Hey, look, it has been postponed, we want to put it back.

Then in early summer, I was told, and this was in early summer of '85 was when the plane was taken and all this other stuff: Hey, look, let's hold off just a little bit

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longer. And I was, I believe I was told that by Bob Teeter, but it's entirely possible I was told that by Bill Phillips, that the fielding of the poll had been postponed.

Q Did Mr. Phillips ever give you a summary of what the poll was supposed to do such as measuring voter attitudes toward major political figures?

A No.

Q I'm a little unclear. I want to clarify this. When you say late spring and early summer, is that one conversation?

A Two.

Q Two conversations?

A Right.

Q And the first one was with?

A You have got a total of three conversations we have discussed so far. March, then in the springish time frame.

Q Who was that with?

A I believe it was with Bob Teeter, but it could have been with Bill Phillips; and then also in the summer time frame, originally, we were going to postpone it. "Gee, we don't want to be too close to the heels of what we already

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know." Then the terrorist activity occurred, and it was put back a little bit further, and those conversations could have been closer together than that. That's my best recollection.

Q Did you say who the third conversation was with?

A Either Bob Teeter or Bill Phillips. It was just one of those -- it was a very casual sort of a discussion with whomever I held it. It's not the kind of thing --

Q Was it by phone or face to face?

A If it was with Bill Phillips, it could have been either. My assumption is if it was with Bob Teeter, it was by phone, although we do see each other on a periodic basis.

Q Had you heard of other conversations that other people were having with respect to the poll?

A Not at that point.

Q When was the next contact that you heard of or the next discussions that you heard of?

A As we got into the middle of the summer, I was informed that my best recollection is Lee Atwater called and said would it be possible for us to put some questions on the poll. And I said, "I don't think there's anything wrong with that."

Q What do you mean by "us"?

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A It was not defined, just us. "We would like to put some questions on the poll." I didn't ask then who, what that meant or anything else. My assumption was it was the interests of the Vice President.

And I said, "I don't think there will be any problem with that. I'll get back to you." I briefly mentioned it to Bill Phillips; that was fine. In my mind, there was a clear understanding when I phoned Lee back that those were their questions. We wouldn't see, we wouldn't see them, we wouldn't get the results from them, and we weren't being asked to pay for them, and it was a standard piggy-back sort of an arrangement, which we do with a lot of people.

We have, we field, as I said earlier, numerous polls each year, and when we do a poll, for instance, in the State of South Carolina, it's common as opposed to uncommon that Caroll Campbell and Tommy Hartness, the Republican candidate for Senator -- I mean for Governor and Lieutenant Governor would put questions on that poll. It's common that Henry McMaster, our candidate for the United States Senate, would put questions on it, and that is an ordinary sort of a practice.

Q In your discussions with Mr. Atwater, was it

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discussed who would pay for the questions that Mr. Atwater wished to have inserted?

A My best recollection is it was clearly understood. I can't sit here in front of you today and say that I specifically said, "Now, those are absolutely your questions to buy and pay for." My understanding was clearly that they were their questions that they were asking to be put on the poll; they were going to work to get them put on the poll and to pay for them. To me, there was an express understanding that those were their questions, not our questions.

Q In this conversation, you stated that Mr. Atwater said, "Would it be possible for us to have questions inserted." Did Mr. Atwater mention Mr. Fuller?

A No is the answer to that question. He didn't mention anybody.

Q He did not mention the Vice President?

A Just "us".

Q Who is was Mr. Atwater working for at the time?

A You would have to check the records. My, I believe that he was a, at that point, was a volunteer associated with the Fund, but I'm not positive. I mean, the records would indicate that. Clearly, he had an association

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with those interests.

Q With the Fund for America's Future?

A Right.

Q Did you have any idea what "us" meant at the time? What did you think that meant?

A I thought that it meant the interests of the Vice President. I was in discussions with Bob Teeter and Lee Atwater, who were generally viewed as the principal political confidants, at least at my level -- I'm sure there's people above and beside -- at my level for the political interests of the Vice President, however broadly or narrowly those interests were defined.

Q Did you think that those interests included the 1988 election?

A I didn't -- I didn't think anything. I mean, it's not that I thought that they were or that I thought that they weren't. I didn't ask, and what was specifically to be included in those questions was never broached, ever.

Q Did you think us included Fund for America's Future, then, which purported to be for 1986?

A I didn't, I didn't make any conclusion. I just didn't.

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Q We have covered a number of contacts at this time. I want to show you a document.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 1 to the court reporter. It is entitled memorandum, Republican National Committee, dated March 15, 1985, and I am showing it to witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 1 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Greener, can you identify this document?

A I can tell you what it looks to be. It looks to be a memorandum from Bill Phillips, I'm sorry, to Frank Fahrenkopf that says, "The Teeter project is on schedule. It will probably be done mid-April, depending on other projects that may in the the field at that time. The effort will be done as an addendum on another project."

Q Do you know what this refers to?

A No. It's the first time I've ever seen it.

Q Whose handwriting is this below the printed words? Do you know whose handwriting that is?

A No. In fact, that's interesting that you ask,

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because it was just what I was looking at. I was saying, "I wonder who wrote that."

I don't know, is the answer.

Q Could this have referred to the poll under discussion right now?

MR. BRADEN: I don't think he is going to answer that question. I am pretty generous, but that was a little bit too much.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q We were discussing before the introduction of that document, Exhibit Number 1, your conversations in the summer with either Mr. Phillips or Mr. Teeter. We are not certain about the discussion in the early summer; is that correct?

A Spring-summer, yes.

Q How much longer was Mr. Phillips working for the RNC? Was he still with the --

A Until December 1st.

Q Excuse me?

A Until December 1st, 1985, is my best recollection, but again, the records, that's easily checkable.

Q Where did he go after that?

A Fund for America's Future. Isn't that the name of

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it?

Q What was his reason for leaving the Republican National Committee, if you know?

A I want to talk to him for a minute.

(Discussion held off the record.)

THE WITNESS: He and I are friends. I had lots of discussions with him. I can assure you that it had absolutely nothing to do with anything related to the discussion that we are having this morning, nothing.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Related to the poll, you mean? In other words, nothing related to the poll?

A Right, it had nothing to do with it.

Q Or the circumstances surrounding it?

A Nothing, absolutely nothing.

Q Was Mr. Phillips usually involved in the process of negotiating of polls for the RNC, or was this unusual for him to be involved in this process?

A Mr. Phillips had been engaged in the negotiations of the contracts with the pollsters, the national stuff, since I was there, and, in fact, was grateful, at least with regard to the Decision Making Information contract, that I

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took on an increased interest in it, et cetera. But the basic negotiations on DMI contract, which is our principal contract, he conducted first-hand in 1985 with Vince Breglio and Bill Lacy with the political people.

Q After the conversation with Mr. Atwater in mid-summer in which he asked you about the insertion of --

A Inclusion.

Q -- the inclusion of questions, what was the next discussion or conversation that you know of about the poll?

A On or about August the 15th, Bob Teeter phoned to say that the poll was ready and they were ready to go. And I said fine.

Q What did he mean, "The poll is ready"?

A The design, the sample; they were ready to poll a representative sample of the American public, et cetera.

Q Did he tell you that the poll, that the questionnaire was drafted in final?

A No. He just said, "The poll is ready to go."

Q Between the time of your conversation with Mr. Atwater and this conversation on or about August 15th with Mr. Teeter, did you find out if those questions that were alluded to by Mr. Atwater had, fact, been inserted into

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the poll?

A No.

Q Did Mr. Teeter make any reference to those questions?

A No, no. There was never a discussion of any sort that made mention of specific questions on or not on that poll that included me. I mean, there may have been. I assume somebody talked about it, but it was not inclusive of me.

Q When did you first find out that the questions that Mr. Atwater alluded to were inserted into the poll?

A On that Tuesday, December 3rd, I believe, when I got a phone call from the new chief of staff, Robin Carle, who told me that the Chairman had been approached by Senator Dole on this particular matter.

Q And also, we had a press release at that exact same time from a reporter from the Washington Post by the name of Tom Edsalo.

Q Before the poll was taken, did anyone from the RNC review a copy of a draft questionnaire?

A Not to my knowledge. I certainly did not.

Q Did anyone from the RNC review a copy of the final

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questionnaire before it went out?

A Not to my knowledge, and I certainly didn't.

Q Is it the usual procedure for someone from the Republican National Committee to review either a draft questionnaire or a final questionnaire before it goes out?

A It depends on the nature of the poll. Our statewide polls, we tend to look at those and see the instrument. On the national polls that we have done, at least in the time that I have been at the Republican National Committee, I never have seen -- we call them instruments -- I've never seen an instrument before it was fielded. Sometimes with Decision Making Information, when we want specific questions of interest to us on the poll, we will either have dictated back to us or sent over by a courier those particular questions, but in terms of the entire poll, the answer is no.

But more often than not, even in this little narrow band that I am alluding to about questions of interest to us, what tends to happen to us is I'll say something to Dick Worthland or a member of his staff, if it was a poll with Bob Teeter, which didn't happen in this case, but with Bob Teeter or one of his staff, "Look, lots of people are

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going around the country telling us what we ought to be talking about, what we ought to be arguing about, is if you don't elect Lois to the United States Senate, the Democrats are going to take over the Senate, and look at all the bad things that are going to happen to Ronald Reagan and the Republicans. Give me some information that lets me know, one, if they care about that; and two, if they care about which way it cuts," and then I rely upon them to write the questions, and that's generally the way it's done.

Q So you felt that this poll didn't fit into that sort of category that would be reviewed?

A Wait a minute. What I'm saying is, I have never reviewed and I don't know of anybody else reviewing a national voter attitude survey prior to the fielding of the survey.

I have never done it, and I don't know of anybody else that ever did it, and the only instance that I can think of anybody doing something akin to that would be on sort of the rifle shot that you put into the poll.

We get x number of questions each month on the Decision Making Information monitors, and what I'll, as I said, "Tell me if this matter of control of the Senate

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amounts to a concern to the American public, and if it is a concern, how they feel about it. Because we have got a lot of people going around talking about that. I want to know something more about it, something substantive."

Q Before the poll went out, do you know of any conversation that Craig Fuller had with Mr. Teeter as far as questions to be included in the poll?

A I have no first-hand knowledge. The only understanding I have of it at all is by virtue of the affidavits. I mean, I know by reading the affidavit that that, that people signed a piece of paper saying that discussion took place. No one ever mentioned it to me, before or after, to tell you the truth.

Q The affidavits filed pursuant to this investigation?

A Yes.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit Number 2. It is a memorandum for Mary Lukens from Kathy Smith, and I am handing a copy to witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 2 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the

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court copy of this deposition.)

(Witness perusing document.)

THE WITNESS: Okay.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you ever seen any part of this document or this document before at all?

A No. No, not unless what is on the draft questionnaire found itself into -- that's the second book that lists, has the questions. If there's a one-to-one match, the answer is yes, but by coincidence and not --

Q Do you mean into the U. S. National Filing from Mr. Teeter?

A Right. As a specific example, I have got this: "Do you think things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

You have got that book, and I would predict for you that that question is on the information that I received. But I have never seen this document before.

Q When you received the copy of the U. S. statute?

A Right. In the poll. If there are questions in here that found their way into my poll, the answer is yes,

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I've seen them, but not knowing that there was ever another document.

Q When did you receive the poll?

A The first week in January. I believe it was January, right after Christmas. I want to say January 3rd. Could it be that? January 3rd, somewhere between the 3rd and the 10th.

Q Does December 19th sound familiar at all?

A That may be when they were ready to do it, but the RNC closes for Christmas. I was aware that they were ready to do it, and I said, "Hey, let's wait."

Q Before I ask this question, let me just note that on page 1 of the draft questionnaire, there is a date of September 6th?

A Mine says September 10th.

Q The upper left-hand corner says September 6th. Were you aware that between the time of September 6, 1985 and the time the poll commenced, were you aware at that time that Mr. Fuller was reviewing the poll and submitting suggestions?

A No. Again, at that point, no is the answer.

Q On that same page, this is page 2 of the document, page 1 of the draft questionnaire, the handwriting in the

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upper right-hand corner, do you know who wrote that writing?

A No. I can't even read it.

Can I go back for just one second?

Q Sure.

A That spring-summer time frame, and looking at this, the material you put before me, I was aware of the fact that questions pertaining to terrorism and trade were -- what is a better word -- more of what the poll was to be about than might have been the case before the taking over the airplane and the hot debate on trade quotas and stuff. I did have a vague awareness that, hey, the Vice President has an interest in government over these particular areas; questions pertaining to trade and terrorism are going to be on the poll, so I had that, but again, it was sort of the same sort of thing that occurs often.

As I said, when there's something of interest to the administration like agriculture, we put more questions of that particular nature, but I didn't want to have the record appear to be less than accurate.

Q When was it decided or determined that questions on trade and terrorism should be included in this poll?

A I don't know. I don't know.

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Q Do you know when there were discussions about this?

A It could be as simple as it always was going to be that way, and these issues became heightened, and so I became aware that more was going to be asked about it. I just don't know.

Q Did you hear of any reason why those questions would be put in the poll? Did you hear that that might --

A Not until much later.

Q Much later meaning when?

A December.

Q December 3rd?

A In that time frame, yes, 3, 4, 5, in that time frame.

Q Were you aware of any discussions that Mr. Atwater may have had with Bob Teeter about a draft questionnaire or about questions, other than the conversations you mentioned in August?

A No.

Q Are you aware of anyone stating before September 17th, when the poll commenced, that there may be a problem with including questions referring to or pertaining to the

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Vice President?

A Could you ask that question again?

Q Okay. Perhaps if I say prior to September 17th --

A No.

Q -- were you aware of anyone stating that there may be a problem with including questions pertaining to the Vice President?

A No.

Q Did you hear perhaps Mr. Atwater saying that to Mr. Phillips?

A Only by virtue of the affidavit process.

Q That is the first time you found out about that?

A That's correct.

We keep this, too?

Q Yes.

MR. LEVIN: I am now handing the reporter a document to be marked FEC Exhibit Number 3. It is an agreement from Market Opinion Research, and I am handing a copy to witness and counsel.

Take time to look it over, if you wish.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 3 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the

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court copy of this deposition.)

THE WITNESS: I've seen this one. You got this from us. I've seen it.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q So you can identify this document? What is this document?

A Well, I'm assuming that even though the zeroxing is bad, it is what we provided to you, and if it is, the answer is yes, I can identify it.

Q And what is this document?

A It is a agreement sent to the Republican National Committee from Market Opinion Research dated September the 9th, 1985.

Q I am going to refer you to Part C, and I know you have answered this question before, but now we have a specific reference to a date. Was there any oral or written approval by the RNC of the questionnaire or the population sample as is stated, as the words are in the agreement?

A Any written or oral agreement about the --

Q In other words, it says that, "Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days

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after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1986, whichever date is later."

A It wasn't done that way.

Q Why wasn't it done that way, even though it was a contractual term?

A We followed ordinary and usual practice with regard. We were told that the survey was ready to be fielded, and we said fine.

Q This is nothing more than boilerplate language? Is that correct?

MR. BRADEN: That's a characteristic.

THE WITNESS: Yes, that's a characteristic with which I wouldn't disagree. The answer is if we pulled out 50 contracts and we looked at them, it's all there, and I believe it might be. The answer is yes.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Referring to number 2 on the contract, was there any negotiation of the price prior to this contract being drafted?

A No. We were told, I was told that the poll was ready to go and it was going to be $70,000, and I said fine.

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Q Were you told this before this contract came? Did Mr. Teeter tell you in a phone conversation?

A I believe, I believe so, that that is what I've heard.

MR. BRADEN: Just a second. It is a proposed contract. Since it is not executed, it is certainly not a contract. It is a proposed contract.

THE WITNESS: Yes. That's right. We never have signed a contract with Market Opinion Research. In fact --

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q This contract was never signed?

A That's correct. And in fact, can I say that, in fact, we don't sign contracts from vendors. We write contracts from the Republican National Committee that vendors sign, and we would not sign this contract as a general practice.

Q So did you write a contract with reference to this poll?

A I did not. We did not.

Q No one at the Republican National Committee did?

A No.

Q Why wasn't such a contract written?

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A In my view, there was no need for one.

Q What was the usual procedure of the RNC with Market Opinion Research on state polls? Was there a contract?

A In some instances -- I would not be able to say with certainty without taking the records. My best recollection is that on some occasions there were, and on many other occasions, there were not. Again, I would have to check the records to make that.

Q On those occasions that there were, were these contracts drafted by MOR or were they drafted by the Republican National Committee?

A I don't know without checking the records.

Q Was there any discussion of the due date that is on the number 2 here, October 9th, 1985?

A No. No discussion.

Q Was there any discussion that you know of about the delivery of a preliminary report by October 9th by Market Opinion Research between RNC and Market Opinion Research?

A No, no. Not to my knowledge.

Q What is meant by a preliminary report, do you know?

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A I don't know for certain.

Q What do you surmise it means? You say "for certain".

A What is known in the business as "flash numbers". For instance, when we do our monthly polling with Decision Making Information, very often we'll get not even an analysis, but flash numbers: Reagan job approval, right track, wrong track; generic party identification; generic Congressional vote; generic state legislative vote, and sometimes, the specific questions that we asked to be put on, and that's, I mean, that's preliminary report generally means flash. It could have been meant something entirely different. It very well could have meant something entirely different; I don't know.

Q When Mr. Teeter mentioned the $70,000 price, was there any discussion as to what other parties would be paying for the poll?

A No.

Q So the assumption was that this was a poll the entirety of which was to be paid for by the Republican National Committee at the price of $70,000?

A No.

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A $70,000, the Republica eive a copy of a poll inclusive of a survey of general voter attitudes with a special attention to our coalition and matters pertaining to terrorism and trade. Whether there were or were not other questions on the poll from other entities for which other entities were going to pay other than the brief discussions which I have already mentioned, there was absolutely no discussion.

Q When there is no contract, what is the usual procedure for RNC payment for a poll? Do they pay by, is there a schedule? How is that arranged?

A It varies greatly.

Q There is no usual procedure?

A No, there's not. I don't want to be coy. It's not usual. Sometimes we pay; a lot of times it depends on the pollster. If the pollster is real big, we sometimes get invoiced at the end of it when we get our document. "Here is your survey. Here is your bill."

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Q What was the assumption?

A That's not accurate.

Q Pardon me?

A The assumption was that for $70,000, the Republican National Committee would receive a copy of a poll inclusive of a survey of general voter attitudes with a special attention to our coalition and matters pertaining to terrorism and trade. Whether there were or were not other questions on the poll from other entities for which other entities were going to pay other than the brief discussions which I have already mentioned, there was absolutely no discussion.

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For some of the other pollsters where the cost, the biggest cost in a survey is drawing the sample and then the time of the senior person analyzing it. Computer time doesn't take any time, et cetera, et cetera. But drawing the sample and actually contacting people is what takes time.

For some smaller pollsters, we sometimes pay 50 percent up front and 50 percent later. In a couple of cases that I can remember, we have paid 100 percent up front. We needed it done quickly. We knew we were asking for something special in a given Congressional race or a given statewide, and I would trigger the entire amount up front.

So there is no -- there is no single standard way of doing it, but there's only so many different ways to do it. I didn't want to be evasive.

Q For a poll of this sort, what is the usual way? In other words, unless I assume incorrectly, you didn't need that quick kind of --

A Going back to the original, among the original motivations as conveyed to me for doing the poll was that we had done polls of this nature, national voter attitude polls exclusively with Decision Making information, so the usual arrangement pertains to Decision Making Information, with

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whom we have a monthly -- I mean, we have a yearly contract, and this particular year, we wrote two six-month contracts, and in that instance, we just get invoiced at the end of the month for the work done.

It will say, monthly monitor, $67,352; statewides, Pennsylvania and Nevada, $14,000 each; data bank analysis, $3,333, et cetera, et cetera, and we will get invoiced afterwards, and we hope that it's largely consistent, at least with the contract.

Q So what did the arrangement end up being in this particular one? Let me ask you, what was the arrangement to be? What was your understanding of what the arrangement was to be?

A My understanding was that the Republican National Committee was working with Market Opinion Research for a survey of national voter attitudes with special emphasis on how our coalition pieced together and additionally, there was the matters of terrorism and trade.

Q In other words, but what was, for instance, the payment arrangement?

A We would pay when we got the poll was basically the way I was looking at it, and I was keeping the books for

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us.

I was going to wait as late for the poll as I possibly could because you are in the fourth quarter at the RNC. We budget year-to-year, so the longer I went without paying, the happier I was going to be, and I mean, I think that was my best recollection, is I did say, "Hey, the longer I go without paying, the happier I would be."

Q What did Mr. Teeter say with that?

A We didn't have any problem with that. We have had a relationship of long standing is my best recollection, but it is entirely possible -- I just want the record to note this -- that that conversation could have been with my own special assistant. I said, "Hey, look, let's not rush into paying anything."

Q What date, approximately, are we talking about?

A This time frame of receiving this.

Q In early September?

A Yes.

Q Were you sent bills or invoices from Market Opinion Research?

A Two of which I'm aware which I believe we provided to you, is the only two of which I'm aware.

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Q Those were at the end of the month?

A Whatever the dates are on the invoice. I think one of them was attached to this contract, if I'm not mistaken, or draft contract, I guess is the way I can refer to it, but you have got them.

Q From the information we have, we know that the poll taking was finished on September 25th; is that your understanding?

A Yes. I mean, it's my understanding.

Q After September 25th and before and up to the date of November 13th, which is when the affidavits seem to indicate that the analysis was presented to Mr. Atwater?

A I'm sorry. Could you say that again?

Q After September 25th and before November 13th, which the affidavit seemed to indicate was when that analysis was presented to Mr. Atwater and Mr. Fuller and the Vice President, did anyone at the RNC discuss with Mr. Teeter the data or results or any kind of analysis that was gathered or made? When I say made, I am referring to analysis.

(Discussion held off the record.)

THE WITNESS: I believe the evening was October 24th, but in that time frame, I had dinner with Bob Teeter

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and Lee Atwater, and at that dinner, a casual mention was made that the survey was done and that it looked like there was some interesting information in it, and they were going to do what's known as secondary analysis, these perceptual maps that are contained in the copy of the information that you have been provided.

And so it was going to be awhile, it was going to take longer than ordinary to provide information to us. That was the only mention of the survey having been completed or any information contained in it that included me.

To the best of my knowledge, nobody else at the Republican National Committee had any discussions about it.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Not Mr. Phillips?

A To the best of my knowledge.

Q And not Mr. Fahrenkopf?

A Not to best of my knowledge.

Q When Mr. Teeter referred to these perceptual maps and the consequent delay in the provision of the analysis, was he addressing that with respect to the RNC, or was he also addressing that with respect to the analysis that would be given to Mr. Atwater?

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A I don't know. It was a casual conversation, casual dinner conversation where Bob simply mentioned the survey, "The survey is complete." I don't know that he used those exact words, but that obviously is what was conveyed, "The survey is complete. There is some interesting information in it. We are going to do secondary analysis inclusive of perceptual mapping. It is going to take awhile before you get it."

He was talking to me when he said that, to the best of my recollection. I don't know. I just don't know.

Q Did it seem to you at that time that Mr. Atwater would also be receiving an analysis from Mr. Teeter?

A I don't know.

MR. BRADEN: That is speculative.

MR. LEVIN: I think he can answer what it may have seemed to him at that time.

THE WITNESS: I did. I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Had you heard anything either way on whether there would be an analysis other than the one to be received by the Republican National Committee?

A No. I had not heard a word.

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Q Up until this time, October 24th, then, had anyone from the RNC yet seen the questions --

A No.

Q -- of the poll?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q Still hadn't seen the questions.

When did you expect to receive the analysis?

A I didn't have a firm expectation. We were receiving a fair amount of data from Decision Making Information. I wasn't pushing anybody. I was very hopeful of getting it, and believed that I would and in the, like, late November-ish into January, early January time frame is my expectation to receive it.

Q Did you have any expectation based on this conversation that Mr. Teeter would have something done prior to that?

A No. I mean, I didn't have any expectation one way or the other.

Q Either way.

A Yes.

Q At the time of this conversation?

A Which conversation?

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Q Of October 24th.

A I want to make sure that that is the exact evening. My calendar indicates.

Q At the time of the conversation that we have tentatively referred to as being October 24th --

A That is fine. If it turns out to be October 22nd --

Q -- for whom was Mr. Atwater working?

A I don't know. I mean, I don't know if his status had changed from volunteer to chairman of the Fund for America's Future. At some point, that occurred, and I don't know what the date is. The public record --

Q Were any other names referred to in this conversation, if you recall?

A It was a very brief, a very brief, very casual mention.

Q Are you talking about a one-minute or two-minute mention?

A Less than that, closer to 30 seconds.

Q During this time, again, the time that we have set from about September 25th to November 13th, were there any contacts between persons at the RNC on the one hand and persons at Fund for America's Future or Vice President Bush's

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office on the other hand with respect to the poll?

A None to my knowledge. Certainly none from me.

Q What was the next conversation or discussion you heard with respect to the poll after that?

A The Tuesday after Thanksgiving, I believe that's December the 3rd, I was informed by the chief of staff that the Chairman had been approached by Senator Dole at the White House asking the Chairman about the existence of a poll conducted by the RNC that was, at least in Senator Dole's mind, on behalf of or for George Bush and pertaining to 1988 in relationship to George Bush.

Q The Chairman told you about this?

A No, Robin Carle told me about it first.

Q And she was, at that time --

A Chief of staff.

Q -- Chief of Staff. What did you say in response to that?

A Off the record?

MS. LERNER: No.

THE WITNESS: I don't remember my exact words.

MR. LEVIN:

Q Do you wish to use a euphemism?

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A I don't remember my exact reaction, but I do remember everyone saying, "I don't know what anybody is talking about" and everybody agreeing that after lunch, we would get together to determine what was being discussed here.

Q And what happened then?

A I came back; the chairman and I, and I believe Robin was in the room at that time, discussed the fact that the Republican National Committee had never commissioned or authorized a poll of the nature that had been described to the Chairman by Senator Dole.

We also, by this point, had the press query from Tom Edsalo that I mentioned earlier, and we had better find out what it was, and I'm almost certain that the Chairman indicated that Senator Dole, in fact, had a copy of something that said this: That Senator Dole believed that a poll had been done by the RNC for the Vice President pertaining to 1988 and, in fact, had that material and we had better find out what that was.

I then attempted to get in contact with Bob Teeter. That proved to be difficult that day.

Q This is December 3rd?

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A That Tuesday. Eventually, that afternoon, we did get ahold of Bob Teeter. A conversation was held where we wanted to make certain that as these press queries came in, as a political mailstorm was brewing, that we had reviewed what had transpired so that we could accurately represent that to any and all who inquired about it.

My best recollection is at that point, we talked to Bob briefly and then later, a conversation which was inclusive of Bob Teeter and myself; the chairman was present; I believe Robin was; I believe Lee Atwater; I don't remember if Bill Phillips and/or Craig Fuller were part of it, but they possibly could have been.

We once again carefully went through the sequence of events, and there was firm agreement that what had transpired was early on, there was to be -- this was the first conversation I had had with Chairman Fahrenkopf -- that early on there was to be a poll done by Market Opinion Research. That poll had been discussed with the Chairman and the Vice President, and the Chairman then mentioned it to Bob Teeter. Bill Phillips had become the action officer.

As the poll had been delayed for the purpose of not getting too close to the information we were already

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generating and the election that had transpired, the matters of terrorism and trade took on an increased level of importance, and we recognized that was going to be on the poll.

In the summer months, we were asked if questions of unique interest to the interests of the Vice President could be included in the poll. I had said yes. I had checked on it in my mind. It was a clear understanding that it was an ordinary piggyback and, in fact, everybody that participated in the conversation that day concurred in it and that any representation by Market Opinion Research that somehow something different was the situation by virtue of them providing material to individuals you mentioned earlier -- I think you said November 13th -- was, in fact, a clerical error; that the Republican National Committee had not asked for it; that we were the original client on such a matter. It was understandable; that whoever cranked out of the word processor would have remained left out the Republican National Committee on that and that it was a clerical error and that when we were asked about this particular matter, we would go through and say exactly what we had said: That sequentially, national voter attitudes, terrorism and trade,

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matters of unique interest added on were not the responsibility of the Republican National Committee. How that was going to be handled or anything else was not up to the Republican National Committee, and that was that.

And we took the press queries and everybody reflected the substance of that conversation.

Q What did Mr. Teeter say when an explanation of the inclusion of questions pertaining to the Vice President in 1988 -- I want to note for the record that the witness is referring to a document.

A What he said was consistent with what he said -- what he said in our conversation was entirely consistent with what he said to reporters who inquired about it, was that neither the Party nor the Fund had asked specifically for the questions that were causing the controversy and that I'm quoting from a December 5th New York Times, story, "'I deserve and am going to take the blame for it,' said Mr. Teeter, referring to the way the project was handled. He insisted that piggy-backing was not an uncommon polling practice."

So what was said in that conversation was entirely consistent with what was said after that conversation.

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Q So what he said in the newspaper was what he said in this conversation that you referred to involving these people?

A That's absolutely correct.

Q What did Mr. Atwater say during this conversation?

A I'm trying to remember. My best recollection was that he said he had talked to us about getting those questions on the poll and talked to me, and I had said, "Yes, that's my best recollection."

Q If you recall, did Mr. Atwater say that these were questions that he wanted put in the poll, the questions referring to the Vice President in 1988?

A No, I don't recall him saying that at all.

Q Did Mr. Atwater believe that Mr. Teeter had a mistaken impression of his requests for questions? In other words --

A "Mistaken impression" was not the language used. I think it was more to, as I have mentioned earlier, entrusting the pollster to draw up specific questions consistent with the overall request for information.

Q Did Mr. Atwater say what his words had been to Mr. Teeter at the time?

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A My best recollection is that Mr. Atwater said, "I didn't see the poll before it went in the field, either." That's my best recollection.

Q Do you know when Mr. Atwater saw the poll?

A No, I do not.

Q Was Mr. Fuller at this meeting?

A What meeting?

Q At the meeting that you have discussed?

A That was a conference call telephone call. There was no formal meeting held. Mr. Teeter was in Michigan at the time. It was a telephone conversation on December the 3rd. I don't recall. I don't recall. He could have been, and he could not have been.

Q Was anyone there speaking for the Vice President, in other words, in this sequence of meetings or conversations --

A Let me correct that, conversations.

Q -- in the sequence of conversations, no one represented themselves as speaking for the Vice President?

Q Was the Vice President involved himself in any of these conversations?

A I have absolutely no indication that that was the case.

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Q Was this the first time, then, that you saw the contents of the poll or that anyone saw the contents of the poll, this December 3rd --

A I didn't see anything on December 3rd except the very front page of that Market forward. In fact, that handwriting, I can identify. That is my handwriting.

Q Why don't I introduce the document.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit Number 4. It appears to be a forward to the survey that we are discussing.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 4 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

MR. LEVIN: There is no date on it. I am handing a copy to witness and counsel.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Greener, can you identify this document?

A Yes.

Q What is it?

A It purports to be the forward to a survey that was taken by Market Opinion Research. This is the only page of that survey that I saw then or subsequent to that, and I

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wanted to -- that's my handwriting that says "received, 12/3, this page only." I wanted it clearly noted that that's all that I had gotten, and I had gotten that. At this point, a survey was being -- was in a number of people's hands, and they were saying, "Here is the RNC poll done for the Vice President," and I don't remember, I don't remember where this came from. It could have been from a reporter. It could have been from anybody.

Q This writing, the "received 12/3", when did you write that in?

A That day.

Q That day?

A As I was --

Q Had you been aware prior to the receipt of this forward that persons had already been presented with an analysis of the poll?

A No. Only -- go ahead. I'm sorry.

Q Go ahead. I want you to finish. "Only -- "

A All I knew was, I knew that there was a document going around that had our name on it that was in the hands -- now, by now we are talking about late afternoon on the 3rd -- of more than just one reporter, and I did not know then who

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had seen it and who had not seen it.

Q When did you discover that there had been a meeting on November 13th or thereabouts involving Mr. Teeter Mr. Atwater, Mr. Fuller and the Vice President in which an analysis was presented?

A Today. I mean, I believed that Mr. Teeter had presented his findings. I did not know to whom he had done it, and I didn't have any awareness of what the date of that was.

Q When did you become aware that an analysis had been presented by Mr. Teeter prior to the analysis presented to you?

A December 3rd.

Q At that point, you didn't know to whom?

A Until this day, I didn't know to whom.

Q Until this day. Did you have any idea, other than knowledge, did you have any idea to whom it could have been presented? Had anybody mentioned any names to you?

A No.

Q Is there anything else that happened on December 3rd that you wish to -- I mean, what happened next on December 3rd or December 4th?

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A The reporters' phone calls came. We handled the phone calls consistent with the reports that are in the newspaper accounts that we have transpired. We made clear on December 3rd to all concerned that we had not commissioned or authorized a survey pertaining to anything about 1988; that we weren't going to pay for anything of that nature; and that we certainly wanted, in a reasonably quick time frame, our information, because it was obvious that this was a political mailstorm, as I said, and we wanted to be able to point with pride and satisfaction to the information we had, in fact, paid to generate.

Q When did anyone from the RNC first state that it would pay only for certain questions?

A I don't know when anyone from the RNC first stated it.

Q Did, at some point, did the RNC make a decision that it did not want to pay for certain questions of that poll for the analysis?

MR. BRADEN: If I could interject, it seems that that question has been answered repeatedly by my client, and in the sense that at an earlier stage in the decision, he said that he responded to a detailed discussion with

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Mr. Atwater on that point.

That sort of general tone to the question, I think, is difficult for him to respond to. If you want to ask something more narrow.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Let's do it this way. Was there a meeting with anyone from the RNC and Mr. Teeter, a meeting or a conversation, in which there were discussions as to how payment would be made now, in other words, for what questions?

A When is "now", after December 3rd?

Q After December 3rd?

A Yes, there were. There were, I believe it was a discussion about -- not a meeting, but it could have been a meeting, where it was agreed that what had been discussed on December 3rd was consistent with the prior understandings of the National Committee and Market Opinion Research, which, simply stated, was, we had not commissioned or authorized questions pertaining to the unique political interests of the Vice President and certainly, within that category, had not commissioned or authorized any questions pertaining to 1988 and that we would pay for the questions that were consistent

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with what it was that we thought we were buying.

And Bob Teeter concurred that we had not authorized or asked for that and that we would be getting back after we had a chance to make that clear. In addition, on January the 9th, and I believe a copy of that has been provided to you, I sent a letter to Mr. Teeter to make certain that the record indicated -- the formal record indicated that we were in receipt of a bill for $70,000 and we wanted to know if the bill that we received was for the whole poll or for our portion of the poll, and we wanted to pay for the parts that were ours and did not want to pay for anything that was not consistent with what we wanted done, with what we had asked to be done.

Q Did you have any meetings with Mr. Teeter after December 3rd but before the sending of the letter you referred to?

A We had a conversation. I believe there may have been a meeting.

Q In which you discussed specific figures?

A I don't recall specific figures being discussed in that time frame.

MR. LEVIN: I am now handing the reporter --

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THE WITNESS: What is the window that you just described, after December 3rd, and before when?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Before your January 9th letter?

A Yes, okay. Yes is the answer. When he came to Washington in early January, he made mention of the fact when he was making the presentation to us that our portion of the poll would be in the $50 to $60 -- my best recollection, $50,000 to $60,000, and I said, "Fine. If that's the case, I do want to make sure the record indicates what it is that we want to pay money for." But that's almost January the 9th, in that time frame.

And then also, prior to the meeting where the poll was presented, between December 3rd and the presentation of the poll, we had a conversation without dollars or allocations being mentioned where I simply, we simply agreed that that was reality; that what had been said on December 3rd was, in fact, the continuing reality; that the RNC had not commissioned nor authorized questions of that nature, et cetera, et cetera.

Q And there had been no discussion or conversation between you and Mr. Teeter as to what specific questions

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would be allocated to the Republican National Committee?

A There was a description of the types of questions that we would pay for and a discussion of the types of questions that we would not pay for, but to the best of my recollection, he never nor I never looked at a question and said, "Is this yours or mine?"

We described the questions that were what we wanted to pay for, and we described the questions that we did not want to pay for.

Q What types of questions did you say you would not pay for?

A Those questions of unique political interest to the Vice President outside of the one or two questions that we ordinarily ask about a variety of public figures, and those are approval ratings and thermometer ratings. Those were the questions we did not have an interest in paying for.

Q I just want to catch it at the end. Did you say that the RNC would or would not pay for the approval and thermometer ratings?

A I said that the ordinary questions that we pay for, job approval, not -- job approval, favorable, unfavorable and thermometer, that we do on our monthly

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monitor with Decision Making Information, yes, those were questions appropriate for the RNC to pay for. There was a history for it; it related to a variety of things that were of interest to us.

MR. LEVIN: I am now handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 5, which it is a copy of the poll with allocation markings on the side of the questions, to the witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 5 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

MR. LEVIN: I will give you some time to look.

THE WITNESS: Where does it allocate?

MR. BRADEN: Here.

THE WITNESS: All right. No, I have never seen this document.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Greener, you have never seen this document?

A I have never seen this document. I've seen the questionnaire.

Q But you have never seen a questionnaire that included the allocations of as a reference to who would pay?

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A Not to my knowledge. Mr. Teeter and I -- my best recollection is Mr. Teeter, at some point, either with the poll in front of me, my poll -- here's what I think my best recollection is, Jonathan. He sent me a copy of what he wanted us to pay for, okay?

Now, when I say we never sat down and said, "I'll pay for this and you'll pay for that," I don't recall if, of what he sent me, I said, "Yes, that's okay, except for questions blank, blank and blank," but I very well could have said, " -- except for that."

But overwhelmingly, what he sent me that he wanted us to pay for, the questions he wanted us to pay for, I had no difficulty.

Now, I may have said, "Hey, I don't know which ones they would have been," but maybe, if this document had had, at one point, RNC and then Xed out and split somebody else, that very well could have been what happened. But my best recollection is, I never saw a whole instrument with divying up.

What I very well may have seen was those questions that he wanted us to pay for. That's my best recollection.

Q Let me then ask you. You say you might have dealt

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with specific questions. Let me ask you certain ones and see if you can recall.

A Okay.

Q Question 5, that is at the bottom of page 3?

A This is the standard job approval.

Q That was one of your one or two questions that you were referring to previously?

A Yes.

Q Questions 40 through 60?

A Is this the thermometer? Yes. That would have been, as I said, job approval and thermometer.

Q That would have been no problem for the Republican National Committee?

A No, we do this for everybody. There is hardly anyone here that I can see we haven't asked something about.

Q Question A81 and A82. It is on page 18-A.

A I never saw this question before, to my knowledge.

Q So you don't know whether the decision to pay was made by the RNC or not, this momentary statement about paying for this question was made by the RNC or not? You have never seen this?

A I have never seen that question. To my knowledge,

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I've never seen it.

Q Page 20, questions 90 to 102 or 104, actually, did you have any, state any reservations or state anything about paying for?

A I can't say with certainty that I did state any reservations on these.

Q Do you recall stating anything about them?

A No, I don't.

Q Did Mr. Teeter give you any indication as to what the Fund was willing to pay for?

A None.

Q Did he give you any indication that the Fund was willing to pay for anything?

A None. Well, I don't know. None that I recall. He could have.

Q Was there any other indication that the Fund might pay for something other than from Mr. Atwater on the December 3rd meeting?

A On the -- we had, prior to December 3rd, way back in the summer when the notion of including questions of unique political interest to the Vice President came up, it was my clear understanding that those were not our questions;

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that we would never see them; that we would never see the answers nor were we being asked to pay for them; that it was an ordinary piggy-back arrangement.

Other than that, I was unaware of any discussions pertaining to what you have just asked.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit Number 6, and I am handing it to witness and counsel, FEC Exhibit Number 6, and it is a cost analysis of the poll done by Market Opinion Research.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 6 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Greener, have you seen this document before?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q Have you looked at all of the pages in this document?

A Yes. Yes.

(Discussion held off the record.)

THE WITNESS: This looks boilerplate, "procedure for cost breakdown among multiple clients." This could easily be something that was in some training manual that we

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have got. I don't know for certain. I have never seen this. I have never seen this, certainly in relationship to the subject at hand. How's that?

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Let me refer you to pages 3 and 4. I would like you to look at pages 3 and 4.

A Okay. I have never seen this before.

Q Has Mr. Teeter ever quoted the $52,390 figure to you?

A Absolutely.

Q When did he do that?

A I believe that on, isn't it on -- do you have the letter?

Q We could introduce the letter.

A Could you? It would sure make my life easier.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing to the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 7, and I am handing FEC Exhibit 7 to witness and counsel. It is a letter dated January 9, 1986.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 7 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

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THE WITNESS: Okay. In the January, early January time frame, of the $70,000, a figure between $50,000 and $60,000 -- and there may have been precision, but I don't remember it at this point -- was quoted as what the RNC would be asked to pay at some point.

On March the 6th at 11:10 a.m., I was told -- my best recollection is I was told by counsel that we would be asked to pay $52,390 for the poll, which was 74.8 percent of the poll, and my best recollection is counsel asked, "Does that sound like the right figure? Is this fair for the information we have received?"

And I said, "Yes, that's a fair price to pay for what we have received", not in relation to -- this is what I want to urge -- not in relationship to $50,000 of $70,000 but in relationship to what we had received, was that fair market value, in effect, and the answer was yes, that was fair market value.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Up to that point, then, March 6th, 1986, had you had a chance to ascertain what questions would be paid for in a prospective settlement by the RNC?

A My clear recollection is in the January time

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frame, I was given a copy of -- and this could have been late December, early January, in that time frame -- a copy of the questions we would be asked to pay for, and that could have been immediately prior to the formal presentation of the poll or right after it or something along those lines. I can't fix that date.

(Discussion held off the record.)

THE WITNESS: I never saw any questionnaire. On December the 3rd, when this political mailstorm occurred, I had never seen anything, nothing.

No, I'm talking about after, very close to when we got our formal poll presentation, it was discussed with me, I believe it was, I had it in front of me, these are the questions that the RNC would be asked to pay for, but it was not in relationship to a total survey, but just these are what we think is fair to ask that the RNC to pay for.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q When that poll was presented, how was it presented to you, the poll analysis?

A Yes, and there's a second book which has what is known as the cross tabs.

Bob Teeter and Fred Steeper came to the Republican

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National Committee -- and we can check the date; I believe it was January 3rd or 4th, in that fame frame -- and we went through the survey, questions, then we went through the Republican and Democratic coalitions; the mood of the electorate; basic issue attitudes.

There was, I mean, this has some very compelling information in it, I might add; the terrorism; the trade and protectionism; and then perceptual mapping; and the perceptual mapping was very interesting. These are my notes.

MR. BRADEN: It is your copy.

THE WITNESS: In the seventies, two dimensions defined where people put, placed individuals in the political map, if you will. One of them, a horizontal line, pertained to the economy. A vertical line pertained to social and foreign policy issues. You might think those are strange, but they seem to congeal to determine where people were placed in the political galaxy.

These perceptual maps, among other things, and I go back to some of the specific data, indicated that the foreign policy; social issue dimension, except when you got to some very striking characters, if you will, Jerry Falwell; George Wallace; Jane Fonda and the word "liberal", had

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disappeared, and everybody was arrayed only on the economic dimension, all the way from Geraldine Ferraro to the word "conservative" itself. That was a very important finding from our vantage point.

The same sort of finding applied to party labels; to self description by people. I mean, you can see, there is no spread this way; this was real powerful information. In addition, in looking at our coalition, what we were able to determine was for the first time, 53 percent of the people who identified themselves as Republican were under the age of 40. Somebody who is 36 years old now, 35 at the time of the survey, who had been in college from 1968 to 1972, to find out that 53 percent of the people who now called themselves Republicans were below the age of 40 was a -- some sort of millennium had passed. Excuse me.

In addition, 31 percent of the people who considered themselves to be Republican were in the south, were southern individuals who were not black. All manner of information in here was presented to us, and we talked through it. I took notes on it. It was incorporated into Chairman Fahrenkopf's remarks before the Republican National Committee in late January, which was one of the -- that was

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about the principal reason I wanted to get what had been done. It meant a lot. There is also some basic attitudes; asking questions a certain way, you could get very different answers.

People talk about liberal and conservative, and liberal means wanting the government to be interventionist and conservative means that they don't. It's not that simple. Let me just read you a question. "If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need." Okay?

That is a question with which 51 percent of the American public agrees. And so on down the line. So that it became a very important working document to us.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Did Mr. Teeter indicate to you that he had done similar analyses, cross tabulations, for whoever was at this November 13th meeting?

A My best recollection was that a statement along the lines of, "Anybody that could confuse what you have got with what anybody else has got isn't looking very closely." I mean, we had, like, 600 pages, and to publicly disseminate

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information was, like, 80 pages. It was just a very different sort, different sorts of materials.

Q Did Mr. Teeter then say that he did not give a book of cross tabulations of raw data to --

A It was not mentioned.

Q It was not mentioned.

What other discussion took place with reference to the circumstances surrounding the poll, the controversy that had been raised in the press in that meeting?

A None, none, none.

Q In that meeting?

A None. The only mention was that what we were going to be asked to pay was somewhere in the neighborhood of $50,000 to $60,000. There was no mention of anything, anything else pertaining.

Q I just want to clarify something, then. Was it at that meeting that you would have had specific discussions with Mr. Teeter about the questions, remember, about the questions themselves?

A Jonathan, I can't tell you if it was then. It wasn't in that meeting. It could have been a little bit earlier or a little bit later. It was right around that time

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frame that it was discussed, and in that meeting, where this data was presented, we were -- he said, my best recollection is he said somewhere in the neighborhood between $50,000 and $60,000, and then no other discussion of it occurred until this. That's my best recollection.

Q Was there any discussion as to why the analysis was being presented to you now, weeks after the first analysis, the November 13th analysis had been presented at this meeting?

A In our view, there were two different polls. One for us and another one.

Q Did you have any question as to why you were getting one weeks later, your analysis weeks later even though you had commissioned the poll, the RNC had commissioned the poll?

A No, I had an understanding of why that was the case.

Q Why was that the case?

A Because the secondary analysis for the perceptual mapping took a considerable amount of time.

Q Did Mr. Teeter say he had done secondary analysis of perceptual mapping for the first recipients of an

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analysis?

A He did not say.

Q Did he say that they hadn't?

A He did not say.

Q I want to refer you back to FEC Exhibit 6.

A Is that this one?

Q Yes. On the third page.

A Yes.

Q I want you to look at the FFAF cost, that top line. When did you first see that figure as a proposed payment by the Fund for America's Future?

A I saw this figure here for the first time today unless it's the same figure in the affidavits which have been provided that indicate a figure. I think the Wiley Rein thing says FFAF is willing to pay X dollars. If that's the same dollar figure, I have seen it twice. Otherwise I have seen it today.

Q Prior to those affidavits, had you heard of any figure, either that figure, an approximate figure --

A No.

Q -- or any figure from FFAF?

A No.

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Q Had you heard of any proposed payment by the Vice President himself?

A No.

MS. LERNER: Let's go off the record for a minute.

(Discussion held off the record.)

(Short recess.)

MR. LEVIN: Back on the record.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Between the the time period when the newspaper articles came out on December 3rd and 4th --

A Actually, they came out the 4th, because it became asked about on the 3rd, so the stories were the 4th.

Q Between that time period and the time of the filing of the complaint, January 31st, 1986, what other discussions involving the poll do you know of?

A Beyond the ones that I have just described?

Q Beyond the ones you have just described.

(Discussion held off the record.)

A Other than talking to reporters who asked specific questions, I could not specify for you the exact time of it, but it is likely and logical that in my ordinary conversations with Lee Atwater and Bob Teeter, I would have

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said something along the lines like, "It's a two- or three-day story," once two or three days had gone by and once sequential stories about it, whatever. Other than that, I probably said the same thing to people in our own building, as somebody who deals with reporters on a fairly regular basis, assessing how longstanding a story is going to be, I ordinarily do, when asked how long it would last, I probably said.

Q Any other discussion that you know?

A Not to my knowledge or recollection.

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked for identification as FEC Exhibit 8, and I am handing it to witness and counsel. It consists of various notes and memoranda received in the document request, received from the Republican National Committee.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 8 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Greener, can you identify these, Exhibit Number 8, for the record?

A Yes. These are my handwritten notes generated at

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different points in time.

Q Why don't we go --

A There is only three different categories. I can do it for you, if you want. The first document pertains to a meeting held at four o'clock p.m. in April of this year, following a meeting of -- and I can get a better date on this, but April of this year, April; and this is --

Q Let's go through each document and go line by line.

A This is a note.

Q Just for the record, this is page 1 of exhibit 8?

A Okay, this is page 1.

Q Right.

A Page 1, and everything else, 2 through 15, would be a second category.

Q Let's go through them.

A Number 1 is a meeting that included the Chairman, Dave Norcross, myself, Robin Carle and Mark Braden.

Q Who is Mr. Norcross?

A He is Deputy Counsel, he is counselor to the Chairman. He is an advisor to the Chairman. I don't know the exact title.

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Q He used to be New Jersey State Committeeman or chairman?

A Yes, one in the same, and a discussion occurred, a discussion occurred about --

Q This is item 1?

A Yes, a discussion occurred about the meeting we had held and that had been conducted in the morning that included myself and counsel and Lee Atwater and their counsel, and I don't remember who else was there, and in it, we went through the review of the meeting where we talked about what transpired there. And Norcross -- I guess I could say this a little bit better here -- wanted to make sure that the way it was being pursued, on this was consistent with the fact that the staff had garbled different people's instructions at different points. Okay.

Q What did he mean by that?

A Well, there is obviously a political brouhaha and the fact that -- I mean, people were now saying, "Who did what to whom?" He wanted to make, he, Dave Norcross, wanted to make certain that, in fact, the facts of the RNC staff and other people having a different view of what had been said at what different point was how we proceeded to go forward.

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The Chairman mentioned to Mark Braden that his client, his, Braden's client, was the RNC. "They don't love us" probably means that nobody, everybody is going to, in the end, make sure that their best interests are protected.

The fourth item on that page, "Fahrenkopf, should the record be supplemented?" Braden says no at that point.

Q What did Mr. Fahrenkopf mean by that?

A It will become clear as we get further down in this discussion. "Have we done anything" thus far? "Yes, 3 pages" means what have we sent to the FEC, "Yes, 3 pages."

Q What were those?

A My affidavit and the Braden letter.

"What happens next?" That would mean that -- I guess that is the FEC or somehow, some way, somebody votes to go forward.

This, my note, Braden believes they will go forward, but no "reason to believe".

Fahrenkopf, "Something will be looked to --"

Q Is that "leaked"?

A " -- leaked to press." Fahrenkopf, "Is a proper for supplemental letter to say --" here is what is going on. "Boot strap our legal position." I must say, and I didn't

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mark it down here, that I knew enough about the proceedings of the FEC, and Mark Braden said at that point, my best recollection, that the proceedings at the FEC at this juncture are: You can't talk to the press about it. I mean, anybody who did it would get in deep trouble, and my clear recollection is the Chairman then -- I didn't write that all down.

"Boot strap -- something of a record."

Q What does "boot strap" and that is "our legal position" --

A Yes, boot strap.

Q -- "our legal position," what does that --

A Inform them is what it meant to me, make clear what was happening.

Q Can I just go back to item 2?

A Two, yes.

Q Is Mr. Norcross stating that? I am being serious here.

A Let me just say this. Mr. Norcross is stating that he wants what is reality to continue to be the way it is proceeding. This is not, this is not -- and I will say it unasked -- unsolicited information. This is not a

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recommendation by Dave Norcross that a certain field or course of action be invented or concocted. It is the way things are; it is the way things should be.

Q His perception was that there were certain staff members that had made mistakes?

A Right, that's right. Exactly right. Boot strap our legal position, something of record, formality.

Q The line above, what is that, under item 9, the second line, the beginning?

A "Will do -- boot strap."

Q What is that?

A I don't know what "will do" means. It looks like what happened there is something was said and then it moved on. I don't know is the answer.

Q And proceed on 9?

A This is EMB, Mark Braden, my note says, and I don't know if this is what he said or, "bullet is aimed at Atwater and Phillips' head," meaning I don't know what. I mean, I don't want to, I don't want to conjecture, because I just don't recall with clarity. Dave Norcross, a summation letter.

Q Let me ask you that about 9. Let me offer you

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possibilities and see if that rings a bell. When he said "bullet is aimed at", did he mean the target of the FEC investigation?

A I don't know, and I don't want to speculate.

Q Did you mean the target of, let's say, those outside who, for instance, fed the press, in your eyes, this story about the poll to begin with?

A It could have meant any number of things, and I just don't want to speculate. I don't recall.

Summation letter, Dave Norcross, BG3 that is meaning item 11.

Q What is summation letter?

A The same sort of thing that the boot strap letter means; something that says to the FEC, "Hey, what do you think?" "Greener, two questions, can it be done without discussions with them?"

Q Who is "them"?

A The counsel at Fund; can it be done without a discussion, meaning do you discuss this with them, et cetera, meaning, number 2, if you don't discuss it, might it be a situation to escalate the "battle"?

So in other words, if we expand the record, are we

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going to occasion a stiffening of positions or, I mean, what is going to happen if we do that? What's the political fallout of that?

Q What do you mean by expand the record and a stiffening of positions?

(Discussion held off the record.)

A It's the information that's contained in the additional documents that were provided to you, I think, April the 1st; is that not correct? Something along that time frame. You have got another document.

Q The letter received --

A Right.

Q -- dated April 21st.

A Right, okay.

Q And discussion with them means counsel for Fund for Fmerica's Future; is that right?

A Correct.

Q Jan Baron?

A Who ever Mark was dealing with.

Q And then?

A Then it says letter from Mark Braden, and now Braden has changed his position to say yes, we ought to send

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the letter. Originally Mark said no, and now he said yes.

Q What is it that says "Can it be discussed"? That was the line above that, "Can it be discussed".

A Do you do this with or without discussion, and if you do it without discussion, does that, and then send them a copy of it, does that make them feel that somehow we are, that the record is being expanded in a fashion that they might not like or we would like or whatever it meant?

I mean, it just meant could this, is this something that is going to be done with or without discussion with them, and if it was done without discussion, what did that mean? I didn't know the answer.

Q Was that a perception of opposing interests with the Fund for America's interests?

A I don't know what the perception was. Opposition is certainly not correct.

Q What was your perception?

A Well, how about divergent interests? I mean, there was a discussion about, and the affidavits indicate who was going to be paying for what sorts of things, et cetera, and the recollection of those sorts of matters.

Q Any other divergent interests?

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A Not that I can think of.

Q Let's go to page 2.

A Pages 2 through 15, or, I'm sorry, yes, 2 through 14 inclusive, okay.

Q All of those pages.

A All of those pages of which one is a redundancy, are pages --

Q 12 and 8?

A How about 10 and 12?

Q 10 and 12?

MR. BRADEN: No.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Anyway, we will go page-by-page, but anyway, what did you want to say as far as those pages?

A These are my handwritten notes on the discussions held by phone on December the 3rd, 1985.

Q All of them were done on December 3rd, 1985?

A All of the notes from page 2 through 14 inclusive.

Q If you could explain what the notes on page 2 are?

A I don't know what "print out for Bush" means, but FJF - we get our presentation next week" is somewhere along

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the lines --

Q Getting the analysis you mean?

A We are going to get something next week, our presentation.

Q Is this of what he is saying, what Mr. Fahrenkopf is saying?

A I don't remember.

Q Who was this phone conversation with , or --

A This is several things that, pages 2 through 14 are handwritten notes taken during meetings and conversations that day.

Q Can you tell me?

A I can't tell you if this was a telephone conversation or me and the Chairman talking or if it's me that said it.

Q Well, go on to this page, then.

A Page 3.

Q Is there anything else on page 2 that you can recall?

A "$70,000 dollars, clerical error." Seventy thousand dollars is the price of the poll. Clerical error, I firmly believe that what it means is saying that a poll done

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that costs $70,000, if it is the poll that is out there on the street that day, saying that that is the RNC's poll is a clerical error.

Q Is it a reference to the forward, FEC Exhibit 4?

A I didn't have -- my best recollection is I didn't have this documented at the time of this note being written.

Q What does 1/3 mean?

A I don't know.

Q If you don't know, you don't know.

A I don't know.

Q If you don't know, I may say something to remind you. If not, we will just go on.

A I'm not sure, but what I think is 1/3 is the date we get the presentation of the -- I was thinking we got the presentation of the poll. Okay, January 3rd. Okay.

Q We are on page 3 now of the document.

A Yes. I believe these are my notes taken at some point about what reality is/how we would move forward. One, we didn't see the questionnaire; why the poll says RNC, Teeter, I don't know, all those combined to mean I can't say with certainty. Bush, Frank Fahrenkopf talk, that's the, that's, as you will recall, that's the first time I knew of

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that. That, to me, means Bush and Fahrenkopf talk and doing an MOR poll inclusive of issues of consequence to the Vice President.

If the question became, can other candidates piggy-back on our national surveys, the answer is yes.

The field dates, September 17th through the 25th, and I don't know December 2nd. I can't read my own writing there.

Q "Unusual"?

A I don't know what that means. I don't know what "FJF candidates to designate" means. "Last week, November 20th, Bush," that, to me, means in that time frame is when they got something.

Q Perhaps the analysis?

A The perceptual mapping, secondary analysis.

Q Is there a reference to the fact that they may have received a perceptual mapping and secondary analysis? I am curious about the reference to candidates. Is that meant to include the Vice President?

A No, and these are handwritten notes, okay? Everything that we put on a piece of paper for the record we always, I always at least take a tremendous caution to talk

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about those people who have been prominently mentioned as potential candidates for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination.

I would not write all that stuff in handwritten notes scribbling along, but that is the category of individuals to which that statement refers.

Q Next to item 3 on page 3, on the right-hand side, the little box, unless I'm misreading that, is that a reference to payments back?

A "Piggy-back".

Q Oh, that is piggy-back. Okay, page 4 of the document?

A I think that is the phone number we finally reached Bob Teeter at that day, but I can't be certain.

Q And a "couple of questions"?

A I don't know.

Q What is the name there? Is that Plissner or Plosner?

A Oh, Plissner, if it is Plissner, what it means is Marty Plissner of CBS had either acquired a copy of what was going around town, or he had a phone call into the Chairman or something. During that day I was scribbling different

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things on different pages.

Q Page 5.

A This is meaning, my best recollection is this is Frank Fahrenkopf. We hired MOR to do a survey, a national voter survey, in survey, inclusive of terrorism and trade. The information would be shared with all potential, those people prominently mentioned as potential candidates for the 1988 Republican Presidential nomination. Yes, other people of that same character are on it, but no, they didn't have input.

I don't know what after 4:00 p.m. asterisk, and I can't read that last bottom box.

Q "Who from Bush PAC", is that what it says?

A It looks like it could be, but I don't know.

Q Do you know who this conversation involved on page 5?

A Down 1, 2, 3, that's my notes of a conversation, to the best of my recollection, that the Chairman had with me.

This is, again, ascertained.

Q Page 6?

A This next is an earlier in the day than some of

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these other conversations, to my recollection, which is the Chairman reiterating him saying or someone saying this poll is all over town. I told, I have told everybody we never agreed for an exclusive Bush poll; we have never paid for it; we have never seen one. Teeter did a poll for us; that's okay. The only issue that we have ever seen so far is $70,000.

I don't know what "Done RNC" means, and what is the one over at the right, of -- "friend at RNC"? The cover note on the copy of the poll that had been given to Senator Dole apparently said, "I'm a friend of yours at the RNC giving you this poll."

That's what that means, and me saying to the Chairman, that's going to be a neat trick, since we don't have a copy of anything. We don't have nothing.

Whoever gave it to him, to the Senator is not at the RNC, because we don't have anything to give.

Then Alexander Gage works with Bob Teeter. We were trying to track down that, Bob Teeter. I knew Alex Gage, and I tried to phone. I think that may be Plissner all over there, again. 963-2414 is an -- area code 313 is the number for Market Opinion Research.

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Q So was this a conversation with Marty Plissner?

A This is my notes of a conversation that I wrote during speaking to the Chairman.

Q To the Chairman.

A Page 7.

Q Page 7.

A I don't know what "never" with the box is. The doodle on the on right I don't take any responsibility for. Consistent, urgently, I don't even know what this. I can't read what that other one, the second one is in parenthases.

Q "Consistent"; "Without"?

A I don't know, I can't read it.

Q What is meant by "2 approaches"?

A Turn to the next page.

Q No, page 7.

A Turn to page 8. This is Bob Teeter on a conversation. Our options are narrow. Neither Fahrenkopf nor George Bush can be put in a position to defend an untruth.

Q Could you elaborate on what was meant by that?

A Well, as we started to go through sequencing what had occurred, the first thing that was said and everyone

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agreed to be absolutely important was we are going to tell the truth and absolutely we can never put our principles in a position of defending an untruth. Okay?

Of the options that were narrow, given what reality was, in terms of determining what we wanted to be saying, these are my notes that say something like "company that we use, Veep would like to see in issues trade or terrorism, Veep after 1984". Because of the relationship Teeter did it.

Q What relationship?

A The relationship that the RNC had with Bob Teeter where he would draw up questionnaires that would be fielded without the RNC seeing them before they were fielded, that was an ordinary sort of a circumstance, and that was a note. That note was -- this is all of us saying what happened and how will it be presented; how could questions like that be on a poll because of the relationship Teeter and RNC had.

Q In other words, that you gave Teeter authority and he went ahead?

A Right. And I believe that the "option 2, same story - to buy questions - PAC bought terrorism and trade", the question was going back to terrorism and trade. The

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terrorism and trade questions were those PAC bought or RNC bought, and we were saying: Look, that's not the issue at hand, the terrorism and trade questions are just like when Jack Block wants questions on agriculture, that's not what the problem or political mailstorm concerns.

We were -- this was an example of how carefully we were trying to make certain that nobody said or did anything inadvertently, inconsistent with what reality was, and the question there was saying the same exact thing with looking at the issues of terrorism and trade.

Q What is the difference between option 1 and option 2?

A The issues of terrorism and trade.

Q Could you elaborate? What do you mean by that? I know that they had been asked for, but elaborate on that. I'm unclear.

A I cannot say with absolute certainty, but my best recollection is that in going through, reconstructing the sequence of what had happened, the notion was: Look, what's the premise? Nobody is going to say anything that is not 100 percent true or has the effect of putting our Frank Fahrenkopf or George Bush in a position of having to defend

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an untruth. What happened here?

We used this company to do a variety of polls for us. Here's where we are going along. Because of the relationship that we have with Bob Teeter, Bob Teeter would draw up the questionnaire and field it. What about the matter of trade and terrorism? Option 1 is those trade and terrorism questions were an RNC issue. Option 2 was the terrorism and trade questions were not RNC questions.

What was reality? I mean, we just ascertained and reconstructed things that trade and terrorism were questions that, while we had not seen them, we understood they were going to be on there. We had no problem with them.

Q So why was there a question, then, as to --

A People were going through the sequence of events and trying to refresh their memories prior to going on the record for attribution as to what had transpired.

Q Had there been a thought that perhaps the RNC had not bought the trade and terrorism questions, but, in fact, the Fund for America's Future had bought those or was about to buy those questions?

A That's what this note indicates to me.

Q What do you mean by note, do you mean page 8, all

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the documents we received?

A I'm sorry. What do I mean about that?

MS. LERNER: You said "this note".

THE WITNESS: This note on page 8, I'm sorry, indicates to me that because no one had seen a questionnaire and gone through it and divied it up, "Hey, here's what's going on. What about trade and terrorism?" It was unclear. Everybody agreed that trade and terrorism were appropriate questions to be asked under the auspices of the RNC. It was -- it wasn't a --

Q How soon after that did the RNC decide that it would, in fact, pay for the trade and terrorism questions?

A It was --

(Discussion held off the record.)

THE WITNESS: In our minds, it never was in. It never was anything other than that. But at that point, the question had arisen in the public record, if you will. Here's what the poll consists of. Who's paying for what. It was clear, here was national voter attitudes. It was clear to us, here were questions of unique political interest to the Vice President, and then there was this third set of questions that were issues related, centering around trade

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and terrorism.

What was the understanding on that? Well, gee, in our minds, our understanding was we always were responsible for those.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q So option one ended up being closer to what you perceived to be the true story?

A Right, yes, exactly. And that's what we are trying -- it wasn't a matter of -- it was a matter of trying to ascertain what was the factual circumstance on those questions.

Q Page 9.

A I don't know. I don't know.

Q Let me just ask you, on page 8, what conversation does that reflect? Is that another conversation with the Chairman?

A No, that's a conversation with Mr. Bob Teeter.

Q With Mr. Teeter?

A I don't know what page 9 means.

Q Is there anything left out on page 8 of what Teeter's reaction was during his conversation?

A I'm sure there is.

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Q I don't recall?

A No, I don't.

Q Page 9, you --

A I don't know what that means.

Q Do you recall perhaps what the 100 and the 30 division means there?

A No.

Q Could it mean a discussion of the split of questions?

A It could have been; could have been anything. Could have been.

Q Did this reflect any discussion that Mr. Atwater or anybody else from Fund for America's Future may have been involved in to assume responsibility for certain questions?

A I don't -- I just don't remember. There's one here that says -- there is like 7 numbers, 6-7; "72; demographics, 132 questions; 6 to 8; 30; 102 and 100-30." I don't know.

Q If we can refer to the poll, it appears that including the demographics, there were 132 questions; 102 of them would be the substantive questions and 30 would be the demographics. Does that ring a bell for you at all in terms

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of it?

A I mean, if that's --

THE WITNESS: Should I speculate on that?

MR. BRADEN: No.

THE WITNESS: Okay. Page 10 is my note to myself about what I would be saying if asked about it. We wanted to do business with Market Opinion Research. We wanted to do something on voter attitudes not Presidentially related. As of yet, that's not a consummated deal, meaning we haven't gotten our information yet. Things that pertain to 1988 were not authorized by the RNC. We have not; not seen by the RNC and not paid for by the RNC. Those questions that pertain to unique political interest matters are questions that Teeter and the people at Bush PAC will discuss and handle, and you, Mr. and Mrs. Reporter, should talk to them about those matters.

Q Let me ask you, at top of these notes under the name of Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., is that "especially"? What is that?

A I don't know.

Q Let me just go back to page 8.

A Okay.

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Q There is a reference, above the words "option 2"; there is a reference to "press & Veep".

A I don't know what that means. I think, I think very definitely that what that refers to is the thermometer approval ratings on the President and the Vice President that we ordinarily pay for. Okay? That is why, I mean, that is the only reason I could see that the President would be paired with that.

Page 11.

Q Page 11.

A Okay. Okay. That's several calls from Jean, meaning Jean my secretary. 334-6703 is Tom Edsalo's phone number. Edsalo is saying he has a copy of the poll done by MOR for the RNC. Marty Plissner, 12:00, 1:35 and 2:10. My best guess is those are the times of his phone call to me. I don't know what $1.4, $1.9 means, nor do I know what $2.2 million means.

Q Page 12?

A Is very much the same thing that page 10 is. It is just me writing down again to make sure that I've got it exactly right. I don't know what "explains paper" means. Yes. Again, see, item 5 on page 10 where it says

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"Teeter-Bush PAC," "5, if one exists talk to MOR -- honest mistake -- just a cover page -- no big deal -- see # 1," that's about that.

Q On page 12, the bottom entry, "if one exists talk to MOR -- honest mistake -- just a cover page -- no big deal -- see # 1," could you explain that, please?

A If a poll exists, done by MOR related to Presidential matters, see number 2 item on page 12. If it does, then MOR has made an honest mistake on their cover page. It's not a big deal.

Q And then see number 1 refers to the top?

A We wanted to do business with MOR, and we want to do business with MOR. A poll was done. It's understandable how a clerical error could be made.

Q Page 13?

A "FEC records confirm we have not given MOR money," meaning my best recollection is that meant I walked over and said, "We have not sent MOR any money. Check the FEC file. As I said, this is, again, notes to myself. If the poll that is being bantered about by the public or within the public on December the 3rd, if as stated, we won't pay. If it does exist, it is a misunderstanding at the staff level. That's

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what genuinely occurred.

Q What was meant by "staff level"? I mean who? Are you staff?

A Yes. Do I get to go off record for this one?

Q Are you considered staff?

A Absolutely.

Q Who is considered staff? What was meant by staff level? Who is considered staff and who is considered ultimately responsible for the actions of staff?

A Everybody but the Vice President and Frank Fahrenkopf. And this note means, again, I go back and it's very important to me. This is something that was clearly said all along to page 8, where everyone was in firm agreement. Nothing can be done to put the Chairman or the Vice President in a position to defend an untruth.

What we are saying is, look, the truth is, whatever problem exists constitutes a misunderstanding at the staff level. I don't know what "too far apart" means.

Q What is your reference to Atwater and Teeter?

A I don't know. Could be who was on the phone. It could have been anything.

Q Could the "too far apart" refer to the issues?

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A I don't know. I honestly don't know.

Q Referring to the issues really not related enough to have a piggy-back situation, related enough to the Vice President? Related enough to the RNC?

A "Issues/piggy-back" means, to me, issues were distinguished between what was piggy-backed, and I don't know what "too far apart" meant.

Q It's not related to the reference on the right, then? You don't know?

A I don't know.

Q Page 14?

A This is another note to myself.

Q Page 13, did that reflect a phone conversation?

A Could have been anything. Could have been a note to myself.

Q That is your handwriting?

A Every bit of that is my handwriting.

Q Okay, page 14.

A I don't know what is Xed out here, "past chairman". "He's a past chairman." Oh. He's a past chairman. George Bush is a former chairman of the Republican National Committee. Another note, we agreed to do a poll

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with MOR. "National voter analysis; issues and possible candidates, meaningless;" again, consistent with the requirements of the FEC in our mind, those people prominently mentioned as potential candidates for the nomination.

"Never received the questionnaire, never received the poll."

Q Page 15.

A Something different.

Q Okay. Could you describe the circumstances of this note? This is not in that 2 to 14 group that you were talking about.

A Yes, I can. This is a note to myself about those things that, in my view, were likely do occur as a result of the situation at hand. Bush would be embarrassed.

Q What is "⊤ 3", whatever that means, that reference next to "Bush embarrassed."

A ⊤ is a scrawl that I used for President when I worked at the White House in 1976. The guy for whom I worked did that, and I don't know what ⊤ 3 means. "Busy embarrassed" President, I don't know what that means.

"Dirty tricks", someone is going to be accused of performing a dirty trick by getting this poll into the hands

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of somebody, and then "Fahrenkopf bashing" means different people will engage in different critical activity of the chairman. RNC members, "movers and shakers" again, see "TT candidates", President candidates, those people prominently mentioned as potential candidates for the Republican nomination in 1988 and conservatives. These are the groups that will probably engage. This is what I saw on, in that time frame, as what was going to happen.

Q All these four?

A Let me just say something. I don't know if December 13th is the date that I wrote these notes. I can't tell you that, and I don't -- "piggy-back", "letter to TT candidates", again, see where it says "letter to TT candidates again", and down below, RNC, I guess that means members.

And my job, being at the Republican National Committee was, "Hey, what is going to happen now as a result of this story going out?" These are things I predicted.

Q This is, as you said, a note to yourself?

A Yes.

Q Did you have any conversations with respect to this -- I will phrase this as a -- controversy between

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December 4th and December 13th?

A I don't recall. I don't recall.

Q Page 16.

A Handwritten note from me to Robin Carle. The Fahrenkopf letter, as requested. The handwritten "you and your" would go on the copy only going to the Vice President. What that means is, the letter of explanation. Is that it? Have you got it?

Q Why don't you go ahead.

A Well, there is a letter that explains what had transpired. There was this public mailstorm; here is what reality was, and for grammatical, to make it grammatically correct, you wouldn't say "for the Vice President", "for the Vice President and", however it was worded. You and yours grammatically fit that sentence better, and if you find the letter, I will look at what that means.

Q Can you tell me what is in the lower left-hand corner?

A I can't read the third line, "don't leave room, thinking plans, and --" I can't see that. "To be written," and then I can't read the word after that, "x dollars from RNC." This is in the budget time frame. This could

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refer to my budget. I don't have any idea what that means. I don't have any idea what 1, 2, and 3 mean.

Do you have a copy of the draft letter?

MR. LEVIN: I am handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 9, and I am handing a copy of FEC Exhibit 9 to witness and counsel. It appears to be a draft of a letter from Mr. Fahrenkopf.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 9 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Can you identify Exhibit 9?

A Yes.

Q Have you seen this before?

A Yes.

Q Please describe it.

A It is the letter that is referred to on Exhibit 8, page 16. This is the draft of the letter, and if you look at one, two, three paragraph, where it says, "A mistaken impression has been generated that the RNC --" I am reading from the original as opposed to the edited text " -- did a

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poll exclusively for one presidential candidate." That would mean "you", in the copy that went to the Vice President, as indicated on the draft on my buck slip that says the handwritten you and your would go on the copy only going to the the Vice President. That is the sequence of that.

Q If you turn to page --

A And then on the next paragraph, below that where it says, "The fact is that we conducted one of our ordinary national surveys and allowed your --" and it would say "the Vice President's people to piggy-back."

Q In other words, in the letter to the Vice President, the words Vice President would be substituted with you?

A And "your", yes. Then that paragraph got Xed. This is a proposed, this is a draft by me of a proposed letter that, to the best of my knowledge, was never sent, by the way.

Q Were there subsequent drafts?

A Not to my knowledge. Then these were edits.

Q Page 2. I was wondering if you could explain what the writings on lower left-hand portion of the page are?

A "You have indicated that your rep", meaning

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representative, "for such purposes would be _____. The aforementioned misunderstanding concerning polling makes it imperative that this ad hoc committee of representatives of possible candidates begin meeting with me and appropriate RNC officials as soon as possible."

It is an insert that would be somewhere reiterating the need to get together.

Q What is the bottom "I intend to -- "?

A " -- schedule the first meeting of this group sometime in early January. I will get back with exact date and time in next ten days. If you want to change your representative, please let me know."

This may have gone out, the edited version.

Q Did this go out in edited form?

(Discussion held off the record.)

A I don't know.

MR. BRADEN: Let me interject here. We have provided you all the documents that we are aware of that make references to the poll. So you can deduce from that.

THE WITNESS: Are we done with this, Jonathan?

MR. LEVIN: Yes, we are.

I am handing the reporter a document to be marked

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as FEC Exhibit 10, and it as an affidavit of Robert M. Teeter marked at the top, March 5th, 1986 "Meyer, Kirk et al, and I am giving a copy of that affidavit to witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 10 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

MR. BRADEN: Wouldn't it be more accurate to describe it as a draft affidavit?

MR. LEVIN: A draft affidavit, correct. And I am handing a report the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 11, which is a signed affidavit of Robert M. Teeter. I am handing it to witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 11 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

THE WITNESS: I'm with you.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Greener, we received this document from you, in the document production response to the subpoena, both of these documents. Why was a draft copy submitted by Mr. Teeter to the Republican National Committee?

A We had two basic reasons. We wanted to make sure,

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first of all, that we gave ourselves the benefit of each other's recollections so that to the degree we could -- that they were accurate, would be helped in terms of accuracy, we took advantage of it.

And secondly, we didn't want to generate any inadvertent or unnecessary conflicts between what it was that was being said.

Q Were you in charge of reviewing this document?

A I wasn't in charge of anything. I was entitled to read it.

Q Who had the ultimate say in reviewing this document at at the Republican National Committee?

A Nobody had any ultimate say, to the best of my knowledge. We were apprised of the information within it.

Q Was there an intent on the part of anyone at the RNC to revise the document if they saw fit and send back the suggestions to Mr. Teeter?

A If we --

(Discussion held off record.)

A It was sent to us so that if we thought something was incorrect in what had been present, we could at least tell them that. For instance, on page 1, William Phillips is

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actually Bill Phillips and --

Q Let me go over some changes, then.

A Changes between?

Q The exhibit?

A The draft, between 10 and 11.

Q Between Exhibit 10 and Exhibit 11.

A Okay.

Let me just state for the record, we had nothing to do with those changes. We, what you have in my handwritten notes on what was given to us on the 4th and then we saw what was, we saw Exhibit 10. Nobody showed us Exhibit 11 prior to submission.

Q In other words, you received a copy of Exhibit 10?

A Right.

Q Made suggestions for changes?

A Reviewed it.

Q Reviewed it. Did you make suggestions for changes that were sent back to Mr. Teeter?

A Yes. Yes.

Q And then you did not see a further draft until the final document was submitted to the Federal Election Commission?

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A After it had been submitted to the Federal Election Commission.

Q After it had been submitted, other than the suggested changes that appear on FEC Exhibit 10, did you make any other suggestions orally?

A None, and I never discussed this with Bob Teeter, to my knowledge.

Q Did you discuss this with Mr. Teeter's attorney?

A No, I discussed it with my attorney.

Q Back to those exhibits, 10 and 11, specifically, paragraph 5 is added on the final draft. It does not appear in FEC Exhibit 10. If you will look at that, do you recall making any suggestions for changes along those lines?

A No.

Q Paragraph --

A And on number 11 --

Q Yes?

A Because see, what happens is 5 doesn't match 5 on this one.

Q Right, it does not.

A Go ahead. I am still on number 11. Go ahead.

Q Okay, and I had asked whether or not you had made

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any suggestions that might have led to that addition.

A No.

Q Paragraph 6 of number 11, the revised draft, refers to awareness and perception of major political figures, whereas paragraph 5, the corresponding entry in exhibit 10 --

A Which is paragraph 5.

Q -- 5 --

A Okay.

Q -- uses the word "voter attitudes". Had you made any suggestion on that, a softening kind of suggestion?

A No. Every single suggestion that I had with reference to item number 10 is written on the document itself in my handwriting.

MR. LEVIN: I am going to hand the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 12, and it is a draft affidavit of Lee Atwater, and I am handing a copy of Exhibit 12 to witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 12 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

MR. LEVIN: I am handing to the reporter a

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document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 13. It is a signed affidavit of Lee Atwater, and I am handing a copy of Exhibit 13 to witness and counsel.

(The document referred to was marked FEC Exhibit No. 13 for identification, a copy of which is attached to the court copy of this deposition.)

THE WITNESS: Okay.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Did you review the draft affidavit of Mr. Atwater?

A I reviewed item number 12 prior to anything happening.

Q Is that item number 12 in Exhibit 12?

A No. I reviewed item 12 -- Exhibit 12. I'm sorry.

Q Of Exhibit 12, I'm sorry.

A Exhibited 12, and previously when I was talking about item 10, I was talking about Exhibit 10.

Q So you have seen this document before, you reviewed Exhibit 12?

A Exhibit 12 I reviewed, that's correct.

Q Do you recall making any changes on this draft affidavit?

A We saw something before this, this one right here,

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and on paragraph 4, where it said, "I asked Mr. Robert Teeter of Market Opinion Research to include some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President on a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ('The RNC')", getting a document prior to this one, I recall saying, "Wait a minute, Lee. This is when you and I talked about it. And the language, "At this time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of this request" was inserted at our initiation.

Other than that -- I'm just trying to look at it again -- we did not have any other suggestions. And on the document called Exhibit 12, we had no suggestions to make changes in it. This was a document we agreed was correct.

Q Does that mean you or anyone else at the RNC?

A Myself and counsel.

Q How about anyone else at the RNC? Did they review this document?

A No, not to my knowledge.

Q With respect to Exhibits 10 and 11, did anyone else besides you and counsel review them?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q I would like to refer you back to Exhibits 10

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and 11.

A All right, yes. Okay.

Q In paragraph 15 --

A Of which?

Q Of Exhibit 10 and paragraph 17 of Exhibit 11.

A Say this again?

Q Paragraph 15 of Exhibit 10, that is the draft, and paragraph 17 of Exhibit 11?

A Right, 15 and 17.

Q Well, in paragraph 15, there is, and corresponding in the final copies, 16 and 17; 15 in the draft and 16 and 17 in the final --

A 15 on.

Q On the draft, right.

A All right.

A 15 in 10?

Q Right.

A And 16 and 17 on 11.

Q Right.

A Okay.

Q The reference and again, on 16 to 18 on the final draft, the reference to an FFAF analysis is omitted.

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MR. BRADEN: Where?

MR. LEVIN: The draft refers to.

THE WITNESS: I want to make sure I am comparing an apple to an apple. On Exhibit 10, you want me to look at paragraph 15.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Paragraph 15?

A And on Exhibit 11 you want me to look at paragraphs --

Q 16 through 18.

A Okay. Okay. I'm with you. Go ahead.

Q There is a reference to, "The Fund for America's Future analysis, the Forward to which erroneous was stated that it was for the RNC," that reference.

A Yes.

Q First of all, why is the reference to the Fund for America's Future omitted?

A I don't know.

Q Was there any discussion --

A No.

Q -- as to it really being an analysis --

A No.

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Q -- for the Vice President?

A No.

Q That never came up?

A No.

Q And then was there any discussion as to why the reference to the erroneous statement, the forward containing the erroneous statement, was there any reference, any discussion as to why that should be omitted?

A No, no.

Q None that you know of?

A None that I know of. And my underlining in the draft was because it was pertinent to the RNC. I just underlined it.

Q Did you receive a draft, did the RNC receive a draft from Craig Fuller?

A No. Did we? No. I didn't.

Wait a minute. Are we done with 12 and 13?

Q Yes, we are.

MR. LEVIN: Do you have any questions, Mr. Braden?

MR. BRADEN: No, except: Why are we here? If you guys can explain the theory under which, since we haven't paid for anything yet, we violated law, it is still a mystery

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to me.

MR. LEVIN: First let me remind the witness, Mr. Greener, that the two USC Sections 437(g)(a)(4) and (a)(12), the confidentiality sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act apply, and so that you are bound by those sections, even as a witness.

MR. BRADEN: If you talk to your wife, they are going to put you in jail.

MR. LEVIN: I want to present Mr. Greener with his witness check.

MR. BRADEN: Which he will use to take his lawyer out to lunch.

Mr. Greener would like to read the transcript.

MR. LEVIN: This deposition is adjourned, not terminated.

MR. BRADEN: That means if they get curious and want to ask some more questions, we will discuss that matter.

(Whereupon, at 1:25 p.m., the deposition was adjourned.)

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(I have read the foregoing pages 4 through 123, inclusive, which contain a correct transcript of the answers given by me to the questions therein recorded.)

_____

William I. Greener, III

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Lu Anne Dawson, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me in shorthand and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me; that said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and further that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties thereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

Lu Anne Dawson

Notary Public in and for
the District of Columbia

My Commission Expires:
October 15, 1989

8304070128

MEMORANDUM

republican national committee

TO: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FROM: BILL PHILLIPS

DATE: MARCH 15, 1985

****

The Teeter Project is on schedule. It probably will be done mid-April, depending on other projects that may be in the field at that time.

The effort will be done as an addendum on another project.

I don't know what this pertains to.

Greener depo.

FEC

EX. No 1

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MEMORANDUM FOR MARY LUKENS

FROM: KATHY SMITH

Craig Fuller has the following comments to Mr. Teeter's questionnaire:

1. A great questionnaire.

2. Page 2, Item 16:

   Please consider substituting U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manufacturers.

3. Page 5:

   Please consider adding to the list of names Peter Uberroth and Pat Robertson.

4. Page 6:

   I know you are reluctant to add any additional questions, but I would like you to consider a slightly different approach to the successor line of questioning. Something like the following:

   Since RR cannot serve a third term, some people are considering who best could follow RR. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree that the next President should be:

   1. Experienced in federal government;

   2. Conservative;

   3. Able to articulate new ideas;

   4. Respected by foreign leaders;

   5. Someone now in government;

   6. Someone who worked with RR;

   7. Someone who would keep America competitive;

   8. Someone who would strengthen U.S. defense capabilities;

   9. Someone who would spend more to help to poor;

   10. Someone who whould provide more help to farmers;

(There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas.)

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FEC Ex. No. 2

9/10

Comments due to KS 8:30 3 PD

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus
Draft Questionnaire #1
Quota N=1500
September 6, 1985

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think it needs significant changes?

3. (IF NEEDS CHANGES, ASK:) What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.
7. We should hlep <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.
8. It is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer.
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.

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Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

14. Has competition from foreign countries hurt the economy in your community, helped your local economy, or hasn't it made a difference?

15. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

RANDOMIZE

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so American consumers can have the widest choice possible on what to buy

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products

As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. I'm going to read you some things, and for each one, please tell me how much you think each one has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little, or not at all.

Substitute

RANDOMIZE

16. U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manuf.
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies
18. Wage demands by American labor unions
19. Better quality of foreign products
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by some foreign companies

22. Do you think our limits on foreign imports should be greater, about the same, or less than they are now?

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23. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

ROTATE

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

24. Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.

25. Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.

26. A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.

27. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.

28. Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.

29. Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently...

30. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

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31. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

32. (IF OPPOSE, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

33. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if the children in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

34. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Do you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack? ("Both" coded as a volunteered response)

35. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

36. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

37. Do you believe that the recent hijacking of the TWA airliner and other recent terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals or small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

C 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 1 3 4

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about him/her using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

38. Ronald Reagan
39. George Bush
40. Robert Dole
41. Howard Baker
42. Jack Kemp
43. James Thompson
44. Jeanne Kirkpatrick
45. Walter Mondale
46. Ted Kennedy
47. Tip O'Neill
48. Jesse Jackson
49. Mario Cuomo
50. Gary Hart
51. Geraldine Ferraro
52. John Glenn
53. Jane Fonda
54. Jerry Falwell
55. Gerald Ford
56. Jimmy Carter
57. George Wallace
59. Lee Iacocca

Peter Uberroth
Pat Robertson
Jerry Falwell

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

60. The Republican Party
62. The Democratic Party
63. Liberals
64. Conservatives

Thinking ahead to 1988 for a moment. . .

65. Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term. Is there anyone, in particular, you would like to see be the next President of the United States? (Who?)

66. As you may know, George Bush may be a candidate for President in 1988. On a zero to ten scale, where zero means you would never consider voting for George Bush for President and ten means you would definitely vote for George Bush for President, where would you place yourself on this scale?

67. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

68. IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. George Bush
b. Bob Dole
c. Howard Baker
d. Jack Kemp
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

69. IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. Ted Kennedy
b. Gary Hart
c. Mario Cuomo
d. Lee Iacocca

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

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Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT NAME AND PARTY)?

RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES

70.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Ted Kennedy, Democrat
71.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Gary Hart, Democrat
72.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Lee Iacocca, Democrat

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

(HALF SAMPLE A)

73A. From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush. PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

74A. Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK: Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

(HALF SAMPLE B)

73B. If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the areas you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

74B. What are the areas you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

8 3 0 4 0 7 0 0 1 3 7

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

RANDOMIZE

75. Our relations with the Soviet Union
76. The federal budget deficit
77. Taxes
78. Abortion
79. Policies concerning minorities
80. Women's rights
81. National economic policy

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to one hundred scale where 100 means the person possesses the trait as much as <u>any</u> person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT

Honesty

82. _____ Ronald Reagan
83. _____ George Bush
84. _____ Ted Kennedy

Concern

85. _____ Ronald Reagan
86. _____ George Bush
87. _____ Ted Kennedy

Leadership

88. _____ Ronald Reagan
89. _____ George Bush
90. _____ Ted Kennedy

Competence

91. _____ Ronald Reagan
92. _____ George Bush
93. _____ Ted Kennedy

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Here are some statements concerning George Bush, in particular, and for each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

94. Bush has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
95. Bush looks like a President.
96. Bush, as President, would keep us out of war.
97. Bush sounds like a President.
98. Bush, as President, would keep our country prosperous.
99. Bush acts like a President.

Background Questions

100. Party identification
101. Past Party identification
102. Past voting behavior
103. Registered voter
104. Ideology
105. Age
106. Education
107. Employment status
108. Occupation
109. Health, education, welfare occupation
110. Marital status
111. Spouse employment status
112. Union/teacher household
113. Farm household
114. Religion
115. Frequency of church attendance
116. Reborn
117. Income
118. Race
119. Sex

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 9, 1985, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 11, 1985 whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than October 9 for preliminary report.

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of seventy thousand dollars ($70,000) which is due and payable by October 9, 1985.

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate.

3. *Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information*

The interpretive report of the survey shall become the property of client after delivery of the report to client by MORC and the payment to MORC of the full fee provided in paragraph 2. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least two years and give client reasonable access to them. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising and public relations, the information obtained in the survey or included in the interpretive report without the written consent of client, provided, however, if the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by client or anyone else acting for client or on its behalf, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the method of obtaining the interviews including the size and design of the sample and the basis of the data if the sample is less than the total sample, the dates and times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the client's name. Client agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public press media or otherwise the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report, that client or such other person will first notify MORC in writing and the [illegible] will also be stated [illegible] be, was done by MORC. Client [illegible] during the term of this Agreement and thereafter to keep in confidence all knowledge or information [illegible] methods and techniques of MORC and not disclose or make known such knowledge or information to any other person, firm, organization or organizations including not limited to competitors of MORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by MORC. Client further understands and agrees that the names and addresses of interviewers used by MORC and the names and addresses of persons sampled are [illegible]

[illegible] days prior to the scheduled starting date [illegible] MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date [illegible] the client with written notice of said cancellation [illegible] surveys received by MORC [illegible]

Greener depo FEC Ex. No. 3

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5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client
Mr. William Greener
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

If to MORC
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
Suite 1000
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Attn: Robert Teeter

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

7. *Additional provisions*

Client is a political committee with a chairman and a treasurer at least one of whom has authorized this expenditure by said committee as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and, as such, client has assured MORC that it will account for and disclose the cost of this survey as an expenditure as required by said Act and otherwise comply with any other applicable Federal or State law in connection with this matter.

MORC reserves the right to use the findings from this survey in anonymous form as to the specific population and client for purposes of aggregate and comparative analysis to be made available to other clients of MORC or publications.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

BY _____

_____
Client

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

BY _____

Its _____

1804072014

FOREWORD

Received
12/3
This page only

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
* To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

FEC
EX. NO. 4
Greener depo.

8040720142

ALLOCATION

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # 1-4
Area
6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

CALL RECORD SHEET

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1									Q500	16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1									Q501	17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502	18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503	19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504	20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NTN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505	21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506	22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507	23
Respondent Term.(R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508	24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509	25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510	26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511	27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512	28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513	29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514	30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515	31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516	32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517	33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518	34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519	35
Other Disp. (write in)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520	36
(No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521	37

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01._____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room: Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW:_____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH:_____ V3 (43-44)

DAY:_____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started:_____ Time Ended:_____

FEC EX. NO. 5

13040701143

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER END MEETS YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old (male/female) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her?

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1). . 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1) . . . 2
No (GO TO Q.IB) 3
Refused/NA. 9

IB. Are you a citizen of the United States over 18 years of age living at this address?

Yes (GO TO 1) 1
No. 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. Is there any male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1

May I speak with him/her? (After you have ascertained that he/she is an adult citizen of the United States living at that address. (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE). 2
Refused/NA. 9

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER DOES NOT MEET YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm_____ calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have the opinions of a male/female who over 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States living at this address.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes . . . . . 1 QA
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2 102
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her? QAa 103

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1). 2
No (GO TO Q.IB). 3
Refused/NA 9

IB. Is there any adult (man/woman) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address available at this time?

Yes . . . . . 1 QB
No (TERMINATE). 2 104
Refused/NA. 9

a. After you have ascertained that (he/she) is an adult citizen of the United States living at this address (GO TO 1) QBa 105

106-144 = EXTRA
145-153 SPECIAL DEMO VARIABLES
(V18) 156-160 WEIGHTS

18040720144

Q1-Q.64 = RNC

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

RNC

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

---

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

V

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

---

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

---

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

3304070201455

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6. The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7. We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

RNC

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 1 4 7

RNC

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

8804007-0148

RNC

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A

1 3 0 4 0 7 0 1 4 9

RNC

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Q23B

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

3304070 0150

RNC

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

1804070151

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

RNC

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33

---

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39

---

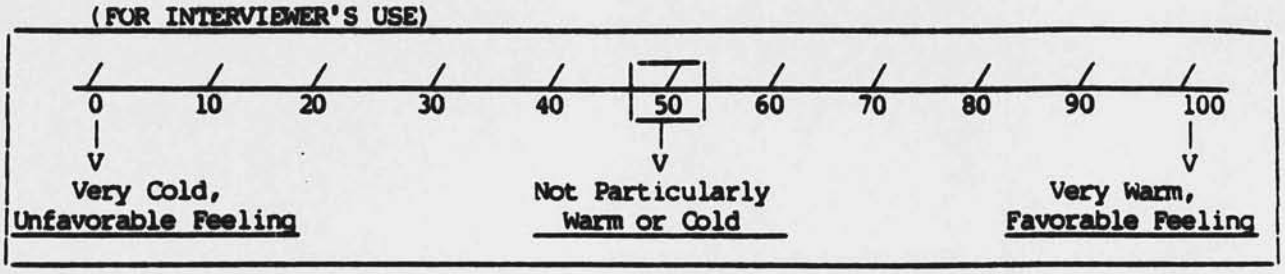
3 8 0 4 0 7 0 1 5 3

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



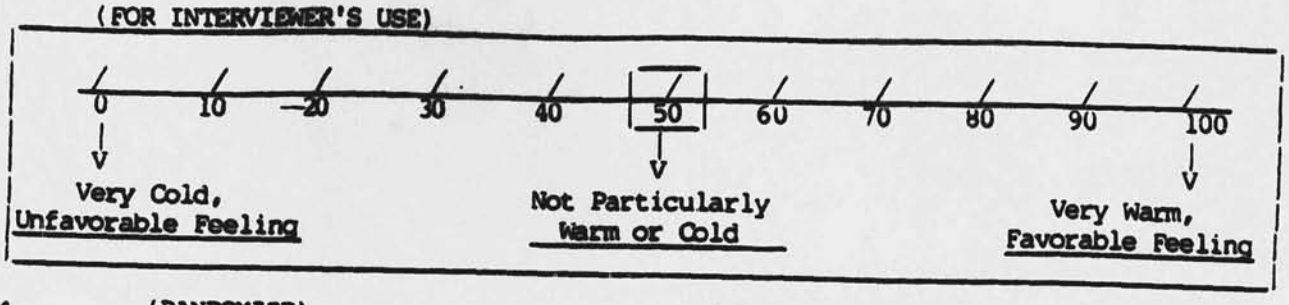
RNC

	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

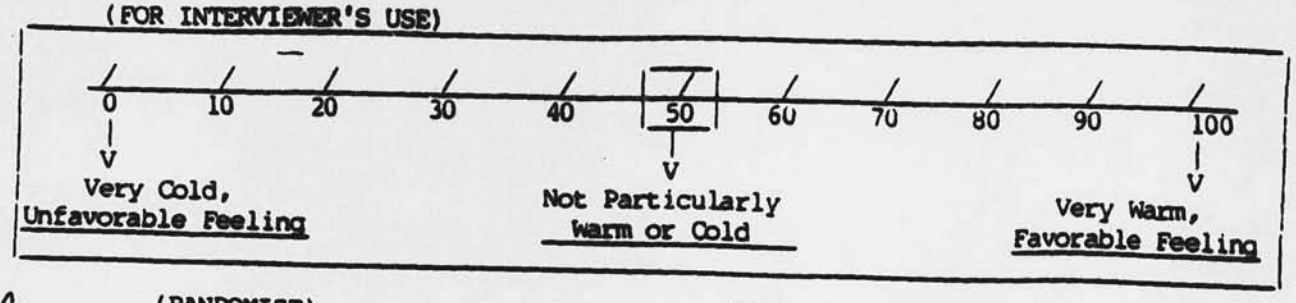
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50. Jesse Jackson	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51. Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52. Gary Hart	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53. Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54. John Glenn	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55. Jane Fonda	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56. Jerry Falwell	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57. Gerald Ford	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58. Jimmy Carter	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59. George Wallace	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60. Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	(RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8804015

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

61. The Republican Party
_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999
Q61

62. The Democratic Party
_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999
Q62

63. Liberals
_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999
Q63

64. Conservatives
_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999
Q64

8304072015 6

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)	(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a. Conservative	1	1
b. Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c. Is in government now	3	3
d. Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e. Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
None	6	
No second mention		7
Don't know	8	8
Refused/NA	9	9

---

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below)
The second (read below)
The third (read below)
And the fourth (read below)

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69). 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)
68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

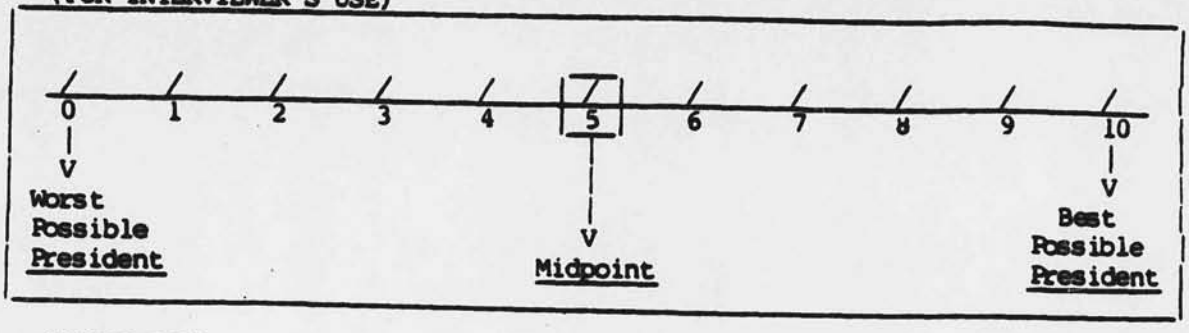
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q72

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE:—Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77) 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78) 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78) 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78) 9

Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75) . . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75) . . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75) . . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75) . . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75) . . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78) . . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78) . . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

(GO TO Q.78)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q75

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
|— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Ted Kennedy, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q78

79. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Gary Hart, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q79

80. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Lee Iacocca, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q80

8804071160

HALF SAMPLE A

FAF

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

---

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804072 0161

HALF SAMPLE B

B81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

NA

B Q81bM1
B Q81bM2
B Q81bM3
B Q81bM4
B Q81bM5

---

82 .What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

B Q82 M1
B Q82 M2
B Q82 M3
B Q82 M4
B Q82 M5

8804072 0724 6 2

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

(RANDOMIZE)		Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
83.	Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
84.	The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
85.	Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
86.	Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
87.	Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
88.	Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
89.	National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

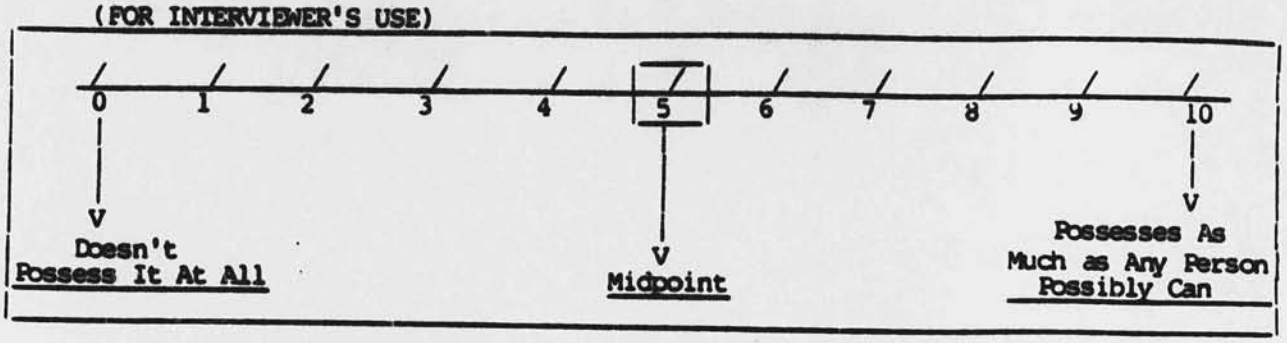
NA

8330407201663

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as <u>any</u> person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)

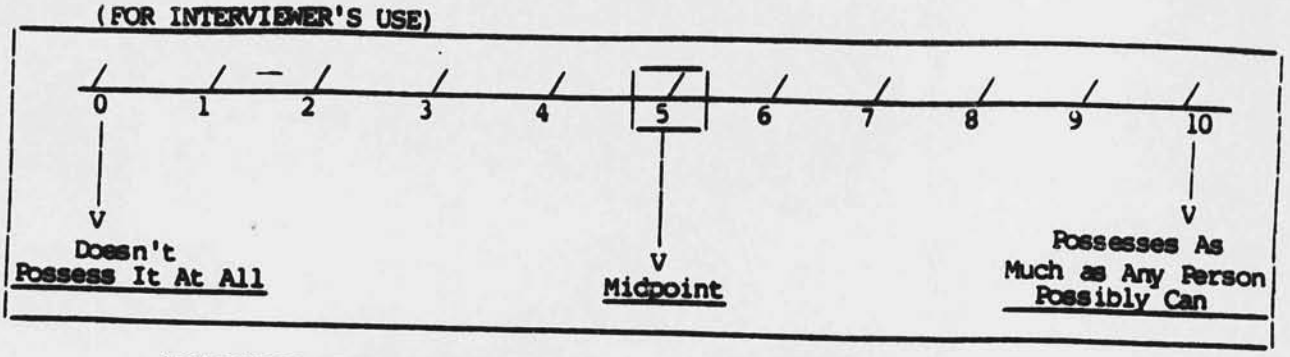


		(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)	
		<u>TRUSTWORTHINESS</u>		
RNC	90.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
FFAF	91.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
RNC	92.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
		<u>CONCERN</u>		
RNC	93.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
FFAF	94.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
RNC	95.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

RNC 96. Ronald Reagan

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. . 98
Refused/NA. . 99 Q96

FFAF 97. George Bush

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. . 98
Refused/NA. . 99 Q97

RNC 98. Ted Kennedy

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. . 98
Refused/NA. . 99 Q98

COMPETENCE

RNC 99. Ronald Reagan

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. . 98
Refused/NA. . 99 Q99

FFAF 100. George Bush

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. . 98
Refused/NA. . 99 Q100

RNC 101. Ted Kennedy

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. . 98
Refused/NA. . 99 Q101

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

- Extremely liberal 1
- Fairly liberal. 2
- Slightly liberal. 3
- Moderate. 4
- Slightly conservative 5
- Fairly conservative 6
- Extremely conservative. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

- Extremely liberal 1
- Fairly liberal. 2
- Slightly liberal. 3
- Moderate. 4
- Slightly conservative 5
- Fairly conservative 6
- Extremely conservative. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q103

---

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

- Extremely liberal 1
- Fairly liberal. 2
- Slightly liberal. 3
- Moderate. 4
- Slightly conservative 5
- Fairly conservative 6
- Extremely conservative. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q104

8304701656

DEMOGRAPHICS

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Republican	1
Democrat	2
Independent	3
No preference	4
Other	5
Don't know	8
Refused	9

PARTYID 51

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?	b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?
Strong 1	Republican 1
Not very strong 2	Democratic 2
Don't know 8	Neither 3
Refused 9	Don't know 8
	Refused 9

8304007 001167

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	VOTETYPE 57-58
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats.	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know.	.98	
Refused/NA.	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No.	1	
Registered elsewhere.	3	
Don't know.	8	
Refused/NA.	9	

8804071

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB N

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10) —

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDUFR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKING
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

830407 001 69

D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	MARITAL 92
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWORK 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01
Self-employed	.02
Retired	.03
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05
Executive (corporate officer)	.06
Homemaker	.07
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09
Student	.10
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11
Other	.12
Don't know	.98
Refused/NA	.99

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

8 9 0 4 0 7 0 1 7 0

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

3304071

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

- Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1
- Roman Catholic. 2
- Jewish. 3
- Other Christian 4
- Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5
- Agnostic/Atheist. 6
- None. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

RELIGION 110

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week. 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year. 2
- Never 1
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

- Under $10,000 0
- $10,000-$15,000 (14,999). 1
- $15,000-$20,000 (19,999). 2
- $20,000-$25,000 (24,999). 3
- $25,000-$30,000 (29,999). 4
- $30,000-$40,000 (39,999). 5
- $40,000-$50,000 (49,999). 6
- $50,000 and over. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3
- Oriental. 4
- American Indian 5
- Other 6
- Not ascertained 9

RACE 120

8304072 01172

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? (V16) ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ZIP 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male 1
Female . . . . . .2 SEX 126

8304072-0173

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

83040720174

PROCEDURE FOR COST BREAKDOWN AMONG MULTIPLE CLIENTS

1. A total cost estimate will be made of the entire study according to our standard work codes and department functions.

   The latest billable rates will be used (Updates are made periodically to reflect changes in pay rates etc.)

2. The total cost estimate will be divided into FOUR major groups as follows ...

   1. Polling-survey .. Includes all standard costs needed to perform basic study

   2. Coding ..... Applies only when open ended questions are used

   3. Analysis and Delivery..... Costs are in direct relation to size of analysis to be written. Delivery is a client/MOR decision factor

   4. Data Processing Computer..... Costs are in direct relation to number of "computer"tables to be developed for client's question responses

      Should only a "flash/marginal" of data be desired no charge will be made to client

3. Within each of the four major group costs THE CLIENT COSTS was distributed by ....

   1. Polling-survey .. By number of responses EACH CLIENT is asking on questionnaire and will receive data or flash for such responses

      If multiple distribution on response percentage breakdown is on total responses being distributed

   2. Coding ..... Allocated by the number of open ended questions or responses each client will need coded or verbatims taken

   3. Analysis and Delivery ..... Based on size of analysis written for each client and delivery

   4. Data Processing.. Allocated by number of responses (Assumes each client will receive same number of passes or data breaks)

4. The final percentages for each client derived from total costs per client against the total estimate should be used in dividing the Selling Price should it differ from the estimate figure.

FEC EX NO. 6

RULES

1. Record each and every response

2. Ballots - Count each race as a response

3. Self administered scales ... Count each item as a response including the test scale

4. Respondent selection

   Count each response
   Distribute to all clients UNLESS we have multiple clients desiring different respondent selections

5. Demographics

   WILL NOT BE included in response totals
   .. only special demographics asked by certain clients will be treated as responses

   Assumes demographics are necessary to study to check sample

6. Pre coded open ends

   Will be treated as closed ended questions/require no coding

7. Half Samples

   We will list each response from all 1/2 sampled pages and count in total

   Assumes each response whether on half of the interviews or not will be tabulated and results supplied

8. Approval open end probe ... Counted as one open end

9. First thing open end and good/bad closed ... Count as one open and one closed

8804070175

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Cost Allocation
U.S. National Omnibus #2
Job no. P85040
September, 1986

	Total	RNC	FFAF	NA
Total Project				
Cost	$70,000	52,390	4,996	12,614
Percentage	100%	74.8	7.1	18.0
Polling/Data Processing				
Cost	$48,088	33,839	2,672	11,577
Percentage	100%	70.370	5.556	24.074
Variables*	108	76	6	26
Coding				
Cost	$ 2,591	518	1,036	1,036
Percentage	100%	20.000	40.000	40.000
Number	5	1	2	2
Analysis				
Cost	$19,321	18,033**	1,288	--
Percentage	100%	93.333	6.667	--

*There are more variables than question numbers due to filtered questions which are given a question number but are not asked of all respondents.

**Includes the cost of producing and analyzing the perceptual maps.

8804076-0176

Lee 12/12/85 most recent (R.90 Ste)

	TOTAL	R	88	B
				12/23/85
POLL / D.P.	46655	76	26	6
	108	70.370	24.074	5.556
	100.000	(32831)	(11232)	(2592)
1) Code	2514	1	2	2
	5	20.000	40.000	40.000
	100.000	(502)	(1006)	(1006)
1) ANALYSIS	18745	(18745)		
	100.000			
If split 150 Pages		140 P		10 P
		93.333		6.667
		(17496)		(1249)
estimate:	67914	52078	12238	3598
	100.000	76.682	18.020	5.298
Less "Other"		50,829	12238	4,847
	100%	74.843%	18.020	7.137%
selling	*70,000	*52,390	*12,614	*4,996

830407 0172

TOPS FORM 36'6

		R		
		88		
		B		
1) POLL				
4) DP		120	21	6
		81.433	14.622	4.022
		(1355)	(2165)	(3338)
Coco		5	—	
		71.429		
		(2514)		(1005)
5) Analysis	18745	(18745)		
	100.000	100.000		
Total	79417	67714	2165	3338
				11603

8304070001178

Republican
National
Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

January 9, 1986

Mr. Robert Teeter
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
10th Floor
Detroit, MI 48226

Dear Bob:

I am in receipt of a bill from Market Opinion Research for $70,000 for the recent national survey of voter attitudes conducted for the RNC by MOR.

As you know, there has been some past confusion surrounding this poll and the questions within it. Further, both of us agree that the RNC in no instance authorized questions pertaining to the 1988 presidential contest and we do not intend to pay for those questions.

Will you please advise me as to what the cost of the poll is for those questions on voter attitudes toward the parties and issue and major political figures is, excluding the 1988 questions, and we will pay you accordingly.

Thanks for the extensive briefing. You can believe it will be a useful part of our Achievement '86 planning.

I look forward to seeing you next time you're in town.

Very truly yours,

William I. Greener, III

CC: Robin H. Carle
E. Mark Braden
Jay Banning

3/6/86 - 11:10am $52,390 (74.8%)

7

8304070179

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center

7/1 Nuccios / Boggs / RHC 4:00pm

1. Recess mtg. is AM.
2. Nuccios want it to be okay'd first up.
3. 72 - client is RNC. They don't know us.
4. Should 72 record be supplemented? EMB - no.
5. F-2 - have we done anything? yes 3 pages.
6. What happens next? vote to go forward.
7. EMB - believes go forward, but no "reason to believe"
8. F2 -- something will be leaked to press.
9. 72 - is it proper for supplemental letter to say -- will do ——— "first step" new legal position? Something of record. — EMB - Skilled is aware as HCA/DP head.
10. "Summation letter" (Nuccios)
11. Boggs - 2 questions - 1 - can it be done w/ and documents w/ them? 2) might it be attractive to escalate "battle" - can it be discussed?
12. Letter from EMB - - yes

8

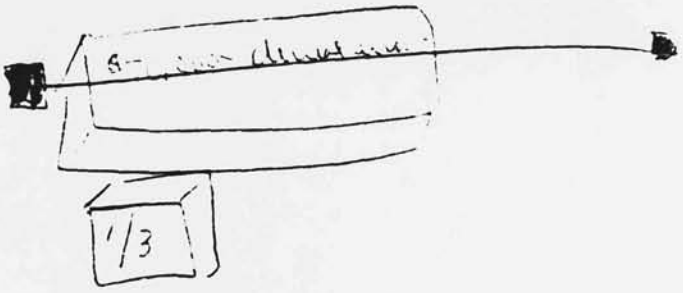
8804070 01180

880407 0181

PRINT OUT for Bush..

FJF - we get our presentation

next week



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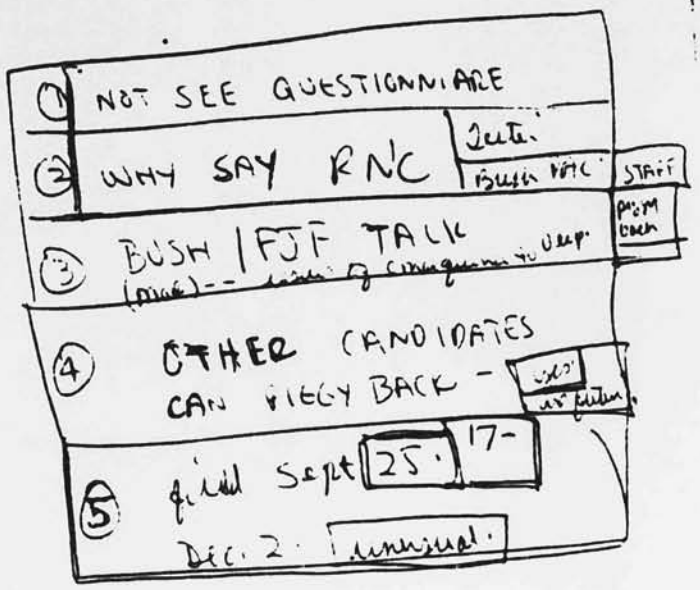


FJF - candidate to designate

LAST WEEK - NOV 20th Panel

Perceptual mapping - [illegible] analysis

8804070201893

FROM THE DESK OF
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

- couple of questions

Plazma

313
963-
9805

[redacted]

FJF

(1) HIRE MUR SCRUM -
nat'l voter survey, in survey -
terrorism/trade

(2) for all candidates

(3) - OTHER CANDIDATES
on it - but no expect

(4) after 4:00 P.M

who from Rich
PAC

38040720184

28040720185

880407 01186

8304070187

FROM THE DESK OF
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

Vietn | options narrow

- cannot put FF or George Bush in a position to defend without

- COMPANY THAT WE USE - - they would like to see in

  a issue trade or Terrorism

  - VP cycle 1984

- [illegible] of relationship Vietn do it

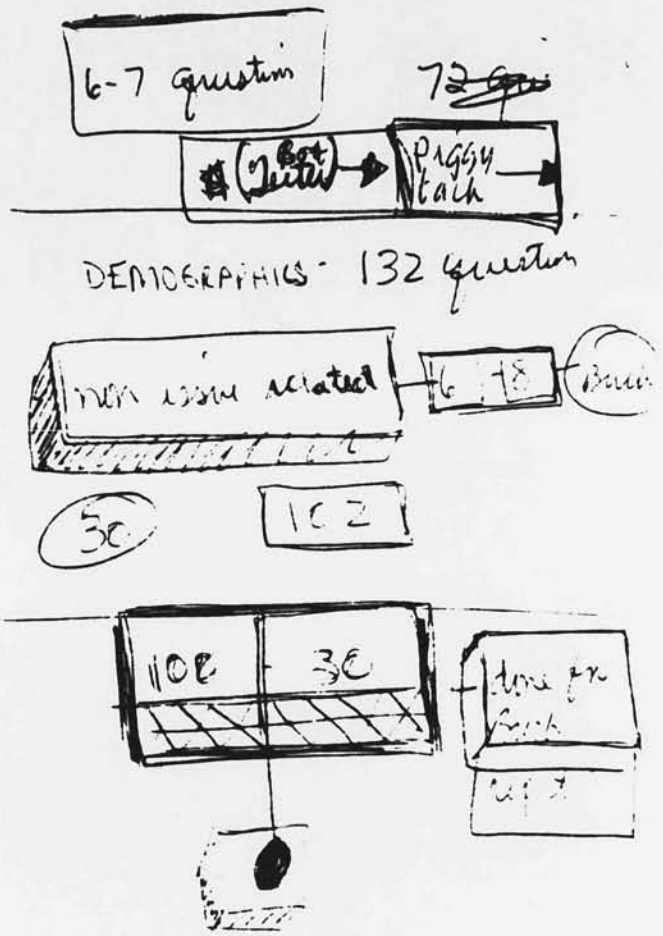
Pro & Negs

OPTIONS

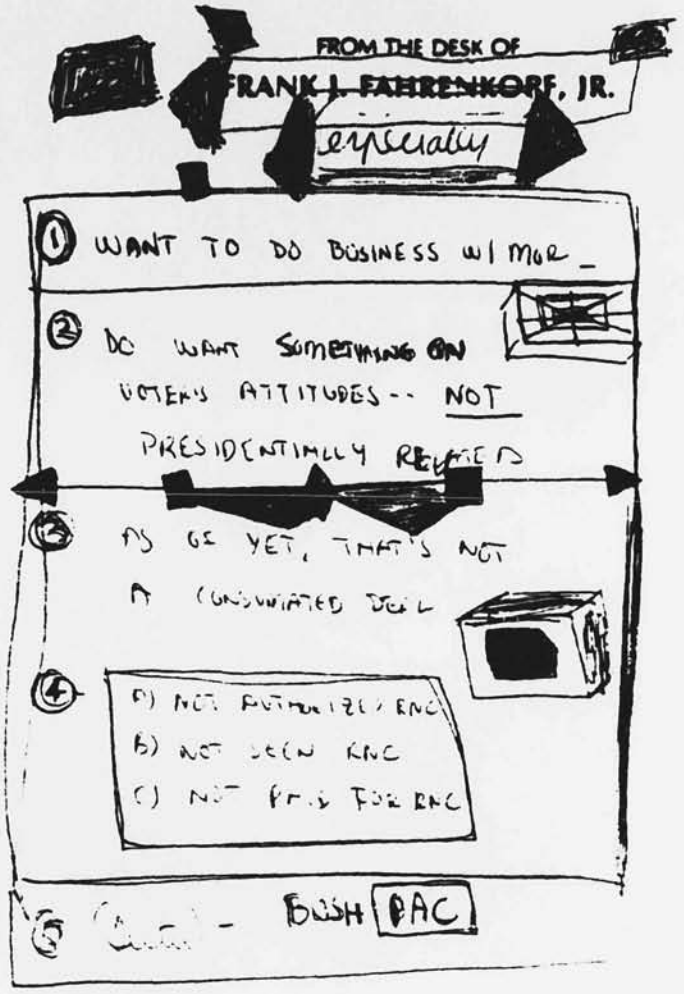
[illegible] - The [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] - Terrorism - Trade

8804070201188



8804072 0189



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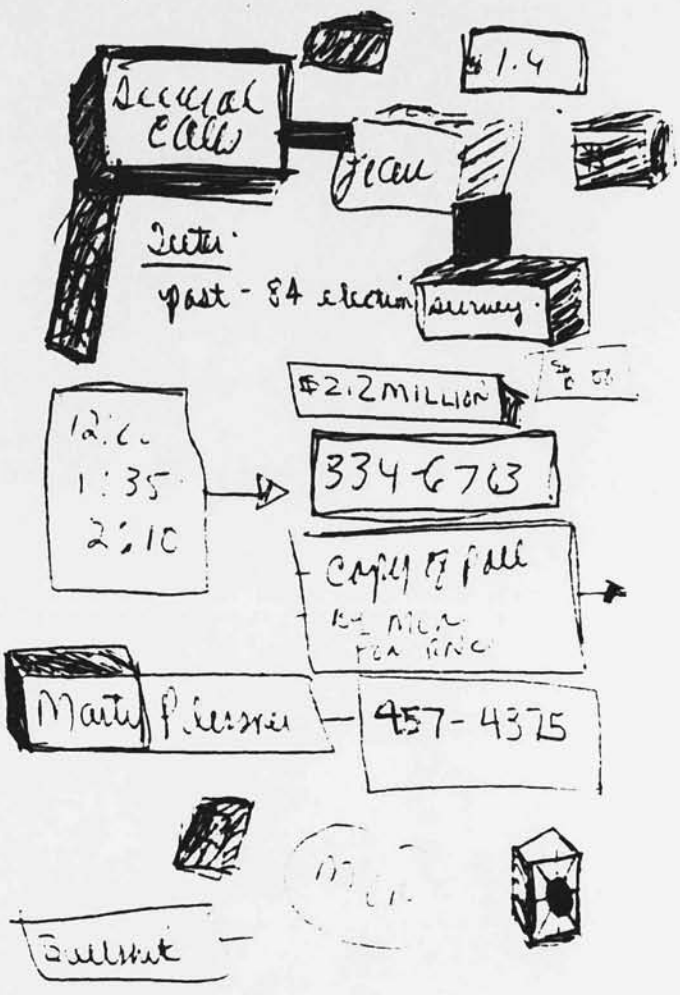

Decimal Call
$1.4
Jean
Peter
past - 84 election
survey
$2.2 MILLION
12.6
1:35
2:10
334-6763
Copy of poll
Mary Pleasure
457-4375

12

FROM THE DESK OF
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

(1) WANT TO BUSINESS W/MOR

(2) DO WANT SOMETHING ON VOTERS' ATTITUDES -- NOT PRESIDENTIALLY RELATED

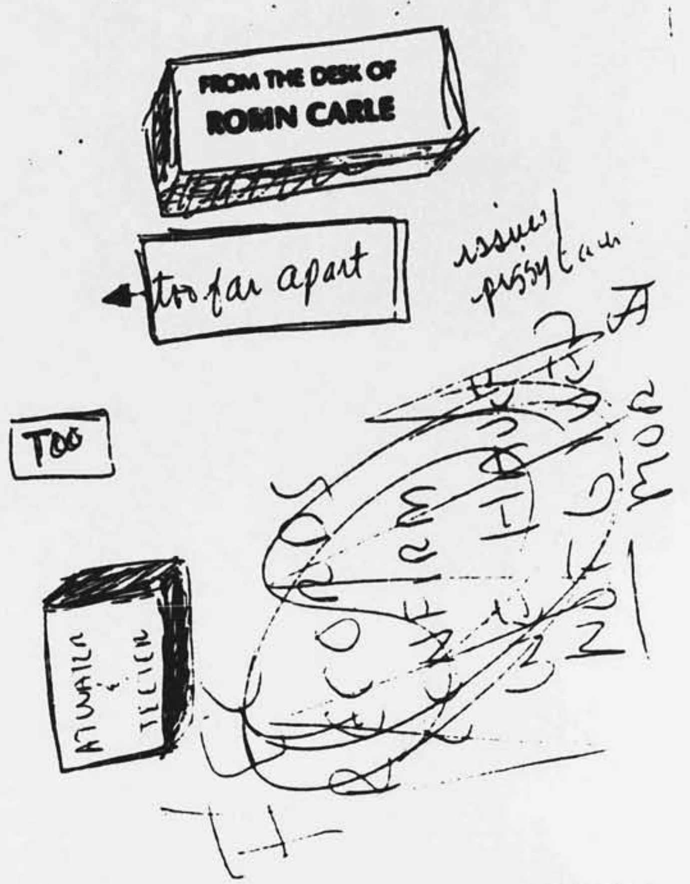
(3) AS OF YET, NOT CONSUMATED DEAL (EXPLAINS PAPER)

(4) ANY POLL DONE EXCLUSIVELY FOR BUSH
A) NOT AUTHORIZED BY RNC
B) NOT SEEN BY RNC
C) NOT PAID FOR BY RNC

(5) IF ONE EXISTS TALK TO MOR --
[illegible] mistake -- give a cover page --
[illegible] -- in #1

8804070191

880407X0192



- if as stated - [illegible] pay -
- if [illegible] misunderstanding
[illegible] level

880407 0193

AGREED - TO DO POLL - MCL

NATL VOTER ANALYSIS

- ISSUES & POSSIBLE CAMPAIGN

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

15

830407[illegible]0194

Republican National Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

piggyback

- letter to T [illegible] →

- (RNC)

Date: Dec 13 -

To:

→ [illegible]

1. BUSH EMBARRASSED (π 8)
2. DIRTY TRICKS
3. F^2 BASHING

   A) RNC

   B) MOVERS & SHAKERS (elected)

   C) π CANDIDATES

   D) CONSERVATIVES.

16

Republican National Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

Date: 12/4/85

To: ROBIN CARLE

The F2 letter, as requested. The transmittal "yea and yaw" would go on the copy only going to the Veep. OK?

BGJr

(1) "real" figure -- TO DEVISE

(2) RECEPTION/DIN

(3) [illegible] LEAVE [illegible] TIMING PLANS FOR [illegible] TO BE SPLITTEN -- [illegible] X [illegible] PLANS [illegible]

DRAFT: GREENER, III--FF LETTER TO POTENTIAL PRES. CANDIDATES (12-4-85)

Dear _____:

As you know, there has been a great deal of discussion as to the proper role of the Republican National Committee (RNC) with potential candidates for the GOP nomination in 1988. In fact, I have discussed this subject with you ~~in the past~~ so that we might take the first steps towards insuring ~~both~~ the RNC's ~~being~~ nuetrality and at the same time providing our Party leaders with appropriate information and resources available from the Committee.

You and I agree our focus during the next year ought not to be 1988, but rather the important elections of 1986. The stakes have never been higher. It is absolutely essential that we retain control of the U.S. Senate and achieve gains at all other levels.

~~This week an unfortunate situation has arisen~~ ~~A~~ mistaken impression ~~has been generated~~ that the RNC ~~did~~ a poll exclusively for one Presidential candidate. ~~Simply stated, this is not the case.~~

(A) The fact is that we conducted one of our ordinary national voter surveys and allowed the Vice President's people to "piggy-back" some questions of interest to them. We have seen neither the questions or the results on the piggy-back" questions. We have never been asked to pay for these questions. In fact, as of this date, we have not seen the results on the questions that we paid to have asked.

The nature of the problem is a simple clerical error. When the pollster prepared the books containing the questions of particular and political interest to those working with the Vice President, a sentence indicating the study had been done for the RNC was contained. As noted earlier, this just is not the truth.

9

8804070195

In our past ~~conversations~~ DURING DISCUSSIONS (CONCERNING AVOIDING THESE PROBLEMS), I ALSO YOU, AND OTHER, TO ~~we have discussed~~ you designating ON SUCH IMP. ISSUES, AS 1987 ~~an individual~~ A REP. who ~~would meet with us here at the~~ DURATION OF THE RNC. You indicated that _____ was who you would prefer be included.

Obviously, it is time for our first meeting. We must make certain all of the energies of the RNC are aimed at the 1986 election. At the same time, you deserve to be confident that the RNC is being strictly nuetral in matters pertaining the 1988 nomination.

I want to convene our first meeting on _____. If you want me to contact someone other than _____ please let me know at your earliest convenience.

All of us at the RNC look forward to working with you in the upcoming months. Together we can assure the goals we share for the 1986 election are reached.

You have indicated that your req for such purpose would be _____.
The aforestated misunderstanding concerning polling make it imperative that this ad hoc committee & pres candidate begin meeting w/me and appropriate RNC officials as soon as is feasible

Sincerely,

FF

GRAPH A

RNC employs - lots of consultants as well pollsters whose financial interest can create misunderstandings in the future

I intend to schedule the first mtg of this advisory committee in early Jan. I will get back w/ exact date and time in next 10 days. If you would to

890407 0197

FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION
MUR 2133

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, state:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a company with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr., the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC), a long-standing client of MOR, and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the details of the poll with ~~William~~ BILL Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to Vice President Bush, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll. The design of the questionnaire and the specific questions to be used to cover the subjects were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

FEC 10

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5. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll in general was to identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election and measure voter attitudes on national issues and major political figures.

6. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned conversations with Fahrenkopf and Phillips, Lee Atwater (then a volunteer advisor to the Vice President), Phillips and I met to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

7. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed.

8. At about this time, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, to ask him what issues the Vice President might like to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the Vice President would like the poll to cover the issues of trade and terrorism. No other questions were requested by Fuller or the Vice President's staff. The Vice President himself did not request any questions.

9. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then become associated with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include the perception of the Vice President.

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10. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll, with the following objectives, to

(a) Measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) Measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) Measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) Determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) Determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

11. During this questionnaire design stage, I had a meeting with Fuller in Washington. At this meeting, among other nonrelated matters, we discussed the specific draft questions on the trade and terrorism issues, which the MOR staff had prepared and which I had brought with me to show Fuller. Fuller called me a day or two later and said he had thought about the questions I had shown him and had some suggestions, which MOR adopted.

12. MOR completed drafting of the questionnaire and determined the cost for the poll using MOR's usual and normal rates. I called Greener and told him that the cost for the entire poll would be $70,000. Greener agreed.

13. Except for the discussions concerning the trade and terrorism questions at no time did the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, review the questionnaire, approve it or ask for any specific questions, the question and questionnaire having been left to MOR's expertise.

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14. The areas in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed that the questions and approach used were within the broad authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admitedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically requested questions relating to the 1988 election. (Thank God)

15. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985 through September 25, 1985. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote separate analyses of the poll, one for the FFAF (the FFAF Analysis) and one for the RNC (the RNC Analysis). The FFAF Analysis, the Foreword to which erroneously stated that it was for the RNC, emphasized the public's perception of the Vice President, the 1988 election and the national issues of trade and terrorism. The RNC Analysis emphasized the public's attitude on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues.

16. Copies of the FFAF Analysis were delivered to Atwater, for the FFAF, Fuller and the Vice President. Several copies of the RNC Analysis were, some time later, delivered to Greener for the RNC.

17. MOR was subsequently advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election, since the RNC had not authorized those questions. MOR also was

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advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. At this same time, MOR was asked by the FFAF to rewrite the analysis with the purpose of showing how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

18. It was evident that there was a serious but good faith disagreement between MOR and the RNC and the FFAF as to what was or was not to be covered in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this situation were that the specific areas to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

19. Following its customary practices to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had several negotiating sessions with each client. MOR will has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions that the RNC agreed it had asked MOR to poll and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll) covering only those questions which FFAF agreed it had authorized MOR to poll. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614 (an 18.1% portion of the poll) will have to be absorbed by MOR. MOR used its normal and customary method of allocating costs in

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multi-client polls in making these allocations and this settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial.

20. I have attached to this Affidavit a copy of the questionnaire noting on the questionnaire which questions were allocated to the RNC, which questions were allocated to the FFAF, and which were not allocated to either client.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this ____ day of March 1986.

_____, Notary Public
_____ County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

8804072204

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
)SS.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

I, Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, depose and say:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research, Inc. (MOR).

2. I have been an Officer of MOR since 1968.

3. MOR, a corporation with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion polls.

4. Early in 1985, I was contacted in my capacity as the President of MOR by Frank Fahrenkopf (the Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC))and asked to conduct a poll for the RNC. The RNC is a long-standing client of MOR. I was told by Fahrenkopf to follow up on the issues and details of the poll with Bill Phillips, Fahrenkopf's Chief of Staff at the RNC. I was also told by Fahrenkopf that the poll should include issues of interest to the Vice President, and that I should talk to the Vice President's staff for input for the poll.

5. Several days earlier, in a conversation I was having with Vice President George Bush, he made a brief comment that I should expect such a call from Fahrenkopf, who was going to commission MOR to do a poll which would include questions of interest to the Vice President. The Vice President did not say anything that indicated

in any way that he, himself, was commissioning the poll or that it had been commissioned at his request.

6. In subsequent discussions with Phillips, it was agreed that the poll should identify and define the Republican and Democratic coalitions approximately one year after the election, measure voter attitudes on national issues and measure the awareness and perception of major political figures. The design of the questionnaire and the questions to be used were left to the expertise and judgment of MOR.

7. A couple of weeks or so after my mentioned discussions with Fahrenkopf and Phillips (RNC), I met with Lee Atwater (a volunteer adviser to the Vice President) and Phillips to discuss a variety of items, including the poll. Phillips agreed with my suggestion that we delay doing the poll until the Fall so that any lingering effects from the 1984 campaign or election would be gone.

8. MOR had no further discussions about the poll until the late Summer when I called William Greener, the RNC's Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, to advise the RNC that I thought it was time to go ahead and do the poll. Greener agreed.

9. At about this same time and pursuant to my mentioned discussion with Fahrenkopf, I called Craig Fuller, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, and asked him what issues he wanted to include in the poll. Fuller replied that the poll should cover the issues of trade and terrorism.

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10. Also about this time I had a conversation with Atwater, who had by then also become associated (as an unpaid political consultant) with the Fund for America's Future (FFAF), in which he asked that the poll include whatever questions I thought would be appropriate to cover the perception of the Vice President.

11. It was at about this point, which was in early September 1985, that I asked the MOR staff to start drafting the questionnaire for the poll with the following issues:

(a) to measure the Republican and Democratic coalitions one year after the campaign.

(b) to measure the general attitudes toward and perception of the Republican Party including the development of perceptual maps.

(c) to measure the national issue agenda including the specific issues of trade and terrorism.

(d) to determine awareness, approval and perception of major political figures.

(e) to determine the approval, perception and political support of Vice President Bush.

12. During this questionnaire design stage, I gave a copy of the draft questionnaire to Fuller, and he and I discussed the questionnaire with a focus on the trade and terrorism issues. A few days later, Fuller suggested to MOR that it make three changes to the questionnaire. These were a suggested change to a trade question, the addition of names to the list of names on a question which assessed the public's attitude on various public figures, and suggested changes to a question which measured the qualities sought in the next President. Some of these suggestions were accepted by MOR.

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13. MOR completed the drafting of the questionnaire, and I called Greener and told him that the poll would cost $70,000. Greener approved this charge. The charge was determined by MOR in its normal business manner using its customary rates.

14. Except for the discussions with Fuller described in paragraph 12, neither the RNC, the FFAF, the Vice President or, in fact, anyone outside MOR, approved the questionnaire - the design of the specific questionnaire having been left to MOR's expertise.

15. The questions in the poll relating to the 1988 election, including the "head on head" questions, were included by MOR because, based on my experience and judgment and that of the MOR staff, MOR believed them to be appropriate. MOR also believed that all of the questions MOR used including the 1988 election questions were within the authority granted to MOR to conduct the poll, although admittedly neither the RNC nor the FFAF had specifically asked for questions relating to the 1988 election.

16. The interviews for the poll were conducted by MOR from September 17, 1985, through September 25, 1985.

17. On September 19, 1985, MOR invoiced the RNC $70,000, the agreed on cost for the poll. Nothing has been paid by the RNC on the invoice and reminder invoices for the $70,000 have been sent to it. The stage of MOR's work on the poll at which the invoice was sent to the RNC is in accordance with MOR's normal business practice.

18. When the poll was completed MOR staff wrote two separate analyses of the poll. The first analysis emphasized the perception

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a written analysis?

of the Vice President, the 1988 election, the trade and terrorism issues and other national issues. The second analysis emphasized voter attitudes on national issues, the Republican and Democratic Parties, and major political figures and it included perceptual maps relating to those issues. It is not unusual for MOR to prepare multiple analyses of polling data to cover the various interests of parties involved in the poll.

19. The first analysis was presented by me at a meeting on November 13, 1985, which was one of a number of meetings I was having at this time with the Vice President, his Chief of Staff (Fuller) and Atwater, and copies of the analyses were given to those. Copies of the second analysis were delivered to Greener on December 19, 1985.

20. In December, 1985, MOR was advised by the RNC that it would pay only for those portions of the poll on voter attitudes towards the issues, parties and major political figures and that the RNC would not pay for that portion of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the RNC had not authorized those questions.

21. MOR was also advised by the FFAF at about this time that the FFAF would pay for those portions of the poll on the perception of the Vice President but that it would not pay for those portions of the poll relating to the 1988 election since the FFAF had not authorized those questions. This was the first time MOR became aware that the FFAF would be paying anything for the poll. At this same time MOR was asked by the FFAF to prepare a revised analysis

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to show how the Vice President might best help Republican candidates and the Republican party in the 1986 election campaign.

22. It was evident to MOR that there was a serious disagreement between MOR and the RNC as to what questions should or should not have been included in the poll. This kind of misunderstanding occasionally occurs in our business. Factors which contributed to the misunderstanding in this particular situation were that the issues to be covered in the poll were determined through discussions rather than in writing, and the poll came about over a relatively long period of time with input from several sources.

23. Following its customary practice to resolve business disputes with it clients by direct negotiations, MOR had negotiating sessions with both the RNC and the FFAF. As a result, MOR has proposed to settle the bill of $70,000 for the poll by agreeing with the RNC for it to pay $52,390, (a 74.8% portion of the poll), covering only those questions which the RNC agreed it had authorized MOR to poll, and by agreeing with the FFAF for it to pay $4996, (a 7.1% portion of the poll), covering only those questions concerning the perception of the Vice President. The balance of the $70,000 bill, $12,614, (a 18.1% portion of the poll), apparently will have to be absorbed by MOR. In making these allocations, MOR used its normal and customary method of allocating costs for multi-client polls. This settlement of MOR's bill is consistent with MOR's normal and customary business practice in resolving disputed work or charges with its clients, both political and commercial. This poll was done by MOR in the regular course of

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its business with the intent to be paid in full for its work. The proposed settlement of the bill was for business reasons. MOR had no intent that there be a contribution by it to anybody.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12 day of March 1986.

TRACY PACIOREK
Notary Public, Macomb County, Mich.
Acting in Wayne County
My Commission Expires March 28, 1989

Notary Public
County, Michigan
My commission expires: _____

8804070210

CITY OF WASHINGTON)

) ss:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

March 5, 1986

3804702111

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985 in my capacity as unpaid political consultant to The Fund, I asked Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, to include some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President on a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("The RNC"). At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of The RNC of this request. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986. At no time did I specify, request or authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by Market Opinion Research. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of Market Opinion Research to formulate questions concerning the Vice President appropriate to The Fund's activities.

FEC 12

5. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of the poll.

6. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

7. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assesses the 1988 Presidential race. Because my copy of the poll results stated it was conducted for The RNC, I assumed that the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had been commissioned by the The RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned The RNC had not commissioned these questions either.

8. At that time, I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund would not pay for questions which were unauthorized concerning the 1988 Presidential elections and have requested that he submit to The Fund a revised analysis and a bill only for those questions authorized and relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from Market Opinion Research or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996 which sum MOR has determined consitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

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CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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FEC 13

authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Greener that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Greener that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it

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was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions

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relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater

Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13th day of March, 1986.

Jesse E. Kohl

Notary Public

My Commission expires: Sept. 14, 1989

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Stenographic Transcripts Of

HEARINGS

Before The

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

RECEIVED
GENERAL COUNSEL
'86 AUG 27 A10:15

- - - - - - - - - - - - - x

In Re: :

MUR 2133 :

- - - - - - - - - - - - - x

Federal Election Commission

999 E Street, N.W.

Sixth Floor

Washington, D.C.

August 15, 1986

3804072017

Deposition of:

HARVEY LEROY ATWATER

MILTON, DAWSON, MINSON, INC.

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

(Notary Public: D.C.-Virginia-Maryland)

515 WYTHE STREET, SUITE #309 ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

(703) 836-2020

ORIGINAL

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

- - - - - - - - - - - - - x

In Re: :

MUR 2133 :

- - - - - - - - - - - - - x

Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Sixth Floor
Washington, D.C.

August 15, 1986

Deposition of: HARVEY LEROY ATWATER

called for examination by Counsel for the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to notice, taken before Pamela Briggle, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

- -

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APPEARANCES:

On behalf of the Federal Election Commission:

JONATHAN LEVIN, Attorney
LOIS LERNER, Assistant General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Sixth Floor
Washington, D.C.

On behalf of the Witness:

JAN W. BARAN, ESQUIRE
TREVOR POTTER, ESQUIRE
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
-and-
EDE HOLIDAY, ESQUIRE
Fund for America's Future
1220 18th Street, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20036

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EXHIBITS

FEC Exhibit No.	Identified
1	29
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5	60
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PROCEEDINGS [9:04 a.m.]

Whereupon,

HARVEY LEROY ATWATER

a witness called for examination and, having been first duly sworn by the Notary Public, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q State your name please, for the record.

A Harvey Leroy Atwater.

Q And your business address?

A 18th Street, Washington, D.C.

Q And your present position?

A Political consultant.

Q Do you work for a firm on 18th Street?

A No, I'm self-employed.

Q Mr. Atwater, have you ever been deposed before?

A Yes.

Q Then you'll understand. I'm going to ask you a series of questions. If at any time you do not understand a question I ask, tell me that you do not understand it, and I will either repeat the question or try to rephrase the

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question so that you can understand it. If you fail to tell me that you don't understand a question, I'll assume that you understand it. Is that clear?

A Yes.

Q Are you represented by counsel here today?

A Yes.

Q And would you state counsel's name, for the record?

A Jan Baran, Ede Holiday and Trevor Potter.

Q And they are representing you personally?

A Yes.

Q Have you spoken with anybody as to your testimony today?

A Yes.

Q And with whom?

A My attorneys.

Q Have you spoken with anyone else?

A Yes.

Q And with whom did you speak?

A Would you repeat the question?

Q With whom did you speak?

A To, the original question.

Q Have you spoken with anyone else as to your

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testimony today other than your attorneys?

A Do you mean the details or just the fact that I'm testifying today?

Q Either one. Both of them, as a matter of fact.

A Well, not the details, but several people know that I'm going to testify today.

Q And what did you say to these people? Let me ask you this first, who are these people?

A Craig Fuller, Bob Teeter, Nicholas Brady, my wife, my little girl. And I believe that's all.

Q What did you say to Mr. Fuller with respect to this conversation?

A No specifics, just that I was going to testify here today.

Q Nothing beyond that you were going to testify here today?

A Well, only that we didn't think it was wise to discuss anything about it.

Q And the second person that you mentioned was whom -- other than Mr. Brady? Mr. Teeter.

A Mr. Teeter -- the same.

Q And what did you say to Mr. Brady?

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A The same, basically the same. I told them all that I was going to do this and that it would probably be unwise to discuss any details.

Q Who is Nicholas Brady?

A He is an advisor to our political action committee.

Q And how long has he been an advisor to the political action committee?

A Since its inception or creation in the spring of 1985.

Q What political action committee are we talking about?

A The Fund for America's Future.

Q What is the Fund for America's Future?

A It's a political action committee.

Q And what is its function?

A To coordinate political activities on behalf of the Vice President of the United States.

Q And what sort of activities -- what sort of political activities?

A Primarily 1986 scheduling campaign activities.

Q When you say primarily, are there any other functions that the Fund for America's Future has?

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A Yes.

Q And what are those?

A General scheduling, coordinating with his scheduling office.

Q The Vice President's scheduling office?

A Right. But again, those are primarily dealing with 1986.

Q Any years beyond 1986?

A No.

Q What is your position -- do you have a position with the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

Q And what is that position?

A Chairman.

Q And how long have you been chairman of the Fund for America's Future?

A Since January 1, 1986.

Q Were you involved with the Fund for America's Future prior to that?

A Yes.

Q And what was the nature of that involvement?

A Volunteer consultant.

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Q How many hours a week would you say you put in as volunteer consultant to the Fund for America's Future?

A Ten to 15, and as time moved on I spent more.

Q When was the Fund for America's Future formed?

A Spring of 1985.

Q Around April?

A I think it was later than that. It could have been later, but it seems like it was -- seems like it could have even been early summer. I don't remember.

Q Other than your position as chairman of the Fund for America's Future and as volunteer consultant to the committee prior to that, have you had any other association with the Vice President of the United States?

A Yes.

Q And what is that association?

A Well, I worked at the White House for three years.

Q And what did you do at the White House?

A Political advisor to the President.

Q Were you also political advisor to the Vice President at that time?

A No.

Q Have you ever been a political advisor to the Vice

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President?

A Prior to this involvement with Fund for America's Future?

Q Yes, prior to April, or the spring of 1985?

A No.

Q Since the spring of 1985 have you been an advisor to the Vice President on any political matters other than the functions of Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

Q And what were those matters?

A General day-to-day matters.

Q Could you be more specific than that?

A Well, again scheduling, general politics.

Q Have you ever given advice to the Vice President or talked to the Vice President about any possible run by the Vice President for the Presidency in 1988?

A Yes.

Q And when have you done that?

A From time to time.

Q What is from to time? How often is that?

A It's hard to say.

Q Are we talking about once a week?

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A No.

Q A couple times a month? Is that more accurate?

A I would say overall, probably yes that would be more accurate.

Q Is there any written memoranda or notes exchanged in this process?

A Could you elaborate a little bit on what you really mean?

Q Do you put your advice in writing? Does the Vice President put his responses to your advice in writing?

A I've written some rather general pieces, particularly before I got involved with the Fund for America's Future. I remember one specifically. But he doesn't put anything in writing to me.

Q What is the Vice President's exploratory account?

A That is an account that was established in July.

Q Of 1986?

A Of this year.

Q And what is that account for?

A It was an account we established to pay -- to fund candidates who are in contested delegate races in a political process that took place in Michigan on August 5th.

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Q Does anyone administer this account, have control over this account?

A Yes.

Q And who is that?

A Bobby Holt, Robert Holt.

Q And who is he?

A He is from Texas.

Q That's where he's from. What is he?

A He is the treasurer of the account.

Q He is the treasurer of the account?

A Right.

Q Who established this account?

A Bobby Holt.

Q Did you consult with Mr. Holt or talk to Mr. Holt in the process of establishing this account?

A Yes.

Q Did anyone else do that?

A Yes.

Q And who were those people?

A Mr. Teeter.

Q Anyone else?

A Not that I'm sure of.

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Q Now you spoke to Mr. Holt while this account was being established. What was said by both you and Mr. Holt?

A Well, I expressed to him a general need for us to establish such an account if we were going to actually participate in contested delegate races.

Q What was the need? In other words, why did you have to do that?

A Well, I'm not an attorney, but my layman/common sense understanding of the law and of what's right is that party-building -- as long as what we were involved in in Michigan would fall into the category of party-building -- that it could be paid for from the Fund for America's Future.

And so anything that involved bringing new people into the party as delegates, there's a -- it's a right complicated process that elaborate only if you want me to. But anything that involved people coming into the process as delegates was appropriate. But if we contested existing delegates, I couldn't understand how we could consider that party-building and that we ought to establish an account -- some sort of account. And we deemed it necessary to set up this exploratory account.

Q What were your discussions with Mr. Teeter then, or

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what were the discussions with Mr. Teeter that you know of involving the establishment of the exploratory account?

A Same general discussions.

Q And what did Mr. Teeter say to that?

A He agreed.

Q Anything more than that?

A More than agreeing?

Q Yes.

A No.

Q Did anyone have any discussions with the Vice President about the establishment of an exploratory account?

A Yes.

Q And who was that?

A I'm not sure. I could figure that out, but I'm just not sure.

Q Did you hear anything about such discussions?

MR. BARAN: I object. The question calls for hearsay evidence.

MR. LEVIN: The witness can answer subject to counsel's objection.

MR. BARAN: I will instruct the witness to respond to any questions that asks about his firsthand knowledge, but

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not about hearsay testimony. If you'd like to ask Mr. Atwater any question about any discussions that he participated in, he will be glad to testify to that.

MS. LERNER: As you know, this is an investigatory deposition and all answers are taken subject to your investigations. And we would direct the witness to answer the question at this time.

MR. BARAN: I would ask you to rephrase the question so that he can respond to his direct knowledge.

MS. LERNER: We'll try rephrasing it and we'll see what happens.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q What is your knowledge of those conversations? You've stated that you don't know who discussed the exploratory account with the Vice President. But what is your knowledge of those conversations?

A That the Vice President was informed of this, and in some form or fashion agreed, and was cognizant of what was being done and agreed.

Q Do you know of anything more that the Vice President responded to on that?

A No.

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Q And where --

A Let me add something. Now that I say that, there was another party who knew of this, too, that I've discussed this with and that was Craig Fuller.

Q And you discussed that with Craig Fuller?

A Yes.

Q And what did Mr. Fuller say?

A He was in agreement.

Q And who gave you the information about the Vice President's reaction to the establishment of the exploratory account?

A Craig Fuller. That's what made me remember that I'd discussed it with Craig Fuller.

Q Who has the right to clear expenditures from the exploratory account? In other words, to approve, is a better word -- approve expenditures from the exploratory account?

A Bobby Holt.

Q Do you have that right?

A Informally. I've never tried to -- our attorneys, particularly Ms. Holiday, are going to have to sit down and figure out what will be paid for out of that account and what will be paid for out of the other account.

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Q The Fund for America's Future?

A Right.

Q I'm curious as to your last reference. You were trying to figure out what Fund for America's Future would pay for and what the exploratory account would pay for. Does the exploratory account get different funds than the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

Q And what are those funds?

A What do you mean, what are those funds?

Q I mean, are they different kinds of funds?

A Yes, there's two actual committees set up and two different accounts, two different ways of raising the money. They're two separate entities.

Q What kinds of funds are you talking about for the exploratory account?

A What do you mean, what kind of funds?

Q What's the origin of those funds?

A Well, they're raised by supporters.

Q I don't know if we cleared up, who else would have the right, besides Mr. Holt, to approve expenditures from the exploratory account?

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MR. BARAN: If you don't know, Mr. Atwater, you can state you don't know.

THE WITNESS: I just don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Does anyone have the responsibility for soliciting contributions for the exploratory?

A Yes.

Q And who are those people?

A Bobby Holt.

Q Anyone else?

A I don't know.

Q Who has the drawing rights, can write checks on the exploratory account?

A I don't know.

Q Does Mr. Holt?

A I'm just he must, but I don't --

MR. BARAN: Do you know, Mr. Atwater?

THE WITNESS: No, I don't.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q You know that you don't?

A No, I don't.

MS. LERNER: I think we need to clear that up. I'm

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not sure that Johnny understood your comment. Am I correct that you asked the witness, did he know who had the drawing rights, and his response was, he did not; is that correct?

MR. BARAN: Is that your testimony, Mr. Atwater?

THE WITNESS: Right, I do not. I do know that.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q You know that you do not?

A Right.

Q The questions to come will refer to the poll conducted by Market Opinion Research from September 17th through the 25th for the Republican National Committee, and perhaps for the Fund for America's Future, which has been the subject of this matter, unless the question specifically indicates otherwise. Is that clear?

A Yes.

Q What was the first conversation that you know of pertaining to the poll?

A A brief discussion that I had with the Vice President in the spring of 1985.

Q And what was said in that discussion?

A He said that he -- the Vice President said that he had had lunch with Fahrenkopf and Fahrenkopf had offered to

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include him or some questions about him on an upcoming national poll.

Q Do you know what questions he was talking about when you say him or questions about him?

A No.

Q Let me try to be more specific. Would they have been questions that compared the Vice President to other political figures?

A No, he didn't say.

Q He didn't say?

A No, I told you that.

Q Let me just ask one more than. Did he ask -- were the issues of trade and terrorism mentioned?

A No.

Q Did the Vice President mention a conversation he had had with Bob Teeter of Market Opinion Research?

A No.

Q When you say spring of 1985, when in the spring are we talking about?

A April or May.

Q What else did the Vice President say about this possible poll?

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A That was it.

Q Did he give you any instructions or tell you to do anything?

A No.

Q Did he say why then he was referring to this conversation with Mr. Fahrenkopf, why he was telling you about it?

A We were just having a general conversation and he mentioned it in passing in the conversation. Actually, we were jogging together and he had had lunch with Fahrenkopf that day or the day before, something like that. So that was it.

Q So how long are we talking about in terms of the part of your conversation that referred to the poll?

A Minute, minute and-a-half. That was my first knowledge that there was such a poll.

Q Well, what is your first knowledge that there was such a poll?

A That was it.

Q That was it?

A Yes. I mean, in other words --

Q And what is the next conversation that you heard

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about with reference to this poll? It doesn't have to have involved you.

A The next conversation was a conversation with Bob Teeter and Bill Phillips.

Q Were you in that conversation?

A Yes.

Q And when was that conversation?

A Summer 1985.

Q Was that a phone conversation?

A No.

Q Where was this conversation?

A Capitol Hill Club in Washington, D.C.

Q And what was said during this conversation?

A General discussion that such a poll was being conducted. Very general discussion on the nature of the poll, and general discussion on -- Mr. Phillips expressed concern about possible political fallout from Mr. Fahrenkopf, who was his boss. And I said that if there was a problem that I would try to get the Fund for America's Future to pay part of the poll.

Q What did he mean by possible political fallout? What was he referring to?

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A He didn't say. I mean, that's all he said.

Q Well, you did refer to a possible solution though.

A Right.

Q So what is this a solution to?

A As a professional politician I assumed -- and I think rightfully so -- that he was worried that Mr. Fahrenkopf could be criticized by other politicians for doing a poll predominantly for one potential 1988 candidate.

Q Was there a concern that there were questions there that pertained to a potential 1988 candidate?

A There was no mention of that one way or the other. This was very general. It was just what I said.

Q Now when you said that you offered to have the Fund pay for questions. I know you said this was a general conversation. Did you say what types of questions the Fund would pay for?

A No. But I meant, without saying -- I mean, I clearly would never -- I mean, they're certain types of questions that the Fund could not pay for. So by definition I wouldn't be offering to pay for -- or offering to try to get the Fund to pay for anything that was not appropriate. And I clearly knew that there were certain types that we couldn't

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pay for.

Q What were those types?

A Anything dealing specifically with the 1988 presidential sweepstakes.

Q Was any mention made of Mr. Teeter during this conversation?

A Well, Mr. Teeter was there.

Q Mr. Teeter was there. So it's you and Bill Phillips and --

A And Teeter.

Q -- Teeter. Was any mention made of Bill Greener of the Republican National Committee?

A I don't recall. Not that I recall, is a better way to put it.

Q Was there any discussion as to the purpose of this poll during this conversation?

A I don't recall.

Q Did you discuss this conversation with Mr. Greener?

A No.

[Pause.]

A I don't recall. I had a later discussion with Mr. Greener and I don't recall whether this discussion was

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made reference to or not.

Q Did you discuss this conversation with the Vice President?

A No.

Q Did you discuss this conversation with anyone else?

A No.

Q What was the next conversation that you know of pertaining to this poll?

A A meeting with Bill Greener and Bob Teeter.

Q And when was that?

A Fall of 1985.

Q When in the fall?

A I don't know, early fall -- football season.

Q So this was before the poll was taken?

A When was the poll actually taken?

Q The 17th to the 25th of September.

A This could have been before or after the poll.

MR. BARAN: Do you know, Mr. Atwater?

THE WITNESS: I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Where was this conversation?

A Golden Palace on H Street -- actually, the corner of

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H and something.

Q And what went on during that conversation pertaining to the poll?

A General conversation, very similar to the one --

Q Who said what?

A I don't recall specifically. I do recall that Greener and I had an interchange similar to the one Phillips and I had.

Q What do you mean by that? Please elaborate.

A That if we needed to -- that if the Fund for America's Future needed to fund some of the questions, you know, we would.

Q Did Mr. Greener -- and this is your impression. I don't want you to read his mind, but did he seem concerned to you about the prospect of the inclusion of these questions? The questions that we're referring to.

A Well, we never talked about questions.

MR. BARAN: I object. If you could rephrase.

MR. LEVIN: I want the witness' impression.

THE WITNESS: Well, we never discussed questions.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Did he seem concerned over the issue of who would

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pay for the questions?

A I don't recall.

Q Had Mr. Phillips seemed concerned in that prior conversation?

A Yes.

Q Does that make you recall anything else that he might have said? I mean, what gave you cause to feel he was concerned?

A Well, he expressed concern. Specifically said he was -- as I said earlier.

Q Were you aware of any conversation that took place in which a decision was made to delay doing the poll?

A No.

Q If I told you that it was between Bob Teeter and Bill Greener, would that remind you? Do you recall hearing of any such conversation?

A About what?

Q About a delay in doing the poll?

A No, I don't. I've never heard -- I specifically don't remember. This is the first I've heard the term delay used.

Q Did you have any contact about the poll with persons

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at Market Opinion Research other than Mr. Teeter?

A No.

Q You don't recall speaking to a Mr. Fred Steeper?

A No.

Q Is it possible that you may have spoken to Mr. Steeper?

MR. BARAN: I object. Anything's possible.

THE WITNESS: Anything's possible, but I certainly don't recall. I know him and I've talked to him over the years, but I don't remember talking to him on this poll.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q In these conversations that you had with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Greener, the last two conversations that we've discussed, why were you being -- why do you think you were being talked to about this poll?

A Well, because I was acknowledged as being a consultant, which I was, to the Fund for America's Future and an advisor to the Vice President. Both of these settings were social settings and the poll was, in both instances, not central to the setting.

Q I want to make sure you understood my questions when I said conversations that you know of. They didn't have to

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involve you. And now we've gone into the fall. I was wondering if there are any other conversations up to that time that you were not involved in?

A I don't recall.

Q What was your next conversation, after the last one you mentioned, the one with Mr. Greener and Mr. Teeter, you said perhaps in the fall? What was your next --

A The next one I recall was the presentation of the poll by Mr. Teeter.

Q Do you know of any other conversations prior to that that you were not involved in that pertained to the poll?

A No, not that I recall.

MR. LEVIN: I'm handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 1, and handing that document to witness and counsel. It's headed, a memorandum for Mary Lukens from Kathy Smith. And I'll give the witness and counsel time to look at this document.

[FEC Exhibit No. 1 was marked for identification.]

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you seen FEC Exhibit No. 1 before?

A Yes.

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Q Have you seen the first page of FEC Exhibit No. 1 before?

A I don't recall.

Q You don't recall if you have seen it or not?

A No. I think I have.

Q Have you seen the next nine pages, marked page 1 through 9?

A Yes.

Q When did you see the first page of this exhibit before, the one that --

A That I don't recall whether I've seen?

Q You say that you may have, you said.

A Well, when I saw this other document was in spring or early summer '86. So if I saw it, it would be at the same time.

Q Do you know what the first page is? What these comments are?

MR. BARAN: Mr. Levin, I believe the document speaks for itself.

MR. LEVIN: I'm unclear as to -- I want him -- I don't know what he's saying as far as what he's seen.

MR. BARAN: Well, I think he's testified he doesn't

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recall seeing page one, but believes he has seen pages 1 through 9.

MR. LEVIN: He said he may have seen page 1.

MR. BARAN: Let's clarify that issue. Do you have a specific recollection of having seen page 1?

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. LEVIN: Let me ask these questions, Jan, and maybe he can clarify in his mind whether he has seen it or not.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Do you recall Craig Fuller discussing these comments with you?

A No.

Q The comments on the first page of the document, of Exhibit No. 1. That's what I was referring to when I asked if you recalled Craig Fuller discussing that.

A No.

Q When did you see those second -- the second through the 10th page, that marked page 1 through 9 on Exhibit 1?

MR. BARAN: Mr. Atwater's already responded to that, given testimony. He said it was in the spring or summer of 1986.

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BY MR. LEVIN:

Q And were pages 1 through 9 mailed to you?

A No.

Q How did you see them? Under what circumstances?

A My attorneys.

Q This is the spring of summer of what year now we're talking about?

A Just last spring.

Q Do you recall ever having been told -- once you had read the document, do you recall ever having been told what was in this document prior to that point?

A No, because I was surprised to see the document -- surprised that I hadn't seen it before or knew anything about it before.

Q Why were you surprised about that?

A Well, I was just surprised that a document like this was floating that I didn't ever see or know about.

Q Mr. Fuller never discussed pages marked 1 through 9 with you? We've already established he didn't discuss his comments. Did he ever discuss those second through 10th pages?

A No.

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Q Do you know if he discussed it with anybody else?
A Well, I can read this.
Q But beyond that you have no knowledge?
A No.
Q To your knowledge -- let me ask you this. Have you seen poll analyses before?
A Yes.
Q And have you seen draft poll questionnaires before?
A Yes.
Q To your knowledge, is it usual for the RNC to review a poll questionnaire before it goes out?
A Repeat the question.
Q Is it usual for the Republican National Committee to review a poll questionnaire before it goes out?
A I don't know.
Q Who does usually review poll questionnaires that go out from the Republican National Committee, people outside the RNC?
A I don't know.
Q Moving away from this document, let me ask you a question going back to the conversations prior to -- the one including the fall, the one with Greener and Teeter and the

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one with Mr. Phillips prior to that, those casual conversations you referred to.

When you made the offer to possibly pay, were you doing this on anyone's behalf or on any entity's behalf?

A No.

Q Were you doing it on behalf of the Vice President?

A No.

Q Were you doing it on behalf of Fund for America's Future?

A I hadn't discussed it with anybody there.

Q Who were you saying would pay for these questions?

A I was inferring the Fund for America's Future, but I was speaking on my own. What I was inferring was that I would use any influence I had there, in the event they needed to, to try to get it paid for. But nothing ever came of it and I wasn't further contacted by either Phillips or Greener so I didn't think anymore about it.

Q Now you stated that you don't know who would review the drafts of a poll before it goes out?

A Right.

Q Why were you surprised that then -- let's refer back to Exhibit No. 1. Why were you surprised that this was

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floating around without your having seen it? I mean, that you hadn't been shown it, why did that surprise you?

A Because I see my name here.

Q Do you usually get shown poll questionnaires?

A Well, this is a one-time deal, so there's no precedent for it. But since I had been in on two conversations involving such a poll and I saw a document this summer with my name in it, I must say I commented to whoever I was with -- I think it might have been Ede -- that I was surprised I hadn't seen the poll, but I didn't know anything about it.

Q So then you're saying you were surprised because you saw your name there. So you do know that you have seen this before, this first page of Exhibit 1?

A I can't remember whether I saw my name there or whether they told me that it was in there.

Q Who told you?

A I think it was Ede that I was talking to. Ede was the first person who asked me did I know of such a document. And as I said, I don't recall actually seeing this, but I could have seen it. If I didn't see it, I do know that it was discussed -- that my name was discussed in connection with

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such a document. And I just don't recall the specifics.

Q But that was the first time you had heard about it?

A That's right.

Q Do you recall the date upon which you received the poll analysis?

A No.

Q Does mid-November sound correct to you?

A Could be. It was in the fall.

Q Between the time that the survey was being conducted and the time of your receipt of the poll analysis, did you have any contact with anyone pertaining to the poll?

A Not that I recall.

MR. BARAN: I object, to the extent that I believe Mr. Atwater's testimony indicated that meeting with Mr. Greener and Mr. Teeter could have been after the poll was conducted.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Okay. So between that meeting with Mr. Greener and Mr. Teeter and the time that you received the poll analysis, do you recall --

A Not that I recall.

Q Do you know of any other conversations that others

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would have had with respect to the poll?

A Not that I recall.

Q You don't remember any conversations with Mr. Teeter?

A I recall discussing the poll generally with Mr. Teeter. I think it was at one or both of those meetings. I do not recall discussing it with him outside of those two meetings. But I have so much contact with Mr. Teeter, it is a possibility. But not that I recall.

[Pause.]

A But I specifically recall never seeing a questionnaire, never knowing anything about specific questions.

Q During the fall of 1985, did you and Mr. Fuller and the Vice President ever get together outside of the receipt of the poll analysis?

A Repeat the question.

Q Did you and Mr. Fuller and Mr. Teeter and the Vice President ever get together?

A Other than that one time?

Q Other than that one time.

A I can't recall if that specific combination got

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together other than that one time.

Q How about the combination without Mr. Teeter?

A Yes, I'm sure.

Q And when was that?

A I don't recall specific dates.

MR. LEVIN: I'm handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit 2. And I'm handing a copy of FEC Exhibit 2 to witness and counsel. You can take time to look at it, if you wish.

[FEC Exhibit No. 2 was marked for identification.]

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you ever seen FEC Exhibit 2 before?

A Yes.

Q And what is FEC Exhibit 2?

A The poll analysis from Mr. Teeter's poll.

Q And when did you see FEC Exhibit 2 before?

A In that meeting with the Vice President, Fuller, Teeter and myself.

Q Had you seen the poll analysis prior to that?

A No.

Q It had not been mailed to you prior to the meeting?

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A No, handed to me at the meeting.

Q And where was this meeting?

A At the Vice President's office.

Q The Vice President's office?

A Right.

Q Which office is this? At the White House?

A It was either in the White House or the EOB, I can't remember which one. But it was in one of his two -- he's got two offices over there. One's in 175 in the EOB and one's in the White House, and I frankly don't remember which office it was in.

Q Do you know when it was first determined that the Vice President or representatives of the Vice President would be receiving a poll analysis from Market Opinion Research?

A Could you elaborate?

Q Well, when was that you and the Vice President -- or let's say, when was it decided that the Vice President would be receiving a poll analysis?

A I don't know.

Q Was that assumed all along?

A I don't know.

Q How was it determined that this meeting would --

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that at this meeting you'd be there, Mr. Fuller would be there, and the Vice President? How was that decided?

A I don't remember.

Q Why were you there?

A Well, because I was invited. I mean, but I don't remember the details. My secretary just told me we have a meeting and we were going to discuss Teeter's survey.

Q Who invited you?

A Whoever called my secretary. So I would assume -- I don't know.

Q Did someone from Market Opinion Research invite you?

A I don't know.

MR. BARAN: I object. He's testified and said he does not know.

MR. LEVIN: Well, if I mention specific names he might remember, he might recall.

MR. BARAN: You can repeat the question 100 times.

THE WITNESS: I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Was there any other reason that you were thinking of why you were there? Only what you were thinking of.

MR. BARAN: I object. You're asking Mr. Atwater to

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speculate.

MR. LEVIN: It's not speculating because I'm asking what he was thinking as to why he was invited.

MR. BARAN: That would constitute speculation, because he doesn't know why he was invited.

THE WITNESS: I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q You don't know?

A No.

Q Do you know if anyone had received a copy of this analysis prior to the meeting?

A I don't know.

Q You didn't see anybody walking in with a copy of the analysis other than Mr. Teeter?

A Not that I remember.

Q What went on at this meeting? I mean, tell me who said what.

A Well, Mr. Teeter did most of the talking and he revealed the results of the poll.

Q And what was he saying? Was he walking through the poll?

A Yes, that's a good way to put it.

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Q Did the Vice President say anything to Mr. Teeter? Let's put it this way, did the Vice President say anything during this meeting?

A Yes.

Q And what did he say?

A I don't remember.

Q Do you recall generally what he said?

A He was generally upbeat about what Mr. Teeter wqas saying, but I don't recall any details.

Q Did Mr. Fuller say anything during this meeting?

A I don't remember any specifics. I'm sure he did.

Q And what was the general gist of what he was saying?

A As I remember, he was mainly inquiring about how the Vice President should be scheduled over the next several months as based on -- as a result of this.

Q And who was giving advice on that?

A Teeter, and I was involved in discussing that, too.

Q Who were you speaking on behalf of when you were involved in the discussion of the scheduling?

A I was giving my own judgment.

Q Were you speaking on behalf of the Fund for America's Future?

A Not particularly. I was giving my own observations, my own judgment.

Q Was Bill Phillips with the Fund at this point?

A No, I don't think so.

Q He was still with the Republican National Committee?

A To the best of my recollection.

Q What did you say during this meeting other than the advice you were giving on scheduling?

A That's all I can really recall.

[Pause.]

A Well, no, we did have a general discussion on foreign policy, trade, terrorism, and I participated in that. But I don't remember any specific things that anybody said.

Q Did anyone comment on the fact that there were questions related to the Vice President and possible prospects for '88 in the poll?

A Well, that was certainly discussed. The '88 portion of the poll was discussed.

Q And what was said about that?

A Well, that he looked -- that he was out ahead of everyone and looked pretty good.

Q Anyone asked why these questions were in the poll?

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A No.

Q I'm going to refer you in FEC Exhibit 2 to the fifth sheet. It's marked at the bottom I.

A Yes.

Q Did anyone say anything about the foreward?

A No.

Q Did you ever receive a bill or an invoice or any kind of letter that would constitute a bill or an invoice from Market Opinion Research for the poll or the poll analysis?

A Not at that point.

Q When did you receive that?

A One may have come in sometime after the poll so-called controversy erupted, but I don't know.

Q Would that have been a bill sent to the Fund for America's Future?

MR. BARAN: Do you know?

THE WITNESS: I don't know.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Do you recall seeing one?

A I don't know. I don't recall seeing one.

Q Did someone tell you about one -- a bill sent to you or to the Fund for America's Future?

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A I don't recall.

Q Now I believe you stated before -- or maybe you didn't. Have you seen poll analyses before? Have you received them?

A Yes.

Q And how often have you received them?

A Well, you mean just in general?

Q Just in general.

A Well, I've been fooling with polls for 15 years and seen them.

Q Have you ever received one with the Vice President in a meeting at the same time?

A Not of this nature.

Q What do you mean by not of this nature?

A We had discussed and seen polls. I mean, every week or so a bunch of new polls come out and we talk about them and look at them.

Q We're talking about the analyses of the type that's in Exhibit 2. In other words, it's something from a pollster, as opposed to a newspaper story, that's what I'm saying. Is that what you're addressing?

A Well, we get copies of polls when polling firms do

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them and we discuss them.

Q I didn't quite get what you meant by not of this nature.

A Well, that is the only instance in which Mr. Teeter has briefed this group on one of his polls.

Q But is there something different about this poll, when you say not of this nature?

A Well, the difference in the poll is that Mr. Teeter conducted this poll and he was briefing this particular group. That's the only time that has happened.

Q So this group of you and the Vice President and Mr. Fuller hadn't met before to receive a poll from Mr. Teeter?

A Right.

Q Had you met before to receive a poll from anyone else? You and the Vice President and Mr. Fuller?

A Not formally.

Q What do you mean by that?

A Well, I mean, I'll get a copy of a poll. Gallup will do a poll, I'll get a copy of it, and I'll go over and show it to him.

Q Did you know that the Republican National Committee

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would also be receiving an analysis from Market Opinion Research?

A I had assumed that. I didn't know it.

Q On what basis did you assume that?

A Just the general gist of the two conversations I had been in with Greener and Phillips.

Q But do you know of any discussions in which it was stated that the Republican National Committee would be receiving it?

A No.

Q What's the next contact or conversation that you know of involving the poll or circumstances surrounding the poll?

A A phone conversation with a reporter.

Q And when was that?

A December of '86.

Q Was that early December?

A Seems like it was like the first week in December.

Q Is this when the story broke in the newspapers?

A Right.

Q Could you tell me what happened in those circumstances? You started out with a phone conversation.

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Let me ask you this -- I'm sorry.

Was that the first you had heard of it? In other words, had you heard of a story breaking before this phone conversation?

A No.

Q Proceed to tell me -- if you can go on to tell me the events, including this phone conversation, the events the proceeded from there?

A I was called by Tom Edsel of the Washington Post, who said that he had received a copy of a poll from an agent of Mr. Dole's, who said Dole had received a copy of this poll on his doorstep at the Watergate Hotel with a handwritten note from an anonymous, disgruntled GOPer who had said, it's not fair for them to be doing a poll for Bush, do something about this. And evidently, the something they did about it was to get some agent to go to Tom Edsel with a copy of the poll, who called me and wanted to know what was going on.

Q And what happened next?

A I said, well, let me check it out and I'll call you back.

Q Okay. And what happened next?

A Well, he kept calling.

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Q Mr. Edsel kept calling?

A Yes.

Q Proceed. Keep telling me what's going on here.

A Well, I called Mr. Fuller and Mr. Teeter and told them about the call. And I don't remember the exact sequence of events, but I also called Mr. Greener. So the four of us talked, and I was going to Mr. Fuller's office anyhow about something else, so I went over there and we -- in the meantime, Edsel kept calling.

And so it was clear to me that no one person, the way that this whole thing had unfolded, that no one person actually knew all the events that transpired with regards to this poll. Because the more I was talking to people, the more I was finding out people didn't know things that I assumed they should know. And so we had an hour or so discussion between those four people.

Q Was that face-to-face?

A No, no, no. I was talking to -- I don't even know -- I don't know if Fuller talked to anybody other than me. But I talked to Teeter on the phone, I talked to Fuller on the phone, I talked to Fuller.

And we began to try to piece the events together.

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And by late that afternoon we had, and we all ended up talking to Edsel.

Q What did people say in these conversations?

A Well, basically we constructed most of the things that we just said -- that I've gone over here in the last hour.

Q Did you ever have a group phone conversation? In other words, more than two people on the phone -- the four of you?

A I don't believe so. Because Fuller had to leave and go somewhere and I just stayed in his office. I believe it was me talking to the three of them. I don't remember a conference call.

Q Was the Vice President involved in any of these conversations?

A No.

Q Who were you speaking for in these conversations?

A Well, at the time, I did not -- I must say, I never thought of it in those terms.

Q Did anyone discuss during these conversations who was to make payment for the poll?

A Yes, that was discussed.

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Q And who discussed that?

A Myself and Greener and Teeter.

Q And what was said?

A Basically, without going through a bunch of long details, the fact that I had discussed generally with both Greener and Phillips that if there was a portion we needed to pay for, we would. And we decided that Teeter should go ahead and figure out how to bill it and send us all a bill.

Q Did Mr. Greener say that the RNC wouldn't pay for certain questions?

A I don't think we discussed specific questions.

Q Did you or anyone from the Fund say that the Fund wouldn't pay for certain questions?

A Yes.

Q And what did you say?

A That we couldn't pay for any of the '88 stuff out of the Fund.

Q Was Mr. Phillips involved in these conversations?

A I don't believe so.

Q Was he with the Fund for America's Future at that time?

A I don't remember. I don't remember when he went

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with the Fund for America's Future. I can check on that.

Q But he was either with the RNC or the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes, he was always with one or the other.

Q Did anybody say anything about -- let me ask you this. Did you assume up until this point that the RNC would be paying for the poll?

A Yes. I hadn't heard anymore from anybody about it.

Q Did anyone seem surprised, express surprise -- or put it this way, did anyone express surprise or any concern or any opinion with respect to the fact that you and Mr. Fuller and Vice President already received an analysis?

A Yes.

Q And who said that?

A Mr. Greener.

Q What did he say?

A That they hadn't received an analysis or a copy of the questionnaire or anything.

Q And what else did he say? Did he go on and --

A I don't remember.

Q I mean, did he say that -- was he surprised?

A Seemed to be.

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Q When these people found out that you had received an analysis, Mr. Greener did he ask whether the analysis was for the Vice President or for the Fund?

A I don't remember that coming up one way or the other.

Q Did he ask who the analysis was for?

A I don't remember.

Q Was there any discussion as to whether the RNC would also receive an analysis?

A Yes.

Q And who said that?

A Teeter.

Q And what did he say?

A Well, Fahrenkopf and I think Greener, too, had been on a 10-day tour of Israel, and that's why -- Teeter pointed that out and said that's why they hadn't received their copy, and that they would be getting a briefing the next week.

Q Did anyone during these discussions tell Mr. Teeter or advise Mr. Teeter to exclude analysis pertaining to the Vice President from the analysis he was going to present to the Republican National Committee?

A I don't remember.

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Q You don't remember if, or you don't remember that someone said that?

A Well, I don't remember if or that. I mean, I don't remember that being discussed. So if that's if or that --

Q Did Mr. Teeter state what would be in the analysis that would go to the Republican National Committee during these discussions?

A I don't remember.

Q What did Mr. Teeter state during these discussions?

A Well, we basically spent most of the time trying to reconstruct what really had happened. And Mr. Teeter did state, as I said earlier, that he had not given an analysis to the RNC because Fahrenkopf -- and I believe Greener -- had been on a 10-day foray through Israel, and that he had planned to give theirs to them the next week.

Q Is there anything else we've missed as far as the discussions that went on this day?

A No.

Q Did you talk to him that evening, for instance?

A Well, that evening I called Edsel back and I assume -- and I think Edsel wound up talking to all three of us.

Q When the story did -- now did stories appear in the

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newspaper the next day?

A Yes.

Q And were there any discussions once the stories had broken that you know of?

A Yes.

Q And what were those?

A Well, we had general discussions the next couple days because several of the papers, reporters from other papers were calling and so on and so forth.

Q And what were said in those discussions?

A The same general -- I mean, all in the same general vein.

Q Prior to the point of this story breaking, had you or Mr. Fuller or Mr. Phillips or the Vice President, to your knowledge, discussed the analysis that you received with the Republican National Committee?

A No.

Q What was the next contact that you know of with respect to the poll and the circumstances surrounding it? The next conversation that you know of. It doesn't have to have involved you.

A Well, I mean, it was a right lively topic around

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there for the next couple of weeks. And then I went home a couple of weeks for Christmas and that was that.

Q Did you discuss any allocation of questions with anyone in the weeks following?

A I'm sure we did.

MR. LEVIN: I'm asking the reporter to mark this document FEC Exhibit No. 3, and I'm showing a copy to the witness and counsel. It is from Market Opinion Research and it's a poll questionnaire marked "Office Copy."

[FEC Exhibit No. 3 was marked for identification.]

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Have you seen this document before?

A Not that I recall.

Q Have you seen any document that contained poll questions and an allocation of those poll questions? In other words, designating who would pay for -- or who might pay for what?

A No.

Q Did you discuss with Mr. Teeter how questions would be allocated?

A In general terms.

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Q And when was that?

A In that same time period.

Q This is in December?

A Yes, and I think -- I'm sure we discussed it when we got back in January, too, after the Christmas period.

Q And what were these discussions? What went on?

A Well, that we in the Fund could not pay for any presidential questions. That we'd be glad to pay for any questions that related to the Vice President's political interests other than 1988, and that were allowed by law. And that for him to just figure all that out with the attorneys and send us a bill.

Q Did you go over any specific questions with Mr. Teeter?

A No.

Q Do you recall going over any questions -- let me see if this reminds you -- do you recall going over any questions that would have referred to the Vice President but not to 1988?

A I don't believe -- I don't remember discussing specific questions, period.

Q Did Mr. Phillips meet with Mr. Teeter that you know

of?

A I don't know.

Q Did you hear of any meeting that Mr. Phillips would have had with Mr. Teeter?

A Not that I know of.

Q Do you know if anybody met with Mr. Teeter about the allocation of questions or spoke with Mr. Teeter?

A I don't know.

Q When Mr. Teeter spoke to you about the allocations, who were you acting on behalf of?

A Fund for America's Future.

Q Were you acting on behalf of the Vice President at all?

A Not specifically. I was acting on behalf of the Fund for America's Future.

Q Did Mr. Teeter ever show you any allocation of figures? In other words, any specific figure that the Fund for America's Future might pay?

A I don't remember specifically seeing any. But I must say, my attorneys -- I basically told him to deal with the attorneys and I'd accept basically whatever they came up with.

Q Did you ever discuss any figure with anyone, any specific figure that might have been offered to you?

A At some point I did, and I don't remember whether that was before Christmas or after Christmas. At some point a $4,900 figure came about.

Q And when was that?

A I don't remember.

MR. BARAN: Mr. Levin, would you like some time? Can we take a break? Let the record reflect that several minutes have passed here while you were conferring with the Assistant General Counsel and referring to your papers.

MS. LERNER: Just one moment, please.

MR. LEVIN: I'm handing the reporter three documents to be marked as FEC Exhibit -- well, the first one is to be marked as FEC Exhibit 4.

[FEC Exhibit No. 4 was marked for identification.]

MR. LEVIN: I'm handing a copy of FEC -- it's a draft affidavit of Lee Atwater, date of March 4th, 1986 in the top right-hand corner, unsigned.

MR. BARAN: I object to the description. The documents will speak for themselves unless you wish to

continuing testifying.

MS. LERNER: I believe he can describe what the document is for the record so that there is no confusion at a later point.

MR. BARAN: I assume that the reporter will be marking the document with a number and that it will be referred to by the number, and will be in the transcript.

MS. LERNER: Your objection is noted, but he'll continue to describe the documents.

MR. LEVIN: I'm handing a copy of Exhibit 4 to witness and counsel. I'm handing the reporter FEC Exhibit 5, and unsigned copy of an affidavit of Lee Atwater, dated in the top right-hand corner, March 5th, 1986. And I'm handing a copy to witness and counsel.

[FEC Exhibit No. 5 was marked for identification.]

MR. LEVIN: And I'm handing the reporter a document to be marked as FEC Exhibit No. 6, which is a signed copy of an affidavit of Lee Atwater. And I'm handing a copy to witness and counsel.

[FEC Exhibit No. 6 was marked for identification.]

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MR. LEVIN: I'll give witness and counsel a chance to look at these documents.

BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Atwater, have you seen Exhibit 4 before?

A Possibly.

Q Have you seen Exhibit 5 before?

A I have seen at least one of those. I'm not sure which one.

Q When you say at least one of those, you're referring to 4, 5 and 6?

A No, no. Out of these two, I've seen at least one of them, and I'm not sure which one.

Q At least one out of 4 or 5 you definitely have seen?

A Right, yes.

Q Have you seen FEC Exhibit 6 before?

A Yes.

Q When did you see these, either 4 or 5 and FEC Exhibit 6 before?

A Well, I saw them all in March, I guess. I mean, according to this, I assume it was March.

MR. BARAN: Do you recall?

THE WITNESS: March.

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BY MR. LEVIN:

Q Mr. Atwater, were these exhibits submitted to anyone, these draft affidavits submitted to anyone other than counsel before being sent to the FEC?

A I didn't. I just gave them to counsel.

Q Excuse me.

A I only gave them to counsel.

Q Do you recall changing the drafting?

A These, yes, I do.

Q Let me ask you about Exhibits 4 and 5. In paragraph four, you've eliminated the phrase piggyback.

A Right.

Q You've talked instead about including the questions relating to public perceptions. Why did you make that change?

A Because the piggyback term never came into being until I talked to a reporter in December.

Q Let's look at the last paragraph on Exhibit 5 and FEC Exhibit 6. Now on FEC Exhibit 6 -- and I'll give you a chance to look at this -- page 2 there is a paragraph six, the contents of which are largely not included in the previous affidavits.

A Right.

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Q Why is that?

A Well, these were drafted for me by my attorneys based on information I had given them. When they showed it to me, I was not satisfied that they had accurately played back the information. There were several things in here that I did not an accurate depiction of what happened, including paragraph six. And there were several other things in here that weren't accurate, so I accordingly asked them to change the affidavit to reflect what I thought the facts were as I recalled them.

Q So the changes you made -- I'm sorry.

A And I was not prepared to swear under oath on either one of these other documents.

Q Were any of these draft affidavits submitted to the Republican National Committee before being sent to the Federal Election Commission?

A My attorneys would know that. I didn't -- all that was attorney to attorney. I don't know what they did.

MR. LEVIN: Do you have any questions, Jan?

MR. BARAN: Are you finished?

MR. LEVIN: Yes, I'm finished. Do you have any questions?

MR. BARAN: Can we take a break so that counsel can confer with Mr. Atwater?

MR. LEVIN: Sure.

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EXAMINATION

BY MR. BARAN:

Q Mr. Atwater, there's been reference in your deposition testimony to the Vice President's exploratory account. Is this exploratory account, what you understand to be what's called a testing-the-waters account?

A Yes.

Q Is this account separate from the Fund for America's Future?

A Yes.

Q Is it funded by the Fund for America's Future?

A No.

Q Does it have separate fundraising activities?

A Yes.

Q Is it your understanding that the exploratory account receives contributions subject to contribution limits under the Federal Election Campaign Act?

A Repeat the question.

Q Is it your understanding the exploratory account accepts contributions subject to election law limits?

A Yes.

Q You have also referred in your deposition testimony

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to several meetings where you participated in discussions regarding the poll.

A Right.

Q With respect to the Capitol Hill Club meeting with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Teeter, how long was that meeting?

A Hour.

Q How much of that hour was spent discussing this poll?

A Five, ten minutes, max.

Q With respect to the meeting at the Golden Palace with Mr. Greener and Mr. Teeter, how long was that meeting?

A Two hours.

Q How much of that two hours was spent discussing this poll?

A Five or ten minutes.

Q With respect to the meeting with the Vice President and Mr. Fuller and Mr. Teeter, how long was that meeting?

A Hour and-a-half.

Q How much of that meeting was spent discussing this poll?

A Forty-five minutes to an hour.

Q To your knowledge, Mr. Atwater, did you or anyone

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else discuss the poll after the meeting in the Vice President's office and before you received the press inquiry from Mr. Edsel?

A No.

Q Mr. Levin asked you earlier in the deposition how often you reviewed polls with the Vice President. I don't believe that -- I believe that there was another question that followed that and there wasn't an answer to that. Could you state for the record how often you review polls with the Vice President?

A Well, sometimes -- whenever polls come out -- generally anytime a poll is published by one of the large poll organizations, which would include Roper, Gallup, Harris, Finkelstein, Terrence and so forth, if I obtain a copy of it, I'll discuss it with him. So sometimes that's as many times as three a week. Sometimes we'll go three weeks, four weeks without any polls coming out -- but frequently.

Q In the past year, how often would you say you talked with the Vice President?

A Two or three times a week at least.

Q And how often would you say you talked with Mr. Fuller?

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A Twice a day.

Q Are there any other discussions that you've had with the Vice President or Mr. Fuller, other than those that you have testified to today in which you discussed the poll?

A No.

Q You have also been asked questions regarding Exhibits 4 and 5. To your knowledge, who drafted Exhibits 4 and 5?

A My attorneys.

Q Why did you make changes in those drafts?

A Well, because they didn't accurately reflect what I thought happened and what I tried to explain to them, and I didn't want to sign a document that I did not think reflected the truth.

Q Is the affidavit which you submitted to the Federal Election Commission under oath and signed, your accurate testimony?

A Yes.

Q To your knowledge, Mr. Atwater, has the Vice President ever requested a poll be taken on his behalf since 1984?

A No.

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Q Let me clarify. The reason I asked that is because, as you know, the Vice President was a candidate for Vice President in 1984, so it's not a trick question.

To your knowledge, did the Vice President review the questionnaire of the poll at issue in this case?

A No, I know he didn't.

Q What value is it to you and the Vice President to discuss polls?

A Well, as a sitting Vice President and an ongoing politician, the Vice President constantly has an interest and the need to know his political standing in the country. And so it's an ongoing -- there's an ongoing need.

Q How is that information utilized by you and the Vice President?

A Scheduling, what things he's talking about as he moves around the country, where he goes, what groups he's speaking to, things like that.

Q What does he do when he travels around the country?

A Speaks on behalf of candidates, speaks to various groups, speaks out on various issues, and polling is useful in all these areas.

MR. BARAN: Thank you, I have no further questions.

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[Pause.]

MR. BARAN: May I just clarify one thing. When I asked Mr. Atwater about an affidavit that he has submitted to the Commission under oath and signed, I wish the record to reflect that I am not referring to Exhibit No. 6.

MS. LERNER: Let me make sure that I'm clear on what you just said. Are you indicating that Exhibit No. 6 is not the affidavit that Mr. Atwater signed and submitted to the Federal Election Commission? It is not a copy of the one he signed and submitted?

MR. BARAN: Let me state that there were filings subsequent to Exhibit No. 6 which referred to this document and which, therefore, modified this document.

MS. LERNER: But was this document itself submitted on behalf --

MR. BARAN: Yes, along with other subsequent documents.

Can we go off the record?

MS. LERNER: Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

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EXAMINATION

BY MS. LERNER:

Q Mr. Atwater, Mr. Baran asked you if, to your knowledge, the Vice President reviewed the questions that were contained in the poll that we've been discussing. And I believe your answer was, no, to your knowledge, he did not. Can you clarify whether you meant he has never reviewed them, or whether that was only prior to the time the poll was taken?

To your knowledge, has the Vice President ever seen the questions that constituted the poll that we've been discussing?

A Well, on the day of the poll presentation and that's it.

Q As far as you know, he had never seen them prior to that time?

A Yes. And he specifically told me in the aftermath of all this that he had never seen them. So he specifically said he hadn't seen them.

MS. LERNER: Thank you.

Does your client wish to waive signature?

MR. BARAN: No, he does not.

MR. LEVIN: I want to remind everyone in this room

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that this is part of an ongoing investigation by the Federal Election Commission and is subject to the confidentiality requirements of 2 USC Section 437(G)(a)(4) and (a)(12). We are all bound by those sections.

I also want to -- I am presenting the witness, Mr. Atwater with his witness fee.

This deposition is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:06 a.m., the taking of the deposition was concluded.]

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CERTIFICATE OF DEPONENT

I, HARVEY LEROY ATWATER, do hereby certify that I have read the foregoing transcript of my deposition testimony, and, with the exception of additions and corrections, if any, hereto, find it to be a true and accurate transcription thereof.

_____

HARVEY LEROY ATWATER

_____

DATE

***

CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

Sworn and subscribed to before me, this the _____ day of _____, 19____.

_____

NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR

My commission expires:

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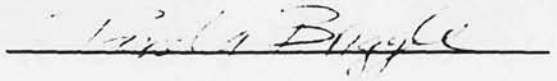
CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, PAMELA BRIGGLE, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me or under my direction; that said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by the witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.



PAMELA BRIGGLE

Notary Public in and for the

District of Columbia

My Commission expires: May 14, 1990.

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FEC #1

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY LUKENS

FROM: KATHY SMITH

Craig Fuller has the following comments to Mr. Teeter's questionnaire:

1. A great questionnaire.

2. Page 2, Item 16:

   Please consider substituting U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manufacturers.

3. Page 5:

   Please consider adding to the list of names Peter Uberroth and Pat Robertson.

4. Page 6:

   I know you are reluctant to add any additional questions, but I would like you to consider a slightly different approach to the successor line of questioning. Something like the following:

   Since RR cannot serve a third term, some people are considering who best could follow RR. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree that the next President should be:

   1. Experienced in federal government;

   2. Conservative;

   3. Able to articulate new ideas;

   4. Respected by foreign leaders;

   5. Someone now in government;

   6. Someone who worked with RR;

   7. Someone who would keep America competitive;

   8. Someone who would strengthen U.S. defense capabilities;

   9. Someone who would spend more to help to poor;

   10. Someone who whould provide more help to farmers;

(There may be more or better questions. Perhaps you and Lee could play around with these ideas.)

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Comments given to KS 8:03 PD

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus
Draft Questionnaire #1
Quota N=1500
September 6, 1985

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think it needs significant changes?

3. (IF NEEDS CHANGES, ASK:) What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.
7. We should hlep <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.
8. It is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer.
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.

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14. is different

:ade for a moment. . .

:hink that trade with other
ing and selling goods, helps the
>my or hurts the United States'

a foreign countries hurt the economy
elped your local economy, or hasn't
s?

15. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

RANDOMIZE

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so American consumers can have the widest choice possible on what to buy

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products

As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. I'm going to read you some things, and for each one, please tell me how much you think each one has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little, or not at all.

Substitute

RANDOMIZE

16. U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manuf.
16. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies
17. Wage demands by American labor unions
18. Better quality of foreign products
19. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries
20. Cheap labor in foreign countries
21. The selling of goods at less than cost by some foreign companies

22. Do you think our limits on foreign imports should be greater, about the same, or less than they are now?

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23. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

ROTATE

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

24. Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.

25. Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.

26. A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.

27. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.

28. Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.

29. Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently...

30. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

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31. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

32. (IF OPPOSE, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

33. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if the children in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

34. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Do you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack? ("Both" coded as a volunteered response)

35. (IF FAVOR EITHER 31 OR 32, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

36. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

37. Do you believe that the recent hijacking of the TWA airliner and other recent terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals or small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

8804072296

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about him/her using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

38. Ronald Reagan
39. George Bush
40. Robert Dole
41. Howard Baker
42. Jack Kemp
43. James Thompson
44. Jeanne Kirkpatrick
45. Walter Mondale
46. Ted Kennedy
47. Tip O'Neill
48. Jesse Jackson
49. Mario Cuomo
50. Gary Hart
51. Geraldine Ferraro
52. John Glenn
53. Jane Fonda
54. Jerry Falwell
55. Gerald Ford
56. Jimmy Carter
57. George Wallace
59. Lee Iacocca

Peter Ueberroth
Pat Robertson
Jerry Falwell

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

RANDOMIZE

60. The Republican Party
62. The Democratic Party
63. Liberals
64. Conservatives

3804072297

Thinking ahead to 1988 for a moment. . .

65. Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term. Is there anyone, in particular, you would like to see be the next President of the United States? (Who?)

66. As you may know, George Bush may be a candidate for President in 1988. On a zero to ten scale, where zero means you would never consider voting for George Bush for President and ten means you would definitely vote for George Bush for President, where would you place yourself on this scale?

67. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

68. IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. George Bush
b. Bob Dole
c. Howard Baker
d. Jack Kemp
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

69. IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, ASK: If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

RANDOMIZE

a. Ted Kennedy
b. Gary Hart
c. Mario Cuomo
d. Lee Iacocca

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

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Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK: Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT NAME AND PARTY)?

RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES

70.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Ted Kennedy, Democrat
71.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Gary Hart, Democrat
72.	George Bush, Republican	OR	Lee Iacocca, Democrat

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

(HALF SAMPLE A)

73A. From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush. PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

74A. Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES

a. IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK: Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

(HALF SAMPLE B)

73B. If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the areas you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

74B. What are the areas you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

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I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

RANDOMIZE

75. Our relations with the Soviet Union
76. The federal budget deficit
77. Taxes
78. Abortion
79. Policies concerning minorities
80. Women's rights
81. National economic policy

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to one hundred scale where 100 means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT

Honesty

82. _____ Ronald Reagan
83. _____ George Bush
84. _____ Ted Kennedy

Concern

85. _____ Ronald Reagan
86. _____ George Bush
87. _____ Ted Kennedy

Leadership

88. _____ Ronald Reagan
89. _____ George Bush
90. _____ Ted Kennedy

Competence

91. _____ Ronald Reagan
92. _____ George Bush
93. _____ Ted Kennedy

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Here are some statements concerning George Bush, in particular, and for each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RANDOMIZE

94. Bush has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
95. Bush looks like a President.
96. Bush, as President, would keep us out of war.
97. Bush sounds like a President.
98. Bush, as President, would keep our country prosperous.
99. Bush acts like a President.

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Background Questions

100. Party identification
101. Past Party identification
102. Past voting behavior
103. Registered voter
104. Ideology
105. Age
106. Education
107. Employment status
108. Occupation
109. Health, education, welfare occupation
110. Marital status
111. Spouse employment status
112. Union/teacher household
113. Farm household
114. Religion
115. Frequency of church attendance
116. Reborn
117. Income
118. Race
119. Sex

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

U.S. National #2 Study

Analysis/Report

Not to be released without the permission
of Market Opinion Research

Job #P85040
November, 1985

FEC #2

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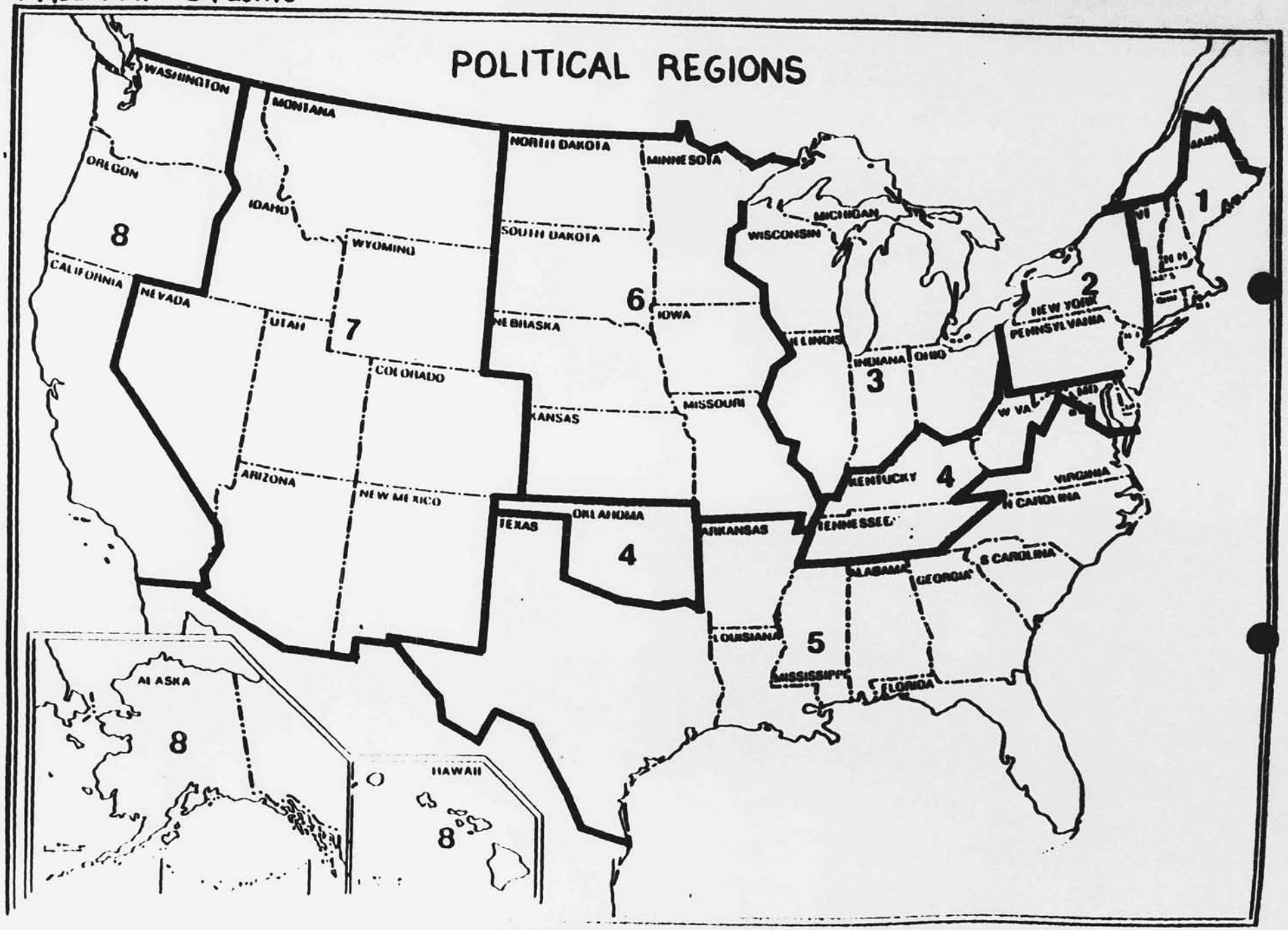
3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 3 0 4

1 New England 2 Mid-Atlantic 3 East North Central 4 Border 5 Deep South 6 West North Central
7 Mountain 8 Pacific



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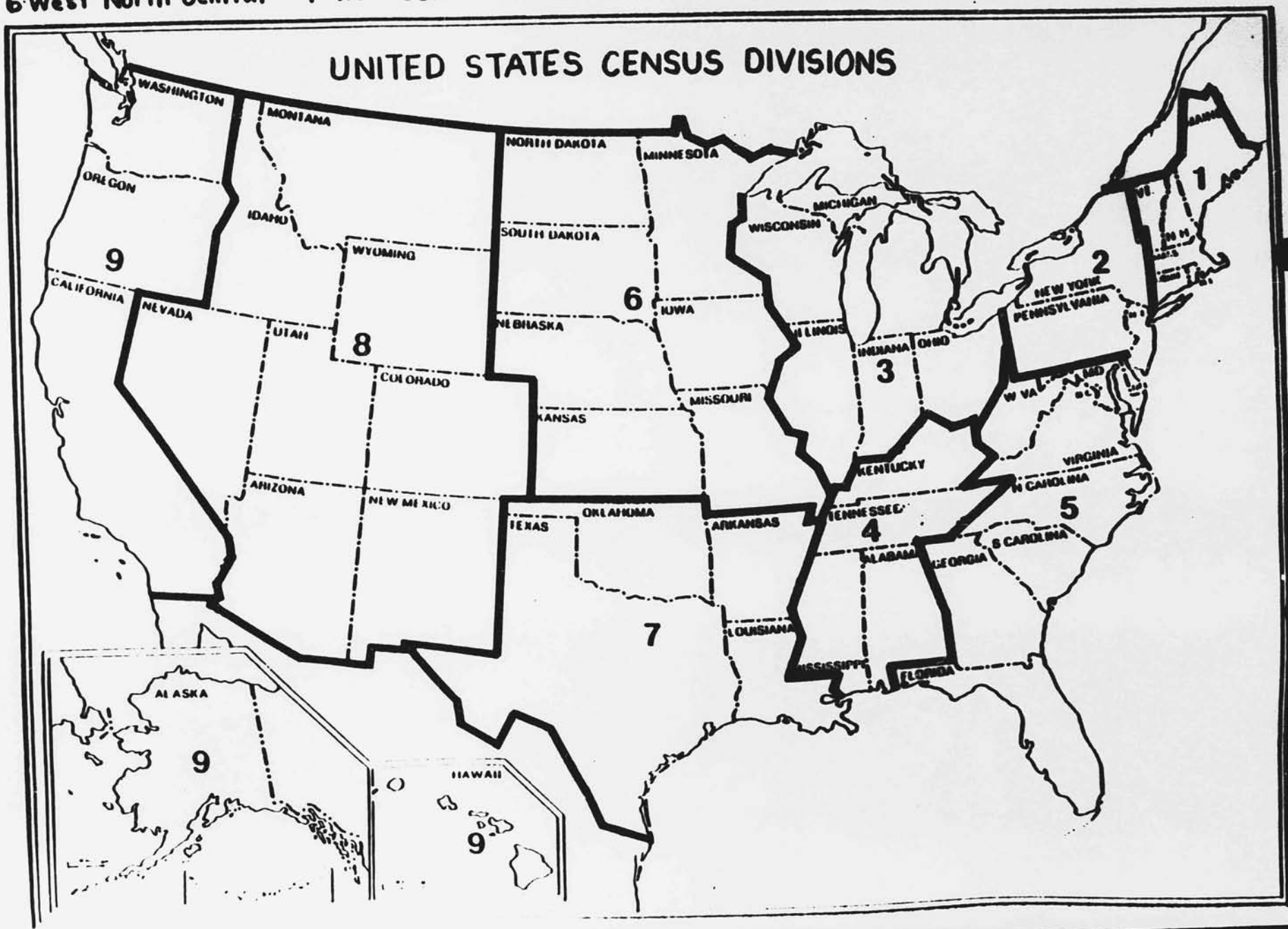
1. New England 2. Middle Atlantic 3. East North Central 4. East South Central 5. South Atlantic
6. West North Central 7. West South Central 8. Mountain 9. Pacific



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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
* To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

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Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

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Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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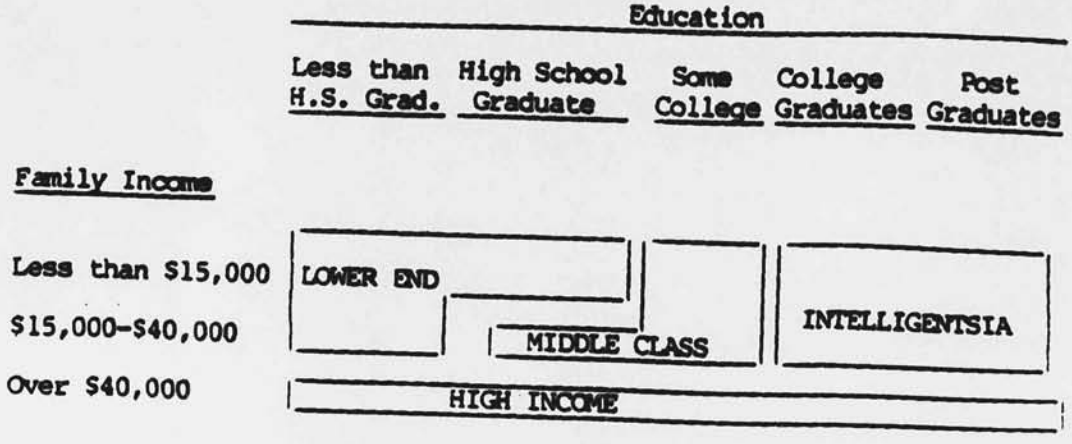
"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:



The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

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"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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Other Special Analytical Variables

Several other analytical variables were created to aid in the analysis. Unlike the previous special variables, these variables are composed of perceptual rather than demographic data.

The "Presidential Ballot Summary" is a combination of questions 78, 79, and 80. A Core Republican votes for Bush on all three ballots and a Core Democrat votes for the Democratic candidate all three times. Anti-(NAME) Democrats vote for the Democratic candidate in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot. The pro-(NAME) Republicans vote for Bush in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot.

	Distribution of Index
Core Democratic	24%
Anti-Kennedy Democrats	6
Anti-Hart Democrats	5
Anti-Iacocca Democrats	9
Pro-Kennedy Republicans	6
Pro-Hart Republicans	5
Pro-Iacocca Republicans	3
Core Republican	30
Others	7
Total	100%

There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	47%
2.	19	
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	23%
5. Free trader	6	
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	42%
Lean protectionist	25	
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	45%
Core anti-protectionist	17	
Total	100%	

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The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

	Distribution of Index
0 No military action	16%
1	25
2	28
3	23
4 Military action in all cases	9
Total	100%

Seven "master attitudes" were uncovered in a past U.S. National study. They were replicated in this study. These attitudes have been found to significantly divide the electorate. The questions used to make up these scales are listed in the question results. The distribution of the scales are listed below:

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplo-macy	America First	Tradi-tional Values	Gov't. Assis-tance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Liberal	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

R 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 3 1 4

Distribution of American Public on Seven Master Attitude Scales

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplomacy	America First	Traditional Values	Gov't. Assistance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1985-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative position	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
1983-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	26	19	17	45	26	28	25
Mixed	19	27	34	18	19	24	30
Conservative position	55	54	49	37	55	48	45
1985-Republican Primary Electorate							
Liberal position	19	25	15	33	17	23	9
Mixed	31	42	52	25	17	22	20
Conservative position	49	33	32	43	66	55	71

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U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	Right direction	50%	66%
	Wrong track	39	24
	Don't know	10	8
	Refused/NA	1	1
2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	Working fairly well	53	69
	Need significant changes	43	29
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused/NA	*	*
3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)	SEE ATTACHED TABLE		
4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	34	54
	Somewhat approve	34	32
	Somewhat disapprove	12	4
	Strongly disapprove	15	4
	Don't know	4	1
	Refused/NA	2	*
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	22	14
	Somewhat approve	35	37
	Somewhat disapprove	8	7
	Strongly disapprove	9	5
	Don't know	23	17
	Refused/NA	3	1

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(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relationship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	12
Refused/No answer	*

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

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Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #4	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44

(Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .		Total Electorate	Republican Preference Electorate
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%	61%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4	2
	Hurts	36	32
	Don't know	5	5
	Refused/NA	*	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31	35
	About the same	28	27
	Less	34	31
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	1	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46	48
	No	51	49
	Don't know	2	2
	Refused/NA	*	—

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16
b.	Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53
c.	Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	1

Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

Republican Primary Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	71%	17%	7%	1%	3%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	54	29	10	2	5
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	14	5	7
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	40	36	15	3	7
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	33	21	6	4
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	38	32	15	4	10

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

	Total Electorate	Rep Pri
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%	36%
OR		
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58	58
Don't know	8	6
Refused/NA	1	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55
Don't know.	14
Refused/NA.	2

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More	9
About the same	36
Less	51
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war	35
Allowing fewer imports into country	58
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	*

8804072032 3.

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate	Repub. Elector
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	36%	37%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	57	56
	Don't know.	7	6
	Refused/NA.	*	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	73	77
	Oppose.	19	16
	Don't know.	7	7
	Refused/NA.	1	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	43	46
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	40	38
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	15	15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3	2
(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34) 35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	35	40
	Oppose.	40	39
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16	13
	Don't know.	8	7
	Refused/NA.	1	1
36. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists.	28	33
	Favor only as retaliation	47	48
	Favor neither	4	3
	Oppose all (Q.33,34).	16	13
	Don't know.	5	4
	Refused/NA.	1	*
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	36	41
	Oppose.	40	39
	Oppose all (Q.33,34).	16	13
	Don't know.	7	6
	Refused/NA.	1	1
(ASK ALL) 38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate.	59	53
	Refuse to negotiate	34	41
	Don't know.	6	5
	Refused/NA.	1	1
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups.	27	31
	Foreign government.	66	63
	Don't know.	7	5
	Refused/NA.	1	*

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Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a to one hundred scale — with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68*
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

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Q.65-66 Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	32%	26%	56%	27%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	19	26	39	18	21
Is in government now	26	13	13	27	14	13
Conservative	25	14	11	32	19	14
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	9	11	29	14	15
None		9	--		6	--
No second mention		--	9		2	7
Don't know/Refused		3	3		--	2
		100%	100%		100%	100%

67-68 I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below), the second (read below), the third (read below) and the fourth (read below). (IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:) Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	60%	35%	26%	64%	40%	25%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	60	27	35	63	28	36
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	36	20	16	37	19	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	34	15	19	29	11	18
None		1	--		1	--
No second choice		--	2		--	2
Don't know/Refused		2	1		--	1
		100%	100%		100%	100%

Q.69-72 Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible President.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

Total Electorate	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	51	20	26	3	5.7	2.9
Jack Kemp	100%	18	13	17	51	4.9	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	44	16	38	2	5.2	3.3
Gary Hart	100%	43	21	25	10	5.4	2.7

Republican Primary Electorate

	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	67	17	14	2	6.8	2.4
Jack Kemp	100%	25	13	14	48	5.4	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	25	16	57	1	3.6	3.1
Gary Hart	100%	35	23	34	9	4.8	2.7

Avg. = Average on a zero to ten scale.

S.D. = Standard deviation around average.

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	Total Electorate
73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?	
Republican	36%
Democratic (GO TO Q.77)	40
Neither one (GO TO Q.78)	17
Don't know (GO TO Q.78)	6
Refused/NA (GO TO Q.78)	1
74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/REFUSED: Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	
a. George Bush	58
b. Bob Dole	10
c. Howard Baker	12
d. Jack Kemp	8
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick	7
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	*
75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)	
George Bush	19
Bob Dole	22
Howard Baker	17
Jack Kemp	11
Jeane Kirkpatrick	15
Don't know	15
Refused/NA	1

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/REFUSED: ASK) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	
a. Ted Kennedy	44
b. Gary Hart	22
c. Mario Cuomo	13
d. Lee Iacocca	14
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Q.78-80 Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SOME ORDER)

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Bush	51%	83%
Kennedy	45	16
Don't know/Refused	4	1
	100%	100%
Bush	50%	81%
Hart	45	16
Don't know/Refused	5	2
	100%	100%
Bush	49%	76%
Iacocca	43	22
Don't know/Refused	7	2
	100%	100%

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Q.81-82A (Half Sample A) From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush?

Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (RESPONSES OF 2% OR MORE)

LIKE BEST	Total
Reagan's man/Works with Reagan/ Follows Reagan's Policies/ Philosophies	7%
Honest/Integrity/Sincere/Fair	7
Experience/Background/Qualified	7
Straightforward/Forthright/ Outspoken	4
Intelligent/Sharp/Educated	3
Foreign affairs/Foreign policies/ Foreign relations	3
Alright/Okay/Doing a good job	3
Well-informed/Knowledgeable	3
Conservative	3
Personable/Personality/Likeable/ Charismatic	3
Articulate/Talks well	2
Vice-President	2
Issues/Views/Policies/Philosophies	2
Good person/Fine	2
Leadership quality/Strong leader	2
Held a variety of government positions (unsp.)	2
All other issue related responses	2
None/Nothing	10
Don't know/Don't know him	38
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Competent	16
Issues	16
Strong	11
Trustworthy	7
Past positions/Resume	5
Personable	4
Concerned	4

DISLIKE	Total
Low profile/In the background/Not in the limelight/Needs more experience	5%
Obnoxious/Superior attitude/ Arrogant/Pushy	3
Rubber stamp for Reagan/ Second hand man	3
Not aggressive enough/Not forceful	3
Weak/Spineless	3
Not Presidential material/ Not qualified as presidential candidate	2
Not outspoken/Does not take a stand	2
Talks too much/Too much talking/Talks, no action/ Puts his foot in his mouth	2
Conservative	2
All other issue related responses	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything	1
None/Nothing	11
Don't know/Don't know him	46
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Weak	17
Issues	5
Not personable	4
Not concerned	2
Untrustworthy	2
Past positions/Resume	1
Incompetent	*

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Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (Responses of 2% or more)

HANDLE WELL	Total
Foreign policy/Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/International affairs/Negotiations with foreign countries/Experienced in foreign affairs	23%
National deficit/Reduce federal budget deficit/Budget/Balance the budget deficit	12
Carrying out some of the principles Reagan has instituted/Follows Reagan well/Continue to do what Reagan has done	5
Economy/Economics/Economic growth/Get economy moving	4
Defense/National defense/Defense of our nation/Security - military/Enforce the military/Our military position/Strengthening the military	4
Government spending/Federal spending - reduce it/Bringing down government spending/Cutting waste in government spending/Financial things	3
Administration management/Competent administration for bureaucracy cutting/Organization/Government as a whole, would be a better leader/More experience	3
Foreign trade/Foreign imports - get the trade going better/Straighten out foreign trade/Trade deficit/Trade with China and India	2
Domestic affairs/Handle domestic policy better than Reagan	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4

HANDLE POORLY	Total
Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/Foreign policy/Foreign policy, detrimental to certain sides	12%
Deficit/Budget deficit/Reducing the deficit/National debt/Not enough of an economist to help the deficit/Reduce deficit spending/Financial affairs	8
Defense/Military/National defense/Defense system/Concerns about disarmament/Would reduce the military	3
Public image, speaking ability, motivation lacking/Not making progress, doesn't show for the public/Public personality, doesn't come across on television well	3
Not strong enough/Does not have strong image/Not strong enough personality to stand up for what he believes/Not sure he would take a strong stand/Not a strong person, not forceful	2
Economy/Economics/Doesn't get publicity on economics/Everyone promises to get the economy in order	2
Foreign trade/Trade policy	2
Social Security/Cuts in Social Security	2
Welfare/Treatment of welfare people/The whole country - welfare	2
Unemployment/Jobs - not getting jobs/Employment	2

(continued on next page)

Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

(cont'd)

HANDLE WELL	Total
Everything/Entire office	1%
Nothing/Don't think he does well/ Won't handle anything well	5
Don't know/Refused	44
Combined Responses	
Foreign policy	30
Economic issues	20
Domestic/Social policy	5

HANDLE POORLY	Total
Concerns about the poor/ lack of concern for the poor/Care of our poor/ The lower classes/Caught short in handling elementary human rights of the poor	2%
Lack of ability to work with Congress/Would not stand up to Congress/ Relations with Congress/ Doesn't have the personality to handle Congress that Reagan has	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything/Will do everything wrong	3
No, wouldn't go a bad job on anything/Would do a fine job	4
Don't know/Refused	49
Combined Responses	
Foreign policy	13
Economic issues	13
Domestic/Social policy	12
Lack of leadership	7

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Q.83-89 I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me i you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

Total Electorate	Total	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know/ Ref.	(a) PDI
Women's rights	100%	24	47	16	13	+ 8
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	51	14	13	+ 8
The federal budget deficit	100%	21	49	19	10	+ 2
Abortion	100%	17	43	16	24	+ 1
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	23	46	23	8	+ 0
National economic policy	100%	18	52	18	12	- 0
Taxes	100%	19	50	20	11	- 1
Republican Primary Electorate						
Women's rights	100%	25	53	14	8	-
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	59	11	8	-
The federal budget deficit	100%	26	51	18	5	-
Abortion	100%	18	44	18	20	-
National economic policy	100%	16	61	17	6	-
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	20	52	24	4	-
Taxes	100%	17	55	21	7	-

(a) Percentage Difference Index = % "Would handle it better" minus % "Would not handle it as well."

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Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

		Total Electorate Average	Republican Primary Electorate Average
	TRUSTWORTHINESS		
90.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
91.	George Bush	6.8	7.6
92.	Ted Kennedy	5.7	4.5
	CONCERN		
93.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
94.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
95.	Ted Kennedy	6.5	5.5
	LEADERSHIP		
96.	Ronald Reagan	7.7	8.8
97.	George Bush	6.4	7.4
98.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1
	COMPETENCE		
99.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.3
100.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
101.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1

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		Total Electorate	Republic Primary Elec
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%	2
	Fairly liberal	8	
	Slightly liberal	4	
	Moderate	52	45
	Slightly conservative	8	11
	Fairly conservative	13	20
	Extremely conservative	7	11
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	—

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	1
	Fairly liberal	5	6
	Slightly liberal	3	3
	Moderate	26	29
	Slightly conservative	10	11
	Fairly conservative	25	*
	Extremely conservative	20	-
	Don't know	8	*
	Refused/NA	1	
104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	-
	Fairly liberal	4	*
	Slightly liberal	4	*
	Moderate	36	4
	Slightly conservative	11	-
	Fairly conservative	21	-
	Extremely conservative	7	-
	Don't know	13	-
	Refused/NA	1	*

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?	Republican.	31%	73%
	Democrat.	34	3
	Independent	30	22
	No preference	3	1
	Other	*	—
	Don't know.	1	*
	Refused	*	—
	Party Identification Scale		
	Strong Democrat . . .	17	1
	Weak Democrat	17	2
	Independent Democrat.	12	2
	Independent	10	3
	Independent Republican	13	19
	Weak Republican . . .	17	37
	Strong Republican . .	14	36
	Other/Not ascertained	*	--
D2. (V6) In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)	Straight Democratic .	12	1
	Mostly Democratic . .	17	2
	A few more Democrats than Republicans. .	8	2
	About equally for both parties	21	16
	A few more Republicans than Democrats. . .	7	12
	Mostly Republican . .	18	41
	Straight Republican .	8	19
	Other	*	*
	Never voted	5	5
	Don't know.	2	1
	Refused/NA.	1	*
D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?	Yes	81	82
	No.	16	15
	Registered elsewhere.	3	3
	Don't know.	*	1
	Refused/NA.	--	--

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		Total Electorate	Republica. Primary Electora*
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16	18
	25-29 years	11	12
	30-34 years	13	11
	35-39 years	11	12
	40-44 years	8	7
	45-49 years	6	7
	50-54 years	7	8
	55-59 years	6	4
	60-64 years	6	5
	65-74 years	11	11
	75 and over	4	5
	Refused	*	—
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5	3
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11	7
	Graduated high school	32	33
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3	2
	Some college-2 years or less	19	21
	Some college-more than 2 years	9	10
	Graduated college	14	17
	Post-graduate work	8	8
	Refused	--	--
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51	53
	Employed and working part-time	11	11
	Unemployed	5	4
	Retired	18	16
	Housewife	11	12
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	*
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	--	--
	Refused/NA	*	--

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	Single	24	24
	Married	62	63
	Divorced	7	7
	Separated	1	1
	Widow/Widower	7	6
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	—
D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	58	58
	Employed and working part-time	8	8
	Unemployed	1	1
	Retired	17	16
	Housewife	15	15
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	—
	Other	1	2
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	*
D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26	27
	Self-employed	10	13
	Retired	17	16
	Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8	9
	Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7	6
	Executive (corporate officer)	4	4
	Homemaker	1	1
	Services (nurse, police, military)	5	5
	Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12	9
	Student	1	1
	Education (teacher, counselor)	4	4
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused/NA	1	*

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		Total Electorate	Republi Primar Electorate
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent	3	3
	Other member of household	2	2
	Both	2	1
	None	93	94
	Don't know	*	—
	Refused	—	—
D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent	11	10
	Other member of household	10	8
	Both	2	2
	None	77	79
	Don't know	*	1
	Refused	—	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member	Respondent	Other Membe
Labor union	10	10	8	6
Teachers' association	4	5	5	4
No	85	83	88	86
Refused/Single member household	*	3	*	4

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?	— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	54	
	— Roman Catholic	26	
	Jewish	4	
	— Other Christian	10	
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2	2
	Agnostic/Atheist	*	*
	None	2	1
	Don't know	1	1
	Refused	1	1
D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)	Every week	28	
	Almost every week	12	
	Once or twice a month	17	
	A few times a year	31	
	Never	11	
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused	*	*

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11	6
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12	11
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12	11
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11	14
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14	16
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7	8
	$50,000 and over	11	14
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused	5	3
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83	92
	Black	11	3
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4	3
	Oriental	*	1
	American Indian	1	*
	Other	1	1
	Not ascertained	*	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48	51
	Female	52	49
	Political Strata		
	Pacific	14	15
	Mountain	5	5
	East North Central	18	14
	West North Central	7	4
	Deep South	26	26
	Border	8	4
	Mid-Atlantic	16	17
	New England	5	5

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CHAPTER 1: PERCEPTIONS OF VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Though the office of Vice-President is often thought of as being an out-of-the-limelight office whose occupants often fade into the political background, Vice-President George Bush debunks that notion with a visible presence and fairly well-defined public image. Among the nation's eligible voters, only 23% do not have an opinion about his performance in office, and only 5% do not have an impression of him personally.

The American public reacts favorably toward Bush both in terms of his job performance and on a more personal level. Fifty-seven percent (57%) approve of the way he is handling his job as Vice-President while only 17% disapprove. On a zero to one hundred degree "thermometer" scale of personal favorability, Bush draws a rating of 59°, 5th out of a list of 21 political figures. Half of the voters (49%) have a favorable impression of Bush, 26% have neutral feelings about him, and 20% are unfavorably inclined toward Bush. Only Ronald Reagan (68°), Lee Iacocca (64°), Jeane Kirkpatrick (62°) and Howard Baker (60°) have higher average thermometer ratings than Bush. All but Reagan, however, have a much lower level of awareness. So, while their thermometer ratings may be higher, fewer people are able to offer an opinion about them. Bush is thus a much more familiar political person than these other potential Presidential candidates.

People were asked two open-ended questions about what they liked best and liked least about George Bush. Fifty-one percent (51%) can give an answer about what they like best about Bush, 39% can give no answer, and 10% say they like nothing about Bush. Among Republican primary voters, 68% can name something they like, 30% don't know, and only 2% say they don't like anything about him. Republicans (especially older, East North Central, and high income Republicans), Border South residents, men, senior citizens, and higher status Americans are those most able to relate something they like about Bush.

Adjectives dealing with competence are the most frequently volunteered as the basis for liking Bush (16%). Those are followed by adjectives relating to strength (11%) and trustworthiness (7%). Seven percent (7%) specifically say they like Bush because of his close association with Reagan. The following is a summary of the most frequent volunteered reasons for liking Bush.

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Competence: experienced, intelligent, knowledgeable, cool, etc.	16%	23%
Strength: forthright, strong leader, willing to take a stand, etc.	11	13
Trustworthiness: honest, sincere, fair, etc.	7	9
Reagan association: works with, follows Reagan's policies	7	13
Past positions: Vice President, held variety of positions, diplomat, C.I.A.	5	8
Total mentions	51	68
Nothing liked	10	2
Don't know	39	30

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Little more than a third of the American public (37%) are able to mention something they don't like about George Bush. Fully half (50%) can name nothing, and 13% say there is nothing they don't like about Bush. Those who do mention something about Bush they dislike are more apt to be Democrats, Jews, and East North Central residents.

While 11% of the voters volunteer adjectives attributing strength to Bush, more voters (17%) volunteer adjectives attributing weakness to Bush, e.g., "weak," "not aggressive enough," "does not take a stand," "not consistent," "wishy-washy," "too easily swayed," etc. Included in this 17% category are negative references to Bush's relationship to Reagan, e.g., "rubber stamp for Reagan" (3%) and "he's a 'yes' man" (1%). Significantly, less than 1% of the Republican primary voters say they don't like Bush because "he's not conservative enough." The following is a summary of the most frequent reasons for not liking Bush:

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Weakness: not aggressive, wishy-washy, not consistent, rubber stamp, etc.	17%	16%
Low profile/in the background/ not in the limelight	5	4
Not personable: arrogant, his personality, superior attitude	4	3
Total mentions	42	37
Nothing disliked	11	13
Don't know	47	50

In comparison to the volunteered likes and dislikes of Bush, there is a greater concentration of answers when voters are asked what Bush would handle particularly well if elected President. Fully 23% volunteer foreign policy in general and another 7% volunteer such specific areas as national defense, foreign trade, relations with the Soviet Union, and nuclear arms control. By comparison to foreign policy, 20% volunteer economic issues including a 12% mention of handling the deficit as problems Bush would handle well.

Overall, 51% can volunteer something they think Bush would handle well; 5% say he would handle nothing well; and 44% have no perceptions of Bush in this context.

There is less focus to the answers on what the voters think Bush might handle poorly. Forty-seven percent (47%) of the voters do have something to volunteer, but these responses are spread across foreign policy/defense (18%), economic issues (13%), and other domestic issues (12%).

These general evaluative questions point out several findings:

- Bush is well-known as Vice-Presidents go, and enjoys a generally warm reception among the national electorate.
- Bush's major pluses at this time are public perceptions of experience, competence, his connection to President Reagan, and his ability to handle foreign policy issues.
- His major weakness at the present time is just that -- a number of voters see him as weak or a "yes" man.

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Handle Well

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	23%	29%
National defense	4	5
Foreign trade	2	4
Relations with Soviets	1	2
Nuclear arms control	1	1
Military spending	1	2
Terrorists	1	1
Diplomacy	1	1
CIA covert activities	*	*
	30%	40%
Economic issues		
Reduce budget deficit	12%	16%
Economy/economic growth	4	6
Reduce government spending/ waste	3	4
Unemployment	1	2
Lower taxes	1	2
	20%	28%
Carrying out Reagan principles/continue to do what Reagan has done	5%	6%
Total mentions	51%	61%
Would handle nothing well	5	5
Don't know	44	34

Handle Poorly

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	12%	13%
National defense	3	2
Foreign trade	2	2
Relations with communists	1	*
Terrorists	1	--
Relations with Soviets	1	1
Defense spending	*	--
	18%	17%
Economic Issues		
Budget deficit	8%	6%
Economy	2	2
Unemployment	2	2
Would spend more	1	1
Taxes	1	1
	13%	12%
Other Domestic/Social Policy		
Social Security	2%	1%
Welfare	2	*
Concern for the poor	2	*
Domestic affairs (unspec.)	1	1
Labor unions	1	1
Education	1	1
Women's rights/women's issues	1	1
Civil rights/affirmative action	1	1
Social services	1	1
Abortion	1	1
Concern for minorities	1	*
Concern for farmers	1	*
	12%	9%

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Bush's Personal Coalition

Who likes George Bush? To answer this question, perceptions of Bush were looked at by every demographic subgroup, both by themselves and in combination with other demographic variables. After performing this bi-variate and multi-variate analysis, it was found that, though most Americans approve of Bush's performance in office as Vice-President and have a generally warm and favorable personal perception of him, the following voter groups hold Bush in highest regard:

- Republican partisans
- Southerners
- voters 55 or older
- people with incomes over $40,000

There is not much significant interaction among these groups, that is, Southerners of all ages are more favorable toward Bush, as are high income voters of all ages residing in all parts of the country.

At the other end of the spectrum, white Democrats, blacks, Jews, and residents of the mid-Atlantic states are less favorably disposed toward Bush.

Factors Affecting Perceptions of George Bush

Why do people like George Bush? While that is a complicated question to answer, it seems to boil down to several key factors:

- he is a familiar quantity
- people sense that he is philosophically close to them
- people trust him
- people associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know, like, and trust

First of all, the public is familiar with Bush. Only President Reagan and former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are more familiar to the general public than Bush. And Bush is the most well-known of the potential 1988 presidential candidates. Nearly all (97%) of the country's Republicans have heard of Bush, while 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and 48% are unfamiliar with Kemp.

The American public is ideologically just right-of-center. On a 7-point liberal-conservative scale, where 1 is very liberal, 4 is moderate, and 7 is very conservative, the national average is 4.3. When asked where they would place George Bush on this scale, Republicans and Democrats alike place him at 4.6, close to the national average and closer to their respective averages than their placement of Reagan. However, perceived ideological distance from Bush only mildly explains why people like and dislike him. Party identifications, for example, explain more than twice the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings than do self-described ideological distances. Even so, it is important that most Americans feel ideologically comfortable with Bush.

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When asked how much of 4 qualities Bush possesses, trustworthiness appears on top. On a 0-10 scale of how much of that quality he possesses, Bush rates a 6.8 from the public on trustworthiness, a 6.6 on concern and competence, and a 6.4 on leadership. Trustworthiness and leadership are both highly related to overall opinion of Bush. The fact that he is rated high on trust is thus a positive finding, but his lower rating on leadership could prove to be a problem, since it is a further indication of a perception of weakness.

When voters asked what qualities from a list of five they would like in the next President (all five of which are Bush characteristics), one of them -- "has worked with Ronald Reagan" -- is highly associated with perceptions of Bush, meaning that evaluations of Bush are often made with Reagan in mind. In one sense this is good, since Reagan is very popular and visible. But in another sense it is a hindrance to Bush in developing his own political identity.

Of the five Bush characteristics, "respected by foreign leaders," is the attribute with the greatest potential impact with the voters. Nearly one-third (32%) selected it from the five as the most important characteristic for the next president to have, and another 26% selected it as the second most important attribute. However, the importance people place on this attribute currently is not related to their opinion of Bush. The same is true for the other three characteristics; none of them help explain the public's overall regard for Bush.

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The public's rank-ordering of the Bush characteristics is as follows:

	Important for Next President			
	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined Selection	Selected First	Combined Selection	Selected First
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	(32%)	56%	(27%)
Has held a variety of government positions	45	(19)	39	(18)
Is in government now	26	(13)	27	(14)
Conservative	25	(14)	32	(19)
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	(9)	29	(14)

It is interesting to see just who selects what characteristics as their first choice. Though all voter groups chose "respected by foreign leaders" over the other choices, holding a variety of government positions is more important than average to middle aged voters, members of the intelligentsia, and Jews. Being in government now is more important to residents of the South and voters aged 55 to 64. Being conservative is relatively more important to Mountain state residents, both strong and independent Republicans, and the intelligentsia. Having worked with Reagan is relatively more important to strong Republicans, lower end whites, and Border South residents.

While the Reagan connection would appear to be relatively unimportant, that would be an erroneous overall conclusion. From practically all the other results on Reagan, Bush's association with Reagan is a major asset for his candidacy. What these particular results do mean is that Bush's foreign policy experience and his wide ranging government background are major assets for him when the time comes to use them.

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In summary, the American public likes George Bush because he is familiar to them, they feel ideologically comfortable with him, they trust him, and they associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know and trust. Two factors that ought to play a stronger part in defining Bush as a political figure are his resume and his leadership qualities. Bush has an early perceptual advantage over his 1988 opponents because he is presently a more familiar public figure, but that advantage will disappear as the other candidates begin campaigning in earnest. The best thing that Bush could do in the coming months, as he campaigns for other Republicans around the country, is to broaden his public image and begin to highlight his resume and leadership experience.

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Comparing Bush and Reagan

As is alluded to earlier, George Bush's public image is closely related to Ronald Reagan's. It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences, and how Bush can both take advantage of public goodwill toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image.

Comparing the two on an issue dimension, a plurality of the nation's pool of voters believe Bush would handle seven specific issues about the same as Reagan has. The marginal differences are interesting, though, and prove Bush to be a more "centrist" political figure ideologically compared to President Reagan. Bush receives a small

advantage on handling policies concerning minorities (22% say he would handle it better, 51% the same, 14% not as well, for an 8-point advantage) and women's rights (24%, 47%, 16%). On the other 5 issues — the federal budget deficit, abortion, our relations with the Soviet Union, national economic policy, and taxes -- there is no significant difference between Reagan and Bush on who would better handle them.

Among Republican primary voters, the margins come out much the same. Republicans generally believe that Bush would handle things pretty much as Reagan has, but would be somewhat better on women's rights, policies concerning minorities, and handling the federal budget deficit. They feel he'd handle taxes and relations with the Soviet Union somewhat less well.

Both the general and Republican primary electorates show the greatest indecision on the issue of abortion. Twenty-four percent (24%) of the general electorate and 20% of the Republican primary electorate does not know how Bush would handle abortion.

As discussed previously, on a 7-point ideological scale, Americans place themselves just slightly right of center, at 4.3. They place Ronald Regan at 5.1 on this same scale and George Bush at 4.6. Voters thus think of Bush as closer to themselves on an ideological basis than is Reagan.

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Republicans, who place themselves at 4.7 on the scale, also put Reagan and Bush at 5.1 and 4.6 — with Bush still closer to them than is Reagan. Democrats also place Bush and Reagan at 4.7 and 5.1, with their own placement shifting left of center to 3.9. Democrats and Republicans thus agree on where Reagan and Bush stand ideologically, and both place themselves closer to Bush than to Reagan.

These ideological distances, however, are more important in explaining the public's opinions of Reagan than their opinions of Bush. Thirty percent of the variance in Reagan's thermometer ratings can be explained by a combination of the voters' party identifications and their perceived ideological distances from him. In contrast, only 17% of the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings can be explained by the combination of party identifications and perceived ideological distances from him. (Indeed, perceived ideological distances <u>from Reagan</u> have a slightly higher correlation to their thermometer ratings <u>of Bush</u> than do the voters' reported ideological distances from Bush.)

Reagan has a strong personal appeal that does much to moderate his perceived conservatism. Fully 51% of the electorate, Democrat and Republican alike, like Reagan better than they like Bush (as reported on their thermometer ratings). Twenty-nine percent (29%) like Reagan a lot better than Bush (10 or more points) and 22% like Reagan less than 10 points more than Bush. Another 35% like them both equally well (or poorly), and 14% like Bush better than Reagan.

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In the general electorate, those who like Reagan much more than Bush give Reagan an 82° average rating and Bush a 47° rating. Those who like Reagan slightly more than Bush give Reagan a 79° rating and Bush a 70° rating. Those who like them equally give them both a 63° rating, and those who like Bush more than Reagan give Bush a 60° and Reagan a 36°. Thus, even though most voters like Reagan more than Bush, Bush still receives a warm and favorable rating among all but the core Reaganites. However, if voters like Bush more than Reagan, they really don't like Reagan.

Among the general electorate, those who like Reagan more than Bush are young and Republican. Those who like Bush better than Reagan are largely Democratic.

The major reasons these groups like Reagan more than Bush are:

- they trust Reagan more than Bush
- they believe Reagan is more of a leader
- they believe Reagan is better at handling relations with the Soviets than Bush would be

These reasons all point to a need for Bush to develop a stronger personal image.

Among Republican primary voters, 36% like Reagan a lot more than Bush, 30% like Reagan somewhat more than Bush, 36% like them equally, and 7% like Bush more than Reagan. In point of fact, however, all of these groups like both Bush and Reagan and there are very few significant

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differences among them. Among the few differences: the Republicans who like Reagan more than Bush are somewhat stronger then average partisans, and are of higher socioeconomic status and more likely to live west of the Mississippi; those who like Bush more than Reagan have a tendency to be older and less partisan than those who like Reagan more than Bush. They are also somewhat more concentrated in New England and the East North Central region.

The major reasons Republicans like Reagan more than Bush are:

- **leadership**
- **trustworthiness**
- **handling the deficit**
- **handling relations with the Soviet Union**

Republicans show little difference from the electorate at large in this respect.

One of the largest gaps between Bush and Reagan is on leadership. Among four important character traits (competence, trustworthiness, concern, and leadership), Bush compares most unfavorably to Reagan on leadership and, as we just saw, it is one reason that Reagan is more popular than Bush. This is partly because leadership is the quality most associated with Reagan. The gap also exists partly because the voters' ratings of Bush on leadership drop moderately below their ratings of him on the other three qualities. Out of a possible 10 on leadership, Bush receives a 6.4 average rating to Reagan's 7.7. The leadership gap between Reagan and Bush exists to about the same magnitude among Republican primary voters: Reagan 8.8/Bush 7.4.

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Bush compares most favorably to Reagan in the total electorate on trustworthiness. The voters give Bush a 6.8 average rating on possessing this character trait where zero means the person doesn't possess it at all and ten means the person possesses the trait "as much as any person possibly can." Reagan receives a 7.1 average rating. By way of further comparison, Ted Kennedy recives a low 5.7 rating on trustworthiness, substantially below Bush. The Reagan-Bush gap on trustworthiness is the most important in explaining the full range of differences in feelings toward Reagan and Bush. Trust can be a barometer of familiarity, however, As the electorate becomes more familiar with Bush, they may grow more trustful. Leadership is the most closely related to just the voters who like Reagan a lot more than Bush.

The difference between Reagan and Bush is the same on concern and competence with Bush drawing a 6.6 on each one and Reagan two more 7.1's. Interestingly, Ted Kennedy does not edge Bush or Reagan on concern although, expectedly, concern is the trait voters most associate with him. Kennedy pulls a 6.5 on concern.

The gaps between Bush and Reagan on concern, competence, and trustworthiness are moderately larger among Republican primary voters than for the total electorate. The ratings of both men are significantly more positive among Republicans, but Reagan's ratings increase by a larger amount than do Bush's. Moreover, the total electorate pattern of Bush comparing most favorably to Reagn on trustworthiness does not exist among Republicans. Instead, Bush drops just slightly on trustworthiness among Republicans.

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Leadership and trust are the two qualities of the four most strongly related to voters' overall evaluations of Reagan and Bush. Bush's relatively low score on leadership, combined with the sentiments among some that he is weak, show that Bush needs to find opportunities to demonstrate leadership and to develop an image less dependent upon his connection to Reagan. This is not to say that he should disavow the past six years, but that voters should have more information upon which to base their opinion of Bush than Bush's Vice-Presidency in the Reagan administration.

In summary, Vice-President George Bush stands in good stead as the 1988 election campaign draws nearer. Awareness of Bush is greater than that of the other contenders at the present time, voters feel ideologically comfortable with Bush, and they believe him to be honest and trustworthy. One perception that could dog him when the campaign gets underway, however, is lack of definition Bush has in terms of leadership abilities. This seems due to the fact that people identify him mainly as Reagan's Vice-President and do not know enough about his past positions in and out of government.

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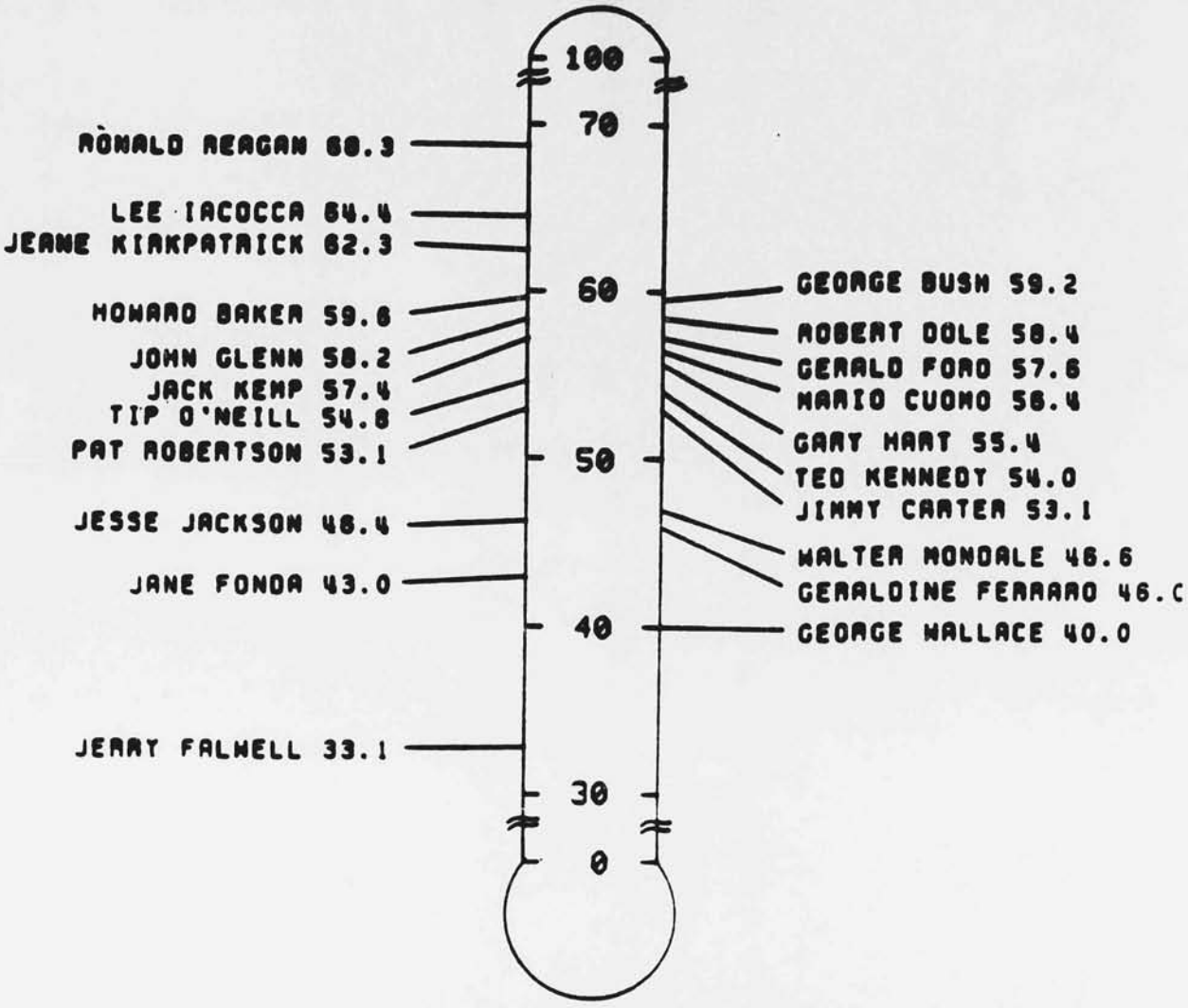
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling



Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

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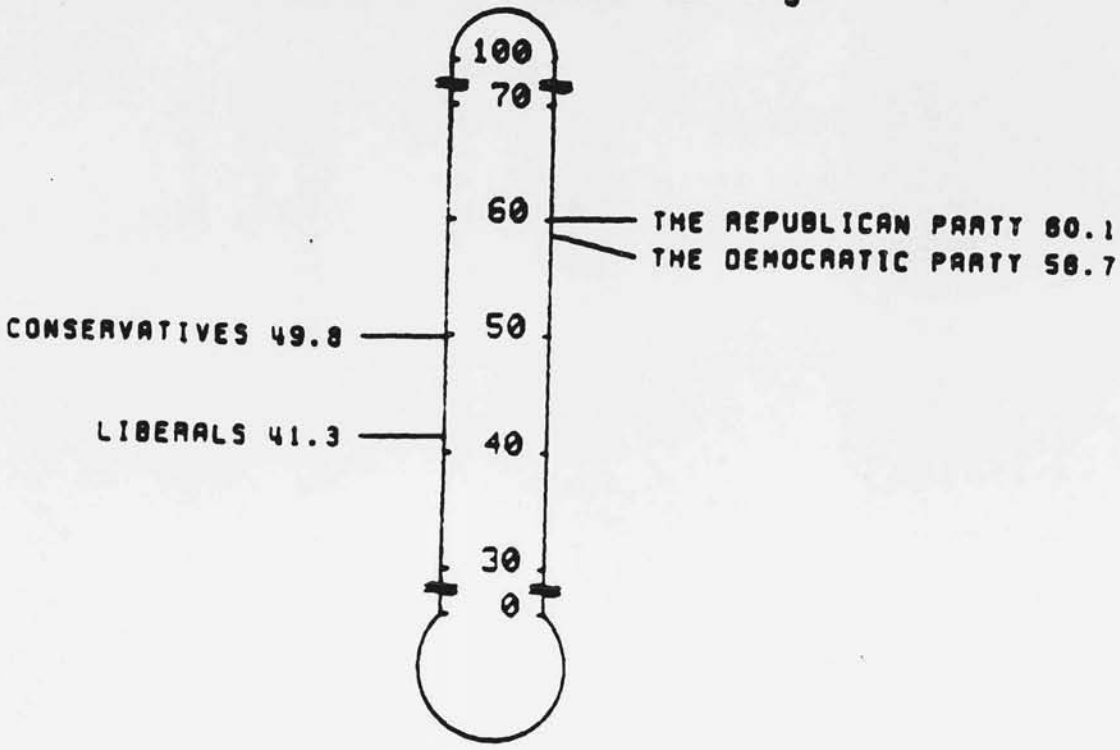
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling



Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

Public Perceptions of George Bush

		George Bush				
	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average*
Total	100%	49%	26%	20%	5%	59*
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	68	21	8	5	70
Independent	100%	42	32	15	11	57
Democrat	100%	32	30	33	6	49
Political Region						
New England	100%	46	27	18	10	58
Mid-Atlantic	100%	40	30	26	4	54
East North Central	100%	45	28	25	3	56
West North Central	100%	53	25	18	4	63
Border	100%	58	24	14	4	65
Deep South	100%	55	23	16	7	64
Mountain	100%	50	26	18	6	60
Pacific	100%	45	28	22	5	56
Age						
18-24	100%	43	24	26	7	56
25-39	100%	47	30	21	3	57
40-54	100%	48	27	19	5	60
55-64	100%	51	25	20	4	61
65+	100%	57	21	13	8	66
Sex						
Male	100%	55	23	18	4	62
Female	100%	43	29	22	6	56
Status Groups						
High income	100%	60	25	13	2	65
Intelligentsia	100%	58	22	17	3	63
Middle class	100%	50	28	17	5	60
Lower end	100%	48	28	16	8	61
Jews	100%	34	28	30	8	52
Hispanics	100%	51	29	16	5	63
Blacks	100%	26	24	43	7	42

(continued on next page)

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Public Perceptions of George Bush

(cont'd.)

Tracer Groups	Total	George Bush: Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average#
Northern white Protestant	100%	54%	25%	17%	4%	63
Northern white Catholic	100%	46	31	18	5	59
Northern white union	100%	43	30	23	4	55
Southern white	100%	60	22	12	6	67

#Average is based on a 0° to 100° thermometer scale, where 0°=very cold and unfavorable and 100°=very warm and favorable.

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Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-General Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Don't Like About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	51%	10%	39%	42%	11%	47%
Party Identification							
Republican	100%	67	3	30	37	13	50
Independent	100%	36	7	57	31	11	58
Democrat	100%	40	16	44	48	9	43
Political Region							
New England	100%	33	13	54	43	13	44
Mid-Atlantic	100%	43	13	44	43	14	43
East North Central	100%	54	10	36	48	5	47
West North Central	100%	54	11	35	36	13	51
Border South	100%	56	2	42	36	8	56
Deep South	100%	55	10	35	37	14	49
Mountain	100%	45	—	55	35	5	60
Pacific	100%	52	12	36	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	45	10	45	38	11	51
25-39	100%	49	9	42	43	8	49
40-54	100%	47	11	42	36	11	53
55-64	100%	53	10	37	46	14	40
65+	100%	66	9	25	43	14	43
Sex							
Male	100%	61	8	31	48	9	43
Female	100%	42	11	47	35	13	52
Status Group							
High income	100%	67	8	25	45	12	43
Intelligentsia	100%	62	10	28	53	9	38
Middle class	100%	47	9	44	43	9	48
Lower end	100%	50	5	45	26	14	60
Jews	100%	53	17	30	69	9	22
Hispanics	100%	52	13	35	25	23	52
Blacks	100%	45	18	37	46	12	42

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Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-Republican Primary Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Dislike About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	**100%**	**68%**	**2%**	**30%**	**37%**	**13%**	**50%**
Party Identification							
Strong Republican	100%	77	1	22	28	18	54
Weak Republican	100%	61	2	37	46	8	46
Independent Republican	100%	67	2	31	35	15	50
Political Region							
New England	100%	45	—	55	32	17	51
Mid-Atlantic	100%	72	—	28	34	20	46
East North Central	100%	84	—	16	53	5	42
West North Central	100%	67	—	33	40	8	52
Border South	100%	53	—	47	40	6	54
Deep South	100%	70	—	30	27	16	57
Mountain	100%	64	—	36	32	12	56
Pacific	100%	72	—	28	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	79	4	17	45	4	51
25-39	100%	66	2	32	44	12	44
40-54	100%	67	1	32	30	19	51
55-64	100%	74	—	26	28	17	55
65+	100%	80	—	20	27	17	56
Sex							
Male	100%	76	2	22	44	10	46
Female	100%	62	1	37	31	15	54
Status Group							
High income	100%	82	2	16	43	16	41
Intelligentsia	100%	78	—	22	51	12	37
Middle class	100%	65	4	31	43	10	47
Lower end	100%	52	—	48	18	14	68

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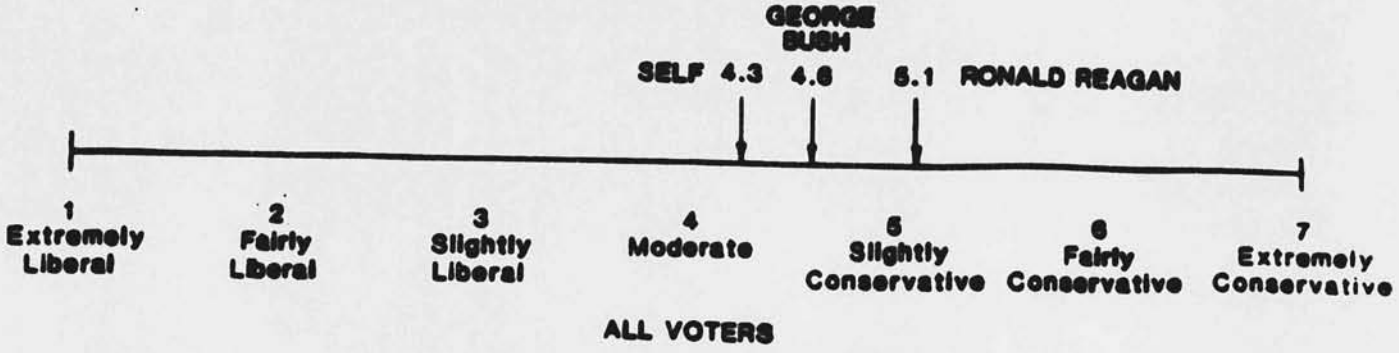
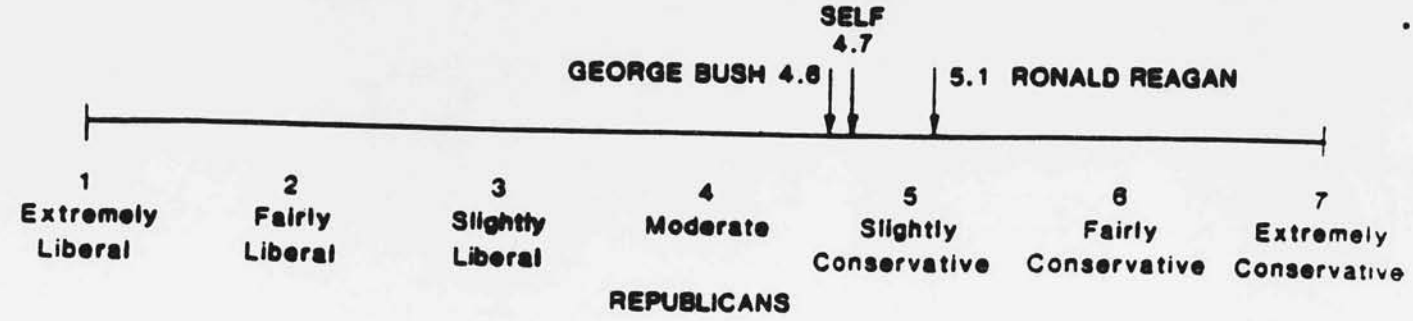
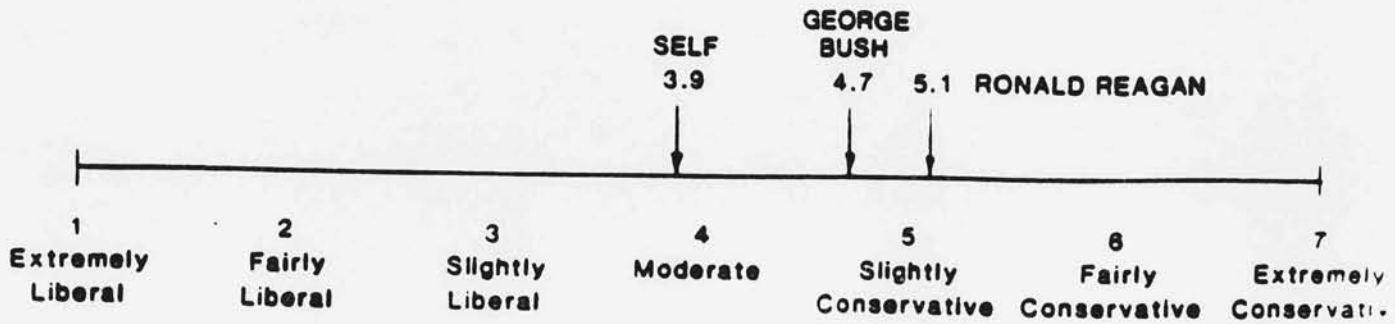
IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN



ALL VOTERS



REPUBLICANS



DEMOCRATS

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Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(540)
Combined First & Second Mentions		
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	56%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	39
Is in government now	26	27
Conservative	25	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	29
None/No second mention	14	13
Don't know/Refused	3	2

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Importance of Presidential Characteristics

	Total	Party ID			Political Region							
		Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Selected First												
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	27%	40%	34%	34%	34%	31%	45%	28%	27%	30%	32%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	19	19	21	16	22	23	17	14	17	24	21
Is in government now	14	20	8	10	9	15	13	10	14	17	19	14
Conservative	13	12	8	15	16	14	11	8	19	15	5	11
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	14	10	4	4	7	10	10	13	10	8	9
None	9	7	13	10	14	7	10	8	5	10	10	8
Don't know/Refused	3	2	3	5	8	*	3	2	6	4	4	4

(continued on next page)

Importance of Presidential Characteristics
(cont'd.)

	Total	Age					Status Groups						
		18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Selected First													
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	43%	33%	29%	27%	24%	32%	31%	33%	30%	28%	33%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	14	21	22	21	18	21	25	20	14	34	22	16
Is in government now	14	11	15	15	14	15	17	19	14	11	9	8	19
Conservative	13	13	11	13	18	13	11	9	13	13	11	21	19
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	10	9	8	7	12	8	8	8	16	2	11	5
None	9	9	8	10	10	8	10	7	8	10	11	2	11
Don't know/Refused	3	2	2	3	4	9	1	2	4	6	2	3	3

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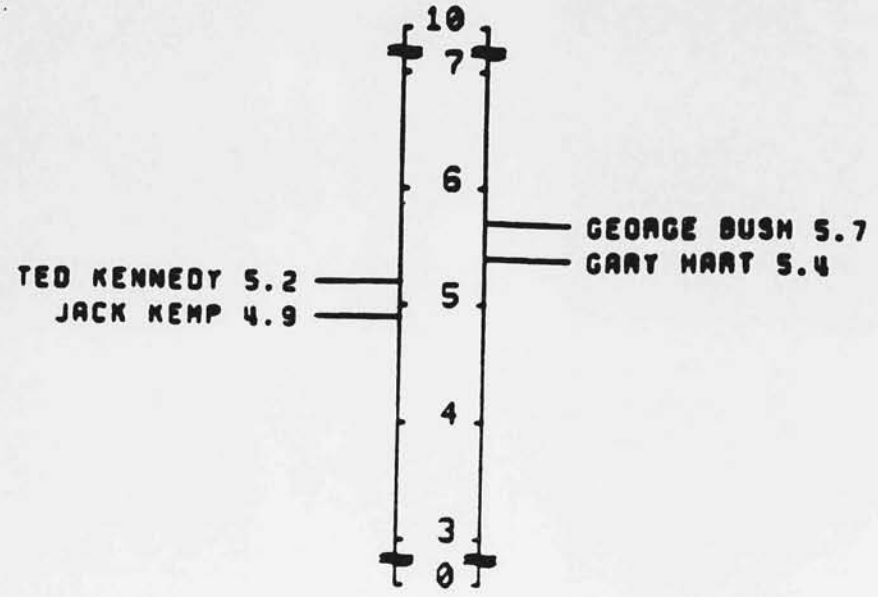
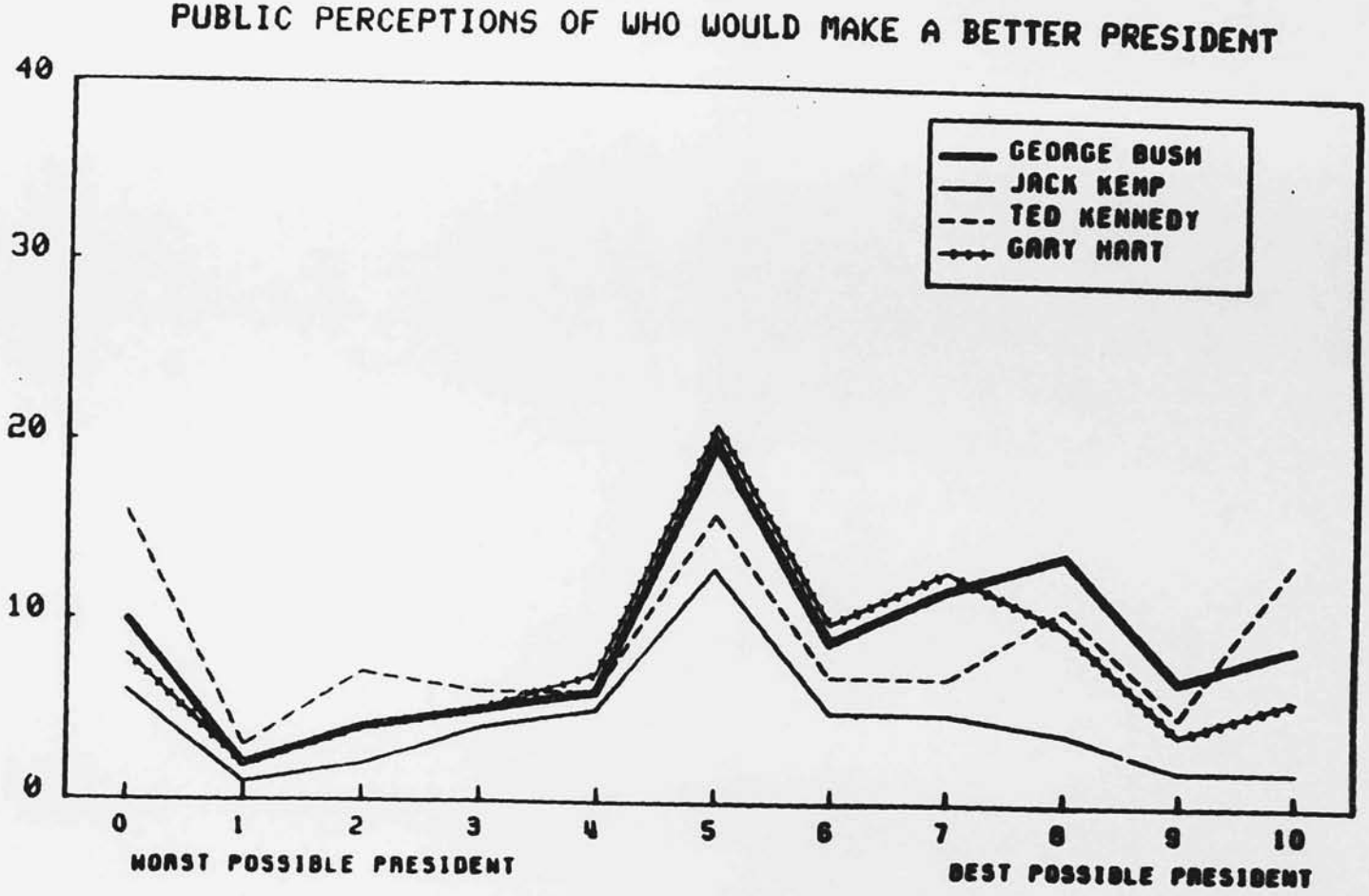
FEELINGS ON WHO WOULD MAKE THE BEST PRESIDENT

Best Possible President

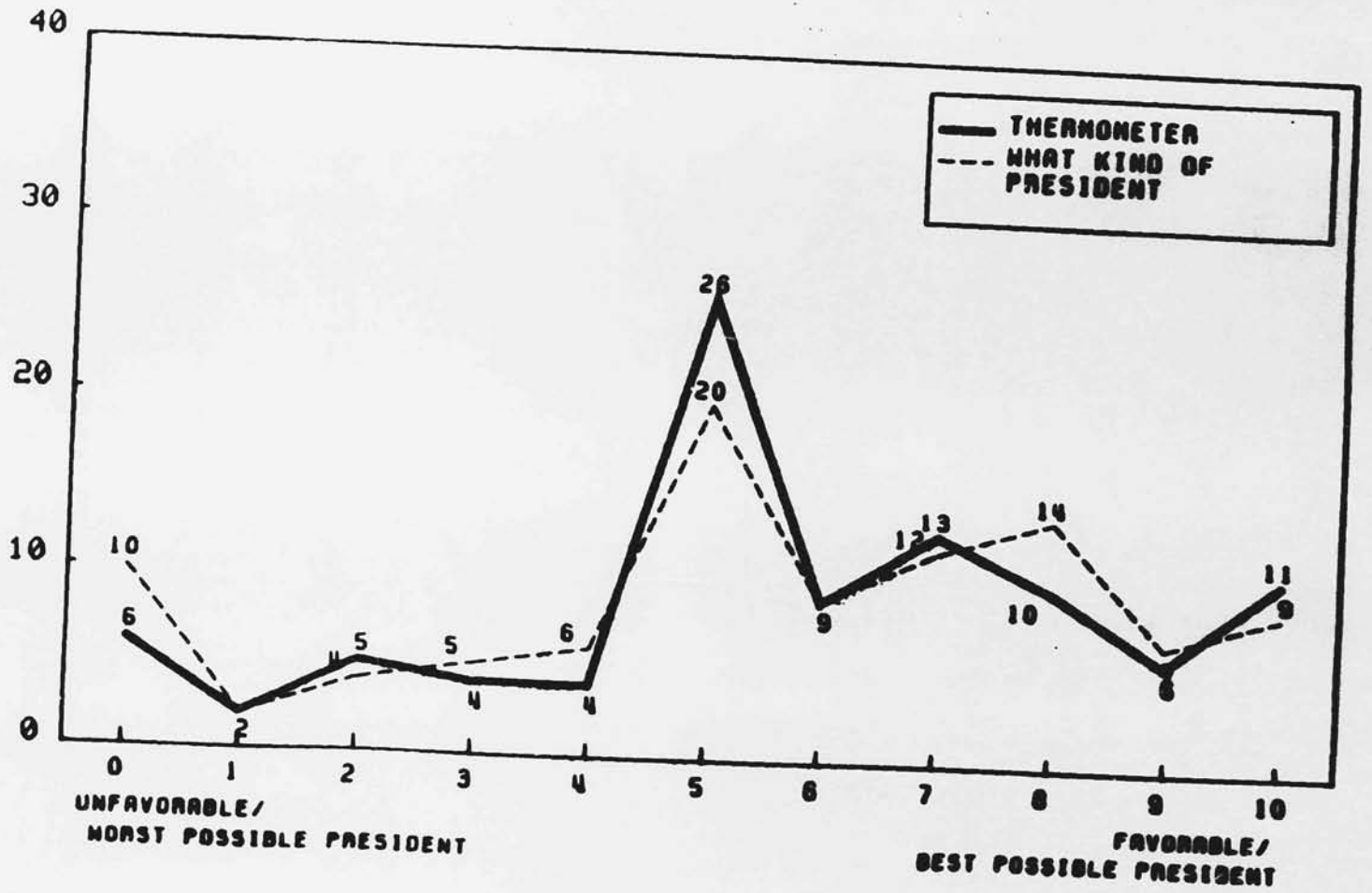


Worst Possible President

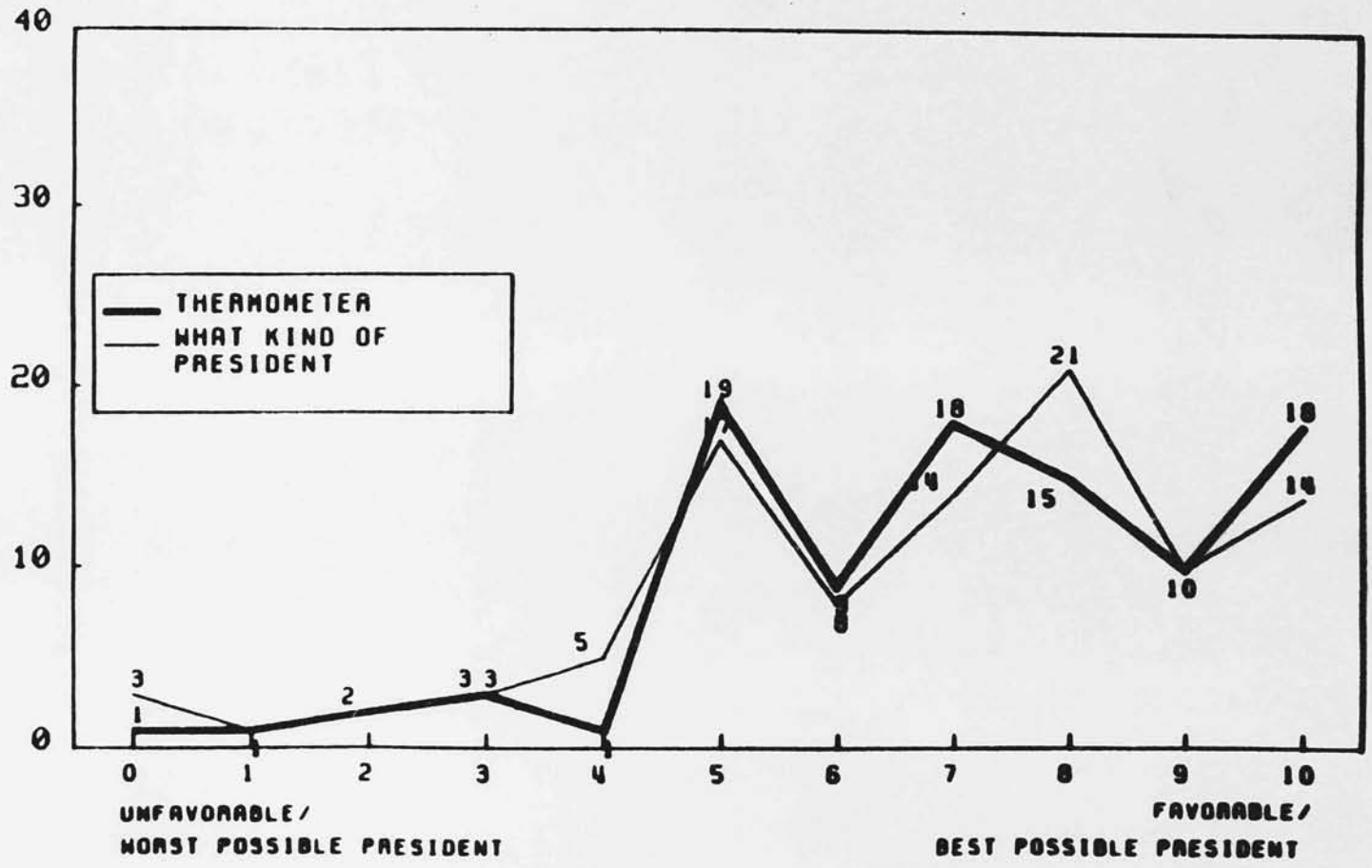

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF WHO WOULD MAKE A BETTER PRESIDENT
40
30
20
10
0
GEORGE BUSH
JACK KEMP
TED KENNEDY
GARY HART
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
WORST POSSIBLE PRESIDENT
BEST POSSIBLE PRESIDENT

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (TOTAL ELECTORATE)



DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTORATE)



Comparison of Feelings Toward Bush and Reagan

	Thermometer Comparison			
	Reagan>>Bush	Reagan>Bush	Reagan=Bush	Bush>Reagan
% of all voters	29%	22%	35%	14%
Reagan thermometer rating	82°	79°	63°	36°
Bush thermometer rating	47	70	63	60
% of Republican primary voters	36%	30%	29%	7%
Reagan thermometer rating	88°	88°	85°	53°
Bush thermometer rating	54	78	86	73

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(430)	(327)	(443)	(216)	(540)				
Party Identification										
Strong Democrat	17%	12%	11%	21%	31%	—	—	—	—	—
Weak Democrat	17	15	16	17	26	—	—	—	—	—
Independent Democrat	12	9	8	13	19	—	—	—	—	—
Independent	10	11	9	10	3	3	4	3	2	—
Independent Republican	13	17	16	12	8	19	19	16	22	26
Weak Republican	17	24	19	13	8	37	45	34	30	33
Strong Republican	14	13	22	15	6	37	29	43	42	27
Political Region										
New England	5	5	4	5	6	4	4	2	4	10
Mid Atlantic	16	20	14	16	16	17	19	17	15	23
East North Central	18	17	20	16	22	15	15	14	14	24
West North Central	7	7	7	9	6	9	10	9	11	2
Border South	8	6	9	9	9	9	6	10	10	6
Deep South	26	26	27	26	23	26	30	25	24	26
Mountain	5	4	5	7	5	5	4	5	8	4
Pacific	14	15	14	14	13	15	13	18	16	5

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

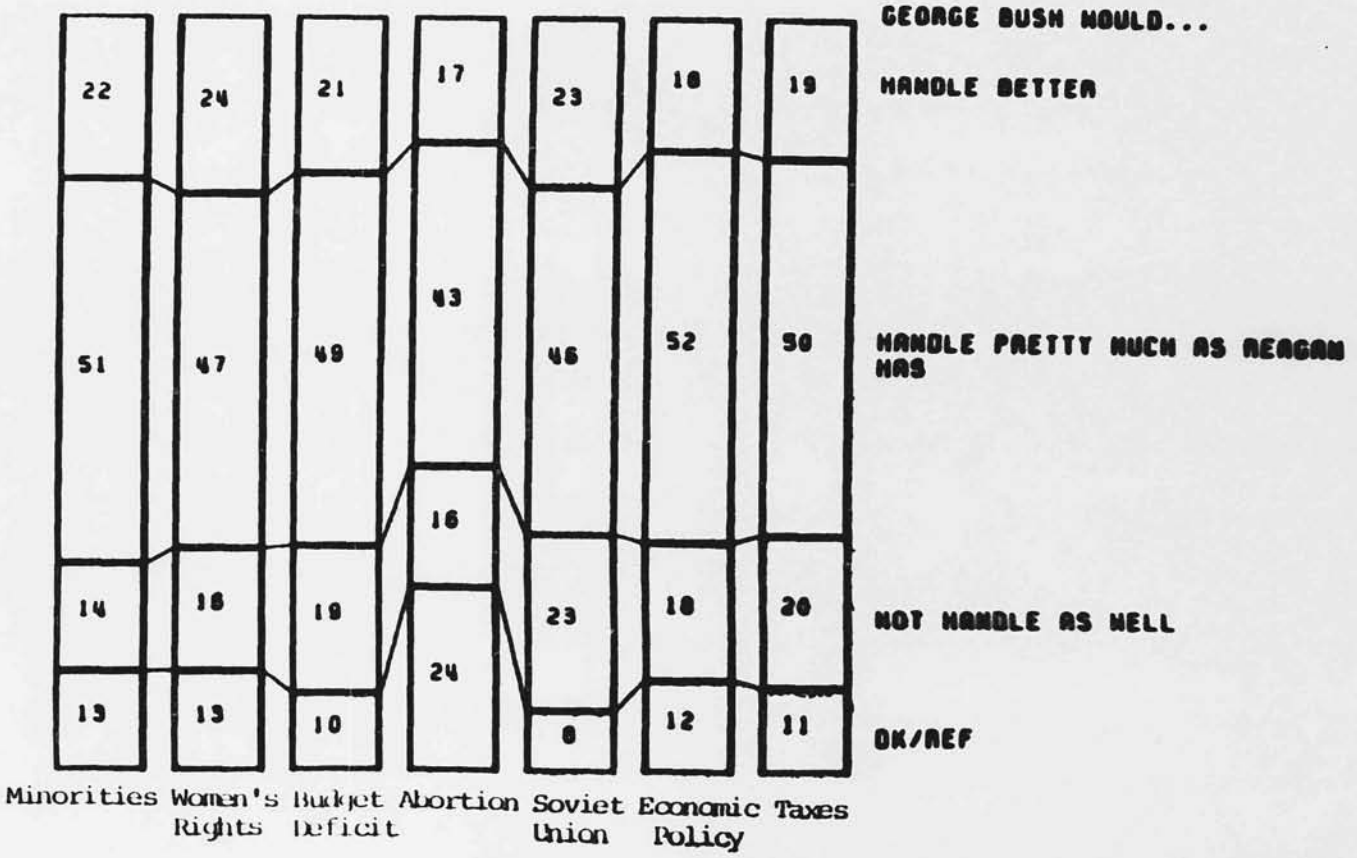
(cont'd.)

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Age										
18-24	16%	20%	14%	14%	12%	18%	19%	16%	18%	17%
25-39	35	40	36	32	36	35	41	32	30	37
40-54	21	20	21	23	17	22	24	20	25	16
55-64	12	9	12	15	18	9	8	10	11	7
65+	15	9	17	17	17	16	9	22	16	24
Sex										
Male	48	49	54	45	48	50	48	54	47	59
Female	52	51	46	55	52	50	52	46	53	41
Status Group										
High income	15	18	18	13	16	21	23	22	20	14
Intelligentsia	11	11	13	9	13	13	12	14	12	15
Middle class	31	35	32	30	22	38	38	38	39	26
Lower end	18	17	15	22	15	16	17	13	17	19
Jews	4	3	4	3	6	2	1	2	1	5
Hispanics	4	5	4	5	1	3	4	3	2	—
Blacks	11	5	6	14	21	3	1	3	3	14

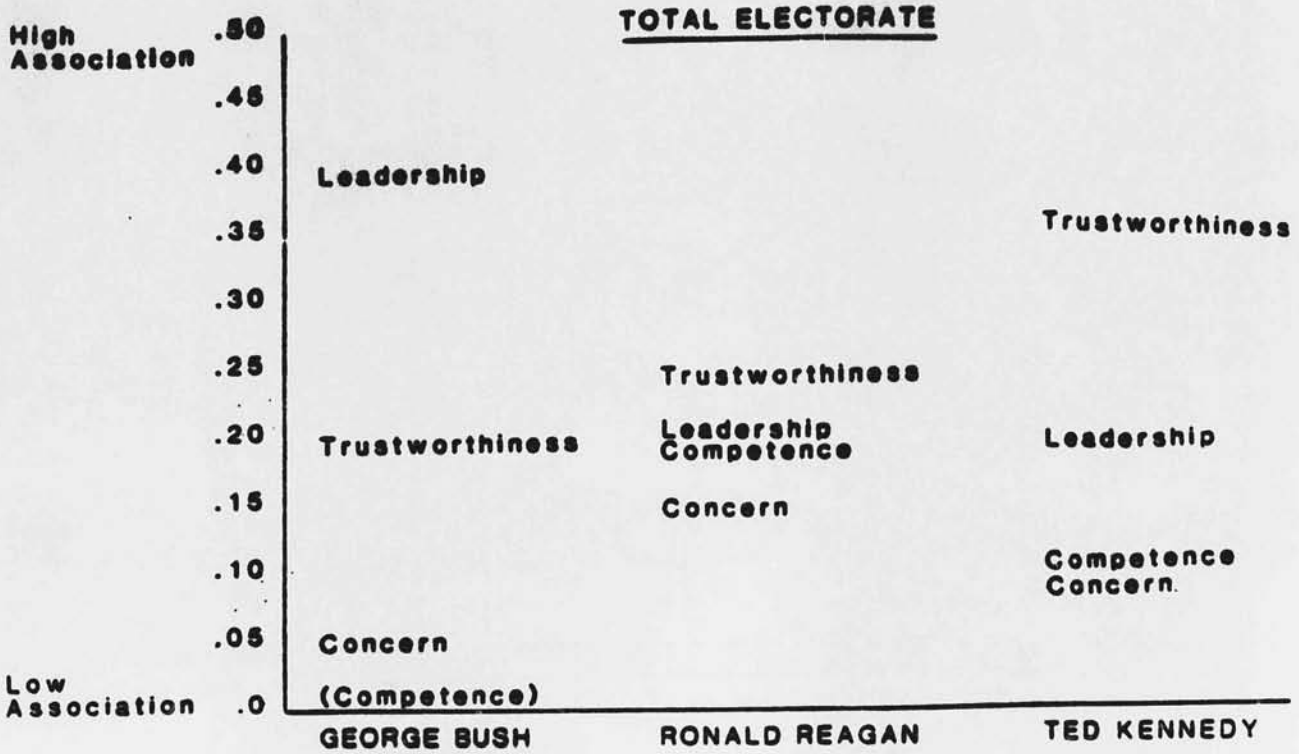
#This table analyzes the differences in perceptions of Reagan and Bush as measured on their respective 0-100° thermometer scales.

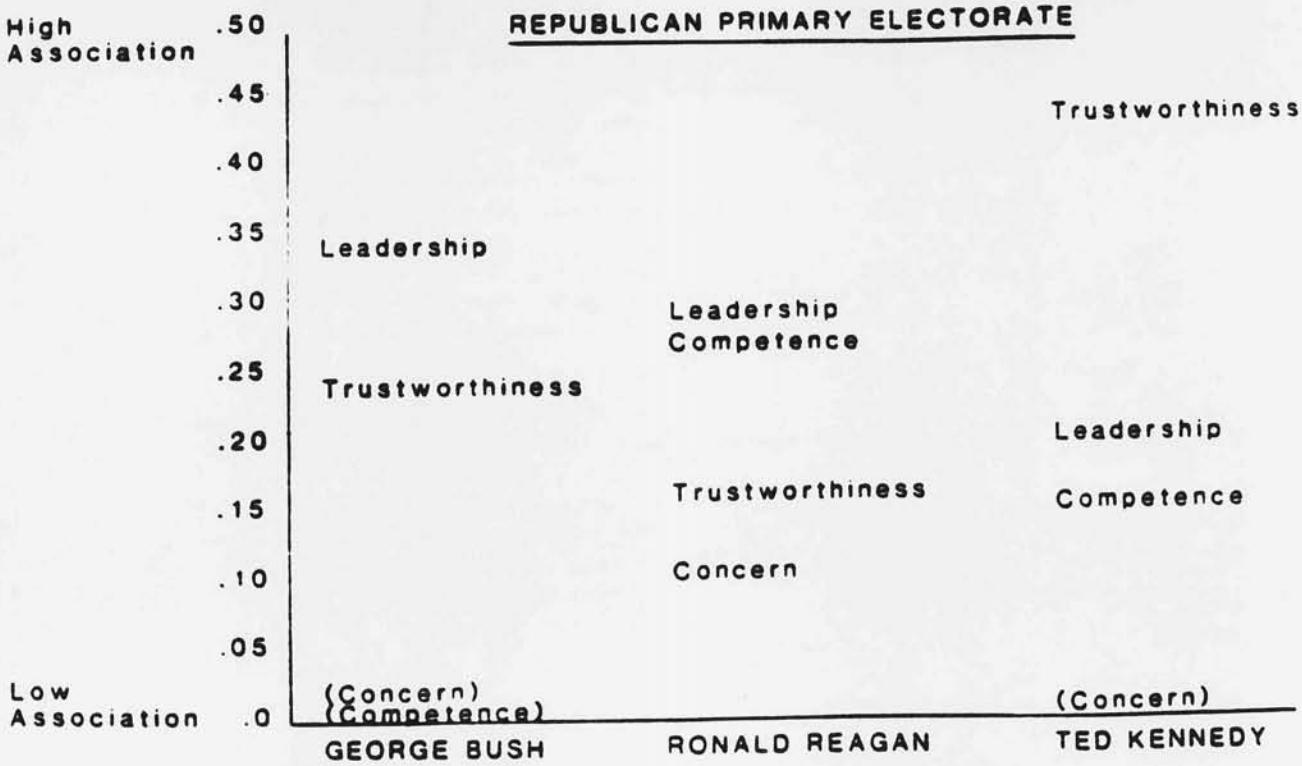
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ISSUE HANDLING COMPARISON OF GEORGE BUSH AND RONALD REAGAN



Perceptions Associated With Feelings Toward Bush, Reagan, and Kennedy





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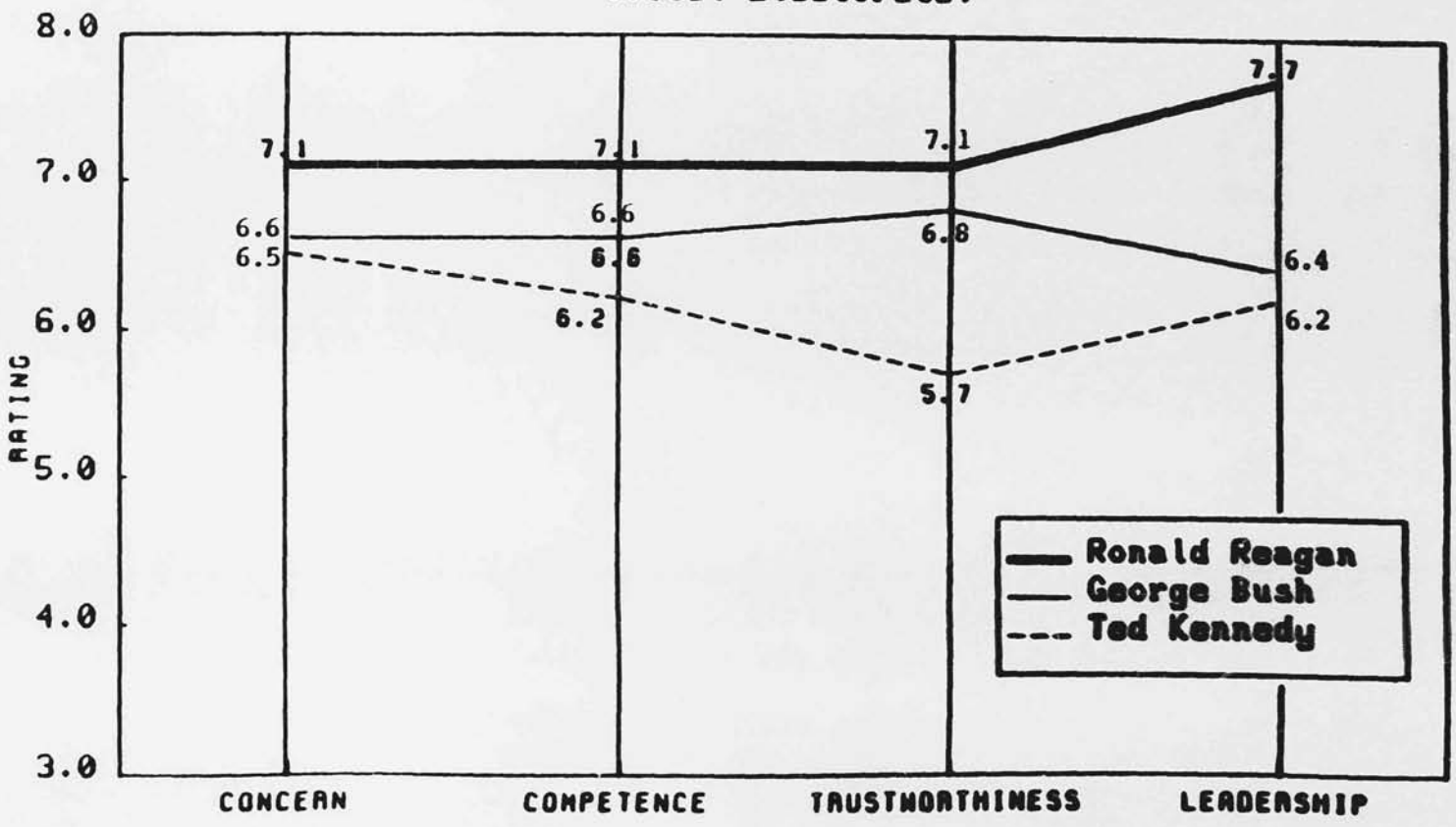
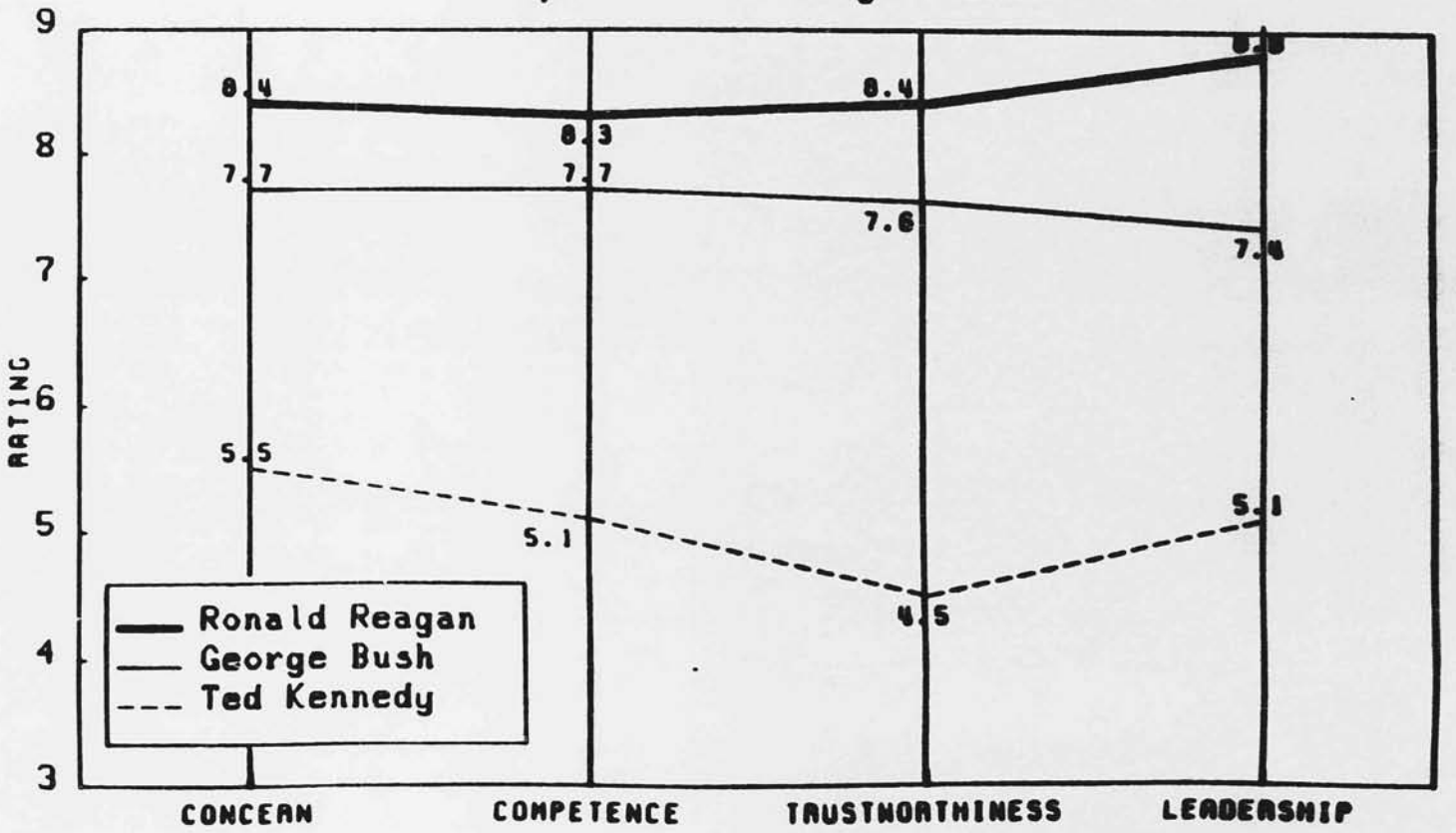
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS
(Total Electorate)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISITCS
(Republican Primary Voters)



Analysis of Perceptions of Reagan and Bush*

	Thermometer Comparison General Electorate					Thermometer Comparison Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(431)	(328)	(525)	(216)	(540)	(190)	(158)	(154)	(39)
Personal Qualities										
Trustworthiness										
Ronald Reagan	7.1#	7.9	8.0	6.8	4.7	8.4	8.5	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.8	6.6	7.1	6.7	6.6	7.8	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.9
Leadership										
Ronald Reagan	7.6	8.5	8.5	7.3	5.5	8.8	8.9	9.1	8.9	6.7
George Bush	6.4	6.0	6.9	6.6	6.1	7.4	6.7	7.7	8.1	7.5
Competence										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.0	7.9	6.8	4.6	8.3	8.4	8.5	8.4	6.1
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.1	6.7	6.2	7.7	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.6
Concern										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	7.9	7.8	6.8	4.9	8.4	8.3	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.2	6.7	6.3	7.7	7.0	8.0	8.2	7.4
Handling of Issues										
Our relations with the Soviet Union	+ 0&	-24	- 7	+ 7	+44	- 4	-26	+ 2	+ 4	-[illegible]
National economic policy	+ 0	-17	- 5	+ 4	+33	- 1	-13	- 5	+ 5	-[illegible]
Taxes	- 1	-19	- 6	+ 4	+29	- 4	-17	- 3	+ 5	-[illegible]
The federal budget deficit	+ 2	-19	+ 1	+ 8	+31	+ 8	-12	+ 6	+20	-[illegible]
Abortion	+ 1	-11	- 3	+ 3	+26	+ 0	-15	+ 4	+ 8	-[illegible]
Policies concerning minorities	+ 8	- 8	+ 8	+12	+35	+11	+ 2	+ 9	+17	-[illegible]
Women's rights	+ 8	- 6	+ 7	+11	+33	+11	- 1	+12	+17	-[illegible]

#Numbers are averages on a 0 to 10 scale, where 0=doesn't possess the characteristic at all and 10-possesses as much as any person possibly can.

&Numbers are the percent difference between "(George Bush) would handle it better" and Ronald Reagan and "would not handle it well." A positive number means Bush would handle it better than Reagan.

*Qualities and issues are listed in order of strength of effect on perceptions of Reagan and Bush. Boldfaced items indicate a significant relationship between that item and difference in opinion of Reagan and Bush.

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CHAPTER 2: THE 1988 GENERAL ELECTION

Even though the 1988 Presidential election is 36 months away, three 1988 trial heats were tested in order to assess the early strength of George Bush against possible Democratic opponents. At the present time, Bush leads Ted Kennedy by a 51% to 45% margin, with 4% undecided; he tops Gary Hart by a 50% to 45% margin, with 5% undecided; and he edges out Lee Iacocca by a 49% to 43% margin, with 7% undecided.

All three races are similar in their overall margins, but each reveal a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart. He falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power. Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy.

Regionally, Bush leads all three men in all but the Eastern Seaboard, East North Central, and Mountain states. Kennedy's regional strength lies in New England, Hart's in New England and the Mountain states, and Iacocca in the Eastern Seaboard (New England and the Mid-Atlantic states).

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Demographically, Bush tops the Democrats among adults under 25 and over 65, among high income and middle class whites, among the intelligentsia, and among men.

Combining all three ballots gives a good sense of the core Republican and Democratic presidential constituencies at the present time. In total, 49% of the vote is Republican — with 30% core Republican and 19% soft Republican — and 44% is Democratic -- 24% core Democratic, 20% soft Democratic. The other 7% are marginal voters who are undecided on the trial heats at the present time.

The core Republican vote against the 3 tested Democrats consists of:

- northern white Protestants (31%)
- whites in the South (37%)
- over 55 (30%)
- over $40,000 income (21%)

The soft Republican vote is made up of those who vote Republican on 2 out of the 3 ballots. A plurality of them (44%) are Lee Iacocca defectors. These eligible voters are largely weak or independent Republicans. Iacocca Republican defectors are older than Kennedy or Hart defectors; Hart's defectors are the youngest. Iacocca defectors are mostly male; Hart defectors are female. Iacocca defectors are also of higher socioeconomic status than are either Hart or Kennedy defectors. Regionally, Iacocca defectors live north of the Mason-Dixon line, while slightly over a third (34%) of the pro-Kennedy defectors are white Southerners. Also, union defectors go for Kennedy and Hart more than for Iacocca.

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The core Democratic vote, 24% of the electorate in these 3 trial heats, is young (15% are under 25, 37% are aged 25 to 39), middle class (25%) or lower end (16%), black (24%), and from the Eastern Seaboard (35%) or the East North Central states (20%).

A 46% plurality of the Democratic defectors, who vote for Bush on one of the three ballots, do so to vote against Iacocca. They are strongly Democratic, lower status, and largely female. They just don't like Lee Iacocca.

Each Democrat appears, then, to have his own constituency. Kennedy is supported most by the party regulars, Hart draws a younger vote, and Iacocca grasps a larger share of the centrist vote. None currently has a larger or broad enough constituency to outdraw George Bush. Each contest looks as though it would be a tight one, however.

Looking at these data, the demographic profile of the defectors, and their perceptions of Bush, it appears that the voter groups Bush can most easily lose are:

- Northern whites under 40 with incomes under $40,000, who could go Democratic
- Northern high income whites over 55, who could defect in a primary situation, but probably would not in a general election

Thus, Bush may have difficulty holding onto the younger, marginal voter, who came over to the Republican column because of Reagan.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush	51%	82%	51%	20%	34%	49%	45%	54%	55%	54%	55%	53%
Ted Kennedy	45	16	38	74	61	48	51	41	41	42	39	41
Don't know/Refused	4	1	11	5	5	2	5	5	5	4	6	5
George Bush	50%	80%	44%	24%	33%	47%	44%	58%	57%	56%	43%	53%
Gary Hart	45	17	40	72	61	48	50	41	38	41	50	40
Don't know/Refused	5	2	17	4	6	5	6	2	5	4	8	6
George Bush	49%	73%	39%	29%	42%	44%	46%	51%	58%	57%	45%	45%
Lee Iacocca	43	25	42	61	53	51	47	39	32	38	46	43
Don't know/Refused	7	2	18	10	6	5	7	11	10	6	9	11

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
George Bush	51%	54%	46%	53%	48%	57%	56%	45%	66%	62%	57%	46%	34%	44%	13%
Ted Kennedy	45	43	50	42	49	38	40	50	30	33	40	51	62	51	83
Don't know/Refused	4	3	3	6	4	6	4	5	4	7	4	3	4	6	4
George Bush	50%	53%	47%	51%	50%	56%	54%	46%	62%	52%	54%	53%	32%	49%	25%
Gary Hart	45	43	50	44	46	36	41	49	36	39	42	41	68	43	69
Don't know/Refused	5	5	4	5	6	7	5	5	1	9	4	5	—	8	6
George Bush	49%	54%	48%	50%	46%	51%	48%	51%	54%	52%	52%	55%	38%	43%	28%
Lee Iacocca	43	40	46	42	43	43	48	39	42	42	42	36	55	41	63
Don't know/Refused	7	5	6	7	12	7	5	10	4	6	6	9	8	16	10

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

		Presidential Ballot Summary*							
	Total	Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(359)	(87)	(70)	(137)	(83)	(72)	(120)	(457)
Party Identification									
Republican	44%	6%	30%	28%	19%	44%	53%	75%	80%
Independent	10	6	16	11	8	9	12	12	7
Democrat	46	88	54	61	73	47	35	13	13
Political Region									
New England	5	7	6	10	9	5	7	6	16
Mid-Atlantic	16	19	17	21	14	17	19	22	14
East North Central	18	20	17	20	21	16	20	15	15
West North Central	7	7	7	7	5	9	9	6	[illegible]
Border South	8	6	4	6	8	9	8	7	[illegible]
Deep South	26	22	30	22	24	35	24	22	[illegible]
Mountain	5	5	10	2	8	3	4	7	[illegible]
Pacific	14	14	9	13	12	8	9	17	[illegible]
Age									
18-24	16	15	16	17	10	22	28	12	[illegible]
25-39	35	37	38	43	49	31	34	35	[illegible]
40-54	21	21	24	13	16	27	23	21	[illegible]
55-64	13	14	12	10	16	12	4	11	[illegible]
65+	15	14	12	17	9	9	12	20	[illegible]
Sex									
Male	48	45	56	54	34	45	47	73	[illegible]
Female	52	55	44	46	66	55	53	27	[illegible]
Status Groups									
High income	15	12	20	13	6	11	17	23	[illegible]
Intelligentsia	11	8	12	8	9	4	14	15	[illegible]
Middle class	31	25	35	23	32	35	30	42	[illegible]
Lower end	18	16	12	26	22	27	19	11	[illegible]
Jewish	4	5	5	6	7	2	4	2	[illegible]
Hispanic	4	5	3	3	6	1	—	4	[illegible]
Black	11	24	6	14	13	15	2	—	[illegible]

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Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

(cont'd.)

Tracer Group	Total	Presidential Ballot Summary*							
		Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
White northern Protestant	25%	19%	21%	25%	22%	13%	29%	31%	31%
White northern Catholic	14	14	21	14	14	14	15	22	9
White northern union	14	17	10	17	15	18	19	11	12
Southern white	26	14	29	20	18	34	30	27	37

*Boxes drawn compare core Democratic and Republican constituencies.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Geodemographic Analysis of Key Bush Support Groups

		General Election				Primary Election		Bush Thermometer		
	Total	Core Republican	Republican Defectors	Democratic Defectors	Core Democrat	Bush	All Others	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
Total	100%	30%	19%	20%	24%	58%	42%	49%	26%	20%
Northern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	27	22	25	19	59	41	46	32	19
40-54, under $40,000	100%	27	23	19	24	55	45	43	25	26
55+, under $40,000	100%	34	14	19	26	46	[54]	52	25	15
18-39, over $40,000	100%	33	18	19	26	52	48	56	28	15
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[40]	[27]	14	13	60	40	49	35	14
55+, over $40,000	100%	35	[26]	16	23	49	[51]	[56]	26	18
Southern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	41	22	19	14	68	32	54	24	15
40-54, under $40,000	100%	34	23	17	23	55	45	51	26	18
55+, under $40,000	100%	32	19	18	18	65	35	[64]	22	8
18-39, over $40,000	100%	[42]	26	16	16	43	57	63	21	13
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[58]	15	15	6	58	42	[79]	12	6
55+, over $40,000	100%	[71]	9	--	10	[75]	25	[87]	13	—
Jews	100%	15	16	[35]	[32]	55	45	34	28	[30]
Hispanics	100%	33	10	20	27	100	—	51	29	16
Blacks	100%	9	9	20	[53]	42	58	26	24	[43]

CHAPTER 3: THE 1988 REPUBLICAN PRIMARY BATTLE

The Republican Primary Electorate: 1985 vs. 1979

It is instructive to take a look at the changes in the composition of the Republican primary electorate since the 1980 Presidential campaign before taking a hard look at organizing for 1988. As we know, the "Reagan Revolution" has had a significant impact on partisan politics. Republicans have gone from the minority party to party parity over the past three election cycles.

Republicans today are younger and better educated than were Republicans in 1979. In 1979, 44% of the Republicans were under 40. Now, 54% are. The percent of college educated (at least some college) Republicans has gone from 46% six years ago to 56% today.

Republican gains in the South are very evident when looking at the geographic distribution of the national electorate. In 1979, 27% of the nation's behavioral Republicans lived in the South. That number has gone up to 33% today. Gains are biggest in the Deep South, where the contribution has gone from 16% to 26%.

So, the party's constituency has changed in the last six years. There are more young Republicans and more Republicans in the South, especially the Deep South.

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The Race for the Republican Nomination

Vice-President George Bush is the clear front-runner for the Republican nomination for President at this juncture. He leads fellow Republicans Bob Dole, Howard Baker, Jack Kemp, and Jeane Kirkpatrick with 58% of the first choice vote and 76% of the combined first and second choice vote. The others are far behind — Dole with 30% of the combined first and second choice vote, Baker with 27%, Kirkpatrick with 21% and Kemp with 18%.

Voting intentions are strongly related to awareness at the present time. Only 3% of the country's Republicans have never heard of Bush, but 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and fully 48% have never heard of Kemp.

Bush is the clear choice among Republicans across the country. None of the other candidates comes close in any geographic or demographic subgroup. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see where the other candidates get the support they do receive.

Bob Dole receives his highest levels of support from independent Republicans, West North Central state residents, Republicans under 25, and those 65 or older.

Howard Baker draws from Republicans of all strengths of partisanship and gets 41% of the Border South vote and higher than (his) average levels of support from Republicans 55 or older.

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Jeane Kirkpatrick is most popular in the Mid-Atlantic states, among members of the intelligentsia, women, and primary voters over 55.

Kemp draws mainly from Republican party regulars and gets his highest geographic share from the Mid-Atlantic and Pacific states. He is far more popular among men than women, and draws more from middle aged Republicans than from either young or old Republicans.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Republican Generic Preferences

Primary trial heats taken three years before the first state primary have little predictive value. The main reason for this is that early trial heats are primarily driven by large descripencies in the voters' familiarity with the tested candidates. These "name I.D. gaps" usually disappear by the time the real vote is taken, and the election outcome often bares slight resemblence to the early survey data.

In this study an attempt was made to provide some data that could be projected into the future. The voters were presented with the description of the central themes of four candidacies. By design, three of the themes were meant to correspond to the themes with which George Bush, Bob Dole, and Jack Kemp might become uniquely associated by 1988. The fourth theme is not known to be uniquely associated with any 1988 contender, but it was added as the possible unclaimed winner. (Its resemblence to the meaning of Reagan's presidency is clear enough, however.)

The four themes, randomly presented, were:

- Has the best personal qualifications for the job. (Bush)
- Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority. (Dole)
- Is a fighter for making major changes in government. (Kemp)
- Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world. (Unclaimed)

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As the Republican primary voters first choice, the unclaimed theme beats Dole, 40% to 28%. Bush (19%) and Kemp (11%) trail considerably behind. Dole gains strength in the Republicans' second choices (36%) against the unclaimed theme (25%) and finishes in a virtual tie of combined choices: unclaimed theme 64%, Dole 63%. Bush finishes a distant third (37%) and Kemp is last (29%).

One clear lesson of this experiment is that Bush is not going to cross the goal line with the theme most commonly associated with him. His resume characteristics are an important asset for him, but, alone, they will not get him elected.

The results, just as clearly demonstrate the great appeal of an issue theme and the need for Bush to be associated with one. Moreover, six years into the Reagan Revolution the two principle themes of that revolution still exhibit significant appeal. This, of course, may change by 1988. Nevertheless, these results confirm that the candidate who is most associated with carrying on the Reagan Revolution would have the inside track in the Republican primary.

For the most part, the potential Republican primary candidates have not successfully associated themselves with one of these generic preferences of Republican primary voters. The primary trial heat result among Bush, Dole, Kemp, et al does not significantly change across three of the four generic preferences of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who prefer the candidate with the best personal qualifications for the job. Bush is their candidate; 66% vote for him against 31% for the combined field.

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A similar lack of association is seen in the groupings of Republicans by their selections of the five Bush characteristics as most important for a president to have, e.g. respected by foreign leaders, held a variety of government positions, etc. The trial heat results do not significantly change across four of the five groups of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who select "has worked with Ronald Reagan." Bush is their candidate; 68% vote for him against 25% for the combined field. As previously discussed, the latter characteristic is the only one of the five which in now associated with Bush and helps explain why voters like or dislike him. The relationship of the primary trial heat to these selections is an important demonstration of the earlier finding.

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Demographic Profile of Republican Electorate 1985 vs. 1979

	Year	
	1979	1985
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(457)	(659)
Political Region		
New England	6%	4%
Mid-Atlantic	19	18
East North Central	19	16
West North Central	10	8
Border South	11	7
Deep South	16	26
Mountain	6	6
Pacific	13	15
Age		
18-24	16	19
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	10
65+	21	15
Sex		
Male	51	53
Female	50	47
Education		
Less than high school	17	10
High school/Vocational	37	34
Some college	24	31
College graduate	22	25
Other Groups		
Hispanics	2	4
Blacks	3	2

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(500)	(498)	(16)	(26)	(22)	(93)	(78)	(47)	(46)	(142)	(29)	(83)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices												
George Bush	76%	76%	63%	74%	71%	73%	72%	75%	73%	83%	71%	75%
Bob Dole	30	30	17	43	25	25	34	38	27	33	26	30
Howard Baker	27	28	34	20	30	28	24	33	41	26	25	22
Jack Kemp	18	19	6	13	13	23	19	11	16	18	8	24
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	21	29	19	28	31	22	21	13	12	25	24
Don't know/Refused	20	20	31	21	25	18	23	16	18	23	29	16
First Choice												
George Bush	58%	59%	58%	47%	60%	55%	54%	54%	55%	64%	52%	61%
Bob Dole	10	9	11	21	--	8	9	16	13	11	10	9
Howard Baker	12	12	5	17	21	11	11	15	14	12	16	5
Jack Kemp	8	8	--	6	--	11	11	9	9	4	—	11
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	7	6	5	11	13	10	2	—	5	6	8
Don't know/Refused	6	5	20	4	8	3	5	4	9	4	16	6

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(540)	(99)	(188)	(119)	(50)	(84)	(270)	(270)	(115)	(68)	(204)	(85)	(10)	(17)	(15)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices															
George Bush	76%	81%	77%	71%	70%	76%	78%	74%	75%	78%	76%	72%	73%	100%	75%
Bob Dole	30	38	29	24	29	36	33	28	31	21	35	35	—	16	25
Howard Baker	27	19	29	23	31	38	28	27	32	34	25	22	46	8	42
Jack Kemp	18	16	17	26	20	11	25	12	25	22	15	16	19	24	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	20	18	20	29	24	18	23	21	30	18	21	27	45	—
Don't know/Refused	20	22	23	26	10	11	14	27	14	12	25	25	18	6	17
First Choice															
George Bush	58%	69%	55%	56%	57%	54%	61%	55%	55%	58%	58%	58%	55%	100%	42%
Bob Dole	10	15	11	7	7	8	11	9	13	4	13	5	—	—	21
Howard Baker	12	5	15	10	9	17	11	12	12	11	13	12	18	—	7
Jack Kemp	8	4	7	14	5	6	10	6	12	11	5	6	—	—	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	5	6	4	13	12	4	9	6	13	5	11	9	—	—
Don't know/Refused	6	3	6	8	8	3	3	8	2	4	5	8	18	—	10

I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

Which one would you choose second?

	Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined	First Choice
Combined First & Second Choices		
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	64%	40%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority	63	28
Has the best personal qualifications for the job	37	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government	29	11
None/No second choice	2	1
Don't know/Refused	2	1

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Republican Primary Trial Heat by Republicans' Generic Preferences

	Primary Trial Heat				
	Total	Bush	All Others	Undecided	Republican Distribution
Total	100%	58	36	6	100%
Most Important Presidential Characteristics*					
Respected by foreign leaders	100%	61	34	5	56
Has held a variety of government positions	100%	55	39	6	39
Is in government now	100%	54	39	7	27
Conservative	100%	57	40	3	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	100%	68	25	7	29
Most Appealing Candidate*					
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	100%	56	38	6	64%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	100%	55	39	6	63
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	100%	66	31	3	37
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	100%	57	34	9	29

*Combined first and second choice used in each row.

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of disucssion in the 1988 Presidential campaign and, as such, is an important area to explore here.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

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The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

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Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englanders, women, Democrats, and senior citizens are the most pacifist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue. Pro Bush voters are more pro military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him. This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	[12]	[2.1]	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	[24]	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	[30]	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	[27]	11	[2.1]	(3 •
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	(8
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(2
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	[14]	[2.0]	(313
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(184
65+	100%	[24]	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	[28]	[13]	[2.1]	(7
Female	100%	[20]	[30]	27	13	5	1.6	(7
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(22
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(16
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	[1.9]	(13
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	[27]	[12]	[2.1]	(27
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	[16]	[2.1]	(5
Black	100%	[27]	26	20	20	6	1.5	(7
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	[29]	4	[2.0]	(13

#Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index*

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.8	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	—

#Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

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CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy.

A small 34% plurality of voters state that there should be less "trade" with other countries than there is now. A lesser 31% believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. However, fully 51% say that there should be fewer "imports." Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist," 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- **Democrats**
- **mid-Atlantic state residents**
- **women**
- **blacks**
- **middle class lower end whites**
- **those with no college education**

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

The electorate's relative perceptions of Bush and Reagan do not appear to be affected by the trade issue. Core Reaganites are somewhat more protectionist than the anti-Reagan, pro-Bush voter, but those who rate them equally also lean toward protectionism. It is therefore an issue that Bush can develop without concern about alienating the Reagan constituency. The only concern should be not to appear too "free trade-ish," but that would alienate most voters, including Reagan supporters.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely than free traders to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign

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competition. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

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There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

The placement of blame for trade problems does not divide the Reagan-Bush coalition groups. All groups feel that the blame lies with foreign contries more than U.S. business, and secondarily that the blame should be shared.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept should be explored. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

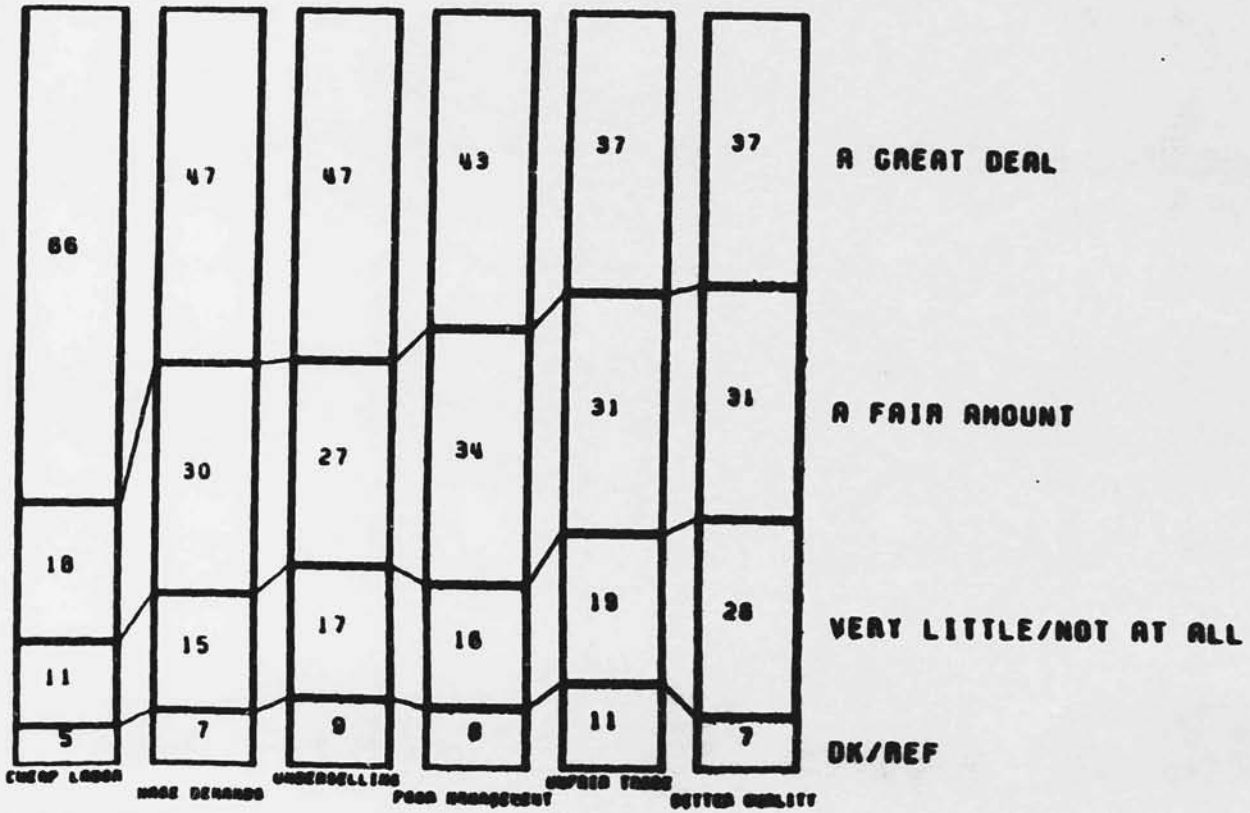
Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

	Total	Protectionism Index: Protectionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	100%	47%	30%	23%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[56]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[36]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[56]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

8804072040 9

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 1 0

PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a] Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	30	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	43	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

(continued next page)

R8040720411

Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

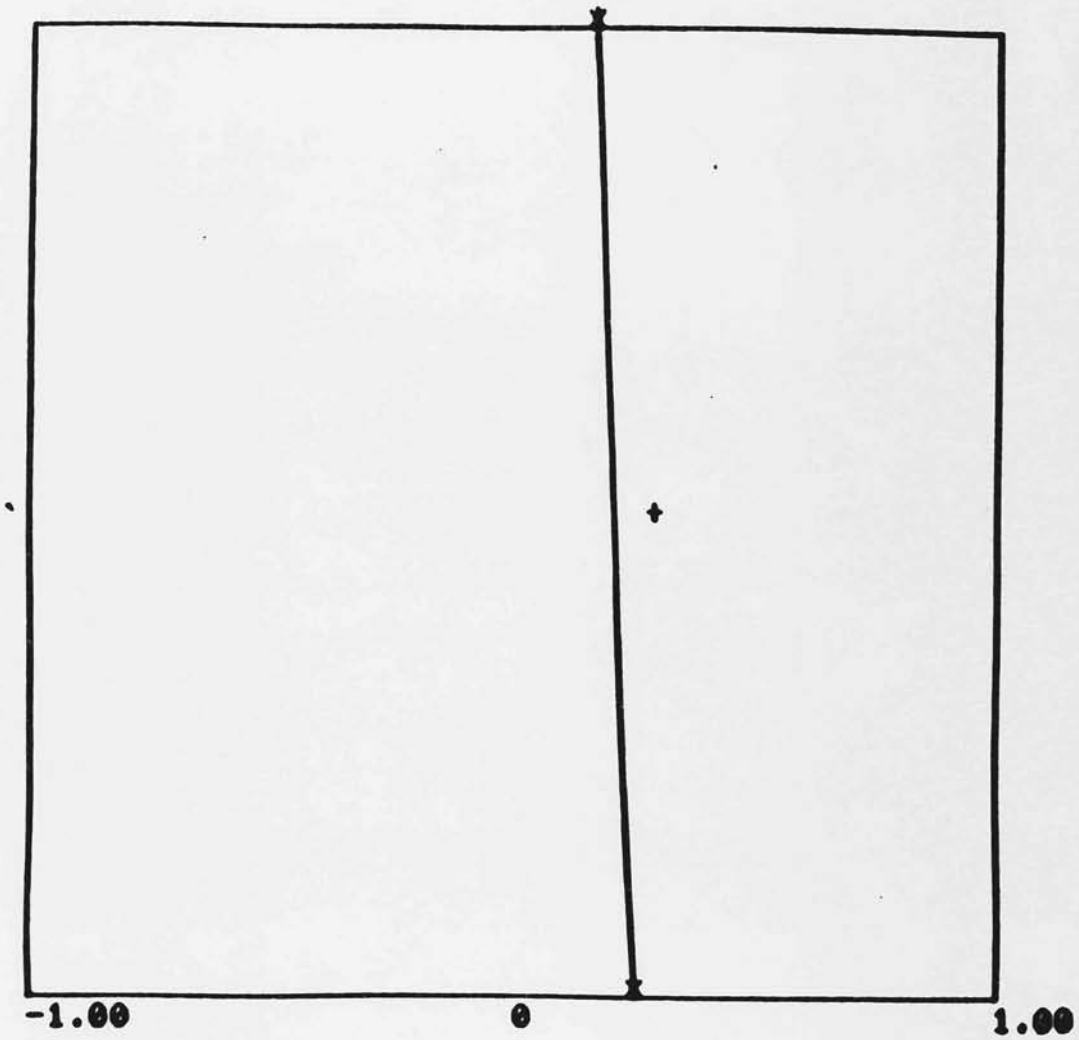
	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a]: Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	39	34	27	(421)
RR>GB	100%	41	36	23	(328)
RR=GB	100%	38	39	23	(444)
GB>RR	100%	36	34	30	(216)

[a] Composite index of questions 17-22.

8804072041 2

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 1 3

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

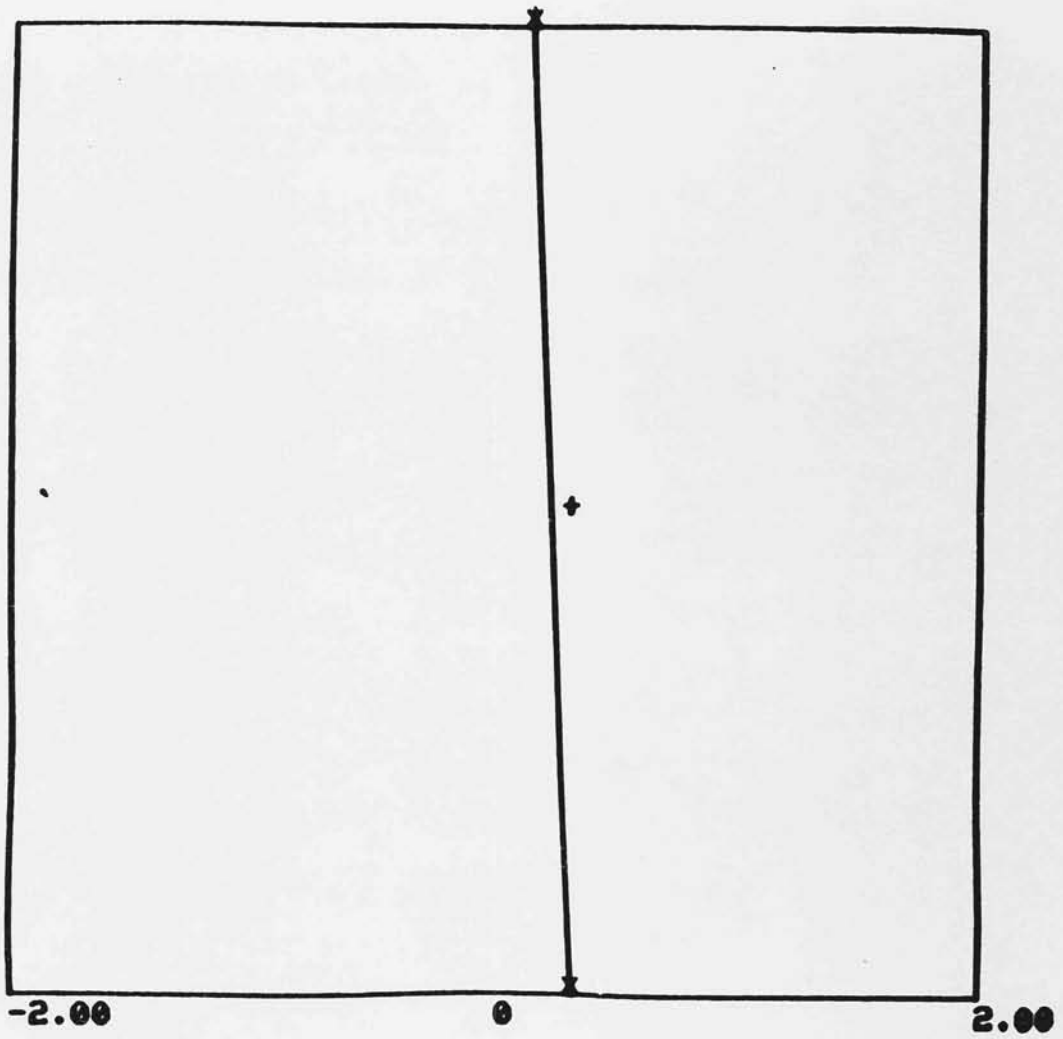


Key:

+ = Total population mean

‡]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale



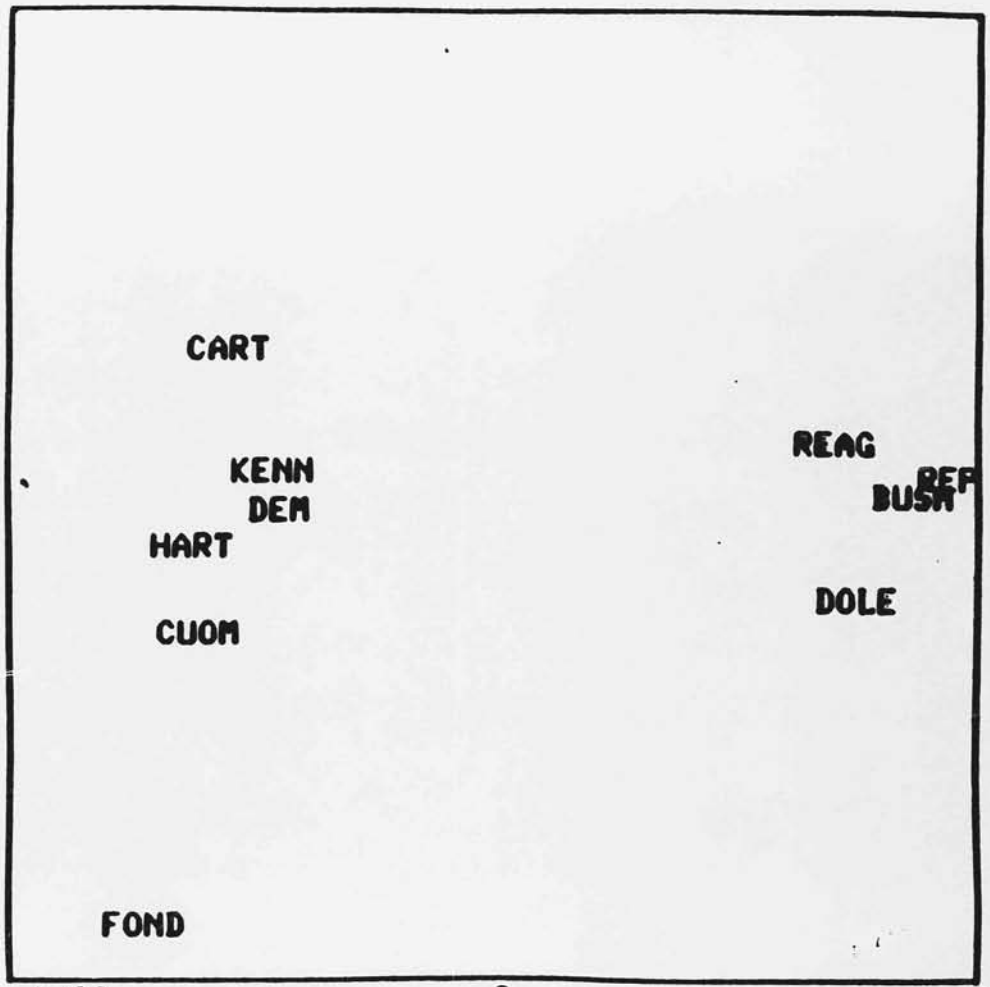
Key:

✦ = Total population mean

⧗ = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 1 5

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

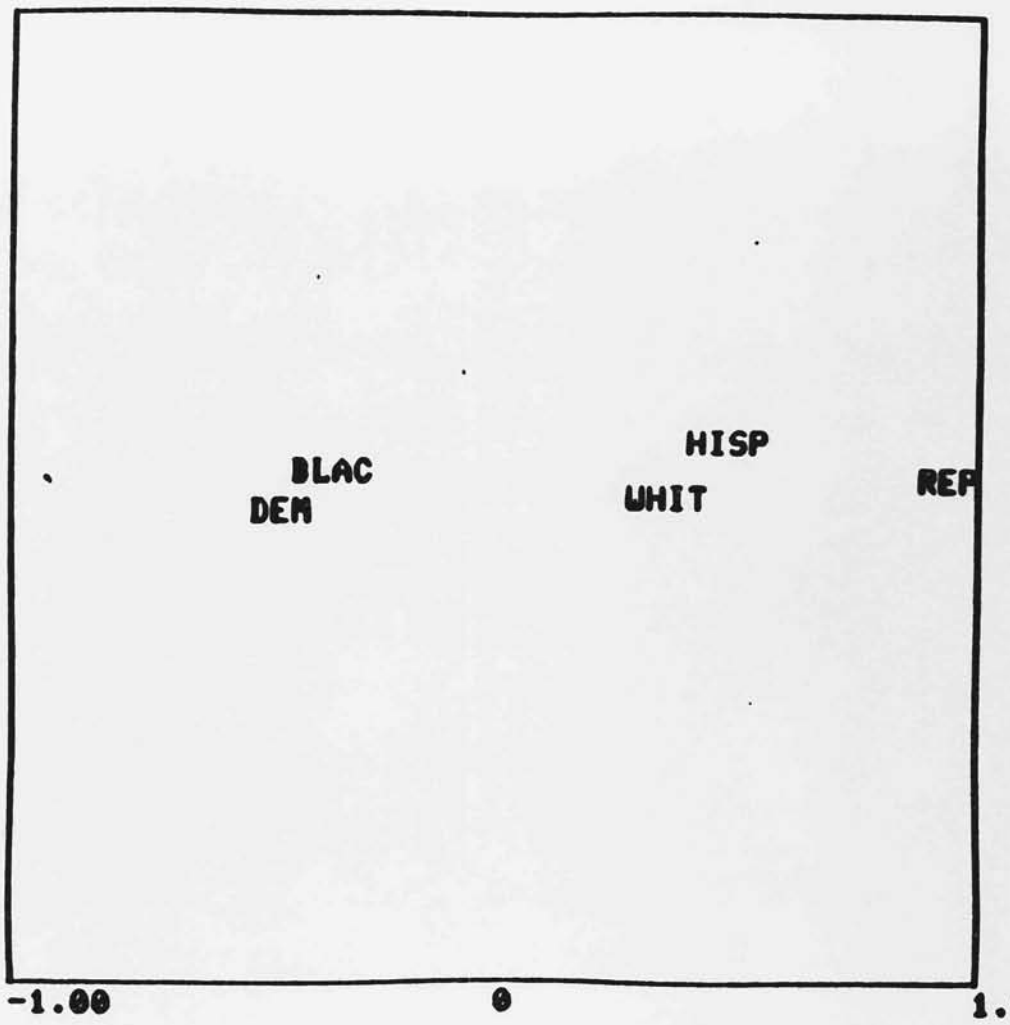


Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 1 6

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



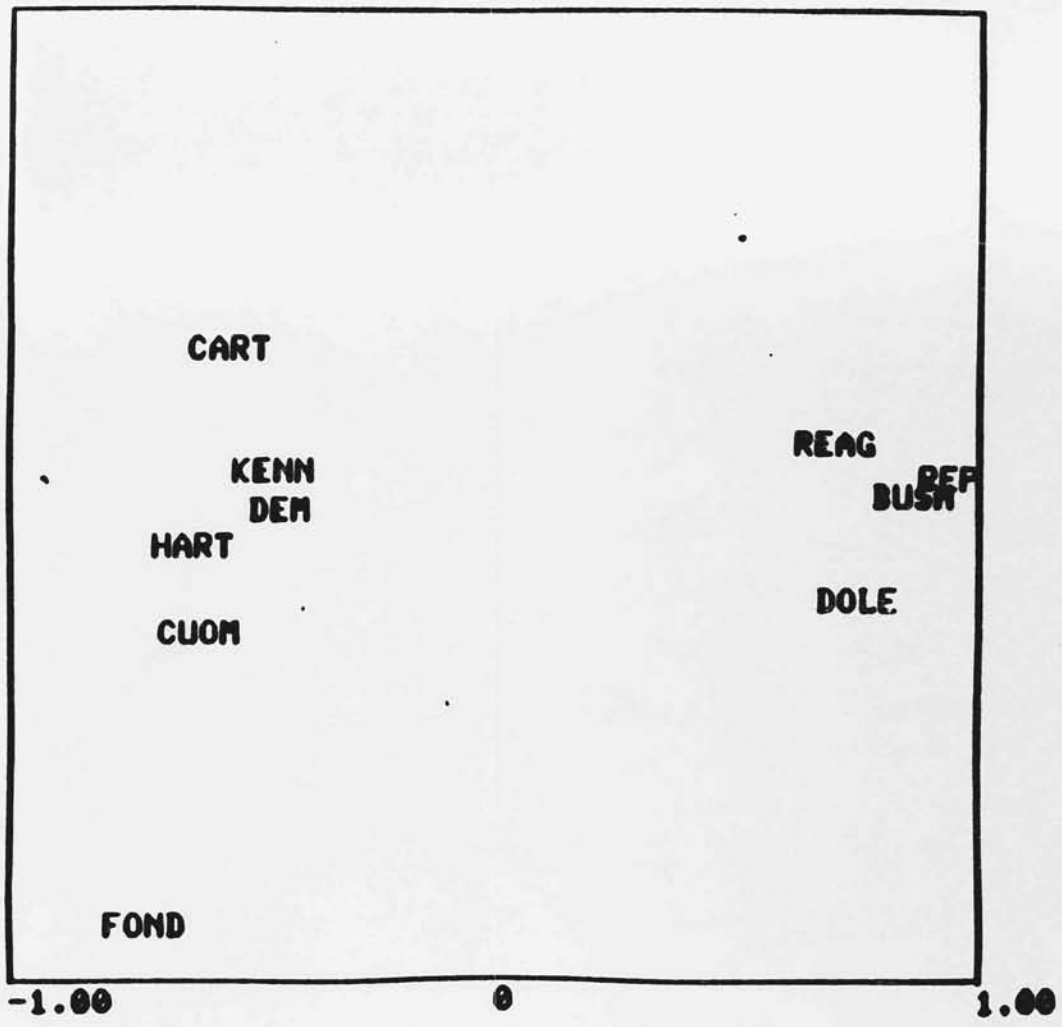
Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 1 7

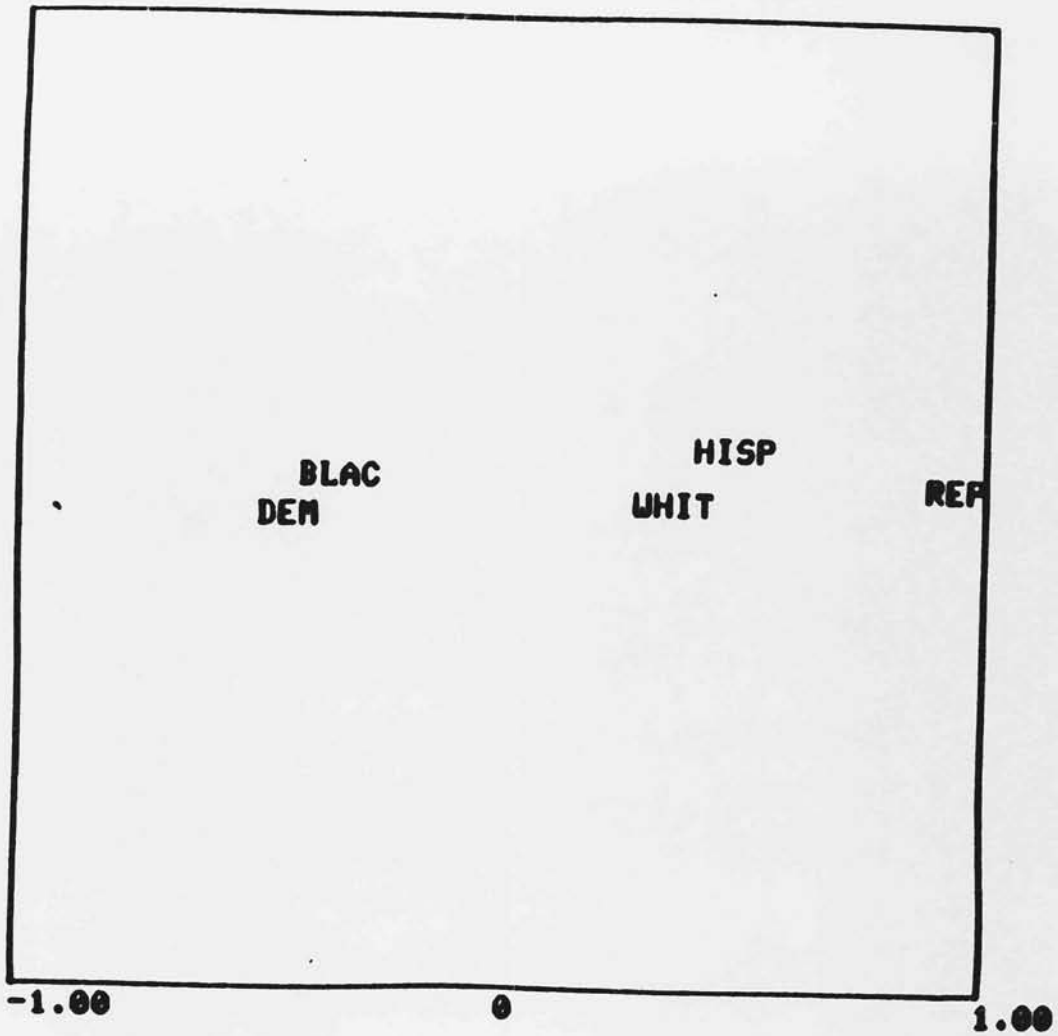
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



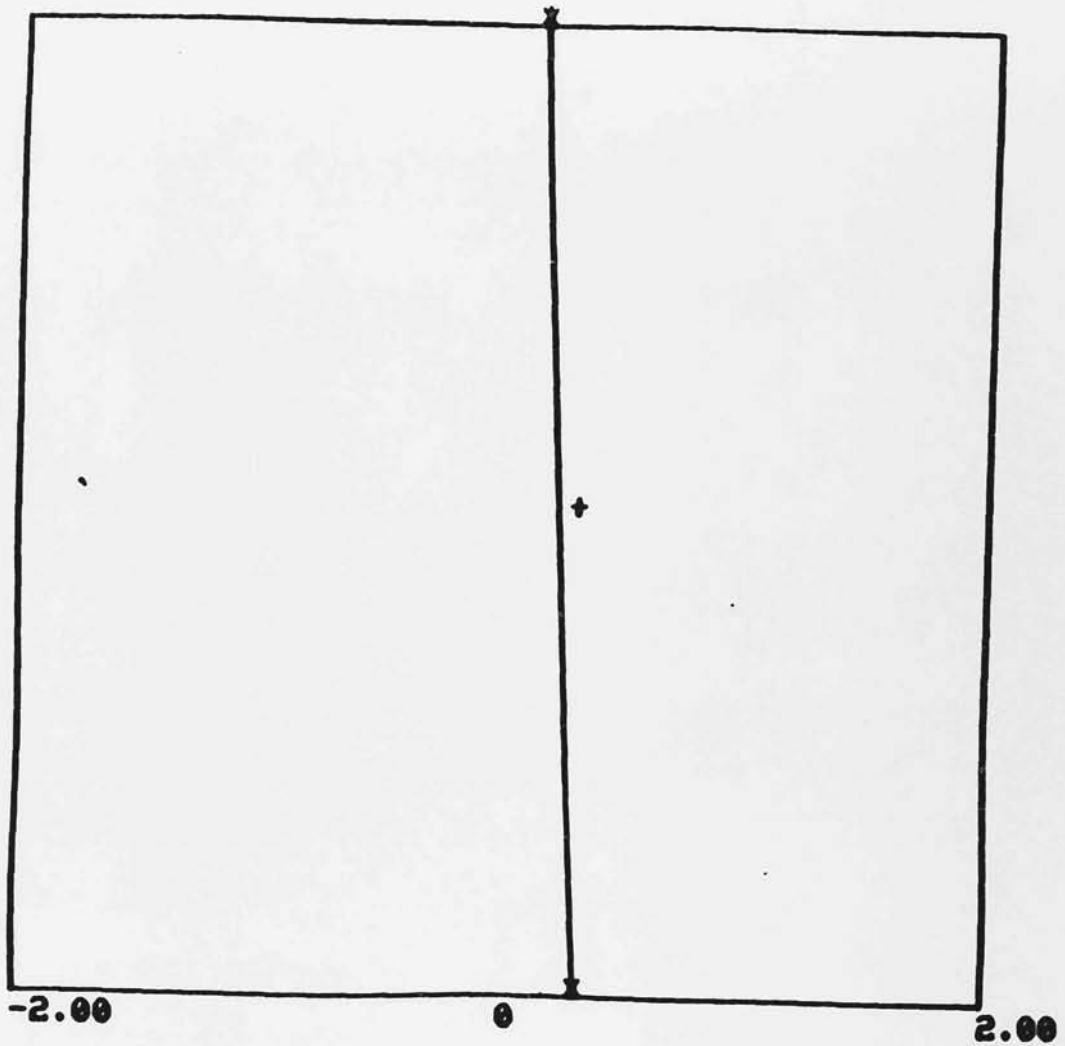
Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 1 9

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale

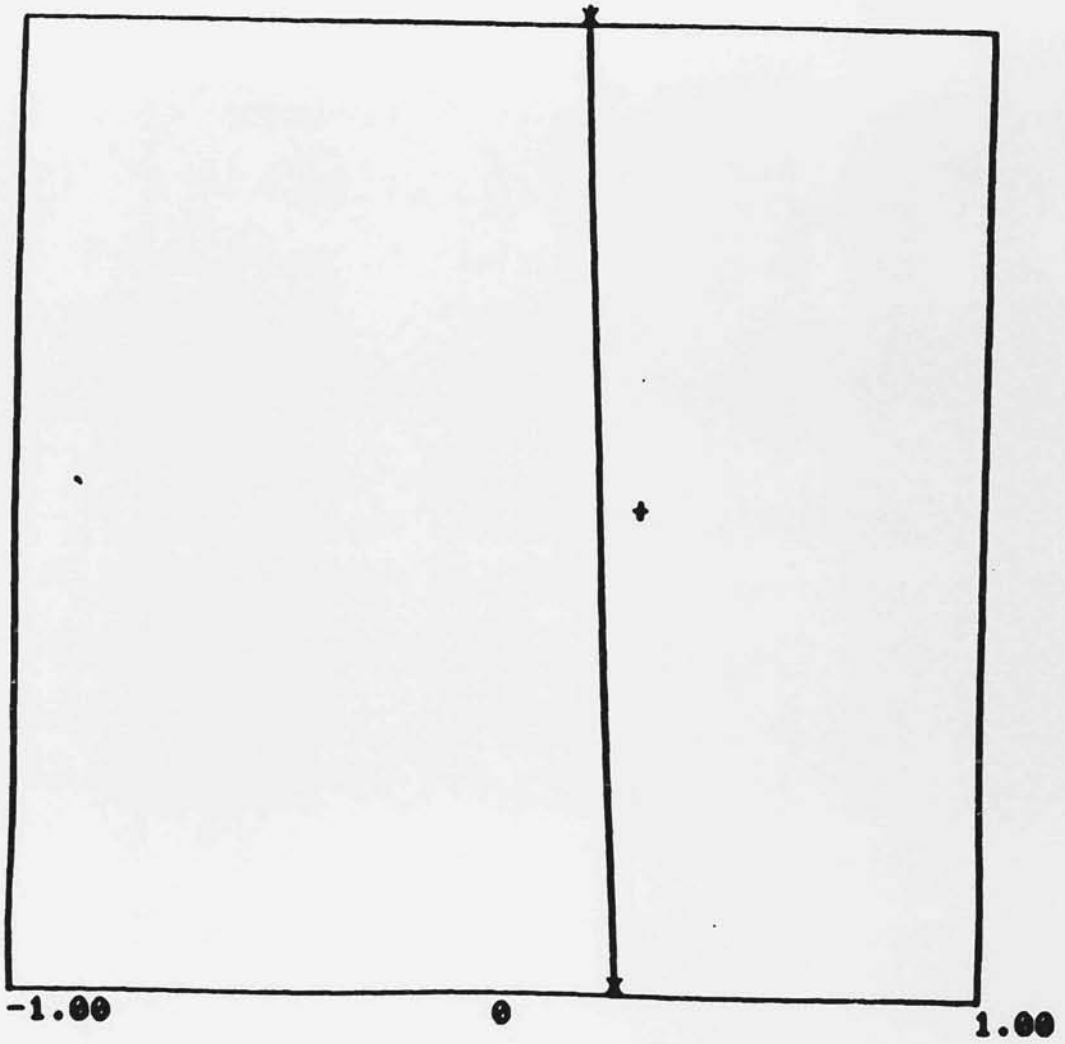


Key:

= Total population mean

= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space. ± 1.0 Scale

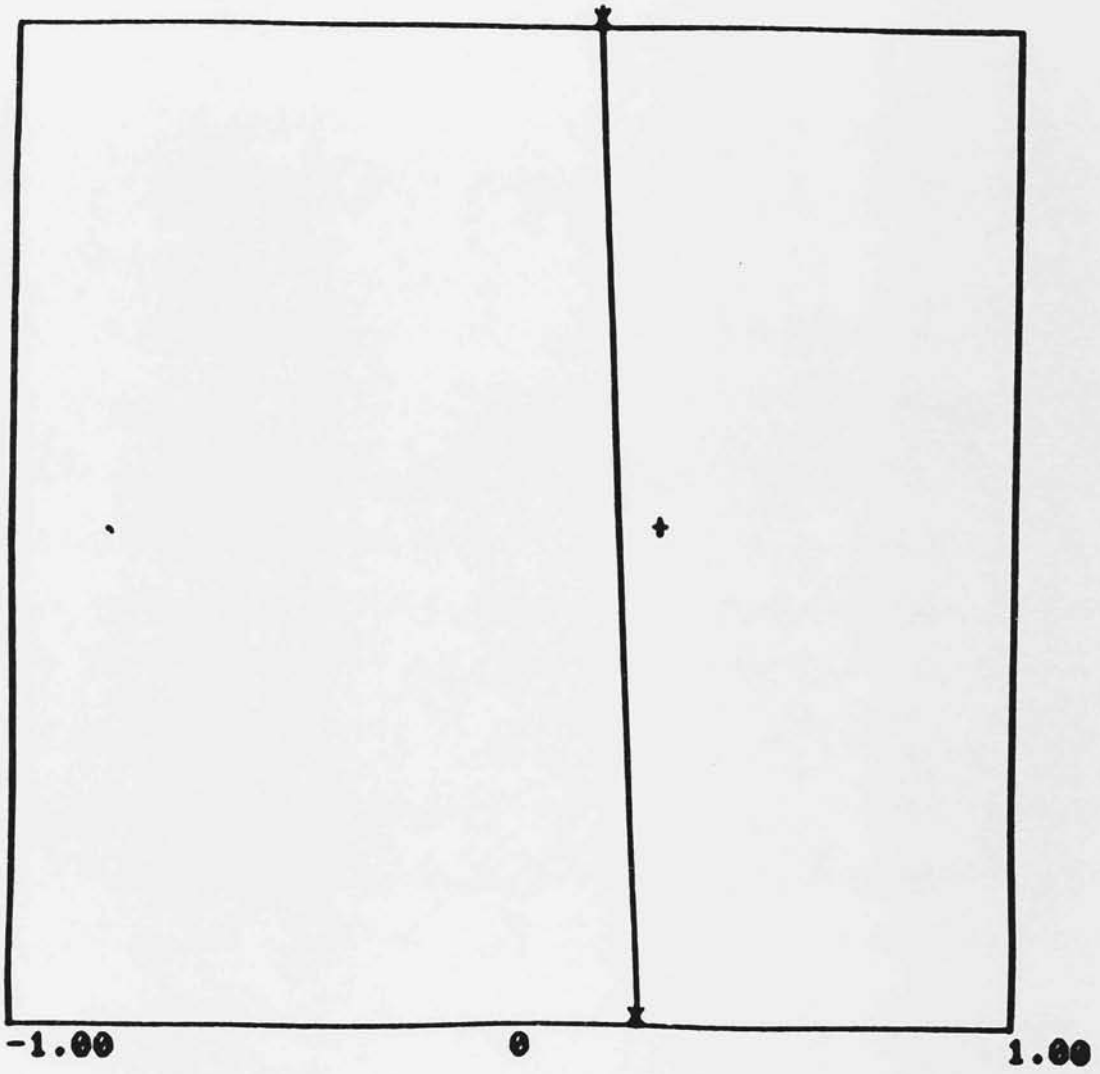


Key:

♦ = Total population mean

⧫]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

8804072042 1



ALLOCATION

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent #
Area 1-4

6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

CALL RECORD SHEET

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q500 16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q501 17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502 18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503 19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504 20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NTN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505 21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506 22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507 23
Respondent Term. (R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508 24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509 25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510 26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511 27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512 28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513 29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514 30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515 31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516 32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517 33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518 34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519 35
Other Disp. (write in) (No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520 36
	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521 37

a 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 2 2

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)

DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

FEC #3

U.S. National Survey

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER END MEETS YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old (male/female) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her?

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1). . 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1) . . . 2
No (GO TO Q.IB) 3
Refused/NA. 9

IB. Are you a citizen of the United States over 18 years of age living at this address?

Yes (GO TO 1) 1
No. 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. Is there any male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1

May I speak with him/her? (After you have ascertained that he/she is an adult citizen of the United States living at that address. (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE). 2
Refused/NA. 9

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER DOES NOT MEET YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm_____ calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have the opinions of a male/female who over 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States living at this address.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes . . . . . 1 QA
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2 102
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her? QAa 103

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1). 2
No (GO TO Q.IB). 3
Refused/NA 9

IB. Is there any adult (man/woman) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address available at this time?

Yes . . . . . 1 QB
No (TERMINATE). 2 104
Refused/NA. 9

a. After you have ascertained that (he/she) is an adult citizen of the United States living at this address (GO TO 1) QBa 105

106-144 = EXTRA
145-153 SPECIAL
DEMO VARIABLES
(V18) 156-160 WEIGHTS

R 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 2 3

Q1-Q.64 = RNC

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

8804072042 4

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6. The United States should <u>never</u> send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7. We should help <u>only</u> countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

RNC

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

---

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

---

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

---

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

8304072042 6

RNC ↓

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

3804072042 7

RNC

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 2 8

RNC

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23B

8804072004229

RNC

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

28040720430

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

INC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

RNC

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39

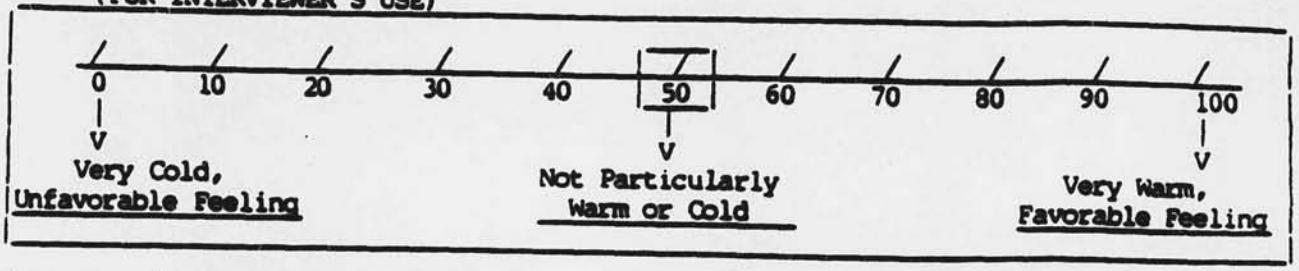
8804072004322

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



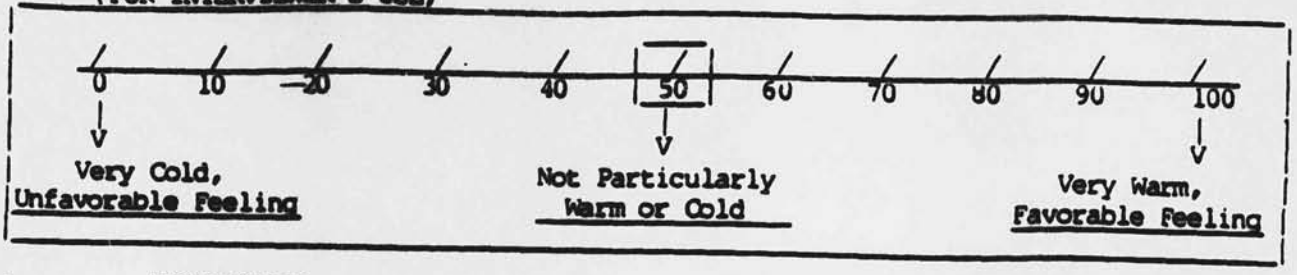
3 9 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 3 3 RNC

	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

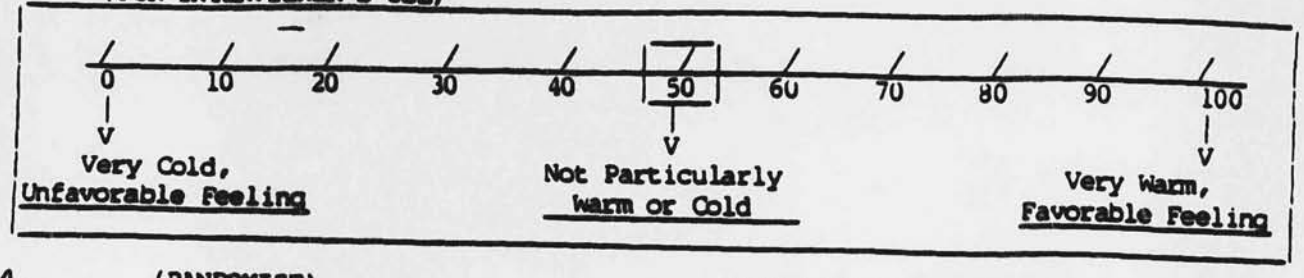
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50.	Jesse Jackson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51.	Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52.	Gary Hart	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53.	Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54.	John Glenn	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55.	Jane Fonda	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56.	Jerry Falwell	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57.	Gerald Ford	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58.	Jimmy Carter	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59.	George Wallace	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60.	Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 3 4

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC ↓

(RANDOMIZE)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

61. The Republican Party

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q61

62. The Democratic Party

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q62

63. Liberals

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q63

64. Conservatives

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know. .998
Refused/NA. .999

Q64

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 3 5

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

NA

66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)	(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a. Conservative	1	1
b. Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c. Is in government now	3	3
d. Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e. Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
None	6	
No second mention		7
Don't know	8	8
Refused/NA	9	9

R 8 3 0 4 0 7 [illegible] 0 4 3 6

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below)
The second (read below)
The third (read below)
And the fourth (read below)

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69). 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)
68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

NA

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

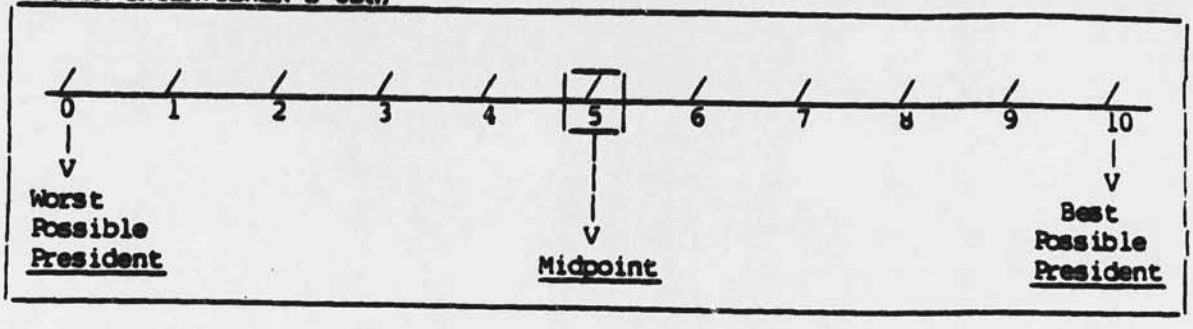
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 069

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 070

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 071

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 072

NA 28 02 4 0 7 2 0 4 3 7 NA

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE:—Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

— Republican. 2
Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
— Don't know. . . . . N
— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

— a. George Bush 1
— b. Bob Dole. 2
— c. Howard Baker. 3
— d. Jack Kemp 4
— e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

George Bush 1
Bob Dole. 2
Howard Baker. 3
Jack Kemp 4
Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

(GO TO Q.78)

Q75

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

NA

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican (2) / Ted Kennedy, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q78

79. George Bush, Republican (2) / Gary Hart, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q79

80. George Bush, Republican (2) / Lee Iacocca, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q80

8804207.X39

HALF SAMPLE A

AF

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

---

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804074040

HALF SAMPLE B

Q81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

NA

Q81bM1
Q81bM2
Q81bM3
Q81bM4
Q81bM5

Q82 What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q82 M1
Q82 M2
Q82 M3
Q82 M4
Q82 M5

---

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 NA 4 4 1

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
83. Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
84. The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
85. Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
86. Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
87. Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
88. Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
89. National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

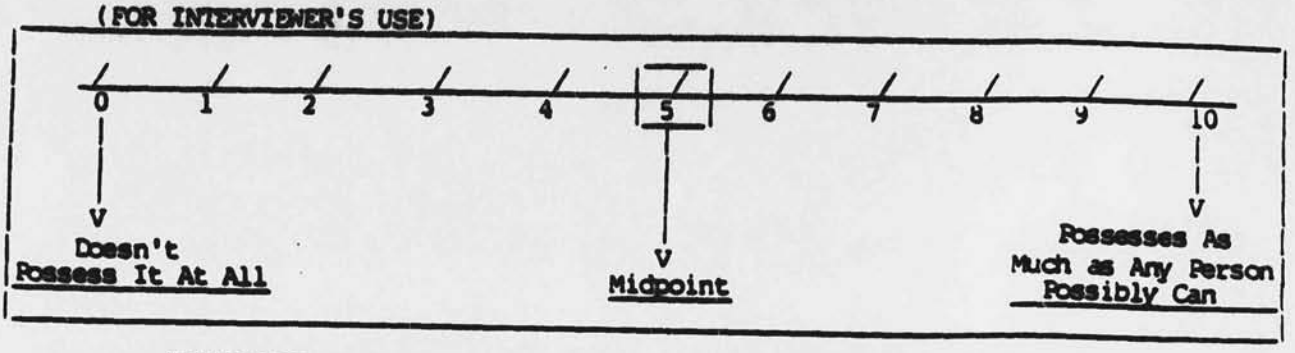
NA

8804072044 2

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)	
	TRUSTWORTHINESS		
RNC	90. Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
FFAF	91. George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
RNC	92. Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
	CONCERN		
RNC	93. Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
FFAF	94. George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
RNC	95. Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

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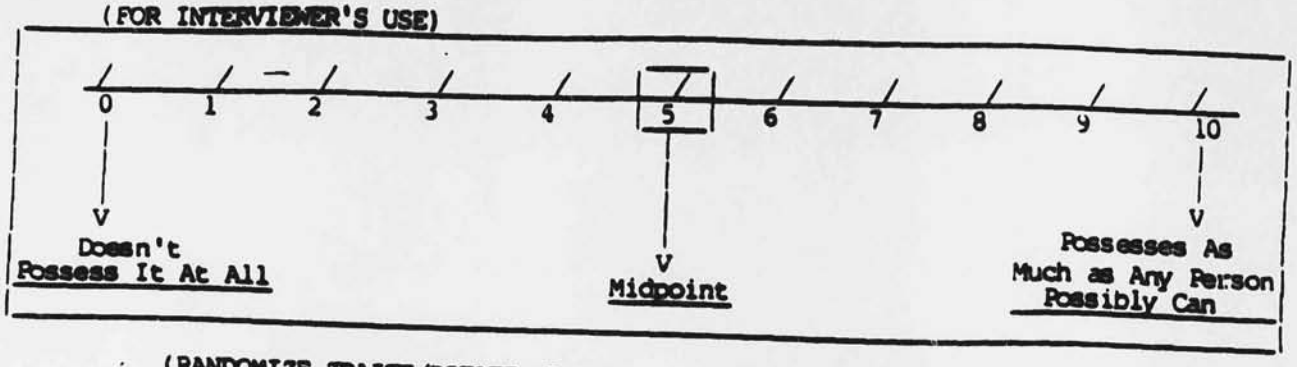
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

96. Ronald Reagan

(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q96

97. George Bush

(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q97

98. Ted Kennedy

(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q98

COMPETENCE

99. Ronald Reagan

(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q99

100. George Bush

(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q100

101. Ted Kennedy

(RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q101

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal	1
Fairly liberal	2
Slightly liberal	3
Moderate	4
Slightly conservative	5
Fairly conservative	6
Extremely conservative	7
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal	1
Fairly liberal	2
Slightly liberal	3
Moderate	4
Slightly conservative	5
Fairly conservative	6
Extremely conservative	7
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

Q103

---

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal	1
Fairly liberal	2
Slightly liberal	3
Moderate	4
Slightly conservative	5
Fairly conservative	6
Extremely conservative	7
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

Q104

DEMOGRAPHICS

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

PARTYID 51

- Republican 1
- Democrat 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

- Strong 1
- Not very strong 2
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

- Republican 1
- Democratic 2
- Neither 3
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

2300407200446

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	VOTETYPE 57-58
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No	1	
Registered elsewhere	3	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB N

3804072044 47

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10) —

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDOFR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKING
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

2804072044 8

D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	MARITA 92
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWDR 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01	occup4
Self-employed	.02	
Retired	.03	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04	
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05	
Executive (corporate officer)	.06	
Homemaker	.07	
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08	
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09	
Student	.10	
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11	
Other	.12	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

830407204449

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

R3040072045O

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

—	Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1	RELIGION 110
—	Roman Catholic. 2	
	Jewish. 3	
—	Other Christian 4	
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5	
	Agnostic/Atheist. 6	
	None. 7	
	Don't know. 8	
	Refused 9	

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week. 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year. 2
- Never 1
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

Under $10,000 0	INCOME 119
$10,000-$15,000 (14,999). 1	
$15,000-$20,000 (19,999). 2	
$20,000-$25,000 (24,999). 3	
$25,000-$30,000 (29,999). 4	
$30,000-$40,000 (39,999). 5	
$40,000-$50,000 (49,999). 6	
$50,000 and over. 7	
Don't know. 8	
Refused 9	

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

White 1	RACE 120
Black 2	
Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3	
Oriental. 4	
American Indian 5	
Other 6	
Not ascertained 9	

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 5 1

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please?
(V16) _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ ZIP 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male 1
Female . . . . . .2 SEX 126

3804072004552

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

CITY OF WASHINGTON)

) ss:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

January 4, 1988

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985 in my capacity as unpaid political consultant to The Fund, I asked Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, to "piggyback" some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President on a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("The RNC"). These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986. At no time did I specify, request or authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by Market Opinion Research. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of Market Opinion Research to formulate questions concerning the Vice President appropriate to The Fund's activities.

8840720453

FEC #4

furnished a copy of the poll questions nor

5. questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter did I Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of or an

the In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll s from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

7. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assesses the 1988 Presidential race. Because my copy of the poll results stated it was conducted for The RNC, I assumed that the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had been commissioned by the The RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned The RNC had not commissioned these questions either.

8. At that time, I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund would not pay for questions which were unauthorized concerning the 1988 Presidential elections and have requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions authorized and relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from Market Opinion Research or submitted payment for the poll.

Lee Atwater

5. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of the poll.

6. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

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Lee Atwater

8804072045

CITY OF WASHINGTON) March 19P

) ss:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

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1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985 in my capacity as unpaid political consultant to The Fund, I asked Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research, to include some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President on a poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("The RNC"). At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of The RNC of this request. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986. At no time did I specify, request or authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by Market Opinion Research. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of Market Opinion Research to formulate questions concerning the Vice President appropriate to The Fund's activities.

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FEC #5

t furnished a copy of the poll questions nor

5. e questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter did I or Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of or any the

In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it r conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll sults which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

7. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assesses the 1988 Presidential race. Because my copy of the poll results stated it was conducted for The RNC, I assumed that the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had been commissioned by the The RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned The RNC had not commissioned these questions either.

8. At that time, I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund would not pay for questions which were unauthorized concerning the 1988 Presidential elections and have requested that he submit to The Fund a revised analysis and a bill only for those questions authorized and relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. As of this time, The Fund has not receiv bill from Market Opinion Research or submitted paym poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute paying $4,996 which sum MOR has determin Fund's pro rata portion of the que

5. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from Market Opinion Research prior to the taking of the poll.

6. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it was conducted for The RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results which included analysis relating to 1988 Presidential election questions as well as questions requested by me for The Fund concerning the public perception of the Vice President.

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- 3304072045 -

CITY OF WASHINGTON)
)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

AFFIDAVIT OF LEE ATWATER

Lee Atwater, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Lee Atwater, Chairman of The Fund for America's Future ("The Fund").

2. The Fund is a multi-candidate political action committee founded by Vice President George Bush in May 1985 to assist Republican candidates and the Republican Party during the 1986 election cycle.

3. I have served in the position of Chairman since January 1, 1986. Prior to becoming Chairman of The Fund, I was an unpaid political consultant to The Fund.

4. In late Summer 1985, in my capacity as a consultant to Vice President Bush, I was informed that Mr. Robert Teeter, President of Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), was preparing a poll for the Republican National Committee ("RNC") at the request of Mr. Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman of the RNC, and that Mr. Fahrenkopf was interested in including some questions relating to public perceptions of the Vice President. These public perceptions are useful to The Fund in planning appearances by the Vice President on behalf of Republican candidates and The Party during 1986.

5. Mr. Teeter and I discussed the possibility of including questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President, but at no time did I specify, request or

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FEC #6

authorize polling regarding the 1988 Presidential elections by MOR. Rather, I relied upon the expertise of MOR to formulate questions concerning the Vice President consistent with RNC's purpose in commissioning the poll.

6. At this same time, I notified Mr. William Greener of the RNC of these discussions. He indicated some concern that the Vice President and his staff had been invited by Mr. Fahrenkopf to add issues to an RNC poll, fearing that it might later prove politically awkward for the RNC. I therefore indicated to Mr. Greener that The Fund might be able to pay for a portion of this RNC poll if the inclusion of questions of interest to the Vice President turned out to create political problems for the RNC. By this I meant questions concerning terrorism and trade, and the public perception of leading Republicans, including the Vice President. At no time did I specify, request or authorize the RNC to undertake polling regarding the 1988 presidential elections. It remained my understanding following this conversation with Mr. Greener that this was an RNC poll, that the RNC was planning to pay the full cost, and that the RNC, for its own reasons, wanted to include questions on issues of interest to the Vice President.

7. I was not furnished a copy of the poll questions, nor did I discuss the questions asked in the poll with Mr. Teeter or anyone from MOR prior to the taking of the poll.

8. In November 1985, I received a copy of the poll results from Mr. Teeter which on its cover specified that it

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was conducted for the RNC. Mr. Teeter briefed me on the poll results, which included analysis relating to the 1988 Presidential election questions, as well as questions concerning the public perception of the Vice President and trade and terrorism issues.

9. As a political consultant, I am often briefed by pollsters on the results of polls commissioned by political groups which assess the 1988 Presidential race. Because it was an RNC poll, and because the questions concerning the 1988 Presidential election had never been discussed with me, I assumed they had been commissioned by the RNC. It was not until December 1985 that I learned that the RNC had not commissioned these questions.

10. Also in December, the RNC requested that the Fund pay for those questions in the poll which had been developed by MOR as a result of discussions between Fund officials and Mr. Teeter, and which related to public perceptions of the Vice President.

11. I informed Mr. Teeter that The Fund had agreed with the RNC to pay him directly for certain of the qustions in the poll, but that it would not pay for any questions concerning the 1988 Presidential elections because The Fund had neither suggested, reviewed nor authorized such questions. I requested that he submit to The Fund a bill only for those questions

8804072046 1

relating to public perceptions of the Vice President, for which The Fund had volunteered to pay as a favor to the RNC.

12. As of this time, The Fund has not received a bill from MOR or submitted payment for the poll, but it has agreed to settle this dispute with MOR by paying $4,996, which sum MOR has determined constitutes The Fund's pro rata portion of the questionnaire.

13. The Vice President has publically stated and personally informed the officials of The Fund for America's Future, including me, that he is not a candidate for any public office and has not authorized anyone to take actions which might cause him to become one.

Lee Atwater

Lee Atwater

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 13th day of March, 1986.

Notary Public

My Commission expires: Sept. 14, 1989

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GCC 863
RECEIVED AT THE FEC
RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL
HAND DELIVERED
86 JUL 3 AM : 21
86 JUL 3 P3: 20

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

243 WEST CONGRESS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226 | (313) 963-2414

July 2, 1986

Mr. Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 2133
Market Opinion Research Company

Dear Mr. Levin:

In compliance with the Federal Election Commission Subpoena to Market Opinion Research Company, dated June 19, 1986, I directed the staff of Market Opinion Research Company (MOR) to conduct a thorough search of all of MOR's files. To my knowledge, I am enclosing copies of any and all documents and correspondence in MOR's possession pertaining to transactions and communications made in reference to the poll commissioned by the Republican National Committee and conducted by Market Opinion Research Company between September 17 and September 25, 1985, except for the "Sampling Department File" and the "Data Processing File" which you have advised us are not required to be produced.

Also enclosed is a list identifying the files produced and containing a description of all of the various documents and correspondence contained in each file (Attachment A). After you have assured yourself that you have received all the documents and correspondence listed on Attachment A, would you please acknowledge your receipt.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Teeter
President

Enclosures

cc: George H. Meyer

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 6 3

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ATTACHMENT A

Contents of files for U.S. National Omnibus #2, P85040:

1. Cost allocation file

   - **Procedures for allocating costs on multiple client jobs (2 pgs.)**
   - **Charts showing allocation of costs for job #P85040, 12/12/85 and 12/23/85 (2 pgs.)**
   - **Questionnaire for P85040 indicating questions allocated to RNC, FFAF, and NA (MOR) (31 pgs.)**
   - **Letter from William I. Greener, III, Deputy Chief of Staff for Political Operations, Republican National Committee, 1/9/86 (1 pg.)**

2. Cost Manager file

   - Study/Cost estimate request, 4/3/85 (1 pg.)
   - Notes on call backs from study manager (1 pg.)
   - Sampling Department estimate of hours (2 pgs.)
   - Job strata sheet (7 pgs.)
   - Copy of questionnaire (32 pgs.)
   - Contract sent to RNC (2 pgs.)
   - Final cost estimate for P85040 (3 pgs.)

3. Study Manager file

   - Memo from Kathy Smith to Mary Lukens (2 pgs.)
   - Memo from Julie Weeks to Barbara Kelly, 8/12/85 (1 pg.)
   - Handwritten notes dated 10/28/85 (2 pgs.), 10/14/85 (1 pgs.), 6/19/85 (2 pgs.), 8/26/85 (2 pgs.), 7/3/85 (1 pg.), and 6/14/85 (3 pgs.)
   - Verbatims from selected open end questions (7 pgs.)
   - Computer weights to be applied (2 pgs.)
   - Specs for cross tabulations and special variable requests (10 pgs.)
   - Memo on variables to be used for analyzing perceptual maps (1 pg.)
   - Computer row specs and special variable requests (17 pgs.)
   - Memo from Ed Schneider and William McGee, 6/24/85 (5 pgs.)
   - Job strata sheet (7 pgs.)
   - Preliminary cost estimates (5 pgs.)
   - Client billing information (3 pgs.)
   - Study/Cost estimate request, 4/3/85 (1 pg.)
   - Final cost estimate for P85040 (3 pgs.)

4. Coding Department file

- Computer generated hand tabs (23 pgs.)
- Handwritten hand tabs for code development (10 pgs.)
- Column master (42 pgs.)
- Final study approval sheet, 9/17/85 (1 pg.)
- Added codes (3 pgs.)
- Typed codes for open ended question responses (18 pgs.)
- Verbatims (4 pgs.)

5. Analysis report prepared for 11/13/85 meeting

6. Analysis report prepared for 12/19/85 meeting

7. Data book for P85040

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ATTACHMENT A

—

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7. Data book for P85040

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(313) 963-2414
Mary Lukens

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY LUKENS

FROM: KATHY SMITH

Craig Fuller has the following comments to Mr. Teeter's questionnaire:

1. A great questionnaire.

2. Page 2, Item 16:

Please consider substituting U.S. companies are not competitive with foreign manufacturers.

3. Page 5:

Please consider adding to the list of names Peter Uberroth and Pat Robertson.

4. Page 6:

I know you are reluctant to add any additional questions, but I would like you to consider a slightly different approach to the successor line of questioning. Something like the following:

Since RR cannot serve a third term, some people are considering who best could follow RR. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree that the next President should be:

1. Experienced in federal government;

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4. Page 6 (continued)

2. Conservative
3. Able to articulate new ideas
4. Respected by foreign leaders
5. Someone who worked with Ronald Reagan
6. Someone who is in government now
7. Someone who who would keep America competative
8. Someone who would strengthen U.S. defense capabilities
9. Someone who would spend more to help the poor
10. Someone who would provide more help to farmers

There may be more or better questions, but perhaps you and Lee could consider these.

8804072069

MEMORANDUM

TO: Barbara Kelley
FROM: Julie
RE: Terrorism
DATE: 8/12/85

Could you gather together the latest public polling data on international terrorism? Just the past few months in places like Gallup, Harris, L.A. Times... Teeter wants to ask some questions on this subject on our next U.S. National. I will be back in the office on Wednesday and will be working on the draft then , so I'll need this info for questionnaire fodder. Thanks.

8804072-0470

FS suggestions 10/28

all + Rep primary voters

VS National

— 7 attitude scales — explain
gentrual + nationalism/patriotism
give main result
together — — — % hits % consensus
(8mm table of attitudes — ~~Rep~~
Gen Rep, Rep Primary, gen in 8:
83 based on 6 Q's, not 2

— trade, terrorism — MCA to explain

— why do people like Bush?
Heroes ← scales
R^2 + TKelso

— Trade
6 q's on blame +1 = blame US −1 = blame foreigners
talk about Jap bashing vs internal blame

— Q65, 66 — dummy vars → on Bush Heroes

— Q69–72 — how good a President, degree of comfortable
→ of line graph

Heroes + good Pres distribution together

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 7 1

O-e's on Rush - answer, not answer x groups
table

— Rush Harm ← 91, 94, 97, 100
R² + TK also

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Teeth stg. 10/14

41-46

[redacted]

US Nat'l

outline

trade
terrorism
Bush political
perceptual map

Gen Elect → Gen elect
Bush
Arms
Terrorism
Trade

Bush perceptions -
Rep primary action

Political background now vs. 1980
% Rep. primary electorate %

Speeches
trade at
DNat'l Conv
1984
W Mondale ?

26th of Oct. ?? or 30th ??

like Bush > Reagan, vice-versa thermo

Bush constit
R² → Bush constit

with heat Ther PM & A²

8804072004733

trial : JRP, Jon L.,

6/19/85

nouns infer traits
FBI man
astronaut
Vietnam veteran

vice president
politician — don't hear his honest impressions

.. don't you use smaller set of adjectives give me
.. smaller set of nouns
Republican
football player
.. governor of large state
.. graduate of Yale
.. Texan
.. farmer — "types"
.. minister
.. college professor

"depth of processing hypothesis" in "memory research"
"person perception" "attribution research"

opposed to Reagan
.. strong supporter of Reagan
pro defense spending →

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(2) m● of nouns

① incentives
② prior knowledge
③ self-nouns

~~2 dimensions~~
~~to reduce to 2 dimensions~~
competence
affect
trust

+

subgroups with different traits

give me 3 out of 10 nouns for Pos

noun → affect — (trait) — support

similar/dissimilar to brown

images

warm/cold toward nouns

trait different by subgroup

8804072047S

Keep

4

8-26-85 RT

Bush

✓ what think

✓ why — why think he's a weak leader

Theme for Bush

✓ trade — '88 — what's acceptable and what's not

terrorism

✓ does Bush have edge on foreign policy

not topical

✓ less interested in politics now than before

✓ want a manager that doesn't clean up after a flame thrower

✓ Comfortable — gone

✓ use more force against terrorist

Payton / Terrance

C30040072004776

National Omnibus / RT / August

~~International~~ Terrorism : rebellion pre emptive strike
" trade :

Bush
how perceive now
why perceive him that way

8304072004477

7/3/85

National #2 from RT

little on [redacted] tax reform
star wars
terrosim (Bush daiman)

1st purpose: perceptions of G Bush
put in Kemp & other Republicans

[farmers]

Reagan/GOP coalition
where Bush fits, does it fit
trad. GOP
young, populist (religious) what pres feel
libertarian (yuppie) sorry w/ you

help w those who see who replace those who
RR as anti women feel sorry

. nuclear threat
young people & old people

mx: life styles & values

. arms theory

G Bush ?/?/85
what are G Bush's strengths & weaknesses
if decision had to be made on who trust most
tax reform G Bush
committing troops T Kennedy
etc Hart, Kemp, O'Neil

3804072004478

6/14/85

RNC National

~~tapes~~

Bush

life style

someway to connect business ~ to political questions
need a breakthrough — through what values life style self actualization jogging religion

for a Bush theme and message

~~clean jobs~~ jobs: moral economic & quality

is trade world economy theme for Bush?
entrepreneurship
is their value sets

parents:

Bush - finding a theme tapping into values

Reagan Kemp Graham MacIntyre
NRSC

~~what~~ What is it for Bush: issues, conservatism, Reagan, party, personality

8304072004 79

~~If there are~~ some Changes --

more or less likely

If more : Almost certainly vote for him or need to find out ~~more~~ quite a bit more before deciding

Republican

~~Opposed~~ Favored abortions ~~because the~~ in certain circumstances but ~~opposed~~ opposed ~~abortion women have the right~~ allowing women to have abortion ~~for any~~ for any reason

Strong supporter of Ronald Reagan

Held the ~~office~~ position of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations
" " " " Amb " to China

Held the position of vice President of the United States

Is generally considered a conservative
" " " " liberal
moderate

Held the office of governor of ~~at~~ ~~as~~ one own state.

~~He~~ ~~He~~ Was born and raised in the South
" " " " in the North

Graduated from Yale ~~University~~
" " ~~a midwestern~~ a large state university

3804072 0480

thermometer chart picture w/ people // for next unfav chart
Kemp - Bush among GOP

correlation of 8 scales w/ vote, PSCALE, WBOOM

185 Rep need significant change - how vote in Recovery?

Q.17-22 gen picture : causes of trade deficit

Protectionism index #2
sex
states groups
need Q.14 by Q.24

Gen bkt	.06
Am 1st	.03
Trad vals	.06
Asst	(.18)
Welfare	.11
Unem A	(.15)
Black A	(.17)

~~145 ? Black now because of Q.34~~

multiple regression

2220407204981

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question A81

For a strong military
More for the middle class working people
Changes in tax laws
He's not president.
He's not a puppet.
He is not president.
For the middle class
He understands business
He's compromising.
Would do a good job with the people that are handicapped.
His appearance
The way he handled the TWA hostage situatiion
He does a lot of traveling for the President
Putting Chritianity back in schools.
Good family man
He's not Reagan
He's not in the spotlight too much.
He is not a phony
The fact that he is sponsoring this poll.
His nice hair style.
Too quiet
Not afraid of other countries
Not a strong hawk like the President.
Doesn't do anything till he's needed.
Corporation influences.
He is Vice President
President Reagan keeps him on a tight rein

27 Responses

8804072048 2

Question A82

Handling of the hostage crisis
Not very ecology-minded
Short tempered.
He's trying to invade income tax
I don't like him being Vice-President.
Slures off on women.
War monger.
Unintelligent.
No respect for women.
His stand on nerve gas issues.
Should fight more for welfare
Neglects agricultural affairs.
Whites should get the same as blacks in benefits.
His economic plans.
Too sensitive to political I.O.U.'s
Yes, he's in office.
How he feels about nuclear weapons.
He's riding on someone else's coat tail
Just don't like him.
He should have taken over when the President was in the hospital.
Too liberal
Would be very much another Nixon, dictator.
Not impressed with him
Don't like him
He is a Texas person
He has an oil background
Reagan has not done much to reduce the deficit
He doesn't favor black people
He's going to be out of office.
Doesn't have charisma
Outward appearance.
He has an honest face.
Likes the way he supports the President.
He's much more competent than Reagan.
To have more say as a Vice President.
He's from Texas
Magnum in Exxon Corporation.
Not as dynamic as Reagan.
Not a deep thinker.
Policy on NLRB.
Supreme court.
Narrow minded
Anti-union

43 Responses

8304072049B3

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 03

Freeze on wages for youth.
Political contributions should not come from sources out of state
Put more republicans in Congress.
Give people more borrowing power.
Get people with new young ideas
Lottery in Wisconsin
Abolish abortion.
Need new industrialization.
More republicans.
Stop monopolies
PAC system needs changes
Everything should be viewed equally.
We need a democratic government
Don't stop affirmative action toward black people
More communication.
Need better insurance rules.
Too many freedoms being taken away.
Conservative.
Food and fuel prices need to be lower.
Labor unions.
Congress shouldn't use taxpayer's money to go overseas with their wives
The presidency should not only be for the rich
Instead of a first class country we've become a second class country
Lower the emphasis on big business and corporations
Streets need fixing.
State government to help aids victims more.
Can't take care of our own country
Too conservative now
More solar research is needed
No abortion less homosexuales
Aid to college students
Regulation on utilities
Roads
Child support
A revolution to overthrow the capitalist system
Don't agree the Parochial should have tax break
Stronger laws on gun control
Stronger laws on air pollution
More cooperation between local and federal governments
New media is privy to too much information, often abuses its journalistic responsibilities
More cooperation between federal and state governments
Get rid of people like Carter and the Democrats

42 Responses

8304072048 4

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 1DcdDem

Getting jobs
Agree with the way they handle foreign policy
Farmers do better the democratic rule.
Democrats have programs in defense and military that are superior to the republicans
More for education
Major issues in health and medical care.
I think on the deficit issue they were pragmatic.
The country fairs better with a democratic government.
Economy used to be better.
There for the farmers.
More for social security
Agree with the way they cut taxes
Agree with their views on military spending
More conservative for peace
Their views on the trade policy.
They would rather see small business get ahead
Democrats are pro-freeze
They do more than Republicans
I believe in equal justice, equal treatment
They have done a lot for the country.
Tradition
Get more done
They are not as liberal as Republicans
Personality.
Matured in the F.D. Roosevelt era and he is my idle
Everyone gets fair stakes
They are more for the elderly than the Republicans are
Don't like Reagan
Concerned with environment
Concerned with education
My family was Republican
Against Republicans
I don't like anything the Republicans have accomplished during my lifetime.
Things not going well under Republicans
Republicans are so insulting, were so shamefull especially toward Mrs. Roosevelt, they belittle people

35 Responses

8304072048 3

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 1DcdRep

I agree with Republican's views on abortion
Deficit
I don't believe in ERA
More aggressive
Supports the farm area
Agree with their foreign policy
Against Vietnam War
More power to the state, fair share for state
Less government controls
Against liquor and gambling
Believe in free enterprise like the Republican party does
I agree with Republican labor issues
I am for big business
Tendency to be more moderate than liberal
If Nixon ran right now, I would vote for him - don't like Reagan
They are more liberal, open
I try to treat people like Jesus.
Agree with the strong leadership in the party
Love Busch
I liked past Republicans - Nixon and Ford
They help the people
Identified with morality and patriotism
Less government involvement
Reagan more open for free trade
Democratic party has become too liberal
The equality.
Democratic leadership handles things in ways I don't agree with
Everytime there has been a war, the Democrats have been in power
Didn't like the members of the democratic party
Democratic party was an insult to American people last election
Disagree with Ted kennedy and Tip O'Neill
Democrats have not showed me anything that makes me want to vote for one
Democrat don't have the best interest for us
If I wasn't the Democrats will have their way with everything
Democrats have not shown leadership ability
Democrats have not put forth their political policies.

36 Responses

8 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 4 8 6

Question 81B

He is Vice-President
Get inflation down
Housing
Conservation laws
Basic services and fundamentalists
Higher prices for farmers
Racial problems
Prosecute people more
The job of President
His relationship with Congress
He would get things passed that Reagan couldn't
More for the morale of the country - patriotism
Reduce the size of government
Probably do good job
Fighter
School prayer
Reduce the size of government
Would follow Reagan on interest rates
Conservation issues
Forest
Make a lot of changes
Would work on his own and not do as he thought Reagan would want him to do
Things that have to do with Texas - favors the South
Conservative
Taking vacations at Camp David.
Decisive
Oil business
He would terrify me
Inflation.

29 Responses

8304072048 87

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 82B

Inflation
Raising taxes
Gun control
State dinner at the white house.
Would not be re-elected a 2nd. term if he turns into a politician
Immigration
Shift of responsibility from federal to state and local governments
Farmers
Can't wind down the nuclear weapons problem
Law enforcement
State and local government
The legislation that will give up our freedom
Would need really excellent advisors
Dealing with minorities
Hasn't common sense
Attack of AIDS epidemic
Housing programs
Foreign aid
Doesn't handle people well
State of emergency
The House of Representatives
Not fair to the working man more for big business.
Finish up where Johnson left off

23 Responses

3904072048 8

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RT,FS,JW,AG,DD

FR: WHM,ES

RE: Questions for scaling on US National

Date: June 24, 1985

Following are the feeling thermometer items and seven point scales we would like on the US National for scaling purposes.

8304074204889

Name	
To be included	
Ronald Reagan	
George Bush	
Robert Dole	
Howard Baker	
Jack Kemp	
James Thompson	
Jeanne Kirkpatrick	
Walter Mondale	
Ted Kennedy	
Tip O'Neill	
Jesse Jackson	
Mario Cuomo	
Gary Hart	
Geraldine Ferraro	
John Glenn	
Jane Fonda	
Jerry Falwell	
Gerald Ford	
Jimmy Carter	
George Wallace	
Julie Weeks	
Republicans	
Democrats	
Liberals	

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Name
To be included
Conservatives
Considered, but not included
Pete Domenici
Orrin Hatch
Pierre du Pont
Elizabeth Dole
Joseph Biden
Bill Bradley
Daniel Moynihan
Lee Iacocca
Henry Kissinger
Gloria Steinem
Phyllis Shaffley
Paula Hawkins
Wilson Goode
Richard Nixon
Dan Rather
Jesse Helms
Carl Sagan

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Liberal/conservative

Standard 7 point scale

Job/standard of living (ANESDS,NES)

In general, some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own.

Deficit -- how to reduce

Thinking about the federal deficit again, some people believe that the deficit must be reduced by further government spending cuts. Others feel that spending has been cut as much as is possible, and that the deficit must be reduced by increasing taxes. If, on a scale of 1 to 7, people who favor increasing taxes to cut the deficit are at 1 and people who favor further spending cuts are at 7, where would you place yourself?

Income tax system

Now, let's talk about the federal income tax system. Some people believe that most deductions should be eliminated so that everyone who makes the same amount of money pays the same amount in taxes. Others feel that many deductions should be retained to encourage economic activities such as charitable contributions, energy exploration, and corporate investment. If, on a scale of 1 to 7, people who favor eliminating most deductions are at 1 and people who favor keeping many deductions are at 7, where would you place yourself?

Defense spending

Some people believe that America's problems in the world are a result of our lack of military strength, and that defense spending should be increased until we have reached military supremacy. Others feel that America is strong enough to depend its interests, and that defense spending should be cut to reduce international spending. If, on a scale of 1 to 7, people who would cut defense spending are at 1 and people who would increase defense spending are at 7, where would you place yourself?

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Arms control negotiations

Some people believe that the United States should not enter into arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union until the Russians prove they can be trusted. Others feel the threat of nuclear war is so great that negotiations cannot be postponed. If, on a scale of 1 to 7, people who favor negotiations are at 1 and people who oppose negotiations are at 7, where would you place yourself?

Intervention in Central America (NES)

Some people think that the United States should become much more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become much less involved in this area.

Improve social and economic position of blacks (ANESDS)

Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the goverment should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Equal role for women (ANESDS)

Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home.

Abortion

Some people believe that women have the right to choose an abortion whenever they feel it is necessary. Others believe that abortion is murder and must never be permitted. If, on a scale of 1 to 7, people who would always allow abortion are at 1 and people who would never allow abortion are at 7, where would you place yourself?

Legal rights of accused (ANESDS)

Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused.

8304072049 3

PROCEDURE FOR COST BREAKDOWN AMONG MULTIPLE CLIENTS

1. A total cost estimate will be made of the entire study according to our standard work codes and department functions.

   The latest billable rates will be used (Updates are made periodically to reflect changes in pay rates etc.)

2. The total cost estimate will be divided into FOUR major groups as follows ...

   1. Polling-survey .. Includes all standard costs needed to perform basic study

   2. Coding ..... Applies only when open ended questions are used

   3. Analysis and Delivery..... Costs are in direct relation to size of analysis to be written. Delivery is a client/MOR decision factor

   4. Data Processing Computer..... Costs are in direct relation to number of "computer"tables to be developed for client's question responses

      Should only a "flash/marginal" of data be desired no charge will be made to client

3. Within each of the four major group costs THE CLIENT COSTS was distributed by ....

   1. Polling-survey .. By number of responses EACH CLIENT is asking on questionnaire and will receive data or flash for such responses

      If multiple distribution on response percentage breakdown is on total responses being distributed

   2. Coding ..... Allocated by the number of open ended questions or responses each client will need coded or verbatims taken

   3. Analysis and Delivery ..... Based on size of analysis written for each client and delivery

   4. Data Processing.. Allocated by number of responses (Assumes each client will receive same number of passes or data breaks)

4. The final percentages for each client derived from total costs per client against the total estimate should be used in dividing the Selling Price should it differ from the estimate figure.

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RULES

1. **Record each and every response**

2. **Ballots - Count each race as a response**

3. **Self administered scales ... Count each item as a response including the test scale**

4. **Respondent selection**

   Count each response
   Distribute to all clients UNLESS we have multiple clients desiring different respondent selections

5. **Demographics**

   WILL NOT BE included in response totals
   .. only special demographics asked by certain clients will be treated as responses

   Assumes demographics are necessary to study to check sample

6. Pre coded open ends

   Will be treated as closed ended questions/require no coding

7. Half Samples

   We will list each response from all 1/2 sampled pages and count in total

   Assumes each response whether on half of the interviews or not will be tabulated and results supplied

8. Approval open end probe ... Counted as one open end

9. First thing open end and good/bad closed ... Count as one open and one closed

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See 12/12/85 most recent (2.90 late)

12/23/85

	TOTAL	R	88	B
POLL / D.P.	46655			
	108	76	26	6
	100.000	70.370	24.074	5.556
		(32831)	(11232)	(2592)
w/ voting	*43[illegible]	*[illegible]	*11,577	*672
3804072046 Code	2514			
	5	1	2	2
	100.000	20.000	40.000	40.000
	*2,591	(502)	(1006)	(1006)
		*518	*[illegible]	*[illegible]
Analysis	18745	(18745)		
	100.000			
If split 150 Pages		140P		10P
		93.333		6.667
		(17496)		(1249)
		*18,[illegible]		*[illegible]
estimate:	67914	52078	12238	3598
	100.000	76.682	18.020	5.298
Less "Other"		50,829	12238	4,847
	100%	74.843%	18.020	7.137%
selling price	*70,000	*52,390	*12,614	*4,996

OPS FORM 3616

R
88
B

1) POLL
4) DP

81.433

(2514)

71.429

(1005)

(18745)

79417

(11503)

9800407204907

ALLOCATION

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # 1-4
Area
6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

CALL RECORD SHEET

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1									Q500 16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1									Q501 17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502 18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503 19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504 20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NIN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505 21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506 22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507 23
Respondent Term.(R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508 24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509 25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510 26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511 27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512 28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513 29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514 30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515 31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516 32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517 33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518 34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519 35
Other Disp. (write in) (No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520 36
	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521 37

3801407204988

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)

DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER END MEETS YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old (male/female) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her?

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1). . 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1) . . . 2
No (GO TO Q.IB) 3
Refused/NA. 9

IB. Are you a citizen of the United States over 18 years of age living at this address?

Yes (GO TO 1) 1
No. 2
Refused/NA. 9

a. Is there any male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes 1

May I speak with him/her? (After you have ascertained that he/she is an adult citizen of the United States living at that address. (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE). 2
Refused/NA. 9

IF VOICE AT THE OTHER DOES NOT MEET YOUR MALE/FEMALE QUOTA

Hello, I'm_____ calling from Detroit for Market Opinion Research Company. We're doing a (short) public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have the opinions of a male/female who over 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States living at this address.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female who is a citizen of the United States living at this address?

Yes . . . . . 1 QA
No (GO TO Q.IB) 2 102
Refused/NA. 9

a. May I speak with him/her? QAa 103

Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 1
Yes, I am (GO TO Q.1). 2
No (GO TO Q.IB). 3
Refused/NA 9

IB. Is there any adult (man/woman) who is a citizen of the United States living at this address available at this time?

Yes . . . . . 1 QB
No (TERMINATE). 2 104
Refused/NA. 9

a. After you have ascertained that (he/she) is an adult citizen of the United States living at this address (GO TO 1) QBa 105

106-144 = EXTRA
145-153 SPECIAL DEMO VARIABLES
(V18) 156-160 WEIGHTS

8804072049 9

Q1-Q.64 = RNC

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

RNC ↓

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

3804072005 00

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6.	The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7.	We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8.	It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9.	If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10.	Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11.	Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12.	Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

RNC

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

8304072050 2

RNC ↓

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

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RNC

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A

8804072050 4

RNC

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2 Q23B

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8 9 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 0 5

RNC

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

8304072050 6

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

RNC

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?
   Not much gov't can do 1
   Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q32

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?
   Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
   Oppose. 1
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q33

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?
   Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
   Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
   Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
   Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9
   Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?
   Favor 2
   Oppose. 1
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q35

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?
   Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
   Favor only as retaliation 1
   Favor neither 3
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q36

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?
   Favor 2
   Oppose. 1
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?
   Should negotiate. 2
   Refuse to negotiate 1
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q38

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?
   Individuals/Small groups. 1
   Foreign government. 2
   Don't know. 8
   Refused/NA. 9
   Q39

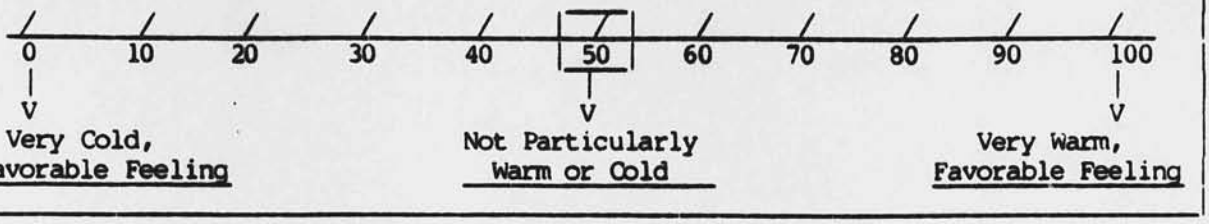
8804078

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

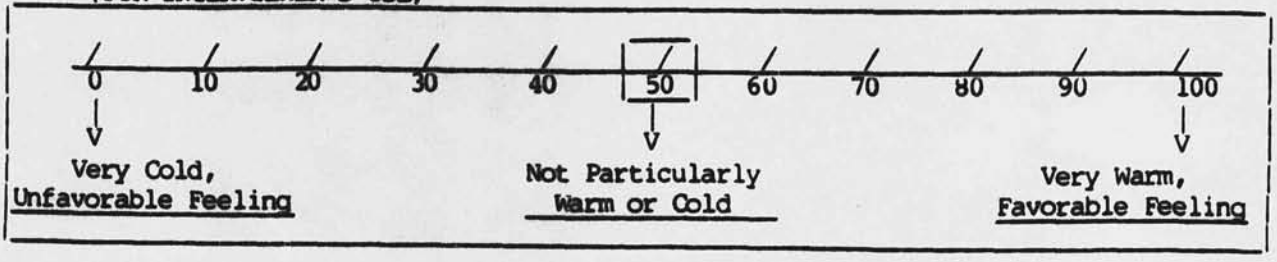
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

40.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC

(RANDOMIZE)

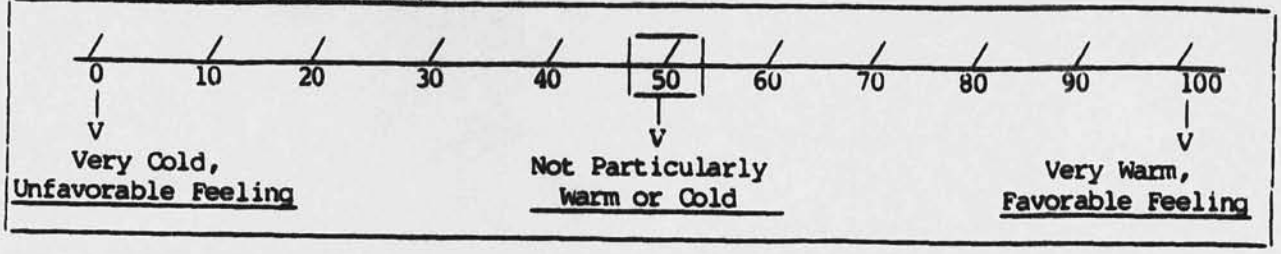
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50.	Jesse Jackson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51.	Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52.	Gary Hart	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53.	Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54.	John Glenn	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55.	Jane Fonda	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56.	Jerry Falwell	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57.	Gerald Ford	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58.	Jimmy Carter	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59.	George Wallace	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60.	Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8804072051O

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



RNC ↓

	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)	
61.	The Republican Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q61
62.	The Democratic Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q62
63.	Liberals	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q63
64.	Conservatives	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999 Q64

8304072051 I

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which <u>one</u> you think is most important for the next president to have?

NA

	66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)	(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a.	Conservative	1	1
b.	Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c.	Is in government now	3	3
d.	Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e.	Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
	None	6	
	No second mention		7
	Don't know	8	8
	Refused/NA	9	9

---

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One <u>(read below)</u>
The second <u>(read below)</u>
The third <u>(read below)</u>
And the fourth <u>(read below)</u>

(RANDOMIZE)

NA

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 2 5 1 2

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of <u>reducing</u> government spending and <u>strengthening</u> our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69). 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)
68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

NA

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of <u>reducing</u> government spending and <u>strengthening</u> our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

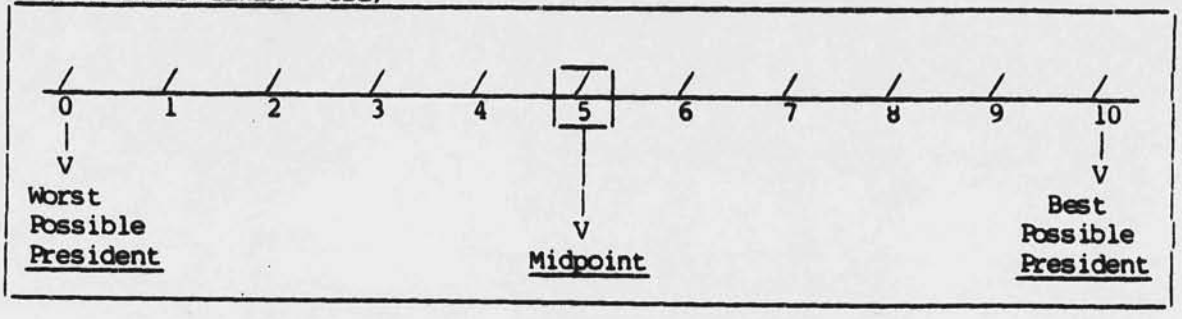
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q72

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

Q73

NA

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

NA

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

(GO TO Q.78)

Q75

NA

(Q.76 Not asked)

3 3 0 4 0 2 0 5 1 4

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
— Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q77

NA

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican (2) / Ted Kennedy, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q78

79. George Bush, Republican (2) / Gary Hart, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q79

80. George Bush, Republican (2) / Lee Iacocca, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q80

NA

HALF SAMPLE A

FFAF

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

3304072051 6

HALF SAMPLE B

B81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

B Q81bM1
B Q81bM2
B Q81bM3
B Q81bM4
B Q81bM5

---

82. What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

B Q82 M1
B Q82 M2
B Q82 M3
B Q82 M4
B Q82 M5

---

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 FRI 7

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

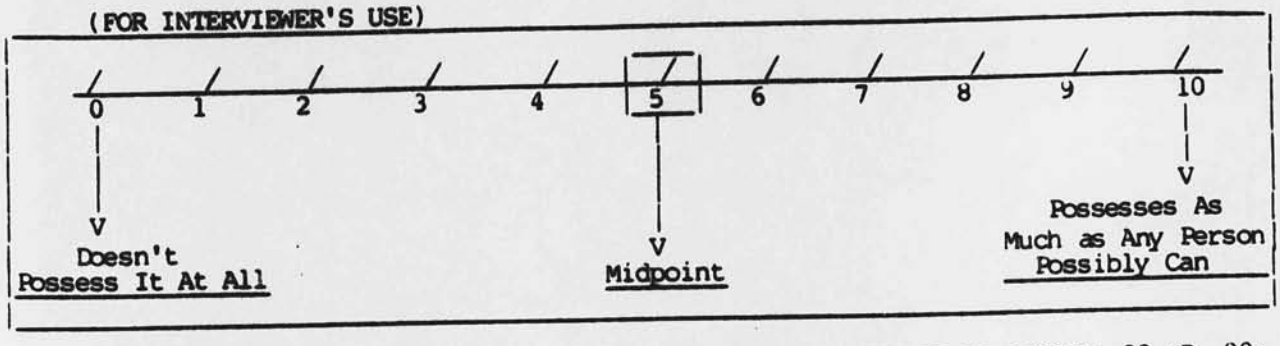
	(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
NA	83. Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
↓	84. The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
	85. Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
	86. Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
	87. Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
	88. Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
	89. National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

8304072058

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as <u>any</u> person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)

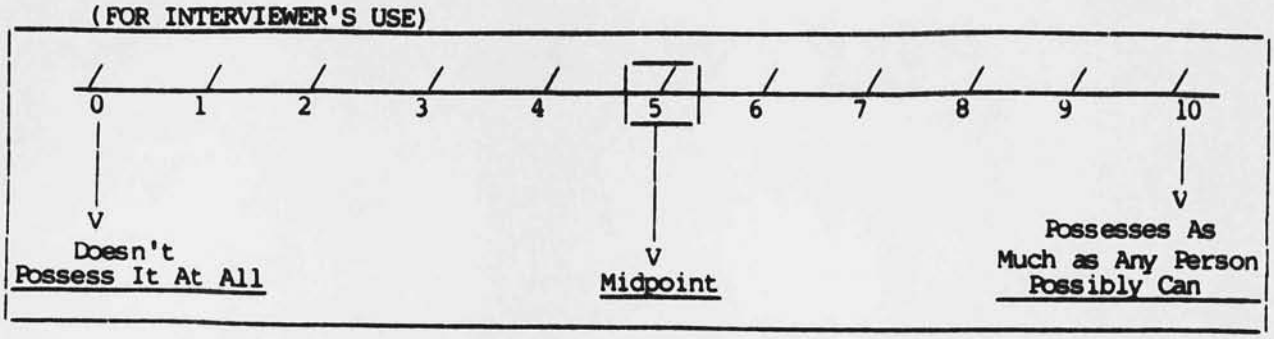


		(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
		<u>TRUSTWORTHINESS</u>			
RNC	90.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
AFAF	91.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
BNC	92.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
		<u>CONCERN</u>			
RNC	93.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
FFAF	94.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
RNC	95.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

RNC 96. Ronald Reagan _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q96

FFAF 97. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q97

RNC 98. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q98

COMPETENCE

RNC 99. Ronald Reagan _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q99

FFAF 100. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q100

RNC 101. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 Q101

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

Extremely liberal	1
Fairly liberal	2
Slightly liberal	3
Moderate	4
Slightly conservative	5
Fairly conservative	6
Extremely conservative	7
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

Extremely liberal	1
Fairly liberal	2
Slightly liberal	3
Moderate	4
Slightly conservative	5
Fairly conservative	6
Extremely conservative	7
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

Q103

---

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

RNC

Extremely liberal	1
Fairly liberal	2
Slightly liberal	3
Moderate	4
Slightly conservative	5
Fairly conservative	6
Extremely conservative	7
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

Q104

3804072052 1

DEMOGRAPHICS

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- Republican 1
- Democrat 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

PARTYID 51

V V

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

- Strong 1
- Not very strong 2
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

- Republican 1
- Democratic 2
- Neither 3
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

2304072005222

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	VOTETYPE 57-58
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No	1	
Registered elsewhere	3	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

9804072052 3

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB N

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10)

18-24 years 15
25-29 years 20
30-34 years 25
35-39 years 30
40-44 years 35
45-49 years 40
50-54 years 45
55-59 years 50
60-64 years 55
65-74 years 60
75 and over 65
Refused 99

AGE 85-86

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8). . 1
Some high school (Grade 9-11) . . . 2
Graduated high school 3
Vocational school/Technical School. 4
Some college - 2 years or less. . . 5
Some college - more than 2 years. . 6
Graduated college 7
Post-graduate work. 8
Refused 9

EDOFR 87

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time. . . 1
Employed and working part-time. . . 2
Unemployed. 3
Retired 4
Housewife 5

Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED). 6

Other _____ 7
(SPECIFY)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

WORKING 89

3304072052 4

D11. What is your present marital status?

- Single 1
- Married 2
- Divorced 3
- Separated 4
- Widow/Widower 5
- Don't know 8
- Refused/NA 9

MARITAL 92

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- Employed and working full-time . . . 1
- Employed and working part-time . . . 2
- Unemployed 3
- Retired 4
- Housewife 5
- Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED) . 6
- Other _____ (SPECIFY) 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused/NA 9

SPOWORK 93

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

- Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant) 01
- Self-employed 02
- Retired 03
- Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA) .04
- Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist) 05
- Executive (corporate officer) . . .06
- Homemaker 07
- Services (nurse, police, military) .08
- Hourly worker (laborer, typist) . .09
- Student 10
- Education (teacher, counselor) . . .11
- Other 12
- Don't know 98
- Refused/NA 99

occup

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

- Respondent 1
- Other member of household 2
- Both 3
- None 4
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

FARM 100

3804072005 25

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	
Other member of household	2	HEW
Both	3	103
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association?
(CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

3804072052.26

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

—	Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	1
—	Roman Catholic	2
	Jewish	3
—	Other Christian	4
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	5
	Agnostic/Atheist	6
	None	7
	Don't know	8
	Refused	9

RELIGION 110

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

Every week	5
Almost every week	4
Once or twice a month	3
A few times a year	2
Never	1
Don't know	8
Refused	9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

Under $10,000	0
$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	1
$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	2
$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	3
$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	4
$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	5
$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	6
$50,000 and over	7
Don't know	8
Refused	9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

White	1
Black	2
Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano	3
Oriental	4
American Indian	5
Other	6
Not ascertained	9

RACE 120

3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 2 7

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? (V16) _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ ZIP 121-

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male 1
Female 2

SEX 126

8304072052 8

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

Republican
National
Committee

William I. Greener, III
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Political Operations

January 9, 1986

Mr. Robert Teeter
Market Opinion Research
550 Washington Blvd.
10th Floor
Detroit, MI 48226

Dear Bob:

I am in receipt of a bill from Market Opinion Research for $70,000 for the recent national survey of voter attitudes conducted for the RNC by MOR.

As you know, there has been some past confusion surrounding this poll and the questions within it. Further, both of us agree that the RNC in no instance authorized questions pertaining to the 1988 presidential contest and we do not intend to pay for those questions.

Will you please advise me as to what the cost of the poll is for those questions on voter attitudes toward the parties and issue and major political figures is, excluding the 1988 questions, and we will pay you accordingly.

Thanks for the extensive briefing. You can believe it will be a useful part of our Achievement '86 planning.

I look forward to seeing you next time you're in town.

Very truly yours,

William I. Greener, III

CC: Robin H. Carle
E. Mark Braden
Jay Banning

8304072529

Cost Allocation Information
U.S. National, P85040

E

8304070530

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # 1-4
Area
6-15

Questionnaire #

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

CALL RECORD SHEET

Morris=1
Paper =2

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1									Q500 16
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1									Q501 17
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502 18
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503 19
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504 20
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NIN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505 21
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506 22
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507 23
Respondent Term.(R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508 24
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509 25
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510 26
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511 27
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512 28
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513 29
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514 30
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515 31
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516 32
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517 33
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518 34
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519 35
Other Disp. (write in)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520 36
(No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521 37

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 3 1

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI 38-39

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4 (40)
Livonia 5

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 41-42

DATE:

MONTH: _____ V3 (43-44)

DAY: _____ V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

Personal Adult

Hello, I'm from Market Opinion Research Company, an international research company with headquarters in Detroit. We're doing a public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female currently living at this address and a citizen of the United States?

- Yes. . . . . .2 QA
- No . . . . . (GO TO Q.C) 1
- Refused/NA 9

B. May I speak with him/her?

- Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) . . . . . .3 QB
- Yes, I am. . (GO TO Q.1) 2
- No . . . . . (GO TO Q.C) 1

C. Are you a resident of this address and a citizen of the United States?

- Yes. . . . . (GO TO Q.1) . . . . . .2 QC
- No 1

D. Is there any male/female who is a resident of this address and a citizen of the United States?

- Yes. 2

May I speak with him/her? QD
(After you have ascertained that he/she is a citizen of the United States at that address, (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE)

8304072053 2

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q1

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1
Q3M2
Q3M3
Q3M4
Q3M5

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5

8804072053 3

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
6. The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
7. We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q13

---

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q14

---

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q15

---

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q16

3304072053 5

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17. Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17
18. Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18
19. Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19
20. Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20
21. Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21
22. The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Q23A

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

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HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2 Q23B

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

3804072053 8

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25

3304072053 9

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33

---

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39

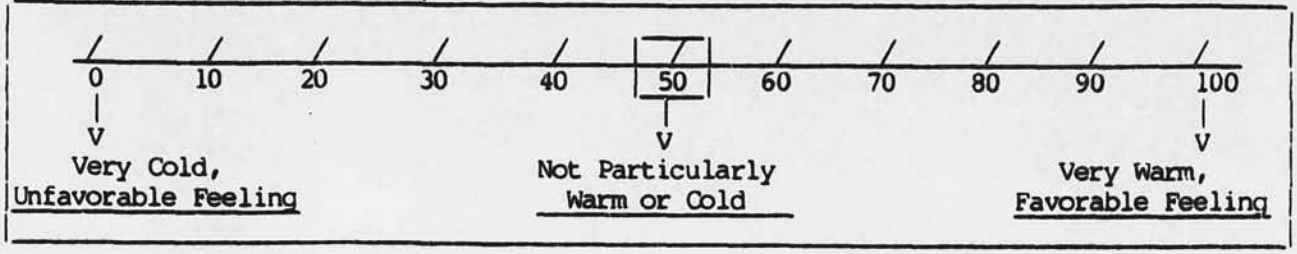
8804072054 1

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

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(CONTINUED)

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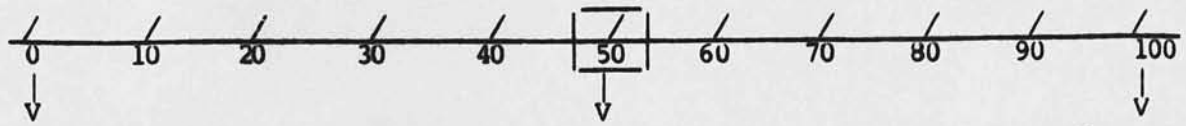

	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
50.	Jesse Jackson	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51.	Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52.	Gary Hart	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53.	Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54.	John Glenn	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55.	Jane Fonda	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56.	Jerry Falwell	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57.	Gerald Ford	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58.	Jimmy Carter	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59.	George Wallace	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60.	Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

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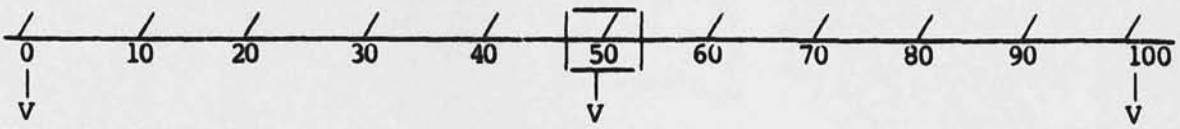
I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
61.	The Republican Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q61
62.	The Democratic Party	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q62
63.	Liberals	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q63
64.	Conservatives	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q64

3304072054 4

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which <u>one</u> you think is most important for the next president to have?

	66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)	(Q.65) First Mention	(Q.66) Second Mention
a.	Conservative	1	1
b.	Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c.	Is in government now	3	3
d.	Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e.	Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
	None	6	
	No second mention		7
	Don't know	8	8
	Refused/NA	9	9

8 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 5 4 5

---

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One <u>(read below)</u>
The second <u>(read below)</u>
The third <u>(read below)</u>
And the fourth <u>(read below)</u>

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of <u>reducing</u> government spending and <u>strengthening</u> our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69). 5
Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 8
Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69). 9

Q67

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)
68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

a. Has the best personal qualifications for the job. 1
b. Would step-up the pace of <u>reducing</u> government spending and <u>strengthening</u> our position in the world 2
c. Is a fighter for making major changes in government 3
d. Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority. 4
No second choice. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

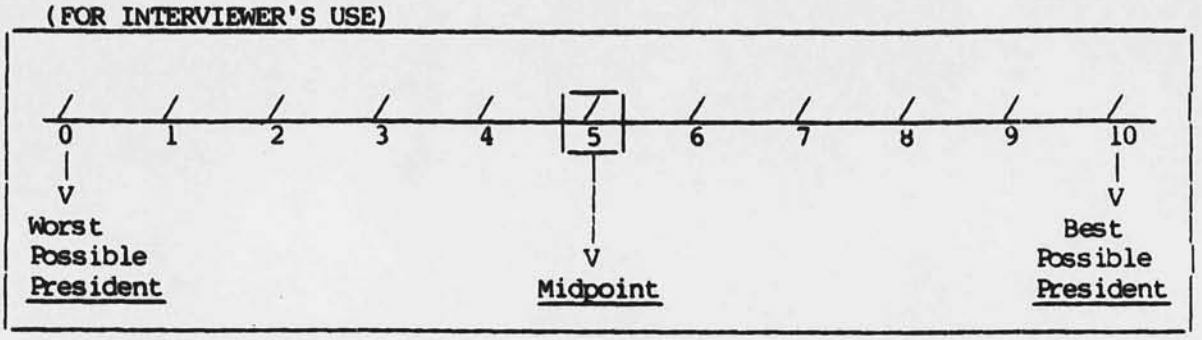
Q68

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . . . . 98 Refused/NA. 99 Q72

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73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

(GO TO Q.78)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q75

(Q.76 Not asked)

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 4 7

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
|— Refused/NA. . . . . N
V

Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Ted Kennedy, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q78

79. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Gary Hart, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q79

80. George Bush, Republican — 2 — Lee Iacocca, Democrat — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q80

8304072054 8

HALF SAMPLE A

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>like best</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1
AQ81 M2
AQ81 M3
AQ81 M4
AQ81 M5

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you <u>don't like</u> about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1
AQ82 M2
AQ82 M3
AQ82 M4
AQ82 M5

---

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804072054 9

HALF SAMPLE B

B81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

BQ81bM1
BQ81bM2
BQ81bM3
BQ81bM4
BQ81bM5

---

82. What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

BQ82 M1
BQ82 M2
BQ82 M3
BQ82 M4
BQ82 M5

8804072055O

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

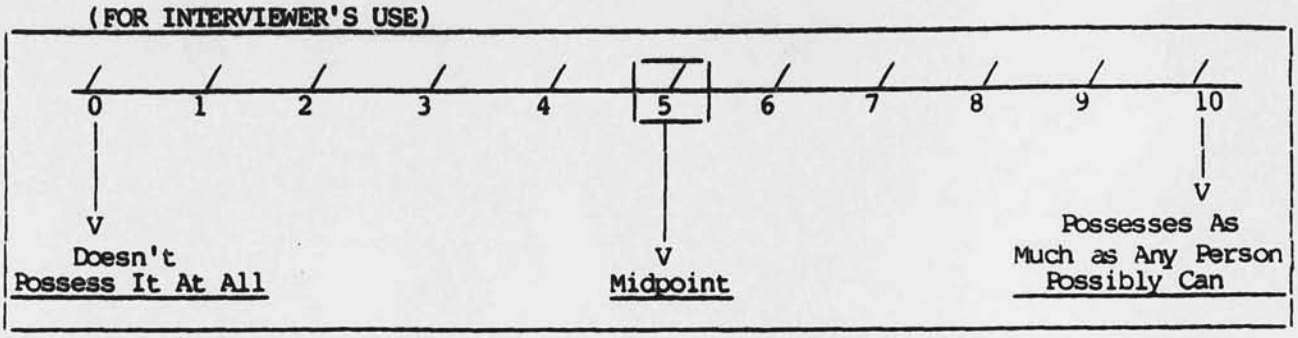
(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
83. Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	Q83
84. The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	Q84
85. Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	Q85
86. Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	Q86
87. Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	Q87
88. Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	Q88
89. National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	Q89

8304072055 1

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as <u>any</u> person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
	<u>TRUSTWORTHINESS</u>			
90.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q90
91.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q91
92.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q92
	<u>CONCERN</u>			
93.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q93
94.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q94
95.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q95

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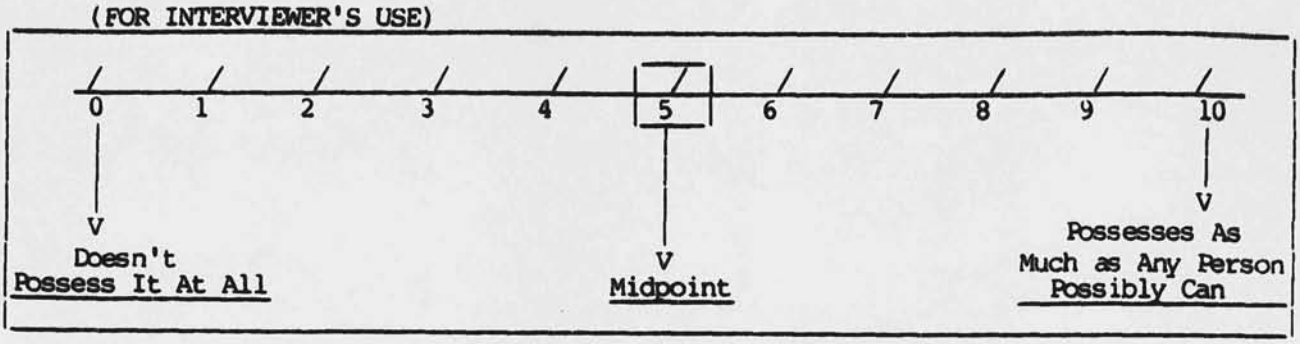
(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
	LEADERSHIP			
96.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q96
97.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q97
98.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q98
	COMPETENCE			
99.	Ronald Reagan	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q99
100.	George Bush	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q100
101.	Ted Kennedy	_____ (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99	Q101

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102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q103

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104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q104

3304072055 4

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- Republican. 1
- Democrat. 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

PARTYID 51

V V

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)? STRENGTH 73

- Strong. 1
- Not very strong 2
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

V

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party? LEAN 52

- Republican. 1
- Democratic. 2
- Neither 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

V

* c. Why do you think of yourself as a (Republican/Democrat)? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

* d. Why do you think of yourself as closer to the (Republican/Democratic) party? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

2010M1
2010M2
2010M3
2010M4
2010M5

* e. Have you always thought of yourself as a (Republican/Democrat) or is this a recent thing for you?

- Always. 1
- In-between (VOLUNTEERED). . . .2
- Recent. 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

* f. Have you always thought of yourself as closer to the (Republican/Democratic) party or is this a recent thing for you?

- Always. 1
- In-between (VOLUNTEERED) 2
- Recent. 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE
53 (V5) 54-56

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01	VOTETYPE 57-58
Mostly Democratic	.02	
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03	
About equally for both parties	.04	
A few more Republicans than Democrats	.05	
Mostly Republican	.06	
Straight Republican	.07	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08	
Never voted	.09	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2	REGISTER 59
No	1	
Registered elsewhere	3	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

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SPECIAL VARIABLE -- TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE -- COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB NO

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10)

18-24 years	.15	
25-29 years	.20	
30-34 years	.25	AGE
35-39 years	.30	85-86
40-44 years	.35	
45-49 years	.40	
50-54 years	.45	
55-59 years	.50	
60-64 years	.55	
65-74 years	.60	
75 and over	.65	
Refused	.99	

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	1	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	2	
Graduated high school	3	EDOFR
Vocational school/Technical School	4	87
Some college - 2 years or less	5	
Some college - more than 2 years	6	
Graduated college	7	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	9	

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	WORKING
Employed and working part-time	2	89
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

---

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 5 7

D11. What is your present marital status?

Single	1	MARITAL 92
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/Widower	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time	1	SPOWORK 93
Employed and working part-time	2	
Unemployed	3	
Retired	4	
Housewife	5	
Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	6	
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	8	
Refused/NA	9	

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	.01	occup*
Self-employed	.02	
Retired	.03	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	.04	
Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	.05	
Executive (corporate officer)	.06	
Homemaker	.07	
Services (nurse, police, military)	.08	
Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	.09	
Student	.10	
Education (teacher, counselor)	.11	
Other	.12	
Don't know	.98	
Refused/NA	.99	

(V13)

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

Respondent	1	FARM 100
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 5 8

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1	HEW 103
Other member of household	2	
Both	3	
None	4	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

8304072059

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

- Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.). 1
- Roman Catholic. 2
- Jewish. 3
- Other Christian 4
- Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5
- Agnostic/Atheist. 6
- None. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

RELIGION 110

V

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week. 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year. 2
- Never 1
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

- Under $10,000 0
- $10,000-$15,000 (14,999). 1
- $15,000-$20,000 (19,999). 2
- $20,000-$25,000 (24,999). 3
- $25,000-$30,000 (29,999). 4
- $30,000-$40,000 (39,999). 5
- $40,000-$50,000 (49,999). 6
- $50,000 and over. 7
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

INCOME 119

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3
- Oriental. 4
- American Indian 5
- Other 6
- Not ascertained 9

RACE 120

8304075560

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? (V16) ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ZIP 121-1.

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male . . . . . .1 SEX
Female 2 126

2304072056 1

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
127 / 128

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) 129-130 /(V18) 131-132/ 133

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = 134

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = 135

P&S 240

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

AGREEMENT

Agreement made September 7, 1979, between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation, of Detroit, Michigan ("MORC") and Republican National Committee ("client").

MORC and client agree that MORC shall conduct a public opinion survey ("survey") for client on the following terms and conditions.

1. *Conduct of Public Opinion Survey*

(a) The survey shall consist of not less than fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of adults in the United States ("population sample").

(b) MORC will submit the questionnaire and population sample for the survey to client for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. The specific details of the survey as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed (except as otherwise specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require. In the event the parties fail to agree, client shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of the survey and the population type to be sampled while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific wording of questions on the questionnaire and the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire. MORC will proceed with a survey only after it receives notice of the client's approval of the questionnaire and the population sample.

(c) Payment as required by paragraph 2 having been made to MORC, the survey to be conducted by MORC shall be commenced by MORC within ten days after written or oral approval by client of the questionnaire and the population sample, or September 17, 1979, whichever date is later.

(d) A report of the results of the survey in the customary form used by MORC shall be delivered to client not later than [illegible] for preliminary report.

2. *Fees and Payment*

Client agrees to pay MORC for the survey, a fee of [illegible] due and payable by October 1, 1979.

Payment more than thirty days overdue shall bear interest at eighteen percent annual rate.

3. *Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information*

The interpretive report of the survey shall become the property of client after delivery of the report to client by MORC and the payment to MORC of the full fee provided in paragraph 2. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least two years and give client reasonable access to them. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising and public relations, the information obtained in the survey or included in the interpretive report without the written consent of client, provided, however, if the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by client or anyone else acting for client or on its behalf, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the method of obtaining the interviews including the size and design of the sample and the basis of the data if the sample is less than the total sample, the dates and times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the client's name. Client agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of the survey or contents of the interpretive report that client or such other person will first notify MORC in writing and that there will also be stated in the release, speech, or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by MORC. Client agrees, at all times both during the term of this Agreement and thereafter, to keep in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of MORC and not to disclose or make known such knowledge or information to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of MORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by MORC. Client further understands and agrees that the names /or addresses of interviewers used by MORC and the names and/or addresses of persons sampled are confidential and will not be made available to client.

4. *Cancellation of Survey*

Client may cancel this survey or a subsequent survey, if any, on written notice to MORC made at least seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event written notice of cancellation is received by MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the client with respect to said survey shall be returned to it. In the event that the written notice of cancellation of a survey is received by MORC less than seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, MORC shall be entitled to ten percent (10%) of the full fee for the survey as liquidated damages, the parties expressly agreeing that MORC's damages and costs of preparing for any such survey are not capable of precise measurement.

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5. *Exclusion of Warranties*

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of any survey conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report, shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) The following persons (and no others) are representatives of the parties for purposes of this Agreement with authority to give notices and otherwise act on behalf of the respective parties:

For Client	*For MORC*
Mr. William Greener	Mr. Robert Teeter

(b) All notices given pursuant to, or in connection with, this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or deposited in the U.S. mail with first class postage prepaid to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to Client	*If to MORC*
Mr. William Greener Republican National Committee 310 First Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	Market Opinion Research 550 Washington Blvd. Suite 1300 Detroit, Michigan 48226

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it" and "its" shall include the pronouns "he", "she" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa. The word "survey" shall include the word "subsequent survey" or "surveys" where evident from the context.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement are held illegal, invalid or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

7. *Additional provisions*

Client is a political committee with a chairman and a treasurer at least one of whom has authorized this expenditure by said committee as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and, as such, client has assured MORC that it will account for and disclose the cost of this survey as an expenditure as required by said Act and otherwise comply with any other applicable Federal or State law in connection with this matter.

MORC reserves the right to use the findings from this survey in anonymous form as to the specific population and client for purposes of aggregate and comparative analysis to be made available to other clients of MORC or publications.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

BY_____

Its _____

(Client)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

BY _____

Its_____

(MORC)

8804072056 3

Never voted Democrat
Don't like the current Democrats
Haven't like Democratic Presidential candidates
Used to be a Democrat - didn't like their economic views
Democrats seem to grab anyone for Vice President
Afraid of the forces of the Democrats
Don't agree with Democratic views
Don't believe Democrats have the best interests for us
Disapproved of Johnson's welfare programs

C. D1 Democratic responses

00 Democrats are for the working people3
I'm a poor working stiff
I'm a working middle class man
Working man
I'm a blue collar worker

00 Democrats stand up for the poor
Democrats are more for poor people
Democrats are more for the poor class2
It's for the poor people/Help the poor

00 More for the lower class
Their concern for the little guy

00 More for the public/For the people
We are for the people
Platform is geared toward all people, not just the rich
Help the average citizen
General attitude toward the average person
They have social concerns
Believe in power of the people

00 Union member
Believe in the labor movement
Party standings concerning labor unions

00 Agree with Democratic issues2
Agree with the Democratic principal
Like the issues they stand for2
I believe in the way they believe
Ideals are the same as mine
Agree with what they think
Like what they stand for
Believe more in what Democrats say than the Republicans

00 Social reform
Agree with their social economic views

00 I tend to be liberal/I'm more liberal than conservative
Like their liberal policies

3804072056 4

Question B82: What are [redacted]e things you think he migh[redacted] handle poorly?

Economy2/Economics
Doesn't get publicity on economics
Everyone promises to get the economy in order

Unemployment/Jobs - not getting jobs/Employment

Deficit2/Budget deficit4/Reducing the deficit/National debt2
Financial affairs2
Not enough of an economist to help the defict

[redacted] deficit spending
Trying too get federal spending cut
Would be spending more money

Defense3/Military/National defense
Defense system
Concerns about disarmament
Would probably reduce the military
Splits the administration - defense versus the state
Not as good as with the military

Defense spending2

Foreign affairs6/Foreign relations/Foreign policy2
Foreign policy, detrimental to certain sides
(Latin American policy)

Relations with the 3rd World; Africa, Middle East/
Appear snobbish to 3rd World, Central America and Mid-east

Relations with the Soviet Union/Russia

Foreign relations with communist countries/Handling the communists
Relations with China

Foreign trade4/Trade policy2

Working with farmers/Farming/Lack of concern for farmers

Taxes/Raising taxes/Reducing taxes
(Changing the tax reform laws)

Labor unions/Anti-union

Education3/State education/Aid to education
Public schools

Not helping middle and lower classes/The poor and middle classes

Concerns about the poor/Lack of concern for the poor/Care of our poor
Caught short in handling elementary human rights of the poor

8804072055

Question B82: What are [redacted]e things you think he migh[redacted]handle poorly?

Social services/Welfare2/Treatment of welfare people
The whole country - welfare
Social issues

Women's rights2/Women's issues

Civil rights/Equal opportunity
Affirmative action
Working with minorities

Social Security2/Cuts in Social Security
- food stamps / food stamps - give to people who don't need them
Leadership/Don't know if he could lead/Being a leader

Lack of ability to work with Congress
Would not stand up to Congress
Relations with Congress
Doesn't have the personality to handle Congress that Reagan has

The government - don't think he should be president
The internal government
Anything involving the executive branch of the White House
Couldn't handle reforms in goverernment

Domestic affairs2/Domestic problems in general (unsp)

Not strong enough/Does not have strong image
Not strong enough personality to stand up for what he believes
Not sure that he would take a strong stand to accomplish things
Not strong person, not forceful

Abortion, seems to put it down in his speeches
Human rights - abortion

Public image, speaking ability, motivation lacking especially after Reagan
Not making progress, doesn't show for the public
Public personality, doesn't come across on television well
He's not in the spotlight

Personality might not come across as good as it should
He'd stumble along, not an outstanding president
Very wishy washy - no spine

Hopes that emotions don't take over for common sense
Might fly off the handle in diplomacy, could Bush hold his temper

Work too much like Reagan
Make things worse like Reagan is doing now
Follows too much like Reagan

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Question B82: What are [redacted]e things you think he migh[redacted]handle poorly?

92 Terrorism2

Star Wars/Star wars project

95 Everything2/Will do everything wrong

96 All other miscellaneous responses

97 No, wouldn't do a bad job on anything/Would do a fine job

98 Don't know2

99 Refused/No answer

00 Single mentions
Not as good in communication as Reagan → Willie
Shouldn't tell jokes
Too much of a politician
Individual rights
Addressing Americans in an honest and open way
State dinner at the White House
Give too much aid to foreign countries
Space program
Food stamps - give to people that don't need it
Housing problem
Inflation
Government in his hometown
Gun control
Would make poor selections for his cabinet
Personal integrity is non-existant
Terrible - selfish, chauvanistic arrogant person
Genuine concern for the way he carries himself

8804072057

Question D1: Why do you think of yourself as a (Republican/ Democrat)? Why do you think of yourself as closer to the (Republican/Democratic) party?

Republican responses

00

~~It's what America is~~
Republicans are ~~good for the~~ country
Ran the country well in the past
Have the best interests for the country
(~~They teach~~ our children values of our country)

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00 Like their views on jobs
Have more working people at this time

00 The people on the Republican side
The people I like are Republican
Like the Republicans/Like the people in the party2

00 Like who is in office/The people who are in office
Do better when Republicans are in office

00 Like the job that they do
Because of the past performance of the party
Benefit more with Republicans in office
They're leading us in the right direction

00 The man is the most important thing
Like the people rather than the party
Depends on who is in power - if it agrees with my thinking

00 Like the candidates2
Strongly agree with the candidates
Just according to who's running

00 Lean more toward the Republican policy
Approve of their policies/Policies are great
Their views are closer to mine2
My beliefs/My values are in the Republican tradition
They are for traditional values
Agree with their way of thinking
Because of the issues
Like what they stand for
Like their philosophy of government
I identify with their philosophies
Like the Republican platform
Like their way of thinking

00 I vote Republican3
Vote more for Republicans than Democrats

00 My voter's registration/Registered Republican2

00 Because of business/Ideas about business
I was in business - agree with their views

00 A family tradition/Family background
Parents are Republicans2
I've been one all my life
Was raised that way

00 I'm conservative3/More conservative2
I have conservative beliefs
They are more conservative
Being Republican is more conservative
Because of their conservativism

0 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 6 9

Reb

00 Economic policies2/Better grip on economics
Their economic changes

00 Against welfare
They believe people should work for what they get
Every man should take care of himself - no handouts

00 I voted for Reagan2

00 Ronald Reagan/In favor of Ronald Reagan/I like Reagan2
I believe in Reagan
I like our President

00 Ronald Reagan is doing a good job
Like what Reagan is doing

00 Republicans hold on to money
They manage money

00 Jimmy Carter didn't do such a good
Because of Jimmy Carter

00 I agree with free trade
Better grip on trade

00 Democrats have been big spenders lately
Democrats caused the deficit

00 Single mentions
Qualified candidates
Republicans are more for the working man
I agree with free enterprise
The community I live in is Republican
Agree with what Reagan says
Like their views on money
More disciplined
Tendency to be more moderate than liberal
Like the way Republicans hold themselves up
Republicans have better management
If Nixon ran right now, would vote for him
Believe in their stand on abortion
Stand on prayer in schools
Republicans stop the wars
Got us out of the mess Democrats got us into
The presidents that were Republicans were better
Democrats stick their noses in too much
Disagree with the Democratic approach to domestic affairs
Democrats give everything away

8804072570

* U.S. National Study Omnibus Job #P85040
Question B81: If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

Economy4/Economics/Economic growth/Get economy moving

Unemployment/Jobs

Businesses/Getting industry back on its feet

National deficit
Reduce federal budget deficit3/Cut deficit3
Budget2/Balance the budget deficit

Government spending3/Federal spending - reduce it2
Bringing down government spending
Cutting waste in government spending
Financial things

Military spending/Defense spending

Defense/National defense/Defense of our nation
Government administration - security, military
Enforce the military
Strengthening the military

Foreign policy6/Foreign affairs4/Foreign relations
Will try and stabalize things here in the U.S. as well as other countries
International affairs
Negotiations with foreign countries
Better relations with foreign governments
Working with foreign dignitaries/Experienced in foreign
Talk to people in Central America - communication

Ex-CIA administrator - would do good
CIA covert activities

Diplomacy - could negotiated in sticky situations because of quietness
Staying out of trouble - Government has a whole, would be better leader

Help relations with Soviets and improve working relations with them
Good with meeting with Russians

Help nuclear disarmament/Nuclear arms
Working out a nuclear arms control

Foreign trade/Foreign imports - get the trade going better
Straighten out foreign trade/Trade deficit
Trade with China and India

880407205711

* U.S. National Study Omnibus Job #P85040
Question B81: If George Bush became President in 19[redacted], what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

Terrorists/Terrorists in foreign countries/Dealing with terrorists
Hostage situations
Won't cater to extremists as much

Carrying out some of the principles Reagan has instituted
Follows Reagan well3/Continue to do what Reagan has
Carrying on policies of now

More experience than others
He's vice president

Dealing with people/Could handle people in politics

Speaks well/Debate - would draw well from other peoples' weaknesses

Public relations/Relations with the media

Work to lower taxes/Reforming taxes
Help taxes - poor pay less and rich pay more

Welfare program/Not give away money to everyone
Welfare is a priority program

Social Security/Social Security programs for the elderly

Domestic affairs2/Handle domestic policy better than Reagan

Education system/Education is in priority

Good job on the drug task force in Florida
Narcotic contraband

Labor problems/On labor

Parties - social engagements
White house parties
Barbaqueing out on the Rose Garden lawn

95 Everything/Entire office

96 All other miscellaneous responses

97 Nothing/Don't think he does well/Won't handle anything well

98 Don't know3/Don't know, keeps a low profile

8804072057 2

* U.S. National Study Omnibus Job #P85040
Question B81: If George Bush became President in 19[illegible], what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

99 Refused/No answer

00 Single mentions
Trilateralist
Administration management
Clear understanding of working with Congress - various committees
Would work on his own and not do as he thought Reagan would want him to
Took over good for Reagan's illness
Not a war monger
Get inflation down lower
Better economy
Competent administration ~~for bureaucracy cutting~~
Keep conservative trend going
Not as conservative as Reagan
Help state aid
Housing
Conservation laws
Organization
Leadership for out country
Farming issues
The racial problems
More compassion for the less fortunate.
Welfare of the American people
Just like the way he comes across
Details pretty good - would handle topics better than Reagan
Things that he has to do to win - Texas
Seems to favor the South
Protocal - he is a diplomat
Taking out the trash for the White House

3304072057 3

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question A81

For a strong military
More for the middle class working people
Changes in tax laws
He's not president.
He's not a puppet.
He is not president.
For the middle class
He understands business
He's compromising.
Would do a good job with the people that are handicapped.
His appearance
The way he handled the TWA hostage situatiion
He does a lot of traveling for the President
Putting Chritianity back in schools.
Good family man
He's not Reagan
He's not in the spotlight too much.
He is not a phony
The fact that he is sponsoring this poll.
His nice hair style.
Too quiet
Not afraid of other countries
Not a strong hawk like the President.
Doesn't do anything till he's needed.
Corporation influences.
He is Vice President
President Reagan keeps him on a tight rein

27 Responses

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 7 4

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question A82

Handling of the hostage crisis
Not very ecology-minded
Short tempered.
He's trying to invade income tax
I don't like him being Vice-President.
Slures off on women.
War monger.
Unintelligent.
No respect for women.
His stand on nerve gas issues.
Should fight more for welfare
Neglects agricultural affairs.
Whites should get the same as blacks in benefits.
His economic plans.
Too sensitive to political I.O.U.'s
Yes, he's in office.
How he feels about nuclear weapons.
He's riding on someone else's coat tail
Just don't like him.
He should have taken over when the President was in the hospital.
Too liberal
Would be very much another Nixon, dictator.
Not impressed with him
Don't like him
He is a Texas person
He has an oil background
Reagan has not done much to reduce the deficit
He doesn't favor black people
He's going to be out of office.
Doesn't have charisma
Outward appearance.
He has an honest face.
Likes the way he supports the President.
He's much more competent than Reagan.
To have more say as a Vice President.
He's from Texas
Magnum in Exxon Corporation.
Not as dynamic as Reagan.
Not a deep thinker.
Policy on NLRB.
Supreme court.
Narrow minded
Anti-union

43 Responses

8304072057

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 03

Freeze on wages for youth.
Political contributions should not come from sources out of state
Put more republicans in Congress.
Give people more borrowing power.
Get people with new young ideas
Lottery in Wisconsin
Abolish abortion.
Need new industrialization.
More republicans.
Stop monopolies
PAC system needs changes
Everything should be viewed equally.
We need a democratic government
Don't stop affirmative action toward black people
More communication.
Need better insurance rules.
Too many freedoms being taken away.
Conservative.
Food and fuel prices need to be lower.
Labor unions.
Congress shouldn't use taxpayer's money to go overseas with their wives
The presidency should not only be for the rich
Instead of a first class country we've become a second class country
Lower the emphasis on big business and corporations
Streets need fixing.
State government to help aids victims more.
Can't take care of our own country
Too conservative now
More solar research is needed
No abortion less homosexuales
Aid to college students
Regulation on utilities
Roads
Child support
A revolution to overthrow the capitalist system
Don't agree the Parochial should have tax break
Stronger laws on gun control
Stronger laws on air pollution
More cooperation between local and federal governments
New media is privy to too much information, often abuses its journalistic responsibilities
More cooperation between federal and state governments
Get rid of people like Carter and the Democrats

42 Responses

8804072057 6

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 1DcdDem

Getting jobs
Agree with the way they handle foreign policy
Farmers do better the democratic rule.
Democrats have programs in defense and military that are superior to the republicans
More for education
Major issues in health and medical care.
I think on the deficit issue they were pragmatic.
The country fairs better with a democratic government.
Economy used to be better.
There for the farmers.
More for social security
Agree with the way they cut taxes
Agree with their views on military spending
More conservative for peace
Their views on the trade policy.
They would rather see small business get ahead
Democrats are pro-freeze
They do more than Republicans
I believe in equal justice, equal treatment
They have done a lot for the country.
Tradition
Get more done
They are not as liberal as Republicans
Personality.
Matured in the F.D. Roosevelt era and he is my idle
Everyone gets fair stakes
They are more for the elderly than the Republicans are
Don't like Reagan
Concerned with environment
Concerned with education
My family was Republican
Against Republicans
I don't like anything the Republicans have accomplished during my lifetime.
Things not going well under Republicans
Republicans are so insulting, were so shamefull especially toward Mrs. Roosevelt, they belittle people

35 Responses

2804072057 7

Question 1DcdRep

I agree with Republican's views on abortion
Deficit
I don't believe in ERA
More aggressive
Supports the farm area
Agree with their foreign policy
Against Vietnam War
More power to the state, fair share for state
Less government controls
Against liquor and gambling
Believe in free enterprise like the Republican party does
I agree with Republican labor issues
I am for big business
Tendency to be more moderate than liberal
If Nixon ran right now, I would vote for him - don't like Reagan
They are more liberal, open
I try to treat people like Jesus.
Agree with the strong leadership in the party
Love Busch
I liked past Republicans - Nixon and Ford
They help the people
Identified with morality and patriotism
Less government involvement
Reagan more open for free trade
Democratic party has become too liberal
The equality.
Democratic leadership handles things in ways I don't agree with
Everytime there has been a war, the Democrats have been in power
Didn't like the members of the democratic party
Democratic party was an insult to American people last election
Disagree with Ted kennedy and Tip O'Neill
Democrats have not showed me anything that makes me want to vote for one
Democrat don't have the best interest for us
If I wasn't the Democrats will have their way with everything
Democrats have not shown leadership ability
Democrats have not put forth their political policies.

36 Responses

3804072057 8

Verbatims from Job RESPONSE

Question 81B

He is Vice-President
Get inflation down
Housing
Conservation laws
Basic services and fundamentalists
Higher prices for farmers
Racial problems
Prosecute people more
The job of President
His relationship with Congress
He would get things passed that Reagan couldn't
More for the morale of the country - patriotism
Reduce the size of government
Probably do good job
Fighter
School prayer
Reduce the size of government
Would follow Reagan on interest rates
Conservation issues
Forest
Make a lot of changes
Would work on his own and not do as he thought Reagan would want him to do
Things that have to do with Texas - favors the South
Conservative
Taking vacations at Camp David.
Decisive
Oil business
He would terrify me
Inflation.

29 Responses

8804072579

Question 82B

Inflation
Raising taxes
Gun control
State dinner at the white house.
Would not be re-elected a 2nd. term if he turns into a politician
Immigration
Shift of responsibility from federal to state and local governments
Farmers
Can't wind down the nuclear weapons problem
Law enforcement
State and local government
The legislation that will give up our freedom
Would need really excellent advisors
Dealing with minorities
Hasn't common sense
Attack of AIDS epidemic
Housing programs
Foreign aid
Doesn't handle people well
State of emergency
The House of Representatives
Not fair to the working man more for big business.
Finish up where Johnson left off

23 Responses

8804072058O

Question 3: What kinds of changes do you think need to be made?

00 No one in office more than six years
Let legislature run for 1 term not 2
(Elections)

00 We need new politicians
Change in government officials
The administration
Better leadership in government
Different officials
Change the people in office

00 More honesty in politics
People in office need better moral values
Improve corruption in government

00 Our political system/Need a new system
Not a well-balanced system
(The whole White House)

00 Changes in government should be by the people
They should respond more to the majorities' opinions
Popular vote instead of electoral vote

00 The way they run Congress
Relationship between Congress and the President

00 The President2
Need a new president2/Need a different president2
Replacement of the President

00 Not enough for the poor/Help poor people2
More consideration for the poor/Concern for the poor
Too many people go to bed hungry at night
Aid to the needy
Poor are being deprived
Underprivileged citizens need help
Concern for the homeless

00 Not enough for the middle class
More needs to be done for middle and lower class

00 More concern for the people
Think more about the people in the country
Start looking out for people in this country
Interaction with people instead of issues

00 Domestic problems/Domestic policy

Senior Citizens
Seniors need help/Concern for the aged
Keeping programs for the elderly going
Consideration for the elderly

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00 Social Security/Changes in Social Security
Social Security should still be given
Taking money from Social Security
Not fair to older people - Social Security

00 Hold down inflation
Prices are too high

00 Income taxes
Make income tax more fair
Make federal income tax more equitable

00 Reduce taxes2/Taxes need to be lowered2
Taxes are too high2

00 Taxes/Tax system3/Tax reform2/Changes in taxes
Tax structure
Need fair taxation2
Taxes are way out of line
Taxes need to be re-worked

00 Be fairer to the middle class paying taxes
Taxes are hurting working people

00 The deficit/National debt2
Reduce the deficit
Some type of action as far as money is concerned

00 Get our spending under control
Deficit spending/Cut spending
Spending less money

00 Better education
Should do something for schools

00 Bring prayer into schools2
Need to put God back in schools
More moral values in schools

00 Need Christians in government2
Get some born-again Christians into the Supreme Court

00 Need to turn more to God
People need to be more in tune with God's direction

00 The judicial system needs to be changed
Supreme Court overhaul

00 System of paroling convicts is bad
Need changes in criminal law

00 The Arms Talks

8804072058 2

0 3 P 5

Stop the "Star Wars" talk

00 Nuclear situation
Arms race/Nuclear war race

00 The military/Defense2
Warfare

00 Less defense/Less money on defense
Less spending on the military
Military budget should be trimmed

00 Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance
Knock out all imports/Stop foreign imports
Too many imports/Importing too much
Should buy more American

00 Tax foreign products
Higher tarrifs on imports and exports

00 Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries
Focus on problems here, rather than overseas
Less emphasis on foreign countries
Keep out of everybody else's business
Focus on U.S. policies rather than foreign
Take care of ourselves instead of other countries2

00 Foreign policy3/More concern for foreign affairs
Our relationship with other countries

00 Get tougher with Russia
Situation with Soviet Union
Communism

00 Better jobs
Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people
More jobs5

00 The economy2
New economic policies

00 More attention given to national debt
Deficit should be reduced
Federal debt is completely out of hand
Deficit - government should pay bills

00 Should take a tougher stand on terrorism
Hostages being taken care of

00 Strict rule for aliens
Send refugees back
Send foreigners out of here

2 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 8 3

Q. 3 pg. 4

00 Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy
Farmers need help
Government should do something for the farmers

00 Dealing with welfare
Welfare cheats should be caught

00 Medicare
Health system

00 Single mentions
The way social services is run
Lower property taxes
V.A. soldiers in war not getting medical attention
Crime
South Africa needs help
Should keep publicity about "Star Wars" secret
Priority on defense
Fairer stand toward labor unions
Streets need fixing
Need new industrialization
Pay raises for employees
Abolish abortion
Less money on space program
Wealthy people have the power
Get rid of red tape - get down to the heart of the problem
Democrats need to be in power
More Republicans in Congress
More cooperation between local and federal governments
Need young blood in office
Start cutting President's salary
Lumber
The environment
More rights for women
More rights for minorities
Government is too much for big business
State government should help Aids victims more

Question #21: What two ~~or~~ three things do you like ~~l~~ most about George Bush ?

P85040

-01 Like candidate/Nice

.02 Good person/Fine

.03 Alright/Okay/Doing a good job

.04 Trying/Does his best

.05 Hard worker/Works hard at job

* .06 Honest/Integrity/Sincere/fair

** .07 Intelligent/Sharp/Educated

** .08 Responsible/Dependable/Conscientious

** .09 Well-informed/Knowledgeable

** 10 Articulate/Talks well/Good speaker

** 11 Experience/Background/Qualified

** .12 Respectable/Respectable person

*** .13 Aggressive/Go-getter

*** 14 Energetic/Energy/Active

*** .15 Straightforward/Forthright/Outspoken

*** .16 Gets things done/Competent

**** .17 Public servant/For the people

**** .18 Concerned/Compassionate/Thoughtful

**** 19 Works for _____

**** 20 Loyal/Dedicated

***** .21 Personable/Personality/Likeable/Charismatic

***** .22 Friendly/Outgoing/Congenial

***** 23 Down-to-earth

~~24~~ ~~Fair~~ in Person/Willing to take a stand/Takes firm stand/Consistant

~~25~~ ~~Helps~~ minorities/Helps minorities/Dealing with Hispanics

.26 Holds down spending

8804074058 5

P85040

Question 48: What two or three things do you like best about George Bush?

.27 Issues/Views/Polices/Philosophy

.28 Foreign affairs/Foreign policies/Foreign relations

94. Everything/Like everything about him

95 All other issue related responses (tabbed)

96 All other miscellaneous responses (tabbed)

.97 None/Nothing liked

.98 Don't know/Don't know him

.99 Refused/No answer

Combined responses

* Trustworthy

** Competent

*** Strong

**** Concerned

***** Personable

29. Republican

30. Conservative

31. Vice-President

32. Leadership-quality/Strong leader

33. Reagan's man/Works with Reagan/Follows Reagan's policies/Philosophies

34. Was an ex-member of CIA/CIA director/Former CIA agent

35. Cool/Calm and collected/Very calm/Calm and composed

36. Handles the deficit well

37. Would make a good President/Would make a strong President

38. Held a variety of government positions (unsp)

39. He's a diplomat/Diplomatic

40. Decisive/He's decisive/Determined

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OA81. What are some of the things you like best about George Bush?

Firm / person / Takes a firm stands / Tough guy
Willing to take a stand / Can't be manipulated /
Doesn't take a back seat / Sticks to his word
Strong emotion / A fighter

Reagan's man / Working w/ Reagan.
not interfering w/ Reagan & his policies
No friction between him & Reagan
Very close to Reagan's philosophies
Favors the same programs as Reagan
He stands by the President / Follows most of
Reagan's policies / In office w/ Reagan
Travels a lot for the President / Helps the President

CIA director / Was a member of the CIA / Head of CIA /
CIA experience / Former CIA agent / Involved w/ CIA

He's a leader / A strong leader / Leadership quality
Good leader

Conservative

Vice President

Unpublican

Good Vice-President

Held a variety of positions (unsp)

He would make a good president / Can run the Office
Would make a strong President

Curtis - Christianity back into the schools
Is a Christian

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P85040

OA81 Con't

He is a service man - understands the military
Not a strong hawk like the President

[illegible]
Supports present government
Knows his place in government

Wants to abolish affirmative Fed. Government contract

// Cool, Calm ~~and Collected~~ / ~~Very Calm~~
Calm ~~and Composed~~ [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

Good ~~Diplomat~~
~~Diplomatic~~

Not out for big business

His decisive/~~Decisive~~

~~Compassionate~~
~~He's thoughtful~~

~~Not in spotlight~~

Consistent
Consistency
Put this in words

Corporation Influence

Decreasing the ~~inflation~~ rate
// Handles the ~~deficit well/economy deficit economy~~ threat

Good family man

Researches ~~before~~ he moves
Thinks ~~for he makes a~~ decision

Stand on taxes

~~Can do better than Reagan.~~ Put in value [illegible]

A82 and a

P85 40

Question __: What two or three things do you like least about George Bush?

	01	Does not do job/Has not done job
*	02	Not honest/Sincere/Untrustworthy
*	03	Does not keep promises/Does not keep word
*	04	Political/Politics - cheap/Political tactics/ Typical politician
**	05	No experience/Lack of experience
**	06	His speaking voice/Way he comes across
**	07	Weak/Spineless/
***	08	Says one thing does another/Contradicts himself/ Not consistent/Wishy-washy
***	09	Talks too much/Too much talking/Talks, no action/Puts his foot in his mouth
***	10	Not outspoken/Does not take a stand
***	11	Not getting anything done/Has not done much/ Takes time doing things/Incompetent
****	12	Doesn't care about the people/Cares about no one
	13	Voting record/Way he votes
	14	Ideas/Views/Policies/Issues
	15	Spends too much money/Spends foolishly
	16	Does not keep in touch with the people/Does not communicate/Does not inform the people/Don't see him much
	17	Low Profile/In the background/Not in the limelight/ Needs more exposure
	18	Republican
	19	More moderate
	20	Giveaway program - too much welfare
	21	Too much for big business
	22	Too many junkets/Trips at taxpayers expense
	23	Views on labor/Pro-labor union
	24	Abortion stand

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A82 and a

P85040

Question __: What two or three things do you like least about George Bush?

.25 Does nothing on taxes/Taxes should be lowered

.26 Obnoxious/Superior attitude/Arrogant/Cocky

.27 View on foreign policy/Should not be involved in other countries

X .28 Doesn't stand with Reagan

.29 Rubber stand for Reagan/Second-hand man

94 Everything/Dislike everything about him

95 All other issue related responses (tabbed)

96 All other miscellaneous responses (tabbed)

.97 None/Nothing dislike

.98 Don't know/Don't know him

.99 Refused/No answer

Combined responses - negative

* Untrustworthy

** Incompetent

*** Weak

**** Not concerned

***** Not personable

30 Conservative

31 He's a "yes" man

32. Lacks leadership qualities

33. Not Presidential material/Not qualified as presidential candidate

34. Was an ex-member of C.I.A/Former C.I.A director

35. His personality

36. For the rich

37. His performance in the debates/Came across poorly in the debates

38. Not Agressive enough/Not forceful

39. His wife/Don't like his wife

40. Tri-lateral commission/Belongs to the Tri-lateral Commission

41 Too easily swayed/Crowd follower

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P85040

Q #81

11 Not President / not Reagan

Middle of the road

In the middle class People 12

Would do a good job for the disabled

Walsh

His hair style is nice
His appearance

Helps minority
In the minority
11 Qualifications 11 His dealings w/ Hispanics
code

Liked the way he debated Speaker

Has character and finess

11 From Texas

3804074059 1

P85040

Q#82 What are some of the things you didn't like about George Bush?

28 ~~Unwilling to formulate an opinion against Reagan~~
Doesn't tell Reagan how he feels

~~A bit of a conservative / Too Conservative~~ Conservative

~~Was an ex-member of the CIA / Former~~ " CIA director

~~Second-hand man~~
~~Too much of a "yes" man / He's a "yes" man~~
~~Follows blindly behind / a "puppet"~~
~~Riding on someone else's coattail~~
~~Forced to make decisions which aren't his~~

Not conservative

~~Doesn't have any charisma~~
~~Personality~~
~~His mannerisms~~

11 ~~Don't think he has a strong personality / Don't like his personality / Don't think he has public appeal /~~

1 ~~IIII Don't like him / Don't like " anything about him /~~

neglect agricultural affairs

11 ~~For the rich~~
His stand on the working man

Too partisan

unintelligent

Not confident Weak

Too patriotic

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 5 9 2

P85040

Q A82 Cont

Not presidential material / Not qualified as a presidential candidate / Made a dull president
He's thinking of running for President / Want the President's seat - his to Reagan

Not strong enough
Don't think he could handle the job / Doesn't love Contras / Doesn't have strong leadership qualities / not a strong leader
Isn't a forceful leader / [illegible]

Attitude toward minority - attended KKK meeting

Quick on the trigger - short tempered
Hot headed. 7-6

Looking out for himself
Doesn't care about anyone but himself
Doesn't care about anything or anyone
His wife / His wife should go to public debates school
His wife looks like grandmother / Don't like his wife

For senators to political I O U's
His bad economic plans

Women / No respect for women

Don't agree w/ Reagan a lot on issues
Relationship w/ Reagan
Came across goofy in debate
He said he answered questions in the debate
the speaking voice / Way he comes across

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Q #82 cont'd III

11 not ~~aggressive~~

Outward appearance

Not effective in handling Government leaders

~~Too much attention to Tri Lateral~~

~~Belongs to the Tri lateral commission~~

Belongs to Tri lateral The Tri lateral connections that he's associated with

~~Not in touch with people~~

~~Low Profile~~

~~Lacks leader~~

~~Doesn't care about the people~~

~~Puts people down~~

Whites & Blacks should get same benefits

Not informed as Reagan is

11 Ran against Reagan for President

More decisive

Would sell his soul to the highest bidder Puppet

22 ~~Should be more & stop traveling around~~ ~~Travels~~ all over the country at any expense

~~Too~~ overly defensive

War monger

His stand on the nerve gas issue

8804072059 4

Is there anything at about George Bush that concerns or bothers you.

~~No~~ ~~Ok~~ ~~Things about Of~~

~~Don't like him~~ Don't never hear anything about him

~~He's in the middle of the road/ more moderate~~

~~He doesn't have it/ Not strong minded enough~~

~~Way he comes across~~
~~Way he presents himself~~

~~Does not favor black people~~ He's in office.

Close ~~to~~ C.I.A.

Not very ~~personable~~
Don't like his personality

~~His performance in debates~~

Has an honest face
little

Has faults - good & bad.

~~He turns the other way from Reagan~~

~~He gets pushed to the background~~

More competent than Reagan

He's a phony

Not very ecology-minded

Vice President ~~could have more say~~
Doesn't have enough authority

Likes way he ~~supports~~ the President

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PB5040

Could be ~~more~~ aggressive

His feelings about nuclear weapons

Not a deep thinker 3/

Whining

Too earnest about things 26

Supreme Court

DATA ENTRY BLOCK: 1-400
Coding: 401-480
Total: 1-480

A's: 1001
B's: 2001

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH
550 Washington Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 963-2414

(INTERVIEWER: initial above when complete)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
Job #P85040
Respondent # (1-4)
Area (6-15)
S:BIF

Questionnaire #

CALL RECORD SHEET

U.S. National #2
Omnibus Study

A+B

Date: 9-17-85
Quota 1500

OFFICE COPY

Comp. Male (CM)	[ ]1									Q500 (16)
Comp. Female (CF)	[ ]1									Q501 (17)
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q502 (18)
No Answer (NA)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q503 (19)
Busy (B)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q504 (20)
Designated Person Not in Now/ No Time Now/Call Back (DPNI/NTN/CB)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q505 (21)
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q506 (22)
Refusal (REF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q507 (23)
Respondent Term. (R-Term.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q508 (24)
MOR Term. (M-Term)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q509 (25)
Business Numb. (BUS)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q510 (26)
Non-Working #(DISC/NIS/CHNG)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q511 (27)
Non-Working #	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q512 (28)
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q513 (29)
Geographic F.O. (G-F.O.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q514 (30)
Non-Register Voter F.O. (V-F.O)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q515 (31)
No Male in household (NM)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q516 (32)
No Female in household (NF)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q517 (33)
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q518 (34)
OPEN	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q519 (35)
Other Disp. (write in)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q520 (36)
(No Eng., Deaf, etc.)	[ ]1	[ ]2	[ ]3	[ ]4	[ ]5	[ ]6	[ ]7	[ ]8	[ ]9	Q521 (37)

DESIGNATED NUMBER

01. _____
Original Call

COMPLETED NUMBER

_____

Allow 01-99
NO. CALLS TO COMPLETE
VI (38-39)

Phone Room:
Detroit 1
Farmington. 4
Livonia 5
REFUSED 9

PHONE (40)

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____
V2 (41-42)

DATE:

MONTH 9 V3 (43-44)

DAY 17-20 V4 (45-46)

Time Started: _____ Time Ended: _____

8804072059 7

Personal Adult

Hello, I'm from Market Opinion Research Company, an international research company with headquarters in Detroit. We're doing a public opinion study in your area and I'd like very much to have your opinions.

A. Is there an 18-24 year old male/female currently living at this address and a citizen of the United States?

- Yes. 2
- No . . . . . (GO TO Q.C) 1
- Refused/NA 9

QA (161)

B. May I speak with him/her?

- Yes, 18-24 year old becomes respondent (GO TO Q.1) 3
- Yes, I am. . (GO TO Q.1) 2
- No . . . . . (GO TO Q.C) 1
- REFUSED 9

QB (162)

C. Are you a resident of this address and a citizen of the United States?

- Yes. . . . . (GO TO Q.1) 2
- No 1
- REFUSED 9

QC (163)

D. Is there any male/female who is a resident of this address and a citizen of the United States?

- Yes. 2

May I speak with him/her?
(After you have ascertained that he/she is a citizen of the United States at that address, (GO TO Q.1)

No (TERMINATE)

QD (164)

8804072059 8

U.S. National #2 - Omnibus Study

1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction 2
Wrong track 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

D1 165

---

2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

Working fairly well 2
Need significant changes. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q2 166

Coding
401-404 = Resp
405-410 Blk

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q3M1 411-412
Q3M2 413-414
Q3M3 415-416
Q3M4
Q3M5 417-418
419-420

V21 - V26

(Com. on p18A)

---

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q4 167

---

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve. 4
Somewhat approve. 3
Somewhat disapprove 2
Strongly disapprove 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q5 168

3014072029

Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
6. The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q6 169
7. We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q7 170
8. It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q8 171
9. If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q9 172
10. Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q10 173
11. Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q11 174
12. Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q12 175

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?

Helps 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 2
Hurts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

013 (176)

---

14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

More. 3
About the same. 2
Less. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

014 (177)

---

15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

015 (178)

---

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price 1

b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries. 2

c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products. 3

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

016 (179)

8804072060 1

(READ SLOWLY)
As you may know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

	(RANDOMIZE)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
17.	Poor planning and management by U.S. companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q17 (180)
18.	Wage demands by American labor unions.	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q18 (181)
19.	Better quality of foreign products	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q19 (182)
20.	Unfair trade policies of foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q20 (183)
21.	Cheap labor in foreign countries	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q21 (184)
22.	The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q22 (185)

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 6 0 2

HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q23A
(186)

3804072060603

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries. .1

OR

b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs. 2

Q23B
187

Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

8804072060 04

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

More 3
About the same 2
Less 1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q24 (188)

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)

Avoiding a trade war 2
Allowing fewer imports into country.1
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

Q25 (189)

3304072060605

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 6 0 6

Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

	(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
26.	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q26 190
27.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q27 191
28.	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q28 192
29.	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q29 193
30.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q30 194
31.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q31 195

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?

Not much gov't can do 1
Gov't can significantly reduce. . . 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q32 196

---

33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q33 197

---

34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?

Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35) 2
Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38) 1
Don't know.(GO TO Q.38) 8
Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38) 9

Q34 198

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q35 199

---

36. Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?

Favor against suspected terrorists. 2
Favor only as retaliation 1
Favor neither 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q36 200

---

37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37 201

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Should negotiate. 2
Refuse to negotiate 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38 202

---

39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

Individuals/Small groups. 1
Foreign government. 2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q39 203

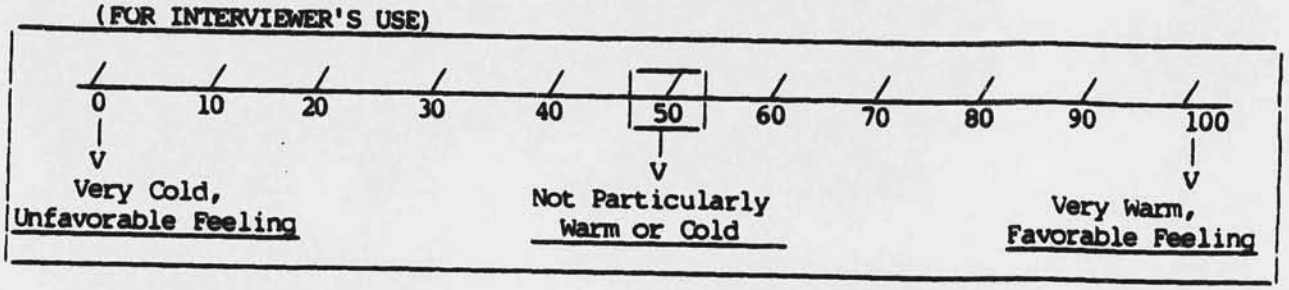
8304072006 07

Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll go onto the next name.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
40.	Ronald Reagan	V27 204-206 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q40
41.	George Bush	V28 207-209 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q41
42.	Robert Dole	V29 210-212 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q42
43.	Howard Baker	V30 213-215 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q43
44.	Jack Kemp	V31 216-218 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q44
45.	Pat Robertson	V32 219-221 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q45
46.	Jeane Kirkpatrick	V33 222-224 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q46
47.	Walter Mondale	V34 225-227 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q47
48.	Ted Kennedy	V35 228-230 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q48
49.	Tip O'Neill	V36 231-233 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q49

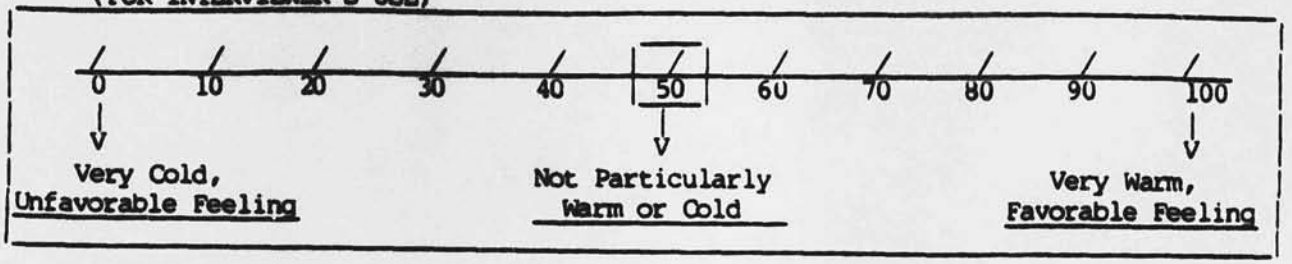
(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

234-240 BLK

8804072068

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

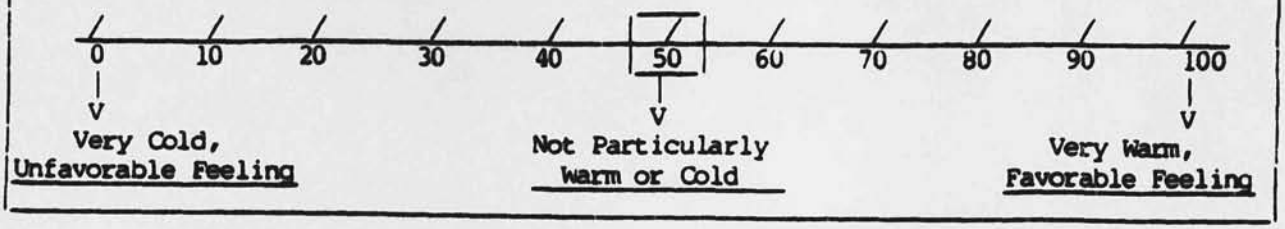
(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

50. Jesse Jackson	V37 241-243 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q50
51. Mario Cuomo (QUO-MO)	V38 244-246 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q51
52. Gary Hart	V39 247-249 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q52
53. Geraldine Ferraro (FUH-RAH-ROW)	V40 250-252 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q53
54. John Glenn	V41 253-255 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q54
55. Jane Fonda	V42 256-258 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q55
56. Jerry Falwell	V43 259-261 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q56
57. Gerald Ford	V44 262-264 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q57
58. Jimmy Carter	V45 265-267 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q58
59. George Wallace	V46 268-270 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q59
60. Lee Iacocca (EYE-A-COKE-A)	V47 271-273 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q60

8304072060 9

I also have some groups of people to get your feelings about. The first group (is/are) _____. How do you feel about them using a zero to one hundred scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



	(RANDOMIZE)	(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 998 OR 999: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)		
61.	The Republican Party	V45 274-276 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q61
62.	The Democratic Party	V47 277-279 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q62
63.	Liberals	V51 280-282 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q63
64.	Conservatives	V51 282-285 (RECORD NUMBER)	Don't know. .998 Refused/NA. .999	Q64

3804072061 0

Ronald Reagan is serving his second term as President and cannot run for a third term.

65. Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

66. Which one would you choose second? (RANDOMIZE)

V52-V54

		286 Q.65 First Mention	287 Q.66 Second Mention
a.	Conservative	1	1
b.	Respected by foreign leaders	2	2
c.	Is in government now	3	3
d.	Has worked with Ronald Reagan	4	4
e.	Has held a variety of government positions	5	5
	None	6	
	No second mention		7
	Don't know	8	8
	Refused/NA	9	9

---

67. I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below)
The second (read below)
The third (read below)
And the fourth (read below)

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	.1
b.	Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	.2
c.	Is a fighter for making major changes in government	.3
d.	Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	.4
	None (VOLUNTEERED). . (GO TO Q.69)	.5
	Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.69)	.8
	Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.69)	.9

067 288

289-290 81F

(IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:)

68. Which one would you choose second?

(REPEAT IF NECESSARY/RANDOMIZE)

a.	Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	.1
b.	Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	.2
c.	Is a fighter for making major changes in government	.3
d.	Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	.4
	No second choice.	.5
	Don't know.	.8
	Refused/NA.	.9

068 291

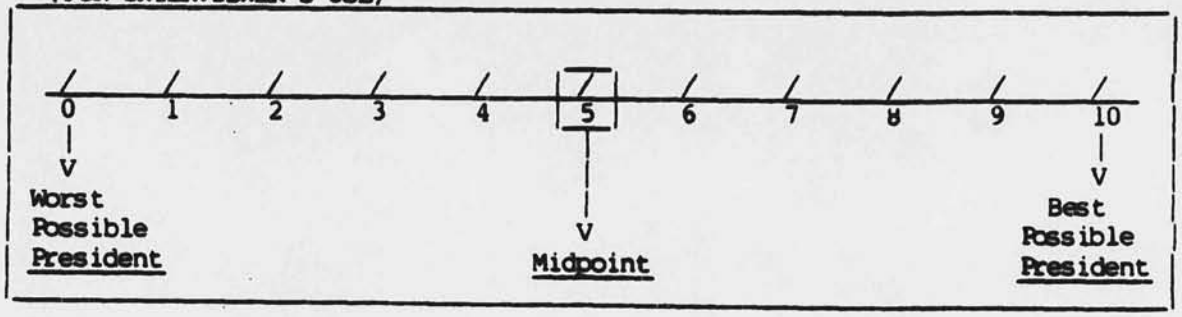
8804072061 1

Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

If you don't know the person just tell me.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE)

69. George Bush _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99
V55 293-293 Q69

70. Jack Kemp _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99
V56 294-295 Q70

71. Ted Kennedy _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99
V57 296-297 Q71

72. Gary Hart _____ (RECORD NUMBER)
Don't know. 98
Refused/NA. 99
V58 298-299 Q72

8304072061 2

73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?

- Republican. 2
- Democratic. (GO TO Q.77). 1
- Neither one (GO TO Q.78). 3
- Don't know. (GO TO Q.78). 8
- Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78). 9

300 Q73

74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 1
- b. Bob Dole. . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 2
- c. Howard Baker. . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 3
- d. Jack Kemp . . . . . (GO TO Q.75). . 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick . (GO TO Q.75). . 5
- Don't know. . . . . N
- Refused/NA. . . . . N

301 Q74

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

- a. George Bush 1
- b. Bob Dole. 2
- c. Howard Baker. 3
- d. Jack Kemp 4
- e. Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 8
- Refused/NA. . . . . (GO TO Q.78). . 9

75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)

- George Bush 1
- Bob Dole. 2
- Howard Baker. 3
- Jack Kemp 4
- Jeane Kirkpatrick 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

302 Q75

(GO TO Q.78)

(Q.76 Not asked)

2804072061 3

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
— Don't know. . . . . N
|— Refused/NA. . . . . N
V

303 Q77

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

a. Ted Kennedy 1
b. Gary Hart 2
c. Mario Cuomo 3
d. Lee Iacocca 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(RANDOMIZE RACES/ROTATE NAMES)

78. George Bush, Republican (2) Ted Kennedy, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

304 Q78

79. George Bush, Republican (2) Gary Hart, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

305 Q79

80. George Bush, Republican (2) Lee Iacocca, Democrat (1)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

306 Q80

3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 6 1 4

HALF SAMPLE A

Thinking about George Bush for a moment. . .

A81 . From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ81 M1 421-422
AQ81 M2 423-424
AQ81 M3 425-426
AQ81 M4 427-428
AQ81 M5 429-430

V59-V64

A82 . Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

AQ82 M1 431-432
AQ82 M2 433-434
AQ82 M3 435-436
AQ82 M4 437-438
AQ82 M5 439-440

V65-V70

a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR NOTHING, ASK:) Is there anything at all about George Bush that concerns or bothers you? (What?)

8804072005

HALF SAMPLE B

Coding

B81 . If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

41-50

BQ81bM1	441-442
BQ81bM2	443-444
BQ81bM3	445-446
BQ81bM4	447-448
BQ81bM5	449-450

V71-V76

01-50
95
96
99
77

---

82 What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

BQ82 M1	451-452
BQ82 M2	453-454
BQ82 M3	455-456
BQ82 M4	457-458
BQ82 M5	459-460

V77-V82

3804072065

I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

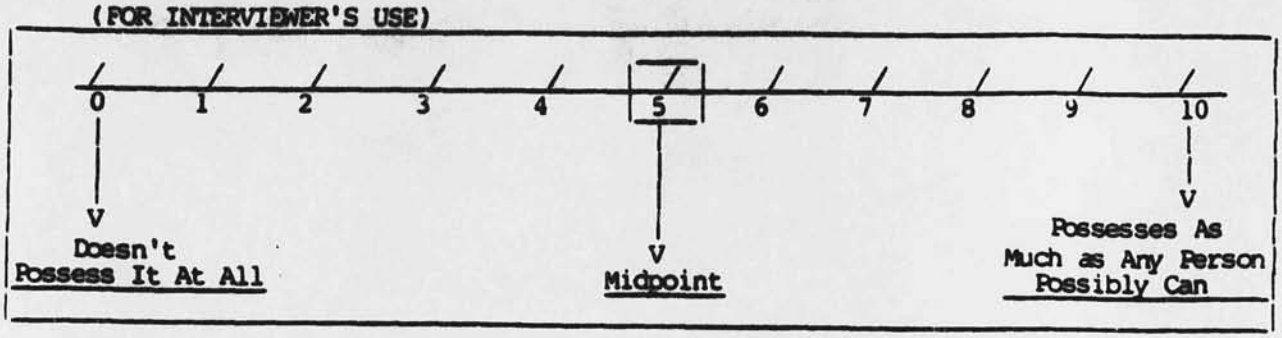
	(RANDOMIZE)	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
83.	Our relations with the Soviet Union	3	2	1	8	9	307 Q83
84.	The federal budget deficit	3	2	1	8	9	308 Q84
85.	Taxes	3	2	1	8	9	309 Q85
86.	Abortion	3	2	1	8	9	310 Q86
87.	Policies concerning minorities	3	2	1	8	9	311 Q87
88.	Women's rights	3	2	1	8	9	312 Q88
89.	National economic policy	3	2	1	8	9	313 Q89

3804072061 7

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as <u>any</u> person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

<u>TRUSTWORTHINESS</u>

90. Ronald Reagan _____ (V83) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 (314-315) [090]

91. George Bush _____ (V84) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99 (316-317) [091]

92. Ted Kennedy _____ (V85) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 (318-319) [092]

<u>CONCERN</u> (320=BLK)

93. Ronald Reagan _____ (V86) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 (321-322) [093]

94. George Bush _____ (V87) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. 98 Refused/NA. . 99 (323-324) [094]

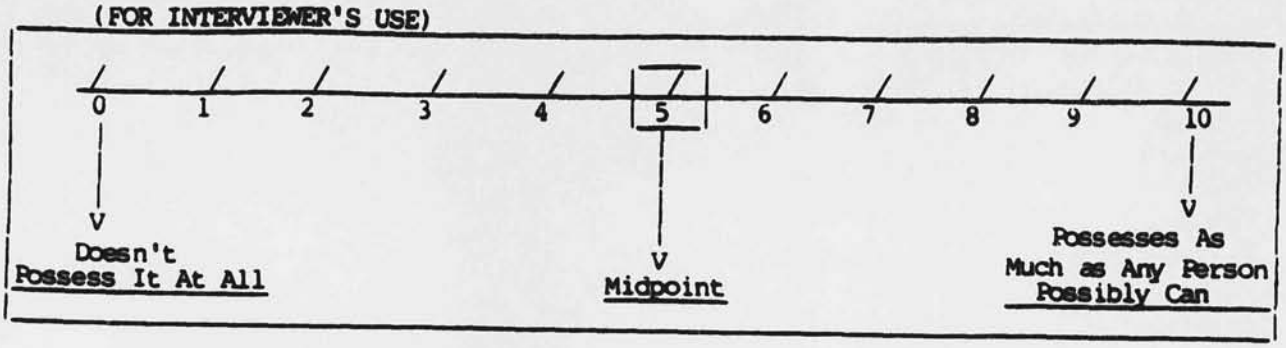
95. Ted Kennedy _____ (V88) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 (325-326) [095]

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

8304072061 8

(CONTINUED)

(FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE)



(RANDOMIZE TRAITS/ROTATE NAMES WITHIN EACH TRAIT)

(WRITE IN NUMBER OR CIRCLE 98 OR 99: DO NOT USE FRACTIONS)

LEADERSHIP

96. Ronald Reagan _____ (V89) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 327-328 Q96

97. George Bush _____ (V90) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 329-330 Q97

98. Ted Kennedy _____ (V91) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 331-332 Q98

COMPETENCE

99. Ronald Reagan _____ (V92) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 333-334 Q99

100. George Bush _____ (V93) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 335-336 Q100

101. Ted Kennedy _____ (V94) (RECORD NUMBER) Don't know. . 98 Refused/NA. . 99 337-338 Q101

8304072061 9

102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

339 Q102

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

340 Q103

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104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?

Extremely liberal 1
Fairly liberal. 2
Slightly liberal. 3
Moderate. 4
Slightly conservative 5
Fairly conservative 6
Extremely conservative. 7
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

341 Q104

---

9 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 6 2 0

Now I'd like to ask you something a little different. . .

I want you to picture in your mind the following normal servings of three beverages -- (READ SLOWLY AND ROTATE: a 12 ounce glass of beer; a 5 ounce glass of wine; a 1-1/4 ounce glass of liquor). Now, I would like to ask you some questions comparing the three servings of these beverages.

105. First, do (ROTATE: 12 ounces of beer, 5 ounces of wine, and 1-1/4 ounces of liquor) — have (ROTATE: the same amount of alcohol or different amounts of alcohol)?

Same amount 2
Different amounts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

342 0105

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106. Do (ROTATE: 12 ounces of beer, 5 ounces of wine, and 1-1/4 ounces of liquor) — have (ROTATE: the same amount of calories or different amounts of calories)?

Same amount 2
Different amounts 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

343 0106

---

107. Do (ROTATE: 12 ounces of beer, 5 ounces of wine, and 1-1/4 ounces of liquor) — have (ROTATE: the same effect or different effects)?

Same effect. 2
Different effect 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

344 0107

---

108. In the last few weeks, have you seen a newspaper advertisement featuring a picture of a glass of beer, a glass of wine, and a glass of liquor with "equal" signs between the glasses? The headline says, "What you can learn from Reader's Digest that you can't learn from NBC." The ad describes "the facts about alcohol equivalence" and is sponsored by the House of Seagram. Have you seen this newspaper advertisement?

Yes 2
No. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

345 0108

3804072062 1

On another topic. . .

109. When you think of legalized gambling and casinos, what is the first place that comes to mind? (ASK AS OPEN END — RECORD FIRST MENTION ONLY)

- Las Vegas 01
- Atlantic City 02
- Reno. 03
- Lake Tahoe. 04
- The Bahamas 05
- Monaco. 06
- Puerto Rico 07
- Other 08
- Don't know. 98
- Refused/NA. 99

V95 346-347 Q109M1

110. Have you visited a place during the last two years that has legalized gambling? —

- Yes 2
- No. 1
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

348 Q110

V

111. Which places? (MULTIPLE MENTIONS ALLOWED) —

V96-V101

- Las Vegas 01
- Atlantic City (GO TO Q.114) 02
- Reno. . . . . (GO TO Q.114) 03
- Lake Tahoe. . (GO TO Q.114) 04
- The Bahamas . (GO TO Q.114) 05
- Monaco. . . . (GO TO Q.114) 06
- Puerto Rico . (GO TO Q.114) 07
- Other . . . . (GO TO Q.114) 08
- Don't know. . (GO TO Q.114) 98
- Refused/NA. . (GO TO Q.114) 99

Q111M1 Q111M2 Q111M3 Q111M4 Q111M5 349-350 351-352 353-354 355-356 357-358

V

112. Did you go for a vacation, a meeting or convention, or both?

- Vacation. 1
- Meeting/Convention. 2
- Both. 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

Q112 359

113. DId you gamble while you were there?

- Yes 2
- No. 1
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

360 Q113

8804072062

I'm going to read you some statements. Please respond to each using a five-point scale, where one means you strongly disagree and five means you strongly agree.

(RANDOMIZE)	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
114. Compared to other resorts, Las Vegas is a good bargain.	5	4	3 (361)	2	1	8	9	Q114
115. Las Vegas is an entertainment capitol.	5	4	3 (362)	2	1	8	9	Q115
116. Las Vegas is a safe place to visit.	5	4	3 (363)	2	1	8	9	Q116
117. Las Vegas is an exciting place to visit.	5	4	3 (364)	2	1	8	9	Q117
118. Las Vegas is the American way to play.	5	4	3 (365)	2	1	8	9	Q118
119. Las Vegas is a great place to have meetings and conventions.	5	4	3 (366)	2	1	8	9	Q119

120. Would you consider going to Las Vegas in the future?

- Yes 2
- No. 1
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

(367) Q120

121. Why not? (MULTIPLE MENTIONS ALLOWED)

- Distance. 1
- Religious reasons 2
- Too expensive 3
- Unfriendly/Lack of courtesy 4
- Too hot in Las Vegas. 5
- Difficult to get to by air/Air service 6
- Other _____ 7 (SPECIFY)
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

V102-V107

Q121M1 (368)
Q121M2 (369)
Q121M3 (370)
Q121M4 (371)
Q121M5 (372)

Demo @ 373-374: SEE P.29 (occup.)
375: SEE P. 31 (Go church)
376: SEE QE
377 SEE QF
378-400 BLK

3804072062

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

PARTYID (51)

- Republican. 1
- Democrat. 2
- Independent 3
- No preference 4
- Other 5
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

STRENGTH (52)

- Strong. 1
- Not very strong 2
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

LEAN (53)

- Republican. 1
- Democratic. 2
- Neither 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused 9

c. Why do you think of yourself as a (Republican/Democrat)? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Coding

V108 461-462 463-464 465-466 467-468 469-470 V113

471-480: BLK

d. Why do you think of yourself as closer to the (Republican/Democratic) party? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Dina

e. Have you always thought of yourself as a (Republican/Democrat) or is this a recent thing for you?

QE (376)

- Always. 1
- In-between (VOLUNTEERED). . . . 2
- Recent. 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

f. Have you always thought of yourself as closer to the (Republican/Democratic) party or is this a recent thing for you?

QF (377)

- Always. 1
- In-between (VOLUNTEERED) 2
- Recent. 3
- Don't know. 8
- Refused/NA. 9

SPECIAL VARIABLE: SPECIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE — PARTY ID INDEX/NORMAL VOTE (53) (V5) (54-56)

D2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

(V6)

Straight Democratic	.01
Mostly Democratic	.02
A few more Democrats than Republicans	.03
About equally for both parties	.04
A few more Republicans than Democrats	.05
Mostly Republican	.06
Straight Republican	.07
Other _____ (SPECIFY)	08
Never voted	.09
Don't know	.98
Refused/NA	.99

VOTETYPE 57-58

D3. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

Yes	2
No	1
Registered elsewhere	3
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

REGISTER 59

3304072062

SPECIAL VARIABLE — TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68 (V7)

SPECIAL VARIABLE — COLLAPSED TURNOUT 69-72 (V8)

74-76=EXTRA
77=JOB ID
78-80 JOB NO

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10)

18-24 years 15
25-29 years 20
30-34 years 25
35-39 years 30
40-44 years 35
45-49 years 40
50-54 years 45
55-59 years 50
60-64 years 55
65-74 years 60
75 and over 65
Refused 99

AGE 85-86

D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8). . 1
Some high school (Grade 9-11) . . . 2
Graduated high school 3
Vocational school/Technical School. 4
Some college - 2 years or less. . . 5
Some college - more than 2 years. . 6
Graduated college 7
Post-graduate work. 8
Refused 9

EDOFR 87

D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Employed and working full-time. . . 1
Employed and working part-time. . . 2
Unemployed. 3
Retired 4
Housewife 5

Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED). 6

Other _____ 7
(SPECIFY)
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

WORKING 89

3804072065226

D11. What is your present marital status?

- Single 1
- Married 2
- Divorced 3
- Separated 4
- Widow/Widower 5
- Don't know 8
- Refused/NA 9

MARITAL (92)

D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- Employed and working full-time . . . 1
- Employed and working part-time . . . 2
- Unemployed 3
- Retired 4
- Housewife 5
- Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED) . 6
- Other _____ (SPECIFY) 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused/NA 9

SPOWORK (93)

*

D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?

- Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant) 01
- Self-employed 02
- Retired 03
- Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA) .04
- Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist) 05
- Executive (corporate officer) . . .06
- Homemaker 07
- Services (nurse, police, military) .08
- Hourly worker (laborer, typist) . .09
- Student 10
- Education (teacher, counselor) . . .11
- Other 12
- Don't know 98
- Refused/NA 99

NEWOCCUP

373-374

V114

D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?

- Respondent 1
- Other member of household 2
- Both 3
- None 4
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

FARM (100)

8804072062 7

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?

Respondent	1
Other member of household	2
Both	3
None	4
Don't know	8
Refused	9

HEW 103

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	RES 104 Respondent	OTHERM 106 Other Member
Labor union	1	1
Teachers' association	2	2
No	3	3
Refused/Single member household	9	9

105 BAL 107 BAL

880407206 2E

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

- Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) 1
- Roman Catholic 2
- Jewish 3
- Other Christian 4
- Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified 5
- Agnostic/Atheist 6
- None 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

RELIGION (110)

V

D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)

- Every week 5
- Almost every week 4
- Once or twice a month 3
- A few times a year 2
- Never 1
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

Go Church (375)

D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

- Under $10,000 0
- $10,000-$15,000 (14,999) 1
- $15,000-$20,000 (19,999) 2
- $20,000-$25,000 (24,999) 3
- $25,000-$30,000 (29,999) 4
- $30,000-$40,000 (39,999) 5
- $40,000-$50,000 (49,999) 6
- $50,000 and over 7
- Don't know 8
- Refused 9

INCOME (119)

D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano 3
- Oriental 4
- American Indian 5
- Other 6
- Not ascertained 9

RACE (120)

8804072065225

D27. Lastly, what is your zip code please? ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ZIP
(V16) (121-125)

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male . . . . . .1 SEX
Female 2 (126)

8804072063C

SPECIAL VARIABLE: STATUS GROUPS/HISTORICAL TRACER GROUPS
(127) / (128)

SPECIAL VARIABLE: PARTY INDEX/CANDIDATE INDEX/TARGET GROUP
(V17) (129-130) /(V18) (131-132)/ (133)

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTENT = (134)

SPECIAL VARIABLE: INTEREST = (135)

Ques Column.

3 - 11
A81 - 21
A82 - 31
B81 - 41
B82 - 51
D.C+d - 61

8804072063 1

A [illegible]

Ques 3.

42 Minorities / Minority leaders should be more involved / Problems with minorities
43 Housing / Need more housing / Build more housing —
44 Cut salaries in government / Top heads get paid too much / Cut presidents salary —
45 Women's rights / Back equality of gender.

Ques A81

19 works for country / Loyal to country —
41 He's from Texas / From my home state.
42 Terrorism / Might handle terrorist situation better.
43 Not too conservative / More moderate than most Republicans.

Ques A82.

42 Not conservative enough / Not a conservative / Too liberal.

Ques B81

28. For the poor / Sensitive to needs of poor
29. Get us out of wars / Not a war monger
30. Farmers / Work on farm policy.
31 Stand on abortion / Follow Reagan on abortion.

3804072063a

B 82.

37. Environmental problems - has no experience/ Not enough attention to air & water problems

D 1 dem.

21 Pro-abortion / Pro choice issues
22 Believe in E.R.A. / Equal rights for women.
23 Like the Kennedy is needed help. Ted Kennedy. and got it from Senator Kennedy

53 Don't like Reagan / Republicans are for Reagan
54 Don't like Republicans.
55 Republicans are for big business.

D 1 Rep.

18 Defense stance / Defense / More for the military
19 Tax reduction / Ideas on reduction in taxes (Tax reform)
20 Don't like Unions (Against unions)
21 Stand on defense spending / Military spending
22 Stance on abortion
23 For the poor
24 Prayer in school issue
25 Minorities / Views on minority rights

53 Don't like Democrats / Don't like people in the Democratic Party / Don't like Democratic selection for president

8804072063

* U.S. National #2 Omnibus Study Job #P85040
Question 3: What kinds of changes do you think need to be made?

01 No one in office more than six years/
Let legislature run for 1 term not 2

02 Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/
Change in government officials/Different officials/
Change the people in office

03 More honesty in politics/People in office need
better moral values/Reduce corruption in government

04 Our political system/Need a new system/
Not a well-balanced system

05 Changes in government should be by the people/
They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/
Popular vote instead of electoral vote

06 The way they run Congress/The Administration/
Relationship between Congress and the President

07 The President/Need a new president/
Need a different president/Replace the President

08 Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern
for the poor/Underprivileged citizens need help/
Concern for the homeless

09 Not enough for the middle class/More needs to be done
for middle and lower class

10 More concern for the people/Think more about the people
in the country/Start looking out for people in this
country/Interaction with people instead of issues

11 Domestic problems/Domestic policy

12 Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social
Security should still be given/Taking money from Social
Security/Not fair to older people - Social Security

13 Hold down inflation/Prices are too high

14 Income taxes/Make income tax more fair/
Make federal income tax more equitable

15 Taxes are too high/Reduce taxes/Taxes need to be lowered

16 Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/
Tax structure/Need fair taxation/
Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked

17 Be fairer to the middle class paying taxes/
Taxes are hurting working people

8804072063 4

18 The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/
Get our spending under control/
Deficit spending/Cut spending/Spending less money

19 Better education/Should do something for schools

20 Bring prayer into schools/Need to put God back in schools

21 Need Christians in government/Need to turn more to God/
People need to be more in tune with God's direction

22 The judicial system needs to be changed/
Supreme Court overhaul

23 Need changes in criminal law/
System of paroling convicts is bad/Crime

24 The Arms Talks/Stop the "Star Wars" talk/
Should keep publicity about "Star Wars" secret

25 Nuclear situation/Arms race/Nuclear war race

26 The military/Defense/Warfare

27 Less defense/Less money on defense/
Less spending on the military/
Military budget should be trimmed

28 Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/
Knock out all imports/Stop foreign imports/
Too many imports/Importing too much/Should buy more American

29 Tax foreign products/Higher tariffs on imports & exports

30 Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/
Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/
Take care of ourselves instead of other countries

31 Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/
Our relationship with other countries

32 Get tougher with Russia/Situation with Soviet Union/
Communism

33 Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/
More jobs

34 The economy/New economic policies

35 Should take a tougher stand on terrorism/
Hostages being taken care of

8804072063

Question 3: What kinds of changes do you think need to be made?

36 Strict rule for aliens/Send refugees back/
Send foreigners out of here

37 Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers

38 Dealing with welfare/Welfare cheats should be caught

39 Medicare/Health system/Medical research

40 Senior Citizens/Seniors need help/Concern for the aged/
Keeping programs for the elderly going/
Consideration for the elderly

41 Too much government/Too much bureaucracy

42 Minorities/Minority leaders should be more involved/
Problems with minorities

43 Housing/Need more housing/Build more housing

44 Cut salaries in government/Top heads of government get paid too much/Cut the President's salary

45 Women's rights/Back equality of gender

96 All other miscellaneous responses

98 Don't know

99 Refused/No answer

3304072063t

Question A81: What are some of the things you like most about George Bush?

	01	Like candidate/Nice
	02	Good person/Fine
	03	Alright/Okay/Doing a good job
	04	Trying/Does his best
	05	Hard worker/Works hard at job
*	06	Honest/Integrity/Sincere/Fair
**	07	Intelligent/Sharp/Educated
**	08	Responsible/Dependable/Conscientious
**	09	Well-informed/Knowledgeable
**	10	Articulate/Talks well
**	11	Experience/Background/Qualified
**	12	Respectable/Respectable person
***	13	Aggressive/Go-getter
***	14	Energetic/Energy/Active
***	15	Straightforward/Forthright/Outspoken
***	16	Gets things done/Competent
****	17	Public servant/For the people
****	18	Concerned/Compassionate/Thoughtful
****	19	Works for the country/Loyal to the country
****	20	Loyal/Dedicated
*****	21	Personable/Personality/Likeable/Charismatic
*****	22	Friendly/Outgoing/Congenial
*****	23	Down-to-earth
	24	Firm person/Willing to take a stand/Takes a firm stand/ Consistent
	25	For minorities/Helps minorities/Dealing with Hispanics
	26	Holds down spending

3804072063 7

Question A81: What are some of the things you like best about George Bush?

27 Issues/Views/Polices/Philosophies

28 Foreign affairs/Foreign policies/Foreign relations

29 Republican

30 Conservative

31 Vice-president

32 Leadership quality/Strong leader

33 Reagan's man/Works with Reagan/Follows Reagan's policies/Philosophies

34 Was an ex-member of the C.I.A./Central Intelligence Agency director/Former C.I.A. agent

35 Cool/Calm and collected/Very calm/Calm and composed

36 Handles the deficit well

37 Would make a good President/Would make a strong President

38 Held a variety of government positions (unsp)

39 He is a diplomat/Diplomatic

40 Decisive/He's decisive/Determined

41 He's from Texas/From my home state

42 Terrorism/Might handle terrorist situation better

43 Not too conservative/More moderate than most Republicans

94 Everything/Like everything about him

95 All other issue related responses

96 All other miscellaneous responses

97 None/Nothing

98 Don't know/Don't know him

99 Refused/No answer

8804072063t

Question A81: What are [redacted]e of the things you like [redacted]st about George Bush?

Combined responses

* Trustworthy

** Competent

*** Strong

**** Concerned

***** Personable

3804072063S

Question A82 & A82a: What are some of the things you don't like about George Bush?

	01	Does not do job/Has not done job
*	02	Not honest/Sincere/Untrustworthy
*	03	Does not keep promises/Does not keep word
*	04	Political/Politics - cheap/Political tactics/ Typical politician
**	05	No experience/Lack of experience
	06	His speaking voice/Way he comes across
	07	Weak/Spineless
***	08	Says one thing does another/Contradicts himself/ Not consistent/Wishy-washy
***	09	Talks too much/Too much talking/Talks, no action/ Puts his foot in his mouth
***	10	Not outspoken/Does not take a stand
***	11	Not getting anything done/Has not done much/ Takes time doing things
	12	Doesn't care about he people/Cares about no one
	13	Voting record/Way he votes
	14	Ideas/Views/Policies/Issues
	15	Spends too much money/Spends foolishly
	16	Does not keep in touch with the people/Does not communicate/Does not inform the people/Don't see him much
	17	Low profile/In the background/Not in the limelight/ Needs more experience
	18	Republican
	19	More moderate
	20	Giveaway program - too much welfare
	21	Too much for big business
	22	Too many junkets/Trips at taxpayers expense
	23	Views on labor/Pro-labor union

8804072064C

Question A82 & A82a: What are some of the things you don't like about George Bush?

24 Abortion stand

25 Does nothing on taxes/Taxes should be lowered

26 Obnoxious/Superior attitude/Arrogant/Pushy

27 View on foreign policy/Should not be involved in other countries

28 Doesn't stand with Reagan

29 Rubber stamp for Reagan/Second hand man

30 Conservative

31 He's a "yes" man

32 Lacks leadership qualities

33 Not Presidential material/Not qualified as presidential candidate

34 Was an ex-member of the Central Intelligence Agency/ Former C.I.A. director

35 His personality

36 For the rich

37 His performance in the debates/Came across poorly in the debates

38 Not aggressive enough/Not forceful

39 His wife/Don't like his wife

40 Tri-lateral Commission/Belongs to the Tri-lateral Commission

41 Too easily swayed/Crowd follower

42 Not conservative enough/Not a conservative/Too liberal

94 Everything

95 All other issue related responses

96 All other miscellaneous responses

97 None/Nothing

8804072064 1

Question A82 & A82a: What are some of the things you don't like about George Bush?

98 Don't know/Don't know him

99 Refused/No answer

Combined responses - negative

* Untrustworthy

** Incompetent

*** Weak

**** Not concerned

***** Not personable

2804072064

Question B81: If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

01 Economy/Economics/Economic growth/Get economy moving

02 Unemployment/Jobs

03 Businesses/Getting industry back on its feet

04 Work to lower taxes/Reforming taxes/Help taxes - poor pay less and rich pay more

05 National deficit/Reduce federal budget deficit/ Budget/Balance the budget deficit

06 Government spending/Federal spending - reduce it/ Bringing down government spending/Cutting waste in government spending/Financial things

07 Military spending/Defense spending

08 Defense/National defense/Defense of our nation/ Security - military/Enforce the military/ Our military position/Strengthening the military

09 Foreign policy/Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/ International affairs/Negotiations with foreign countries/Experienced in foreign affairs

10 Ex-CIA administrator - would do good/ CIA covert activities

11 Diplomacy - could negotiate in sticky situations because of quietness/Protocol - he is a diplomat

12 Help relations with Soviets and improve working relations with them/Good meeting with Russians

13 Help nuclear disarmament/Nuclear arms/ Working out a nuclear arms control

14 Foreign trade/Foreign imports - get the trade going better/ Straighten out foreign trade/Trade deficit/ Trade with China and India

15 Terrorists/Terrorists in foreign countries/Dealing with terrorists/Hostage situations/Won't cater to extremists as much

16 Carrying out some of the principles Reagan has instituted/ Follows Reagan well/Continue to do what Reagan has done

17 Welfare program/Not give away money to everyone/ Welfare is a priority program

8804072064

Question B81: If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

18 Social Security/Social Security programs for the elderly

19 Domestic affairs/Handle domestic policy better than Reagan

20 Education system/Education is in priority

21 Good job on the drug task force in Florida/ Narcotic contraband

22 Labor problems/On labor

23 Administration management/Competent administration for Bureaucracy cutting/Organization/Government as a whole, would be a better leader/More experience

24 Dealing with people/Could handle people in politics

25 Speaks well/Debate - would draw well from other peoples' weaknesses

26 Public relations/Relations with the media

27 Parties - social engagements/White house parties/ Barbecuing out on the Rose Garden lawn

28 For the poor/Sensitive to need of poor

29 Get us out of wars/Not a war monger

30 Farmers/Work on farm policy

31 Stand on abortion/Follows Reagan on abortion

95 Everything/Entire office

96 All other miscellaneous responses

97 Nothing/Don't think he does well/Won't handle anything well

98 Don't know

99 Refused/No answer

8804072064

Question B82: What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

01 Economy/Economics/Doesn't get publicity on economics/ Everyone promises to get the economy in order

02 Unemployment/Jobs - not getting jobs/Employment

03 Deficit/Budget deficit/Reducing the deficit/National debt/ Not enough of an economist to help the deficit/ Reduce deficit spending/Financial affairs

04 Defense/Military/National defense/Defense system/ Concerns about disarmament/Would reduce the military

05 Defense spending

06 Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/Foreign policy/ Foreign policy, detrimental to certain sides

07 Relations with the 3rd World; Africa, Middle East/ Appear snobbish to 3rd World, Central America and Mid-east

08 Relations with the Soviet Union/Russia

09 Foreign relations with communist countries/Handling the communists/Relations with China

10 Foreign trade/Trade policy

11 Working with farmers/Farming/Lack of concern for farmers

12 Taxes/Changing the tax reform laws

13 Labor unions/Anti-union/Labor relations

14 Education/State education/Aid to education Public schools

15 Not helping middle class/Middle classes

16 Concerns about the poor/Lack of concern for the poor/Care of our poor/The lower classes/Caught short in handling elementary human rights of the poor

17 Welfare/Treatment of welfare people/The whole country - welfare

18 Women's rights/Women's issues

19 Civil rights/Equal opportunity/Affirmative action

20 Social Security/Cuts in Social Security

3804072064

Question B82: What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

21 Food stamps/Food stamps - give to people that don't need it

22 Leadership/Don't know if he could lead/Being a leader

23 Lack of ability to work with Congress/Would not stand up to Congress/Relations with Congress/Doesn't have the personality to handle Congress that Reagan has

24 The government - don't think he should be president/ The internal government/Anything involving the executive branch of the White House/Not capable

25 Domestic affairs/Domestic problems in general (unsp)

26 Not strong enough/Does not have strong image/ Not strong enough personality to stand up for what he believes/Not sure he would take a strong stand/Not a strong person, not forceful

27 Abortion, seems to put it down in his speeches/ Human rights - abortion

28 Public image, speaking ability, motivation lacking/ Not making progress, doesn't show for the public/ Public personality, doesn't come across on television well

29 Personality might not come across as good as it should/ He'd stumble along, not an outstanding president

30 Hopes that emotions don't take over for common sense/ Might fly off the handle in diplomacy, could Bush hold his temper

31 Work too much like Reagan/Make things worse like Reagan is doing now/Follows too much like Reagan

32 Terrorism/Too lenient - ex-hostage situation

33 Star Wars/Star wars project

34 Social services/Social issues

35 Concern for minorities/Working with minorities

36 Will spend more money/Would be spending more

37 Environmental problems - has no experience/Not enough attention to air and water problems

95 Everything/Will do everything wrong

9804072064E

Question B82: What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

96 All other miscellaneous responses

97 No, wouldn't do a bad job on anything/Would do a fine job

98 Don't know

99 Refused/No answer

880407206647

Question D1: Why do you think of yourself as a Republican?

01 Republicans are good for the country/Ran the country well in the past/They're leading us in the right direction/Better when in Republicans are in office

02 Like their views on jobs/Have more working people at this time

03 Because of business/Ideas about business/ I was in business - agree with their views

04 Economic policies/Better grip on economics/ Their economic changes

05 Against welfare/They believe people should work for what they get/Every man should take care of himself - no handouts

06 Republicans hold on to money/They manage money

07 I agree with free trade/Better grip on trade

08 I voted for Reagan

09 Ronald Reagan/In favor of Ronald Reagan/I like Reagan/ I believe in Reagan/I like our President

10 Ronald Reagan is doing a good job/Like what Reagan is doing/Agree with what Reagan says

11 Like the candidates/The people on the Republican side/The people I like are Republican/Like the Republicans/Like the people in the party

12 Like the job that they do/Because of the past performance of the party

13 Lean more toward the Republican policy/ Approve of their policies/Policies are great/ Their views are closer to mine

14 I vote Republican/Vote more for Republicans than Democrats/My voter's registration/ Registered Republican

15 I'm conservative/More conservative/I have conservative beliefs/They are more conservative/ Being Republican is more conservative

16 A family tradition/Family background/ Parents are Republicans/I've been one all my life/ Was raised that way

8804072064E

Question D1: Why do you think of yourself as a Republican?

17 Just according to who's running/Like the people rather than the party/The man is the most important thing/Strongly agree with the candidates

18 Defense stance/Defense/More for the military

19 Tax reduction/Ideas on reduction in taxes

20 Don't like unions/Against unions

21 Stand on defense spending/Military spending

22 Stance on abortion

23 For the poor

24 Prayer in school issue

25 Minorities/Views on minority rights

50 Jimmy Carter didn't do such a good/Because of Jimmy Carter

51 Democrats have been big spenders lately/ Democrats caused the deficit

52 Democrats are too liberal

53 Don't like Democrats/Don't like people in the Democratic party/Didn't like selection for President

93 All other issue responses

94 All other miscellaneous responses

95 All other Reagan responses

96 All other negative Democrat responses

98 Don't know

99 Refused/No answer

8304072065

Question D1: Why do you think of yourself as a Democrat?

01 It's a good party to be in/
It's something to be proud of

02 Democrats are for the working people/
I'm a poor working stiff/I'm a working middle class man/
Working man/I'm a blue collar worker

03 Like the way they run welfare/
They believe in giveaway programs for the needy

04 Usually like the Democrats/Like them/
Most of my heros are Democrats

05 Candidates I usually pick are Democrats/
Usually like the Democratic person who's running/
Candidates are down-to-earth

06 Make better leaders/
Better when Democrats are in power

07 Majority of the presidents have been Democrats/
All Democratic presidents have been good

08 Agree with Democratic issues/I believe in the
way they believe/Ideals are the same as mine/
Like what they stand for

09 Registered as a Democrat/I vote Democrat/
Always voted for Democrats/

10 I tend to be liberal/I'm more liberal than conservative/
Like their liberal policies/Liberal is good

11 Family is Democratic/Family members/Family background/
Runs in the family/Family heritage/
It's the way I was brought up

12 Everyone around me is one/Because I live in Chicago

13 Union member/Believe in the labor movement/
Party standings concerning labor unions

14 More for the public/For the people/We are for the people/
Platform is geared toward all people, not just the rich/
Help the average citizen

15 Democrats stand up for the poor/
Democrats are more for poor people/
Democrats are more for the poor class/

16 More for the lower class/
Their concern for the little guy

8804072065C

Question D1: Why do you think of yourself as a Democrat?

17 No bread lines when Democrats were in office/ Came through the depression

18 Issues on minorities/Supportive of minorities

19 Social reform/Agree with their social economic views

20 More open-minded/Would like the country to be more open and free

21 Pro-abortion/Pro-choice issues

22 Believe in E.R.A./Equal rights for women

23 Like the Kennedy's/Ted Kennedy/Needed help and got it from Senator Kennedy

50 Republicans are more for money/ Republicans are only for rich people

52 Republicans are too conservative

53 Don't like Reagan/Republicans are for Reagan

54 Don't like Republicans

55 Republicans are for big business

93 All other issue responses

94 All other miscellaneous responses

95 All other negative Reagan responses

96 All other negative Republican responses

98 Don't know

99 Refused/No answer

3804072065 1

1174EITV 2321 "A81 " 96:Good family man
1653EITV 2321 "A81 19" 96:Loyal to country
1696EITV 2522 "A81 41" 96:He's a Texan
1651EITV 3321 "A82 26" 96:Could be very caustic
1689EITV 3321 "A82 " 96:Narrow minded
2309EITV 1522 "03 " 96:Roads
2334EITV 1522 "03 43" 96:Build more housing
2412EITV 1522 "03 " 96:Don't agree the Parochial should have tax break
1181EITV 6522 "1DcdDem " 93:More for education
1660EITV 6321 "1DcdDe53" 95:What Reagan has done to the country
2322EITV 6321 "1DcdDem " 93:More conservative for peace
2402EITV 6321 "1DcdDe54" 96:Disagree with Republican
2420EITV 6522 "1DcdDem " 95:Concerned with environment
2420EITV 6723 "1DcdDem " 95:Concerned with education
1173EITV 6321 "1DcdRe53" 96:Don't like Democrates
1175EITV 6723 "1DcdRe18" 93:Stance on taxes
1175EITV 6522 "1DcdRe18" 93:Stance on defense
1651EITV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:Supports the farm area
1665EITV 6321 "1DcdRe53" 96:Don't like the people in Democratic party
1676EITV 6723 "1DcdRe18" 93:Agree with military defense issues
2319EITV 6321 "1DcdRe12" 94:They get the job done
2321EITV 6522 "1DcdRe21" 93:Views on spending on military
2334EITV 6321 "1DcdRe23" 93:They are for poor people
2344EITV 6723 "1DcdRe18" 93:Need a strong defense
2439EITV 6723 "1DcdRe24" 93:Prayer in school
2439EITV 6924 "1DcdRe22" 93:Abortion
2312EITV 4321 "81B " 96:Racial problems
2406EITV 4321 "81B 29" 96:Get us out of wars
2412EITV 4321 "81B " 96:Probably do good job
2436EITV 4321 "81B " 96:Fighter
2439EITV 4522 "81B " 96:School prayer
2439EITV 4723 "81B 31" 96:Abortion
2303EITV 5321 "82B " 96:Farmers
2420EITV 5321 "82B " 96:Hasn't common sense

1321JECV 2321 "A81 43" 96:He is more moderate than many other Republicans
1330JECV 2522 "A81 " 96:He is not a phony
1330JECV 2321 "A81 42" 95:He might handle a terrorist situation better than Pr
1322JECV 3522 "A82 01" 96:Don't like him as Vice-President
1329JECV 3723 "A82 " 96:He is a Texas person
1329JECV 3924 "A82 " 96:He has an oil background

2469JECV 1522 "03 " 96:Stronger laws on air pollution
1306JECV 6321 "1DcdDe53" 96:Because of the present leadership
1314JECV 6321 "1DcdDem " 96:Republicans are into a lot of backing of big industr
2251JECV 6321 "1DcdDem " 93:Agree with the way they cut taxes
2251JECV 6522 "1DcdDem " 93:Agree with their views on military spending
2462JECV 6522 "1DcdDe22" 94:Position on women's issues
2471JECV 6522 "1DcdDe22" 96:Republicans would take women's rights back 100 years
2480JECV 6321 "1DcdDe54" 96:Don't like Republicans
2491JECV 6321 "1DcdDem " 94:They are more for the elderly than the Republicans a
1322JECV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:Deficit
1322JECV 6522 "1DcdRe21" 93:Military spending
2064JECV 6321 "1DcdRep " 96:Everytime there has been a war, the Democrats have b
2134JECV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:Agree with their foreign policy
2269JECV 6321 "1DcdRe53" 96:Didn't like who the Democrats had for Presidential c
2270JECV 6321 "1DcdRep " 96:Democrats have not showed me anything that makes me
2457JECV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:I am for big business
2458JECV 6321 "1DcdRep " 94:They help the people
2133JECV 4522 "81B 25" 96:Strong leader
2263JECV 4321 "81B " 96:Reduce taxes better than the Republicans
2458JECV 4321 "81B " 96:Reduce the size of government
2463JECV 4723 "81B " 96:Would follow Reagan on interest rates
2479JECV 4522 "81B 30" 96:The farmers
2488JECV 4321 "81B " 96:Conservation issues
2490JECV 4321 "81B " 96:Forest
2056JECV 5321 "82B " 96:Gun control
2458JECV 5522 "82B 37" 96:Environmental problems because he has no experience
2470JECV 5723 "82B " 96:Attack of AIDS epidemic

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282BJLV 3321 "A82      " 96:Don't like him
203BJLV 1522 "03     31" 96:Clean out Lebenon
205BJLV 1321 "03       " 96:No abortion, less homosexuals
232BJLV 1522 "03       " 96:Aid to college students
200BJLV 6723 "1DcdDe23" 94:Ted Kennedy is a Democrat
236BJLV 6321 "1DcdDe23" 94:I like the Kennedys
246BJLV 6321 "1DcdDe53" 95:Don't like Reagan
249BJLV 6321 "1DcdDem " 96:Things not going well under Republicans
208BJLV 6522 "1DcdRe20" 93:Don't beleive in Unions and other Democratic policie
213BJLV 6321 "1DcdRep " 96:Democratic party was an insult to American people la
222BJLV 6522 "1DcdRep " 93:More power to the state, fair share for state
228BJLV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:Less government controls
230BJLV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:Against liquor and gambling
238BJLV 6321 "1DcdRep " 96:Disagree with Ted kennedy and Tip O'Neill
281BJLV 6522 "1DcdRep " 93:They are more budget minded
281BJLV 6321 "1DcdRep " 95:Reagan more open for free trade
297BJLV 6321 "1DcdRe19" 93:Reduced taxes
209BJLV 4321 "81B      " 96:Basic services and fundamentalists
224BJLV 4522 "81B    28" 96:More sensitive to the needs of the poor
226BJLV 4522 "81B    23" 96:Good leader
234BJLV 4321 "81B    30" 96:Higher prices for farmers
243BJLV 4522 "81B    28" 96:For the poor and middle class
275BJLV 5321 "82B      " 96:Immigration
297BJLV 5522 "82B      " 96:Shift of responsibility from federal to state and lo

353JPWV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:Believe in free enterprise like the Republican party
357JPWV 6522 "1DcdRe24" 93:Prayer in schools
357JPWV 6723 "1DcdRe18" 93:Defense
358JPWV 6321 "1DcdRep " 93:I agree with Republican labor issues
375JPWV 6522 "1DcdRep " 94:I liked past Republicans - Nixon and Ford
556JPWV 6321 "1DcdRep " 96:If I wasn't the Democrats will have their way with e
565JPWV 6321 "1DcdRep " 94:Identified with morality and patriotism
577JPWV 6321 "1Dcd2221" 93:Pro-choice issues, women's rights
358JPWV 4522 "81B    30" 96:Work on the farm policy
363JPWV 4723 "81B      " 96:Prosecute people more
372JPWV 4321 "81B      " 96:The job of President
385JPWV 4321 "81B      " 96:His relationship with Congress
392JPWV 4321 "81B      " 96:He would get things passed that Reagan couldn't
396JPWV 4522 "81B      " 96:More for the morale of the country - patriotism
399JPWV 4723 "81B      " 96:Reduce the size of government
574JPWV 4321 "81B      " 96:Would work on his own and not do as he thought Reaga
2580JPWV 4321 "81B     " 96:Things that have to do with Texas - favors the South
2350JPWV 5522 "82B   29" 96:He's wishy washy
2377JPWV 5522 "82B     " 96:Can't wind down the nuclear weapons problem
2379JPWV 5321 "82B     " 96:Law enforcement
2385JPWV 5723 "82B     " 96:State and local government
2390JPWV 5522 "82B     " 96:The legislation that will give up our freedom
396JPWV 5522 "82B      " 96:Would need really excellent advisors
399JPWV 5321 "82B      " 96:Dealing with minorities
559JPWV 5522 "82B      " 96:Housing programs
574JPWV 5321 "82B      " 96:Foreign aid
705JPWV 5321 "82B    37" 96:Not enough attention to air and water problems
2350JPWV 1321 "03    42" 96:On a national level, don't like the situation for bl
2361JPWV 1321 "03      " 96:Child support
2366JPWV 1522 "03    42" 96:Minorities are getting out of hand in this country
2370JPWV 1321 "03    45" 96:Back equality of gender
2378JPWV 1321 "03      " 96:A revolution to overthrow the capitalist system
2390JPWV 1522 "03    42" 96:More housing
2398JPWV 1522 "03    05" 96:Should be more accountable to the public - they are
2561JPWV 1522 "03      " 96:New media is privy to too much information, often ab
2574JPWV 1321 "03    10" 96:They're not thinking fairly for all people only thin
2583JPWV 1321 "03    03" 96:Politicians need to be more honest
2361JPWV 6522 "1DcdDe54" 96:Don't like Republicans
2362JPWV 6321 "1DcdDem " 96:Republicans are so insulting, were so shamefull espe
2365JPWV 6321 "1DcdDem " 94:Matured in the F.D. Roosevelt era and he is my idle
2370JPWV 6321 "1DcdDem " 94:Everyone gets fair stakes
2709JPWV 6723 "1DcdDem " 93:Democrats are pro-freeze
2709JPWV 6924 "1DcdDe21" 93:Ferraro's free choice stand on abortion
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1481NJHV 2522 "A81 " 96:Not a strong hawk like the president.
1481NJHV 2321 "A81 07" 96:He's a rational person and thorough thinker.
1512NJHV 2321 "A81 " 96:Doesn't do anything till he's needed.
1518NJHV 2321 "A81 19" 96:Dedicated in general to the country.
1479NJHV 3321 "A82 " 96:He has an honest face.
1480NJHV 3321 "A82 " 96:Likes the way he supports the President.
1488NJHV 3321 "A82 " 96:He's much more competent than Reagan.
1520NJHV 3321 "A82 " 96:To have more say as a vice president.
1485NJHV 1321 "03 44" 96:Start cutting president's salary.
1491NJHV 1522 "03 33" 96:Loss of industry in the country.
1511NJHV 1321 "03 05" 96:The public needs to have more say in the financial a
2654NJHV 1321 "03 " 96:Money means too much.
2669NJHV 1321 "03 10" 96:More concern for working people.
1289NJHV 6321 "1DcdDem " 94:They have done a lot for the country.
1513NJHV 6321 "1DcdDe05" 94:I have the right to pick who I want.
2117NJHV 6321 "1DcdDe53" 95:I'm disappointed with the way Reagan is handling the
2592NJHV 6522 "1DcdDem " 93:Their views on the trade policy.
2646NJHV 6522 "1DcdDe52" 94:I'm not conservative.
2656NJHV 6321 "1DcdDe52" 94:More of moderate outlook on things instead of so muc
1504NJHV 6723 "1DcdRe22" 93:Abortion issue.
1517NJHV 6522 "1DcdRe19" 93:Agree with ideas about reduction in taxes.
1522NJHV 6321 "1DcdRe22" 93:Stand on abortion.
2661NJHV 6723 "1DcdRep " 96:Democrats have not put forth their political policie
2673NJHV 6321 "1DcdRe19" 93:They reduced taxes.
2118NJHV 4522 "81B " 96:Housing
2671NJHV 4321 "81B " 96:Taking vacations at Camp David.
2122NJHV 5321 "82B " 96:State dinner at the white house.
2662NJHV 5321 "82B " 96:Not fair to the working man more for big business.
2674NJHV 5321 "82B 30" 96:Dealings with liberals, he wouldn't be as paitient w
2170RRWV 1321 "03 05" 96:Give the vote to the people instead of congress
2183RRWV 1321 "03 " 96:Can't take care of our own country
2186RRWV 1321 "03 " 96:Too conservative now
2186RRWV 1522 "03 42" 96:The president is trying to get rid of minority's rig
2198RRWV 1723 "03 " 96:More solar research is needed
2198RRWV 1522 "03 39" 96:More medical research
2687RRWV 1321 "03 21" 96:Should get back to God
2193RRWV 6321 "1DcdDem " 93:More for social security
2165RRWV 6522 "1DcdRep " 93:Against Vietnam War
2165RRWV 6321 "1DcdRe20" 93:Against labor unions
2175RRWV 6321 "1DcdRe17" 94:Really don't think as myself as either
2181RRWV 6522 "1DcdRep " 94:Love Busch
2199RRWV 6321 "1DcdRep " 96:Didn't like the members of the democratic party
2178RRWV 4321 "81B 29" 96:Not a war monger
2179RRWV 4522 "81B 30" 96:Farming issues
2682RRWV 4522 "81B " 96:Decisive
2687RRWV 4321 "81B " 96:Oil business
2697RRWV 4321 "81B " 96:He would terrify me
2189RRWV 5723 "82B " 96:Would not be re-elected a 2nd. term if he turns into
2697RRWV 5321 "82B " 96:Finish up where Johnson left off

1194JESV 2321 "A81 " 96:He's not Reagan
1352JESV 2321 "A81 " 95:He's firm and consistent
1353JESV 2321 "A81 " 96:He has good association with foreign leaders
1364JESV 2321 "A81 " 96:
1188JESV 3321 "A82 " 95:He's trying to evade income tax
1193JESV 3522 "A82 " 96:won't represent the united states well
1355JESV 3321 "A82 " 96:Reagan has not dxone much to redue the deficit
1188JESV 1522 "03 " 96:stop imports
1194JESV 1321 "03 " 96:Need different people in office
1196JESV 1321 "03 " 96:Imports tariffs
1365JESV 1522 "03 " 96:Help black people more
1190JESV 6321 "1DcdDem " 93:Republicans are for big business
1190JESV 6522 "1DcdDe " 93:I am not conservative
1350JESV 6321 "1DcdDem " 94:Tradition
1357JESV 6321 "1DcdDem " 94:More for the middle class
1193JESV 6321 "1DcdRep?" 94:hey are more liberal .open

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1631ALKV 6321 "1DcdRe23"  93:The republicans are for the poor.
1398ALKV 2321 "A81      "  96:The fact that he is sponsoring this poll.
1415ALKV 2522 "A81      "  96:His nice hair style.
1418ALKV 2321 "A81      "  95:He's compromising.
1422ALKV 2522 "A81   43"   95:Not too conservative.
1530ALKV 2321 "A81      "  95:Would do a good job with the people that are handica
1573ALKV 2321 "A81      "  95:His appearance
1576ALKV 2321 "A81      "  96:Corporation influences.
1608ALKV 2321 "A81   42"   95:His terrorism.
1610ALKV 2321 "A81   41"   96:He's from Texas.
1612ALKV 2321 "A81   41"   96:He's from Texas.
1615ALKV 2321 "A81   41"   96:From home state.
1258ALKV 3522 "A82      "  95:Slures off on women.
1260ALKV 3321 "A82      "  95:War monger.
1413ALKV 3723 "A82      "  96:He's going to be out of office.
1464ALKV 3321 "A82      "  95:Neglects agricultural affairs.
1470ALKV 3321 "A82      "  96:Outward appearance.
1530ALKV 3321 "A82      "  95:Whites should get the same as blacks in benefits.
1533ALKV 3522 "A82   07"   95:Whimpy.
1551ALKV 3522 "A82      "  95:His economic plans.
1553ALKV 3321 "A82      "  96:He's from Texas
1556ALKV 3321 "A82      "  95:Too sensitive to political I.O.U.'s
1562ALKV 3723 "A82      "  95:Yes, he's in office.
1576ALKV 3321 "A82      "  96:Magnum in Exxon Corporation.
1577ALKV 3321 "A82   42"   95:Not a conservative which is important.
1601ALKV 3522 "A82   42"   96:Nots conservative enough
1604ALKV 3522 "A82      "  96:Not as dynamic as Reagan.
1608ALKV 3321 "A82      "  95:How he feels about nuclear weapons.
1610ALKV 3321 "A82      "  96:Not a deep thinker.
1621ALKV 3321 "A82      "  96:Whinney.
1633ALKV 3723 "A82      "  96:Policy on NLRB.
1633ALKV 3924 "A82      "  96:Supreme court.
1638ALKV 3522 "A82   42"   96:Too liberal.
1258ALKV 1321 "03       "  96:Everything should be viewed equally.
1389ALKV 1321 "03    42"   96:More minority leaders should be involved in all part
1390ALKV 1522 "03    42"   96:Minority unfairness
1417ALKV 1321 "03    04"   96:The system needs to go a little faster, they are too
1453ALKV 1321 "03       "  96:More communication.
1464ALKV 1924 "03       "  96:Need better insurance rules.
1464ALKV 2125 "03    45"   96:I don't believe in Women's Liberation.
1465ALKV 1522 "03       "  96:Too many freedoms being taken away.
1474ALKV 1522 "03       "  96:Civil rights liberties.
1546ALKV 1522 "03       "  96:Conservative.
1566ALKV 1321 "03    32"   96:El Salvador and Cuba, Communism too close to home
1569ALKV 1321 "03       "  96:Food and fuel prices need to be lower.
1583ALKV 1321 "03       "  96:Labor unions.
1605ALKV 1321 "03    41"   96:Government programs.
1387ALKV 6723 "1DcdDe22"   93:Agree with equal rights amendment.
1398ALKV 6522 "1DcdDem "   93:I think on the deficit issue they were pragmatic.
1416ALKV 6321 "1DcdDem "   96:Because of what I've seen with the Republican party,
1418ALKV 6924 "1DcdDe21"   93:I believe in abortion.
1418ALKV 6723 "1DcdDe22"   93:I believe in the ERA.
1538ALKV 6321 "1DcdDem "   93:The country fairs better with a democratic governmen
1538ALKV 6522 "1DcdDem "   93:Economy used to be better.
1563ALKV 6522 "1DcdDem "   93:There for the farmers.
1594ALKV 6321 "1DcdDe23"   94:Cared for the Kennedy's a great deal. The U.S. was i
1598ALKV 6522 "1DcdDem "   94:Personality.
1255ALKV 6321 "1DcdRe18"   93:Done more for the military.
1263ALKV 6321 "1DcdRe25"   93:Republicans provide for minorities.
1402ALKV 6321 "1DcdRe19"   93:Tax reform
1463ALKV 6522 "1DcdRep "   93:More aggressive
1530ALKV 6321 "1DcdRep "   94:I try to treat people like Jesus.
1556ALKV 6321 "1DcdRep "   93:Their attitude towards free enterprise.
1561ALKV 6321 "1DcdRe53"   94:Don't like democrats.
1572ALKV 6522 "1DcdRep "   96:The equality.
1631ALKV 6522 "1DcdRe23"   93:The democrats are rich.
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U.S. National #2 Study

Analysis/Report

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Job #P85040
November, 1985

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1 New England 2 Mid-Atlantic 3 East North Central 4 Border 5 Deep South 6 West North Central
7 Mountain 8 Pacific

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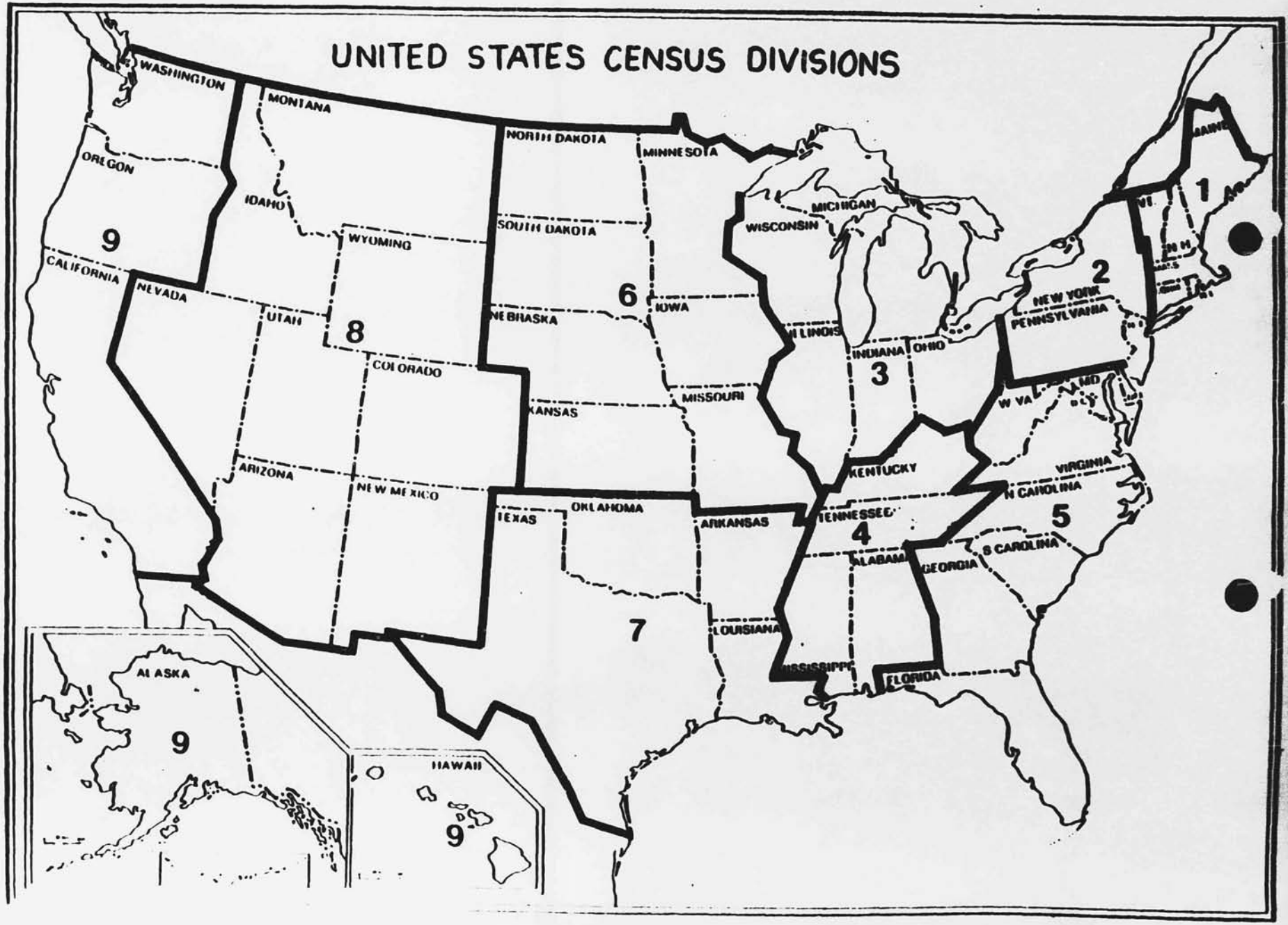
1·New England 2·Middle Atlantic 3·East North Central 4·East South Central 5·South Atlantic
6·West North Central 7·West South Central 8·Mountain 9·Pacific



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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To assess personal and job-related perceptions of George Bush, and to compare public perceptions of Bush with those of President Reagan.
* To investigate voter support for Vice-President George Bush in both the primary and general elections for President in 1988.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S. citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

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Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

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Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:

	Education				
	Less than H.S. Grad.	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduates	Post Graduates
Family Income					
Less than $15,000	LOWER END			INTELLIGENTSIA	
$15,000-$40,000		MIDDLE CLASS			
Over $40,000	HIGH INCOME				

The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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Other Special Analytical Variables

Several other analytical variables were created to aid in the analysis. Unlike the previous special variables, these variables are composed of perceptual rather than demographic data.

The "Presidential Ballot Summary" is a combination of questions 78, 79, and 80. A Core Republican votes for Bush on all three ballots and a Core Democrat votes for the Democratic candidate all three times. Anti-(NAME) Democrats vote for the Democratic candidate in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot. The pro-(NAME) Republicans vote for Bush in all but the (NAME) vs. Bush ballot.

	Distribution of Index
Core Democratic	24%
Anti-Kennedy Democrats	6
Anti-Hart Democrats	5
Anti-Iacocca Democrats	9
Pro-Kennedy Republicans	6
Pro-Hart Republicans	5
Pro-Iacocca Republicans	8
Core Republican	30
Others	7
Total	100%

There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	47%
2.	19	
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	23%
5. Free trader	6	
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	42%
Lean protectionist	25	
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	45%
Core anti-protectionist	17	
Total	100%	

The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

	Distribution of Index
0 No military action	16%
1	25
2	28
3	23
4 Military action in all cases	9
Total	100%

Seven "master attitudes" were uncovered in a past U.S. National study. They were replicated in this study. These attitudes have been found to significantly divide the electorate. The questions used to make up these scales are listed in the question results. The distribution of the scales are listed below:

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplomacy	America First	Traditional Values	Gov't. Assistance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Liberal	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Distribution of American Public on Seven Master Attitude Scales

	Seven Master Attitudes						
	Gunboat Diplomacy	America First	Traditional Values	Gov't. Assistance	Gov't. Welfare	Union Agenda	Black Agenda
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1985-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	23%	25%	20%	42%	22%	35%	17%
Mixed	33	41	51	26	21	23	23
Conservative position	44	33	29	32	58	42	60
1983-Total Electorate							
Liberal position	26	19	17	45	26	28	25
Mixed	19	27	34	18	19	24	30
Conservative position	55	54	49	37	55	48	45
1985-Republican Primary Electorate							
Liberal position	19	25	15	33	17	23	9
Mixed	31	42	52	25	17	22	20
Conservative position	49	33	32	43	66	55	71

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U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	Right direction	50%	66% +
	Wrong track	39	24
	Don't know	10	8
	Refused/NA	1	1
2. Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	Working fairly well	53	69 +
	Need significant changes	43	29
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused/NA	*	*

3. What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

SEE ATTACHED TABLE

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	34	59
	Somewhat approve	34	32
	Somewhat disapprove	12	4
	Strongly disapprove	15	2
	Don't know	4	2
	Refused/NA	2	*
5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	Strongly approve	22	[illegible]
	Somewhat approve	35	[illegible]
	Somewhat disapprove	8	[illegible]
	Strongly disapprove	9	[illegible]
	Don't know	23	[illegible]
	Refused/NA	3	[illegible]

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(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3

	Total
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relationship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	17
Refused/No answer	*

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

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Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Attitude Scale #4								
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44
(Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)								

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%	61%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4	2
	Hurts	36	32
	Don't know	5	5
	Refused/NA	*	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31	35
	About the same	28	27
	Less	34	31
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	1	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46	48
	No	51	49
	Don't know	2	2
	Refused/NA	*	—

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
a. Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16	16
b. Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53	55
c. Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27	26
Don't know	3	3
Refused/NA	1	*

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Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

Republican Primary Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	71%	17%	7%	1%	3%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	54	29	10	2	5
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	14	5	7
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	40	36	15	3	7
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	33	21	6	4
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	38	32	15	4	10

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

	Total Electorate	Republican Electorate
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%	36%
OR		
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58	58
Don't know	8	6
Refused/NA	1	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)

a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	29
OR		
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55	56
Don't know.	14	13
Refused/NA.	2	-

24. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?	More	9
	About the same	36
	Less	51
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	1

25. If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)	Avoiding a trade war	35
	Allowing fewer imports into country	58
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	*

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate	Repub. P Electora
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	36%	37%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	57	56
	Don't know	7	6
	Refused/NA	*	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	73	77
	Oppose	19	16
	Don't know	7	7
	Refused/NA	1	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	43	46
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	40	38
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	15	15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3	2
(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34) 35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	35	40
	Oppose	40	39
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	8	7
	Refused/NA	1	1
5. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists	28	33
	Favor only as retaliation	47	48
	Favor neither	4	3
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	*
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	36	43
	Oppose	40	37
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16	13
	Don't know	7	5
	Refused/NA	1	*
(ASK ALL) 38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate	59	53
	Refuse to negotiate	34	41
	Don't know	6	5
	Refused/NA	1	*
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups	27	34
	Foreign government	66	64
	Don't know	7	5
	Refused/NA	1	*

Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a to one hundred scale — with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68°
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

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Q.65-66 Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics	Total Combined Responses	Most Important Characteristics	Second Most Important Characteristics
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	32%	26%	56%	27%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	19	26	39	18	21
Is in government now	26	13	13	27	14	13
Conservative	25	14	11	32	19	14
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	9	11	29	14	15
None		9	--		6	--
No second mention		—	9		2	7
Don't know/Refused		3	3		—	2
		100%	100%		100%	100%

.67-68 I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

One (read below), the second (read below), the third (read below) and the fourth (read below). (IF MADE A FIRST CHOICE, ASK:) Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate			Republican Primary Electorate		
	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice	Combined	First Choice	Second Choice
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	60%	35%	26%	64%	40%	25%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	60	27	35	63	28	36
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	36	20	16	37	19	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	34	15	19	29	11	18
None		1	--		1	--
o second choice		—	2		--	2
Don't know/Refused		2	1		—	1
		100%	100%		100%	100%

Q.69-72 Here are some people who might be elected President in 1988, and I'd like you to rate how good a President you think each one would make. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale where zero means the person would make the worst possible President and ten means the person would make the best possible president.

The first person is NAME. How good a President do you think he would make on a zero-to-ten scale?

Total Electorate	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	51	20	26	3	5.7	2.9
Jack Kemp	100%	18	13	17	51	4.9	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	44	16	38	2	5.2	3.3
Gary Hart	100%	43	21	25	10	5.4	2.7

Republican Primary Electorate

	Total	Good (6-10)	Neutral (5)	Bad (0-4)	Don't know/ Refused	Avg.	S.D.
George Bush	100%	67	17	14	2	6.8	2.4
Jack Kemp	100%	25	13	14	48	5.4	2.6
Ted Kennedy	100%	25	16	57	1	3.6	3.1
Gary Hart	100%	35	23	34	9	4.8	2.7

Avg. = Average on a zero to ten scale.

S.D. = Standard deviation around average.

P 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 6 8 1

F 3 0 4 0 1 2 0 6 8 2

		Total Electorate
73. In the presidential primary elections in 1988 to select each party's candidate for President, assuming your state had one, would you be more likely to vote in the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary or neither one?	Republican.	.36%
	Democratic. (GO TO Q.77).	.40
	Neither one (GO TO Q.78).	.17
	Don't know. (GO TO Q.78).	6
	Refused/NA. (GO TO Q.78).	1
74. If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/ REFUSED: Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	a. George Bush	.58
	b. Bob Dole.	.10
	c. Howard Baker.	.12
	d. Jack Kemp	8
	e. Jeane Kirkpatrick	7
	Don't know.	6
	Refused/NA.	*
75. Who would be your second choice? (REPEAT NAMES IF NECESSARY)	George Bush	.19
	Bob Dole.	.22
	Howard Baker.	.17
	Jack Kemp	.11
	Jeane Kirkpatrick	.15
	Don't know.	.15
	Refused/NA.	1

(Q.76 Not asked)

77. If the primary election to select the Democratic candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (RANDOMIZE NAMES), would you be voting for (REPEAT LAST NAMES IN SAME ORDER)? (IF DON'T KNOW/REFUSED: ASK) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?	a. Ted Kennedy	.44
	b. Gary Hart	.22
	c. Mario Cuomo	.18
	d. Lee Iacocca	.14
	Don't know.	2
	Refused/NA.	*

Q.78-80 Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SOME ORDER)

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Bush	51%	83%
Kennedy	45	16
Don't know/Refused	4	1
	100%	100%
Bush	50%	81%
Hart	45	16
Don't know/Refused	5	2
	100%	100%
Bush	49%	76%
Iacocca	43	22
Don't know/Refused	7	2
	100%	100%

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Q.81-82A (Half Sample A) From all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you like best about George Bush?

Again, from all that you have heard, read and know about him, what are some of the things you don't like about George Bush? (RESPONSES OF 2% OR MORE)

LIKE BEST	Total
Reagan's man/Works with Reagan/ Follows Reagan's Policies/ Philosophies	7%
Honest/Integrity/Sincere/Fair	7
Experience/Background/Qualified	7
Straightforward/Forthright/ Outspoken	4
Intelligent/Sharp/Educated	3
Foreign affairs/Foreign policies/ Foreign relations	3
Alright/Okay/Doing a good job	3
Well-informed/Knowledgeable	3
Conservative	3
Personable/Personality/Likeable/ Charismatic	3
Articulate/Talks well	2
Vice-President	2
Issues/Views/Policies/Philosophies	2
Good person/Fine	2
Leadership quality/Strong leader	2
Held a variety of government positions (unsp.)	2
All other issue related responses	2
None/Nothing	10
Don't know/Don't know him	38
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Competent	16
Issues	16
Strong	11
Trustworthy	7
Past positions/Resume	5
Personable	4
Concerned	4

DISLIKE	Total
Low profile/In the background/Not in the limelight/Needs more experience	5%
Obnoxious/Superior attitude/ Arrogant/Pushy	3
Rubber stamp for Reagan/ Second hand man	3
Not aggressive enough/Not forceful	3
Weak/Spineless.	3
Not Presidential material/ Not qualified as presidential candidate	2
Not outspoken/Does not take a stand	2
Talks too much/Too much talking/Talks, no action/ Puts his foot in his mouth	2
Conservative	2
All other issue related responses	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything	1
None/Nothing	11
Don't know/Don't know him	46
Refused/No answer	1

Combined Responses

Weak	17
Issues	5
Not personable	4
Not concerned	2
Untrustworthy	2
Past positions/Resume	1
Incompetent	*

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Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly? (Responses of 2% or more)

HANDLE WELL	Total
Foreign policy/Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/International affairs/Negotiations with foreign countries/Experienced in foreign affairs	23%
National deficit/Reduce federal budget deficit/Budget/Balance the budget deficit	12
Carrying out some of the principles Reagan has instituted/Follows Reagan well/Continue to do what Reagan has done	5
Economy/Economics/Economic growth/Get economy moving	4
Defense/National defense/Defense of our nation/Security - military/Enforce the military/Our military position/Strengthening the military	4
Government spending/Federal spending - reduce it/Bringing down government spending/Cutting waste in government spending/Financial things	3
Administration management/Competent administration for bureaucracy cutting/Organization/Government as a whole, would be a better leader/More experience	3
Foreign trade/Foreign imports - get the trade going better/Straighten out foreign trade/Trade deficit/Trade with China and India	2
Domestic affairs/Handle domestic policy better than Reagan	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4

HANDLE POORLY	Total
Foreign affairs/Foreign relations/Foreign policy/Foreign policy, detrimental to certain sides	12%
Deficit/Budget deficit/Reducing the deficit/National debt/Not enough of an economist to help the deficit/Reduce deficit spending/Financial affairs	8
Defense/Military/National defense/Defense system/Concerns about disarmament/Would reduce the military	3
Public image, speaking ability, motivation lacking/Not making progress, doesn't show for the public/Public personality, doesn't come across on television well	3
Not strong enough/Does not have strong image/Not strong enough personality to stand up for what he believes/Not sure he would take a strong stand/Not a strong person, not forceful	2
Economy/Economics/Doesn't get publicity on economics/Everyone promises to get the economy in order	2
Foreign trade/Trade policy	2
Social Security/Cuts in Social Security	2
Welfare/Treatment of welfare people/The whole country - welfare	2
Unemployment/Jobs - not getting jobs/Employment	2

(continued on next page)

Q.81-82B (Half Sample B) If George Bush became President in 1988, what are the things you think he would handle particularly well?

What are the things you think he might handle poorly?

(cont'd)

HANDLE WELL

	Total
Everything/Entire office	1%
Nothing/Don't think he does well/ Won't handle anything well	5
Don't know/Refused	44
Combined Responses	
Foreign policy	30
Economic issues	20
Domestic/Social policy	5

HANDLE POORLY

	Total
Concerns about the poor/ lack of concern for the poor/Care of our poor/ The lower classes/Caught short in handling elementary human rights of the poor	2%
Lack of ability to work with Congress/Would not stand up to Congress/ Relations with Congress/ Doesn't have the personality to handle Congress that Reagan has	2
All other miscellaneous responses	3
Everything/Will do everything wrong	3
No, wouldn't go a bad job on anything/Would do a fine job	4
Don't know/Refused	49
Combined Responses	
Foreign policy	18
Economic issues	13
Domestic/Social policy	12
Lack of leadership	7

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Q.83-89 I'm going to read a list of issues to you and, for each one, please tell me if you think George Bush would handle that issue pretty much as Ronald Reagan has, would handle it better, or would not handle it as well.

Total Electorate	Total	Would Handle It Better	Would Handle It As Ronald Reagan	Would Not Handle It As Well	Don't Know/ Ref.	(a) PDI
Women's rights	100%	24	47	16	13	+ 8
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	51	14	13	+ 8
The federal budget deficit	100%	21	49	19	10	+ 2
Abortion	100%	17	43	16	24	+ 1
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	23	46	23	8	+ 0
National economic policy	100%	18	52	18	12	+ 0
Taxes	100%	19	50	20	11	- 1
Republican Primary Electorate						
Women's rights	100%	25	53	14	8	+11
Policies concerning minorities	100%	22	59	11	8	+11
The federal budget deficit	100%	26	51	18	5	+ 8
Abortion	100%	18	44	18	20	- 0
National economic policy	100%	16	61	17	6	- 1
Our relations with the Soviet Union	100%	20	52	24	4	- 4
Taxes	100%	17	55	21	7	- 4

(a) Percentage Difference Index = % "Would handle it better" minus % "Would not handle it as well."

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

		Total Electorate Average	Republican Primary Electorate Average
	TRUSTWORTHINESS		
90.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
91.	George Bush	6.8	7.6
92.	Ted Kennedy	5.7	4.5
	CONCERN		
93.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.4
94.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
95.	Ted Kennedy	6.5	5.5
	LEADERSHIP		
96.	Ronald Reagan	7.7	8.8
97.	George Bush	6.4	7.4
98.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1
	COMPETENCE		
99.	Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.3
100.	George Bush	6.6	7.7
101.	Ted Kennedy	6.2	5.1

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		Total Electorate	Republic Primary Elec
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%	2
	Fairly liberal	8	3
	Slightly liberal	4	4
	Moderate	52	45
	Slightly conservative	8	11
	Fairly conservative	13	20
	Extremely conservative	7	11
	Don't know	5	4
	Refused/NA	1	—

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	1
	Fairly liberal	5	6
	Slightly liberal	3	3
	Moderate	26	29
	Slightly conservative	10	11
	Fairly conservative	25	32
	Extremely conservative	20	15
	Don't know	8	3
	Refused/NA	1	*

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2	1
	Fairly liberal	4	4
	Slightly liberal	4	4
	Moderate	36	41
	Slightly conservative	11	12
	Fairly conservative	21	21
	Extremely conservative	7	7
	Don't know	13	7
	Refused/NA	1	*

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D1.	Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?		
	Republican.	31%	73%
	Democrat.	34	3
	Independent	30	22
	No preference	3	1
	Other	*	—
	Don't know.	1	*
	Refused	*	—
	Party Identification Scale		
	Strong Democrat . . .	17	1
	Weak Democrat	17	2
	Independent Democrat.	12	2
	Independent	10	3
	Independent Republican	13	19
	Weak Republican . . .	17	37
	Strong Republican . .	14	36
	Other/Not ascertained	*	—
D2. (V6)	In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)		
	Straight Democratic .	12	1
	Mostly Democratic . .	17	2
	A few more Democrats than Republicans. .	8	2
	About equally for both parties	21	16
	A few more Republicans than Democrats. . .	7	12
	Mostly Republican . .	18	41
	Straight Republican .	8	19
	Other	*	*
	Never voted	5	5
	Don't know.	2	1
	Refused/NA.	1	*
D3.	Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?		
	Yes	81	82
	No.	16	15
	Registered elsewhere.	3	3
	Don't know.	*	1
	Refused/NA.	--	--

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16	18
	25-29 years	11	12
	30-34 years	13	11
	35-39 years	11	12
	40-44 years	8	7
	45-49 years	6	7
	50-54 years	7	8
	55-59 years	6	4
	60-64 years	6	5
	65-74 years	11	11
	75 and over	4	5
	Refused	*	—
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5	3
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11	7
	Graduated high school	32	33
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3	2
	Some college-2 years or less	19	21
	Some college-more than 2 years	9	10
	Graduated college	14	17
	Post-graduate work	8	8
	Refused	--	—
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51	53
	Employed and working part-time	11	11
	Unemployed	5	4
	Retired	18	16
	Housewife	11	12
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	*
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	--	--
	Refused/NA	*	--

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	Single	24	24
	Married	62	63
	Divorced	7	7
	Separated	1	1
	Widow/Widower	7	6
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	—
D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	58	58
	Employed and working part-time	8	8
	Unemployed	1	1
	Retired	17	16
	Housewife	15	15
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*	—
	Other	1	2
	Don't know	—	—
	Refused/NA	*	*
D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26	27
	Self-employed	10	13
	Retired	17	16
	Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8	9
	Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7	6
	Executive (corporate officer)	4	4
	Homemaker	1	1
	Services (nurse, police, military)	5	5
	Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12	9
	Student	1	1
	Education (teacher, counselor)	4	4
	Other	4	4
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused/NA	1	*

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		Total Electorate	Republi Primar Electorate
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent	3	3
	Other member of household	2	2
	Both	2	1
	None	93	94
	Don't know	*	—
	Refused	—	—
D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent	11	10
	Other member of household	10	8
	Both	2	2
	None	77	79
	Don't know	*	1
	Refused	—	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member	Respondent	Other Member
Labor union	10	10	8	6
Teachers' association	4	5	5	4
No	85	83	88	86
Refused/Single member household	*	3	*	4

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?	— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	54	61
	— Roman Catholic	26	22
	Jewish	4	2
	— Other Christian	10	10
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2	2
	Agnostic/Atheist	*	*
	None	2	1
	Don't know	1	1
	Refused	1	1
D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)	Every week	28	31
	Almost every week	12	12
	Once or twice a month	17	15
	A few times a year	31	31
	Never	11	11
	Don't know	*	*
	Refused	*	*

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		Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11	6
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12	11
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12	11
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11	14
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14	16
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7	8
	$50,000 and over	11	14
	Don't know	3	2
	Refused	5	3
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83	92
	Black	11	3
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4	3
	Oriental	*	1
	American Indian	1	*
	Other	1	1
	Not ascertained	*	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48	50
	Female	52	50
	Political Strata		
	Pacific	14	15
	Mountain	5	5
	East North Central	18	14
	West North Central	7	4
	Deep South	26	25
	Border	8	4
	Mid-Atlantic	16	17
	New England	5	4

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CHAPTER 1: PERCEPTIONS OF VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Though the office of Vice-President is often thought of as being an out-of-the-limelight office whose occupants often fade into the political background, Vice-President George Bush debunks that notion with a visible presence and fairly well-defined public image. Among the nation's eligible voters, only 23% do not have an opinion about his performance in office, and only 5% do not have an impression of him personally.

The American public reacts favorably toward Bush both in terms of his job performance and on a more personal level. Fifty-seven percent (57%) approve of the way he is handling his job as Vice-President while only 17% disapprove. On a zero to one hundred degree "thermometer" scale of personal favorability, Bush draws a rating of 59°, 5th out of a list of 21 political figures. Half of the voters (49%) have a favorable impression of Bush, 26% have neutral feelings about him, and 20% are unfavorably inclined toward Bush. Only Ronald Reagan (68°), Lee Iacocca (64°), Jeane Kirkpatrick (62°) and Howard Baker (60°) have higher average thermometer ratings than Bush. All but Reagan, however, have a much lower level of awareness. So, while their thermometer ratings may be higher, fewer people are able to offer an opinion about them. Bush is thus a much more familiar political person than these other potential Presidential candidates.

People were asked two open-ended questions about what they liked best and liked least about George Bush. Fifty-one percent (51%) can give an answer about what they like best about Bush, 39% can give no answer, and 10% say they like nothing about Bush. Among Republican primary voters, 68% can name something they like, 30% don't know, and only 2% say they don't like anything about him. Republicans (especially older, East North Central, and high income Republicans), Border South residents, men, senior citizens, and higher status Americans are those most able to relate something they like about Bush.

Adjectives dealing with competence are the most frequently volunteered as the basis for liking Bush (16%). Those are followed by adjectives relating to strength (11%) and trustworthiness (7%). Seven percent (7%) specifically say they like Bush because of his close association with Reagan. The following is a summary of the most frequent volunteered reasons for liking Bush.

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Competence: experienced, intelligent, knowledgeable, cool, etc.	16%	23%
Strength: forthright, strong leader, willing to take a stand, etc.	11	13
Trustworthiness: honest, sincere, fair, etc.	7	9
Reagan association: works with, follows Reagan's policies	7	13
Past positions: Vice President, held variety of positions, diplomat, C.I.A.	5	8
Total mentions	51	68
Nothing liked	10	2
Don't know	39	30

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Little more than a third of the American public (37%) are able to mention something they don't like about George Bush. Fully half (50%) can name nothing, and 13% say there is nothing they don't like about Bush. Those who do mention something about Bush they dislike are more apt to be Democrats, Jews, and East North Central residents.

While 11% of the voters volunteer adjectives attributing strength to Bush, more voters (17%) volunteer adjectives attributing weakness to Bush, e.g., "weak," "not aggressive enough," "does not take a stand," "not consistent," "wishy-washy," "too easily swayed," etc. Included in this 17% category are negative references to Bush's relationship to Reagan, e.g., "rubber stamp for Reagan" (3%) and "he's a 'yes' man" (1%). Significantly, less than 1% of the Republican primary voters say they don't like Bush because "he's not conservative enough." The following is a summary of the most frequent reasons for not liking Bush:

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Weakness: not aggressive, wishy-washy, not consistent, rubber stamp, etc.	17%	16%
Low profile/in the background/ not in the limelight	5	4
Not personable: arrogant, his personality, superior attitude	4	3
Total mentions	42	37
Nothing disliked	11	13
Don't know	47	50

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In comparison to the volunteered likes and dislikes of Bush, there is a greater concentration of answers when voters are asked what Bush would handle particularly well if elected President. Fully 23% volunteer foreign policy in general and another 7% volunteer such specific areas as national defense, foreign trade, relations with the Soviet Union, and nuclear arms control. By comparison to foreign policy, 20% volunteer economic issues including a 12% mention of handling the deficit as problems Bush would handle well.

Overall, 51% can volunteer something they think Bush would handle well; 5% say he would handle nothing well; and 44% have no perceptions of Bush in this context.

There is less focus to the answers on what the voters think Bush might handle poorly. Forty-seven percent (47%) of the voters do have something to volunteer, but these responses are spread across foreign policy/defense (18%), economic issues (13%), and other domestic issues (12%).

These general evaluative questions point out several findings:

- Bush is well-known as Vice-Presidents go, and enjoys a generally warm reception among the national electorate.
- Bush's major pluses at this time are public perceptions of experience, competence, his connection to President Reagan, and his ability to handle foreign policy issues.
- His major weakness at the present time is just that -- a number of voters see him as weak or a "yes" man.

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Handle Well

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	23%	29%
National defense	4	5
Foreign trade	2	4
Relations with Soviets	1	2
Nuclear arms control	1	1
Military spending	1	2
Terrorists	1	1
Diplomacy	1	1
CIA covert activities	*	*
	30%	40%
Economic issues		
Reduce budget deficit	12%	16%
Economy/economic growth	4	6
Reduce government spending/ waste	3	4
Unemployment	1	2
Lower taxes	1	2
	20%	28%
Carrying out Reagan principles/continue to do what Reagan has done	5%	6%
Total mentions	51%	61%
Would handle nothing well	5	5
Don't know	44	34

Handle Poorly

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Voters
Foreign policy/defense		
Foreign policy in general	12%	13%
National defense	3	2
Foreign trade	2	2
Relations with communists	1	*
Terrorists	1	--
Relations with Soviets	1	1
Defense spending	*	*
	18%	17%
Economic Issues		
Budget deficit	8%	6%
Economy	2	2
Unemployment	2	2
Would spend more	1	1
Taxes	1	1
	13%	12%
Other Domestic/Social Policy		
Social Security	2%	1%
Welfare	2	*
Concern for the poor	2	*
Domestic affairs (unspec.)	1	1
Labor unions	1	1
Education	1	1
Women's rights/women's issues	1	1
Civil rights/affirmative action	1	1
Social services	1	1
Abortion	1	1
Concern for minorities	1	*
Concern for farmers	1	*
	12%	9%

Bush's Personal Coalition

Who likes George Bush? To answer this question, perceptions of Bush were looked at by every demographic subgroup, both by themselves and in combination with other demographic variables. After performing this bi-variate and multi-variate analysis, it was found that, though most Americans approve of Bush's performance in office as Vice-President and have a generally warm and favorable personal perception of him, the following voter groups hold Bush in highest regard:

- Republican partisans
- Southerners
- voters 55 or older
- people with incomes over $40,000

There is not much significant interaction among these groups, that is, Southerners of all ages are more favorable toward Bush, as are high income voters of all ages residing in all parts of the country.

At the other end of the spectrum, white Democrats, blacks, Jews, and residents of the mid-Atlantic states are less favorably disposed toward Bush.

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Factors Affecting Perceptions of George Bush

Why do people like George Bush? While that is a complicated question to answer, it seems to boil down to several key factors:

- he is a familiar quantity
- people sense that he is philosophically close to them
- people trust him
- people associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know, like, and trust

First of all, the public is familiar with Bush. Only President Reagan and former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are more familiar to the general public than Bush. And Bush is the most well-known of the potential 1988 presidential candidates. Nearly all (97%) of the country's Republicans have heard of Bush, while 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and 48% are unfamiliar with Kemp.

The American public is ideologically just right-of-center. On a 7-point liberal-conservative scale, where 1 is very liberal, 4 is moderate, and 7 is very conservative, the national average is 4.3. When asked where they would place George Bush on this scale, Republicans and Democrats alike place him at 4.6, close to the national average and closer to their respective averages than their placement of Reagan. However, perceived ideological distance from Bush only mildly explains why people like and dislike him. Party identifications, for example, explain more than twice the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings than do self-described ideological distances. Even so, it is important that most Americans feel ideologically comfortable with Bush.

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When asked how much of 4 qualities Bush possesses, trustworthiness appears on top. On a 0-10 scale of how much of that quality he possesses, Bush rates a 6.8 from the public on trustworthiness, a 6.6 on concern and competence, and a 6.4 on leadership. Trustworthiness and leadership are both highly related to overall opinion of Bush. The fact that he is rated high on trust is thus a positive finding, but his lower rating on leadership could prove to be a problem, since it is a further indication of a perception of weakness.

When voters asked what qualities from a list of five they would like in the next President (all five of which are Bush characteristics), one of them -- "has worked with Ronald Reagan" -- is highly associated with perceptions of Bush, meaning that evaluations of Bush are often made with Reagan in mind. In one sense this is good, since Reagan is very popular and visible. But in another sense it is a hindrance to Bush in developing his own political identity.

Of the five Bush characteristics, "respected by foreign leaders," is the attribute with the greatest potential impact with the voters. Nearly one-third (32%) selected it from the five as the most important characteristic for the next president to have, and another 26% selected it as the second most important attribute. However, the importance people place on this attribute currently is not related to their opinion of Bush. The same is true for the other three characteristics; none of them help explain the public's overall regard for Bush.

The public's rank-ordering of the Bush characteristics is as follows:

	Important for Next President			
	Total Electorate		Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined Selection	Selected First	Combined Selection	Selected First
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	(32%)	56%	(27%)
Has held a variety of government positions	45	(19)	39	(18)
Is in government now	26	(13)	27	(14)
Conservative	25	(14)	32	(19)
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	(9)	29	(14)

It is interesting to see just who selects what characteristics as their first choice. Though all voter groups chose "respected by foreign leaders" over the other choices, holding a variety of government positions is more important than average to middle aged voters, members of the intelligentsia, and Jews. Being in government now is more important to residents of the South and voters aged 55 to 64. Being conservative is relatively more important to Mountain state residents, both strong and independent Republicans, and the intelligentsia. Having worked with Reagan is relatively more important to strong Republicans, lower end whites, and Border South residents.

While the Reagan connection would appear to be relatively unimportant, that would be an erroneous overall conclusion. From practically all the other results on Reagan, Bush's association with Reagan is a major asset for his candidacy. What these particular results do mean is that Bush's foreign policy experience and his wide ranging government background are major assets for him when the time comes to use them.

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In summary, the American public likes George Bush because he is familiar to them, they feel ideologically comfortable with him, they trust him, and they associate him with Ronald Reagan, whom they also know and trust. Two factors that ought to play a stronger part in defining Bush as a political figure are his resume and his leadership qualities. Bush has an early perceptual advantage over his 1988 opponents because he is presently a more familiar public figure, but that advantage will disappear as the other candidates begin campaigning in earnest. The best thing that Bush could do in the coming months, as he campaigns for other Republicans around the country, is to broaden his public image and begin to highlight his resume and leadership experience.

1804207

Comparing Bush and Reagan

As is alluded to earlier, George Bush's public image is closely related to Ronald Reagan's. It is very important as the 1988 campaign begins and Reagan's term comes to a close to define just how perceptions of Bush and Reagan are related, where there are differences, and how Bush can both take advantage of public goodwill toward Reagan and begin to develop his own image.

Comparing the two on an issue dimension, a plurality of the nation's pool of voters believe Bush would handle seven specific issues about the same as Reagan has. The marginal differences are interesting, though, and prove Bush to be a more "centrist" political figure ideologically compared to President Reagan. Bush receives a small

advantage on handling policies concerning minorities (22% say he would handle it better, 51% the same, 14% not as well, for an 8-point advantage) and women's rights (24%, 47%, 16%). On the other 5 issues — the federal budget deficit, abortion, our relations with the Soviet Union, national economic policy, and taxes -- there is no significant difference between Reagan and Bush on who would better handle them.

Among Republican primary voters, the margins come out much the same. Republicans generally believe that Bush would handle things pretty much as Reagan has, but would be somewhat better on women's rights, policies concerning minorities, and handling the federal budget deficit. They feel he'd handle taxes and relations with the Soviet Union somewhat less well.

Both the general and Republican primary electorates show the greatest indecision on the issue of abortion. Twenty-four percent (24%) of the general electorate and 20% of the Republican primary electorate does not know how Bush would handle abortion.

As discussed previously, on a 7-point ideological scale, Americans place themselves just slightly right of center, at 4.3. They place Ronald Regan at 5.1 on this same scale and George Bush at 4.6. Voters thus think of Bush as closer to themselves on an ideological basis than is Reagan.

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Republicans, who place themselves at 4.7 on the scale, also put Reagan and Bush at 5.1 and 4.6 — with Bush still closer to them than is Reagan. Democrats also place Bush and Reagan at 4.7 and 5.1, with their own placement shifting left of center to 3.9. Democrats and Republicans thus agree on where Reagan and Bush stand ideologically, and both place themselves closer to Bush than to Reagan.

These ideological distances, however, are more important in explaining the public's opinions of Reagan than their opinions of Bush. Thirty percent of the variance in Reagan's thermometer ratings can be explained by a combination of the voters' party identifications and their perceived ideological distances from him. In contrast, only 17% of the variance in Bush's thermometer ratings can be explained by the combination of party identifications and perceived ideological distances from him. (Indeed, perceived ideological distances <u>from Reagan</u> have a slightly higher correlation to their thermometer ratings <u>of Bush</u> than do the voters' reported ideological distances from Bush.)

Reagan has a strong personal appeal that does much to moderate his perceived conservatism. Fully 51% of the electorate, Democrat and Republican alike, like Reagan better than they like Bush (as reported on their thermometer ratings). Twenty-nine percent (29%) like Reagan a lot better than Bush (10 or more points) and 22% like Reagan less than 10 points more than Bush. Another 35% like them both equally well (or poorly), and 14% like Bush better than Reagan.

In the general electorate, those who like Reagan much more than Bush give Reagan an 82° average rating and Bush a 47° rating. Those who like Reagan slightly more than Bush give Reagan a 79° rating and Bush a 70° rating. Those who like them equally give them both a 63° rating, and those who like Bush more than Reagan give Bush a 60° and Reagan a 36°. Thus, even though most voters like Reagan more than Bush, Bush still receives a warm and favorable rating among all but the core Reaganites. However, if voters like Bush more than Reagan, they really don't like Reagan.

Among the general electorate, those who like Reagan more than Bush are young and Republican. Those who like Bush better than Reagan are largely Democratic.

The major reasons these groups like Reagan more than Bush are:

- they trust Reagan more than Bush
- they believe Reagan is more of a leader
- they believe Reagan is better at handling relations with the Soviets than Bush would be

These reasons all point to a need for Bush to develop a stronger personal image.

Among Republican primary voters, 36% like Reagan a lot more than Bush, 30% like Reagan somewhat more than Bush, 36% like them equally, and 7% like Bush more than Reagan. In point of fact, however, all of these groups like both Bush and Reagan and there are very few significant

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differences among them. Among the few differences: the Republicans who like Reagan more than Bush are somewhat stronger then average partisans, and are of higher socioeconomic status and more likely to live west of the Mississippi; those who like Bush more than Reagan have a tendency to be older and less partisan than those who like Reagan more than Bush. They are also somewhat more concentrated in New England and the East North Central region.

The major reasons Republicans like Reagan more than Bush are:

- leadership
- trustworthiness
- handling the deficit
- handling relations with the Soviet Union

Republicans show little difference from the electorate at large in this respect.

One of the largest gaps between Bush and Reagan is on leadership. Among four important character traits (competence, trustworthiness, concern, and leadership), Bush compares most unfavorably to Reagan on leadership and, as we just saw, it is one reason that Reagan is more popular than Bush. This is partly because leadership is the quality most associated with Reagan. The gap also exists partly because the voters' ratings of Bush on leadership drop moderately below their ratings of him on the other three qualities. Out of a possible 10 on leadership, Bush receives a 6.4 average rating to Reagan's 7.7. The leadership gap between Reagan and Bush exists to about the same magnitude among Republican primary voters: Reagan 8.8/Bush 7.4.

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Bush compares most favorably to Reagan in the total electorate on trustworthiness. The voters give Bush a 6.8 average rating on possessing this character trait where zero means the person doesn't possess it at all and ten means the person possesses the trait "as much as any person possibly can." Reagan receives a 7.1 average rating. By way of further comparison, Ted Kennedy recives a low 5.7 rating on trustworthiness, substantially below Bush. The Reagan-Bush gap on trustworthiness is the most important in explaining the full range of differences in feelings toward Reagan and Bush. Trust can be a barometer of familiarity, however, As the electorate becomes more familiar with Bush, they may grow more trustful. Leadership is the most closely related to just the voters who like Reagan a lot more than Bush.

The difference between Reagan and Bush is the same on concern and competence with Bush drawing a 6.6 on each one and Reagan two more 7.1's. Interestingly, Ted Kennedy does not edge Bush or Reagan on concern although, expectedly, concern is the trait voters most associate with him. Kennedy pulls a 6.5 on concern.

The gaps between Bush and Reagan on concern, competence, and trustworthiness are moderately larger among Republican primary voters than for the total electorate. The ratings of both men are significantly more positive among Republicans, but Reagan's ratings increase by a larger amount than do Bush's. Moreover, the total electorate pattern of Bush comparing most favorably to Reagn on trustworthiness does not exist among Republicans. Instead, Bush drops just slightly on trustworthiness among Republicans.

Leadership and trust are the two qualities of the four most strongly related to voters' overall evaluations of Reagan and Bush. Bush's relatively low score on leadership, combined with the sentiments among some that he is weak, show that Bush needs to find opportunities to demonstrate leadership and to develop an image less dependent upon his connection to Reagan. This is not to say that he should disavow the past six years, but that voters should have more information upon which to base their opinion of Bush than Bush's Vice-Presidency in the Reagan administration.

In summary, Vice-President George Bush stands in good stead as the 1988 election campaign draws nearer. Awareness of Bush is greater than that of the other contenders at the present time, voters feel ideologically comfortable with Bush, and they believe him to be honest and trustworthy. One perception that could dog him when the campaign gets underway, however, is lack of definition Bush has in terms of leadership abilities. This seems due to the fact that people identify him mainly as Reagan's Vice-President and do not know enough about his past positions in and out of government.

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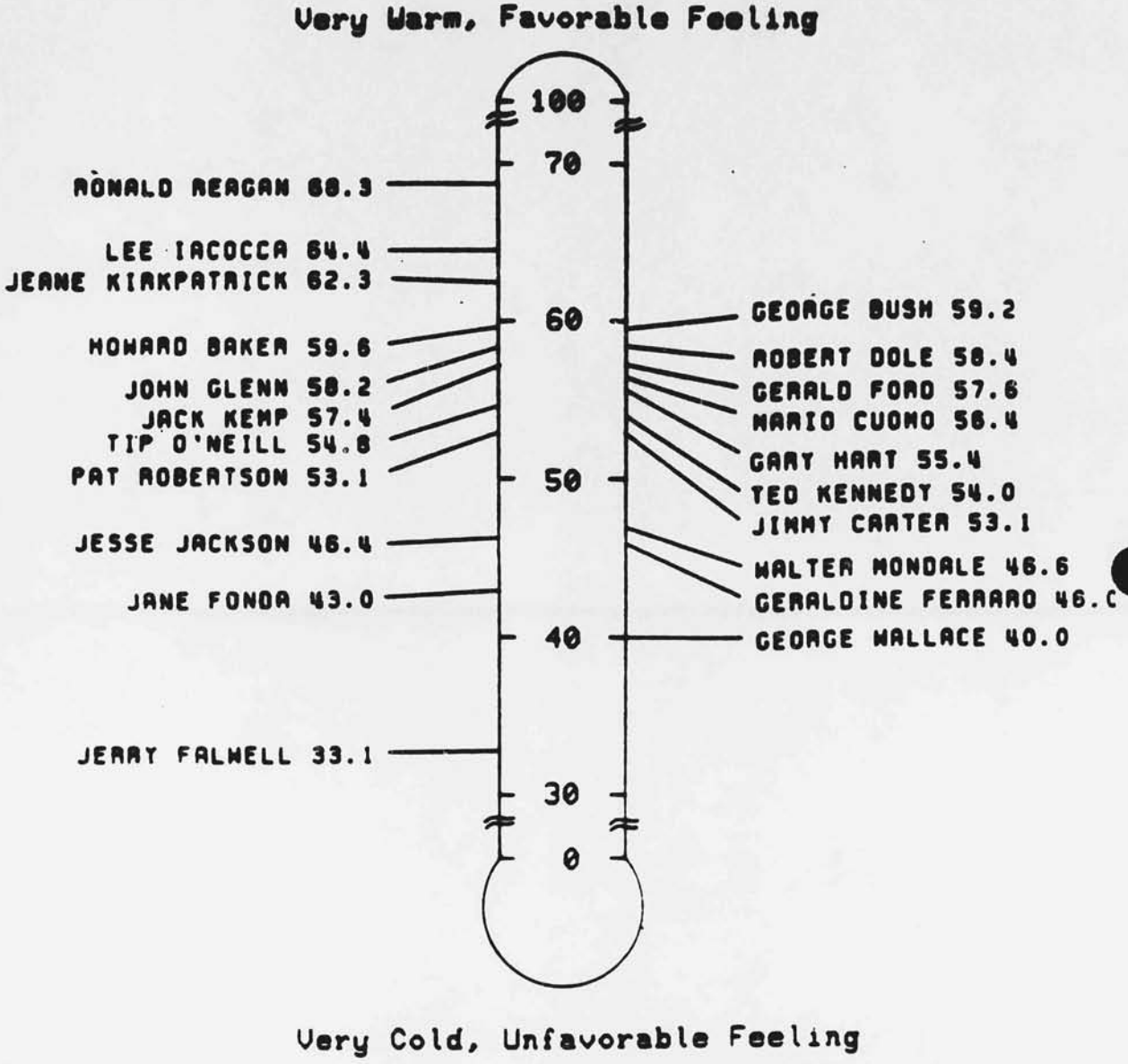
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS



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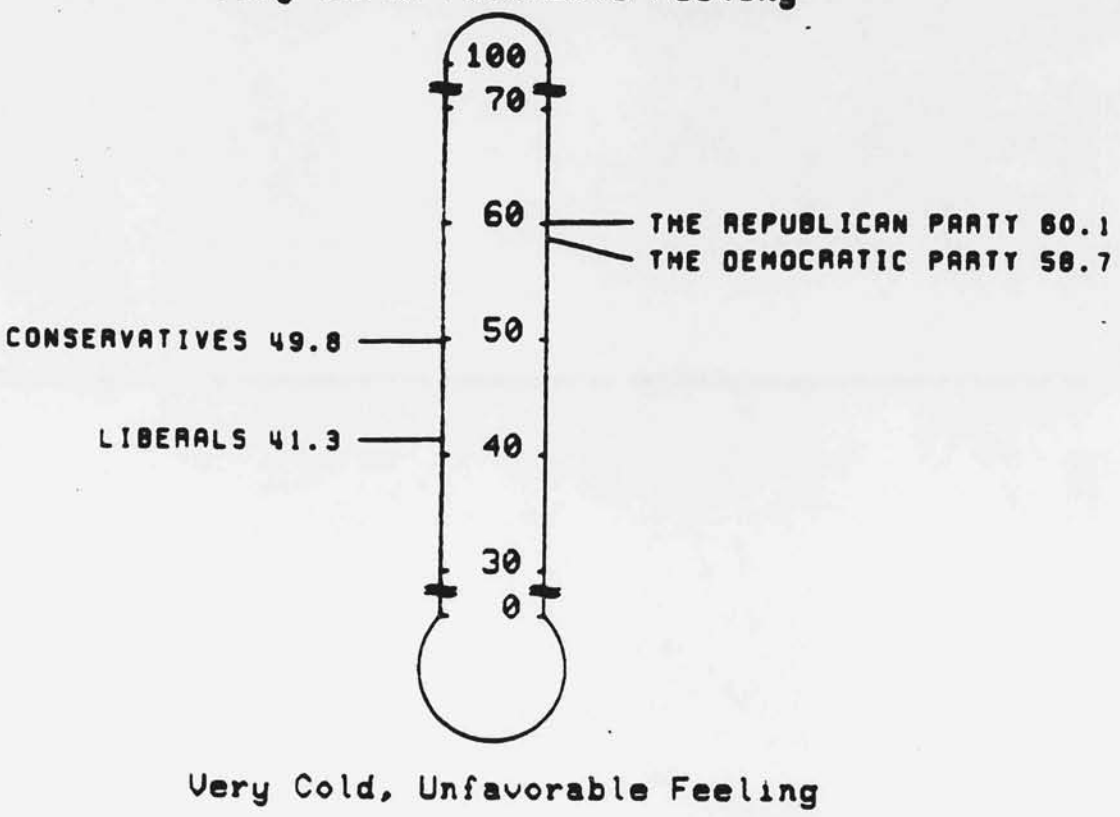
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS



Public Perceptions of George Bush

		George Bush				
	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average#
Total	100%	49%	26%	20%	5%	59°
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	68	21	8	5	70
Independent	100%	42	32	15	11	57
Democrat	100%	32	30	33	6	49
Political Region						
New England	100%	46	27	18	10	58
Mid-Atlantic	100%	40	30	26	4	54
East North Central	100%	45	28	25	3	56
West North Central	100%	53	25	18	4	63
Border	100%	58	24	14	4	65
Deep South	100%	55	23	16	7	64
Mountain	100%	50	26	18	6	60
Pacific	100%	45	28	22	5	56
Age						
18-24	100%	43	24	26	7	56
25-39	100%	47	30	21	3	57
40-54	100%	48	27	19	5	60
55-64	100%	51	25	20	4	61
65+	100%	57	21	13	8	66
Sex						
Male	100%	55	23	18	4	62
Female	100%	43	29	22	6	56
Status Groups						
High income	100%	60	25	13	2	65
Intelligentsia	100%	58	22	17	3	63
Middle class	100%	50	28	17	5	60
Lower end	100%	48	28	16	8	61
Jews	100%	34	28	30	8	52
Hispanics	100%	51	29	16	5	63
Blacks	100%	26	24	43	7	42

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Public Perceptions of George Bush

(cont'd.)

		George Bush				
	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Un-favorable	Don't Know/ Refused	Average#
Tracer Groups						
Northern white Protestant	100%	54%	25%	17%	4%	63
Northern white Catholic	100%	46	31	18	5	59
Northern white union	100%	43	30	23	4	55
Southern white	100%	60	22	12	6	67

#Average is based on a 0° to 100° thermometer scale, where 0°=very cold and unfavorable and 100°=very warm and favorable.

Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-General Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Don't Like About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	51%	10%	39%	42%	11%	47%
Party Identification							
Republican	100%	67	3	30	37	13	50
Independent	100%	36	7	57	31	11	58
Democrat	100%	40	16	44	48	9	43
Political Region							
New England	100%	33	13	54	43	13	44
Mid-Atlantic	100%	43	13	44	43	14	43
East North Central	100%	54	10	36	48	5	47
West North Central	100%	54	11	35	36	13	51
Border South	100%	56	2	42	36	8	56
Deep South	100%	55	10	35	37	14	49
Mountain	100%	45	—	55	35	5	60
Pacific	100%	52	12	36	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	45	10	45	38	11	51
25-39	100%	49	9	42	43	8	49
40-54	100%	47	11	42	36	11	53
55-64	100%	53	10	37	46	14	40
65+	100%	66	9	25	43	14	43
Sex							
Male	100%	61	8	31	48	9	43
Female	100%	42	11	47	35	13	52
Status Group							
High income	100%	67	8	25	45	12	43
Intelligentsia	100%	62	10	28	53	9	38
Middle class	100%	47	9	44	43	9	48
Lower end	100%	50	5	45	26	14	60
Jews	100%	53	17	30	69	9	22
Hispanics	100%	52	13	35	25	23	52
Blacks	100%	45	18	37	46	12	42

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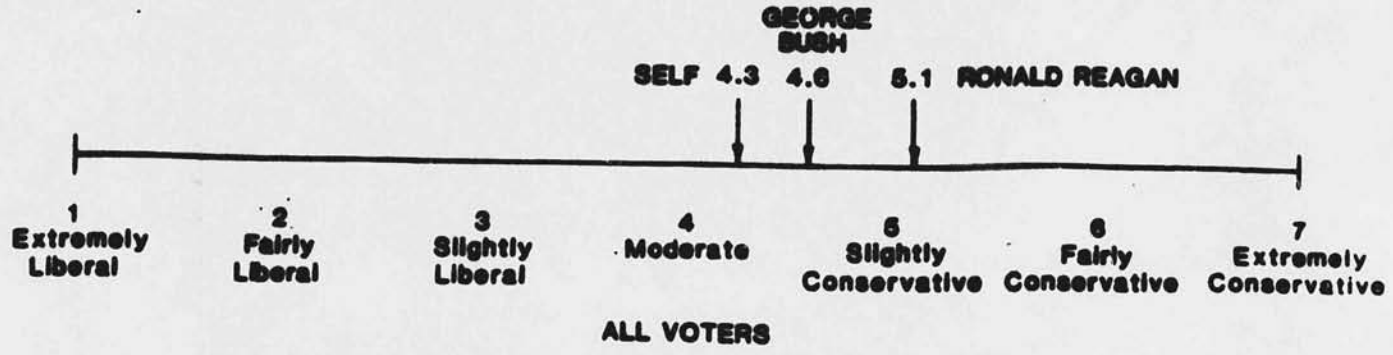
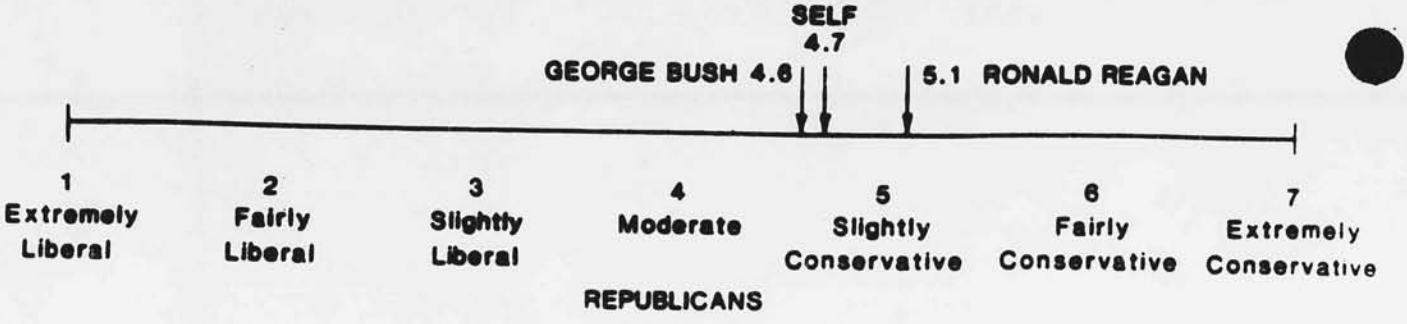
Demographic Analysis of Opinions About Bush-Republican Primary Electorate

		Like Best About Bush			Dislike About Bush		
	Total	Could Name Some-thing	Like Nothing	Don't know/ Refused	Could Name Some-thing	Dislike Nothing	Don't know/ Refused
Total	100%	68%	2%	30%	37%	13%	50%
Party Identification							
Strong Republican	100%	77	1	22	28	18	54
Weak Republican	100%	61	2	37	46	8	46
Independent Republican	100%	67	2	31	35	15	50
Political Region							
New England	100%	45	—	55	32	17	51
Mid-Atlantic	100%	72	—	28	34	20	46
East North Central	100%	84	—	16	53	5	42
West North Central	100%	67	—	33	40	8	52
Border South	100%	53	—	47	40	6	54
Deep South	100%	70	—	30	27	16	57
Mountain	100%	64	—	36	32	12	56
Pacific	100%	72	—	28	44	13	43
Age							
18-24	100%	79	4	17	45	4	51
25-39	100%	66	2	32	44	12	44
40-54	100%	67	1	32	30	19	51
55-64	100%	74	—	26	28	17	55
65+	100%	80	—	20	27	17	56
Sex							
Male	100%	76	2	22	44	10	46
Female	100%	62	1	37	31	15	54
Status Group							
High income	100%	82	2	16	43	16	41
Intelligentsia	100%	78	—	22	51	12	37
Middle class	100%	65	4	31	43	10	47
Lower end	100%	52	—	48	18	14	68

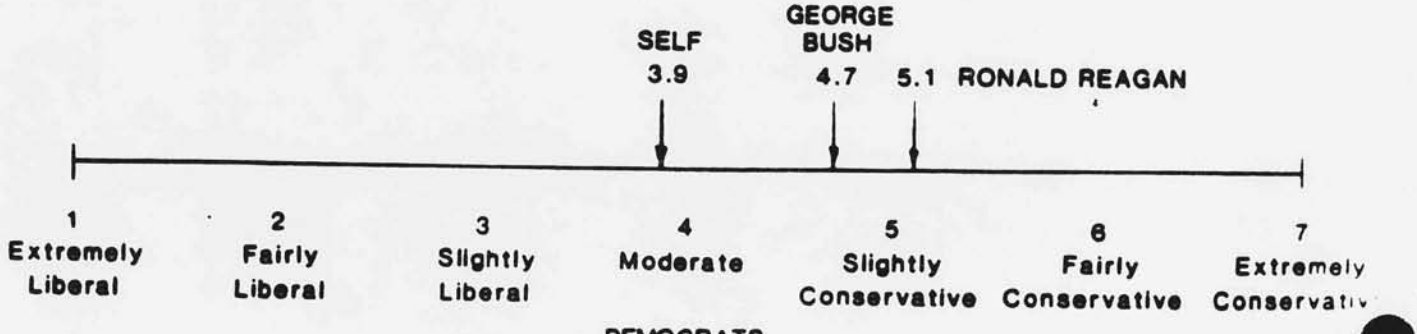
IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN



ALL VOTERS



REPUBLICANS



DEMOCRATS

Of the following characteristics, please tell me which one you think is most important for the next president to have?

Which one would you choose second?

	Total Electorate	Republican Primary Electorate
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(540)
Combined First & Second Mentions		
Respected by foreign leaders	58%	56%
Has held a variety of government positions	45	39
Is in government now	26	27
Conservative	25	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	20	29
None/No second mention	14	13
Don't know/Refused	3	2

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Importance of Presidential Characteristics

		Party ID			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Selected First												
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	27%	40%	34%	34%	34%	31%	45%	28%	27%	30%	32%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	19	19	21	16	22	23	17	14	17	24	21
Is in government now	14	20	8	10	9	15	13	10	14	17	19	14
Conservative	13	12	8	15	16	14	11	8	19	15	5	11
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	14	10	4	4	7	10	10	13	10	8	9
None	9	7	13	10	14	7	10	8	5	10	10	8
Don't know/Refused	3	2	3	5	8	*	3	2	6	4	4	4

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Importance of Presidential Characteristics
(cont'd.)

		Age					Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Selected First													
Respected by foreign leaders	32%	43%	33%	29%	27%	24%	32%	31%	33%	30%	28%	33%	28%
Has held a variety of government positions	19	14	21	22	21	18	21	25	20	14	34	22	16
Is in government now	14	11	15	15	14	15	17	19	14	11	9	8	19
Conservative	13	13	11	13	18	13	11	9	13	13	11	21	19
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	9	10	9	8	7	12	8	8	8	16	2	11	5
None	9	9	8	10	10	8	10	7	8	10	11	2	11
Don't know/Refused	3	2	2	3	4	9	1	2	4	6	2	3	3

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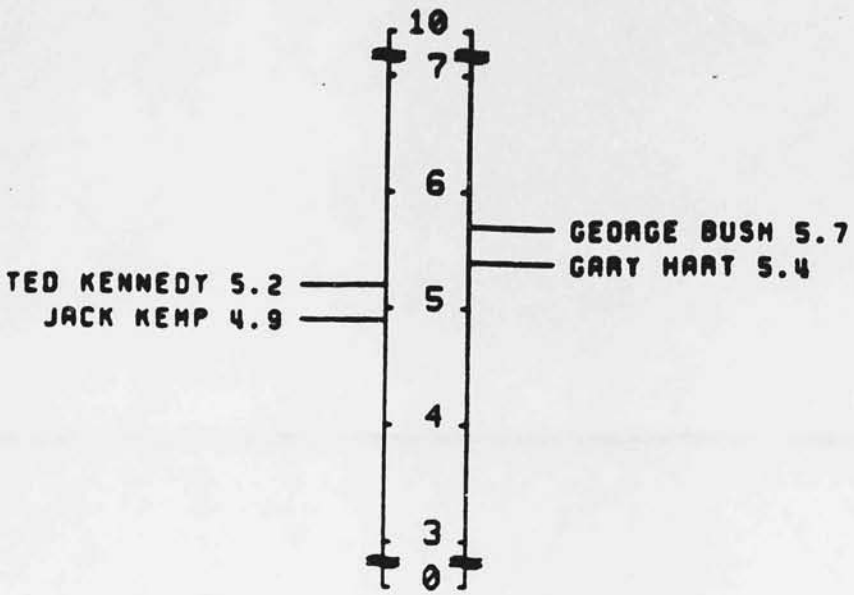
FEELINGS ON WHO WOULD MAKE THE BEST PRESIDENT

Best Possible President



Worst Possible President

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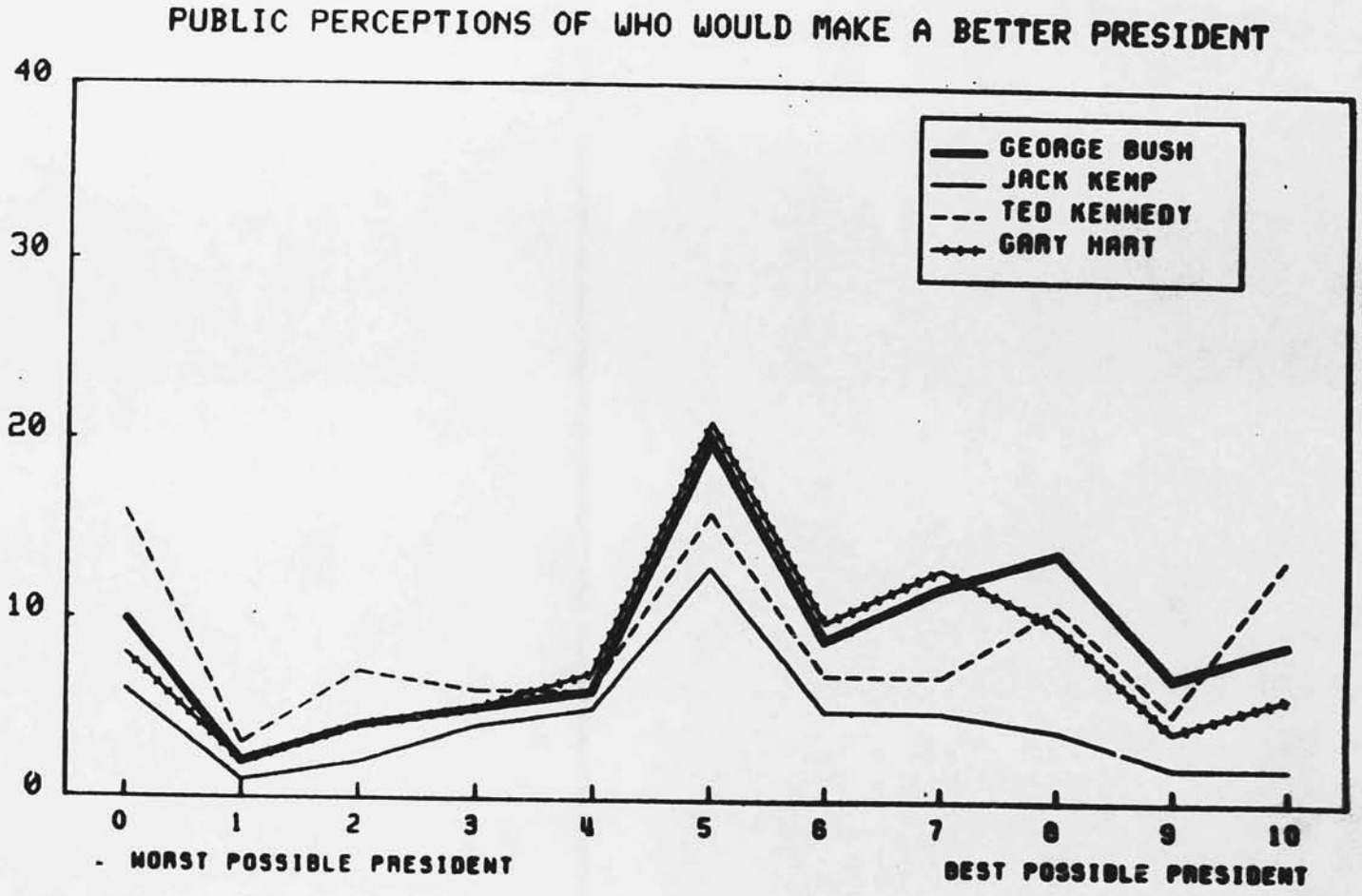

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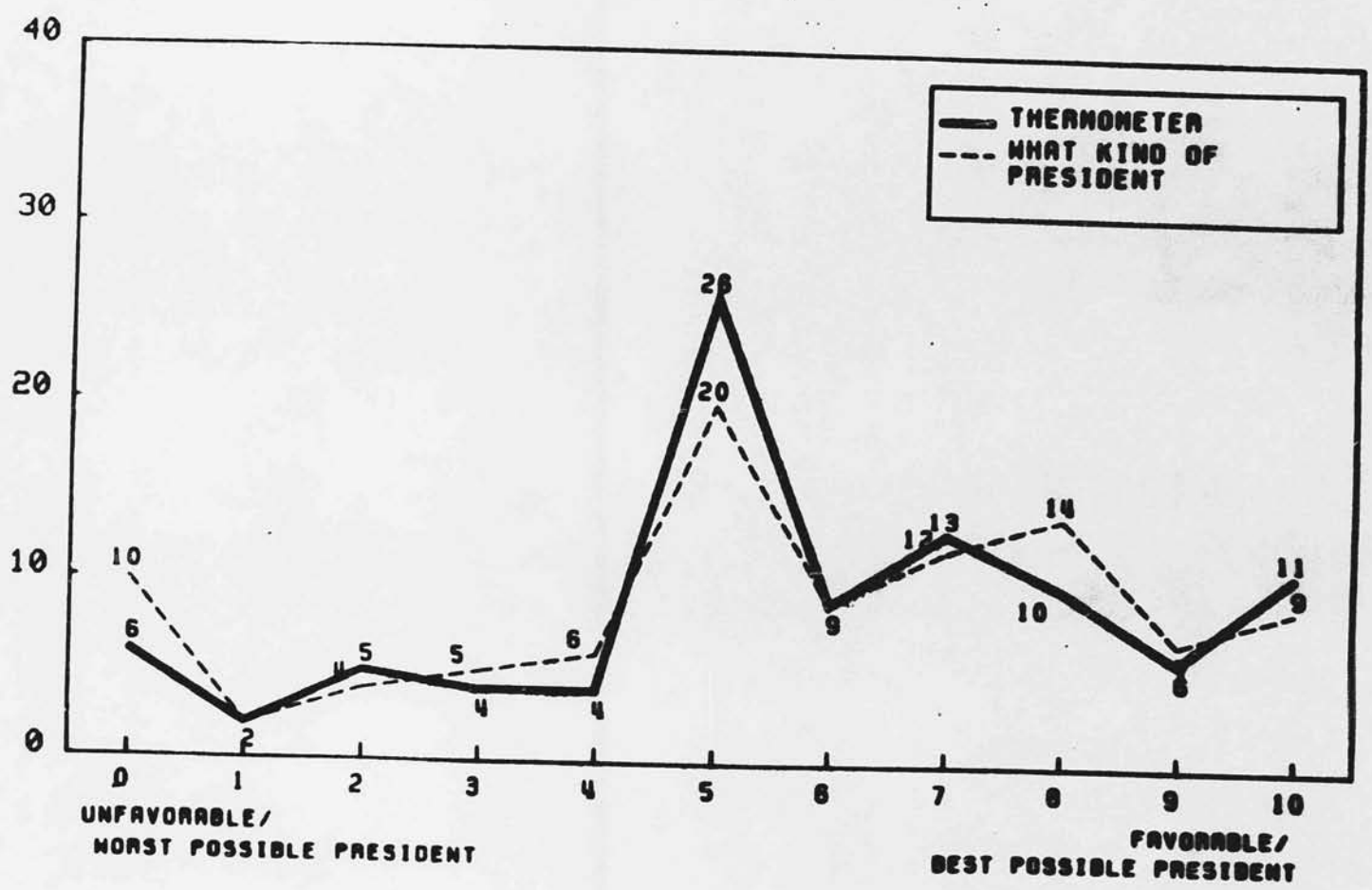
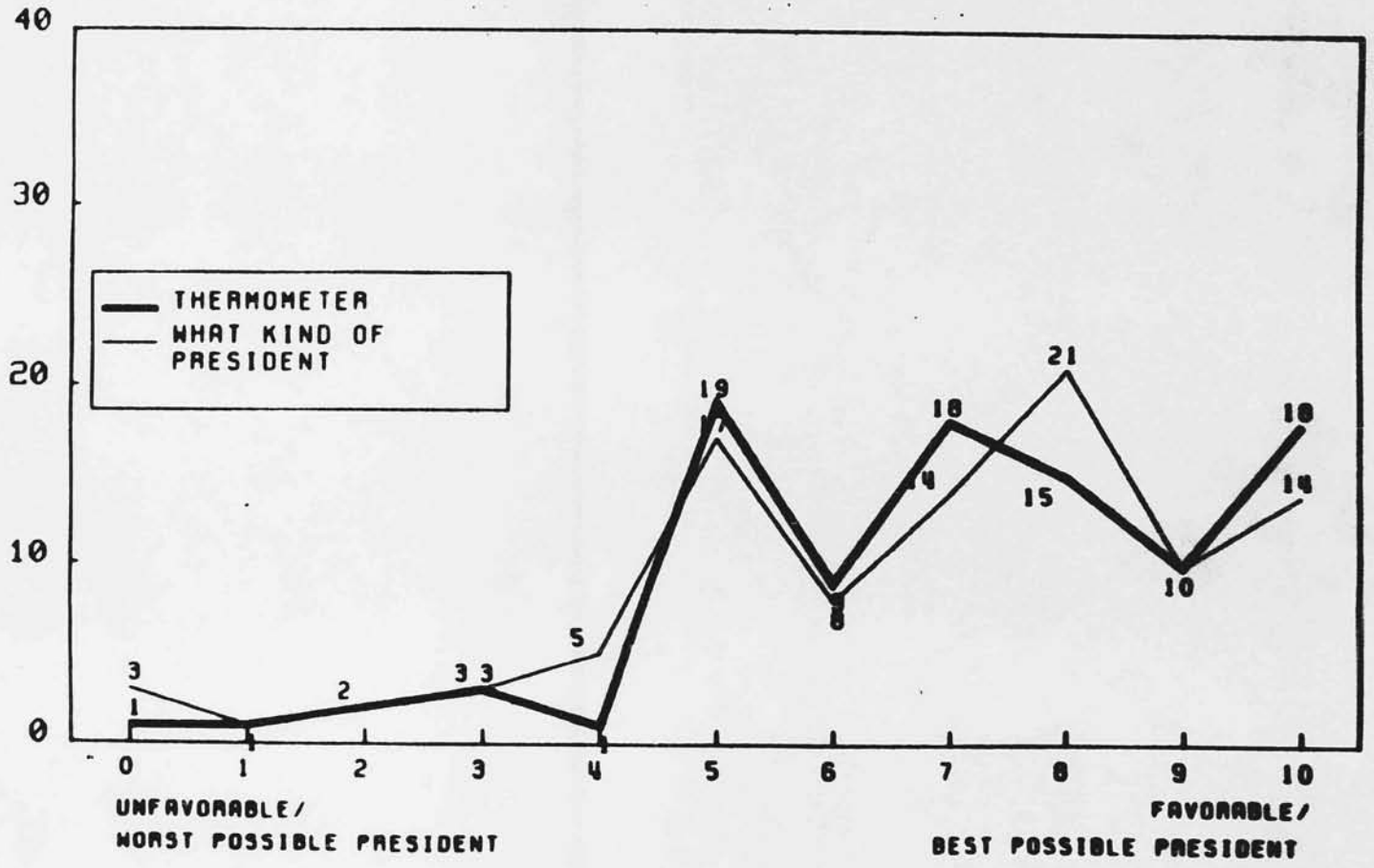
DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (TOTAL ELECTORATE)



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DISTRIBUTIONS OF BUSH RATINGS (REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTORATE)



Comparison of Feelings Toward Bush and Reagan

	Thermometer Comparison			
	Reagan>>Bush	Reagan>Bush	Reagan=Bush	Bush>Reagan
% of all voters	29%	22%	35%	14%
Reagan thermometer rating	82°	79°	63°	36°
Bush thermometer rating	47	70	63	60
% of Republican primary voters	36%	30%	29%	7%
Reagan thermometer rating	88°	88°	85°	53°
Bush thermometer rating	54	78	86	73

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(430)	(327)	(443)	(216)	(540)				
Party Identification										
Strong Democrat	17%	12%	11%	21%	31%	—	—	—	—	—
Weak Democrat	17	15	16	17	26	—	—	—	—	—
Independent Democrat	12	9	8	13	19	—	—	—	—	—
Independent	10	11	9	10	3	3	4	3	2	—
Independent Republican	13	17	16	12	8	19	19	16	22	26
Weak Republican	17	24	19	13	8	37	45	34	30	33
Strong Republican	14	13	22	15	6	37	29	43	42	27
Political Region										
New England	5	5	4	5	6	4	4	2	4	10
Mid Atlantic	16	20	14	16	16	17	19	17	15	23
East North Central	18	17	20	16	22	15	15	14	14	24
West North Central	7	7	7	9	6	9	10	9	11	2
Border South	8	6	9	9	9	9	6	10	10	6
Deep South	26	26	27	26	23	26	30	25	24	26
Mountain	5	4	5	7	5	5	4	5	8	4
Pacific	14	15	14	14	13	15	13	18	16	5

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Perceptions of Bush and Reagan#

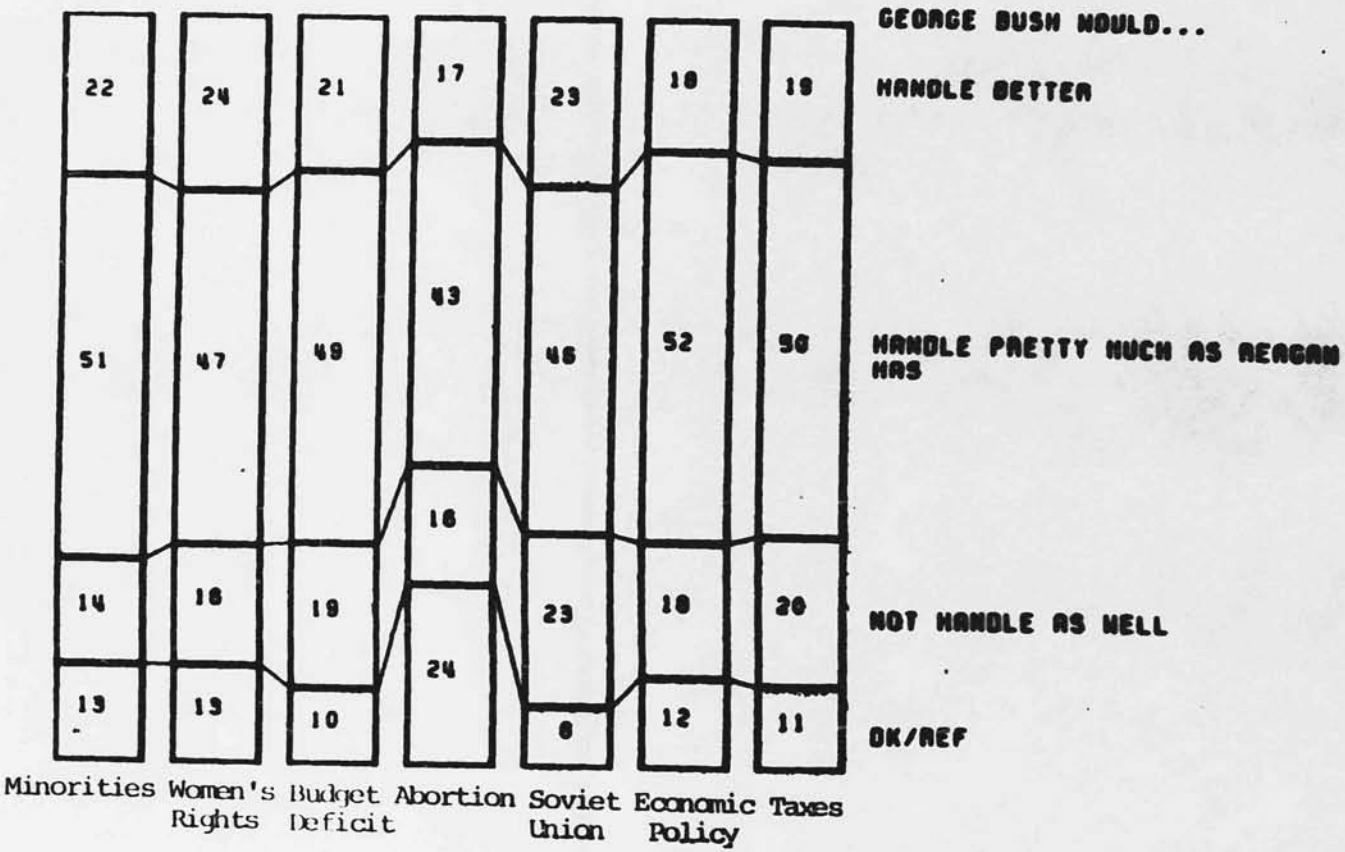
(cont'd.)

	Total Electorate					Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan	Total	Reagan>> Bush	Reagan> Bush	Reagan= Bush	Bush> Reagan
Age										
18-24	16%	20%	14%	14%	12%	18%	19%	16%	18%	17%
25-39	35	40	36	32	36	35	41	32	30	37
40-54	21	20	21	23	17	22	24	20	25	16
55-64	12	9	12	15	18	9	8	10	11	7
65+	15	9	17	17	17	16	9	22	16	24
Sex										
Male	48	49	54	45	48	50	48	54	47	59
Female	52	51	46	55	52	50	52	46	53	41
Status Group										
High income	15	18	18	13	16	21	23	22	20	14
Intelligentsia	11	11	13	9	13	13	12	14	12	15
Middle class	31	35	32	30	22	38	38	38	39	26
Lower end	18	17	15	22	15	16	17	13	17	19
Jews	4	3	4	3	6	2	1	2	1	5
Hispanics	4	5	4	5	1	3	4	3	2	—
Blacks	11	5	6	14	21	3	1	3	3	14

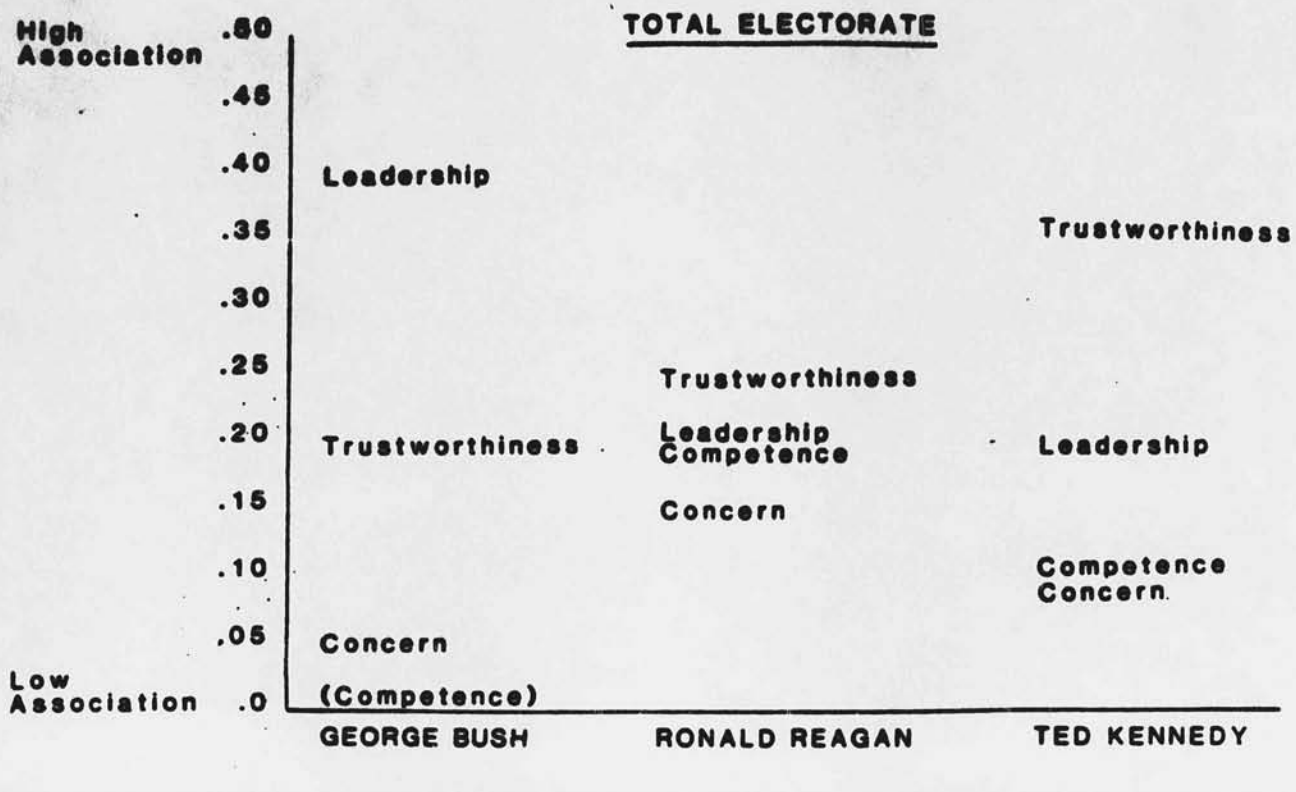
#This table analyzes the differences in perceptions of Reagan and Bush as measured on their respective 0-100° thermometer scales.

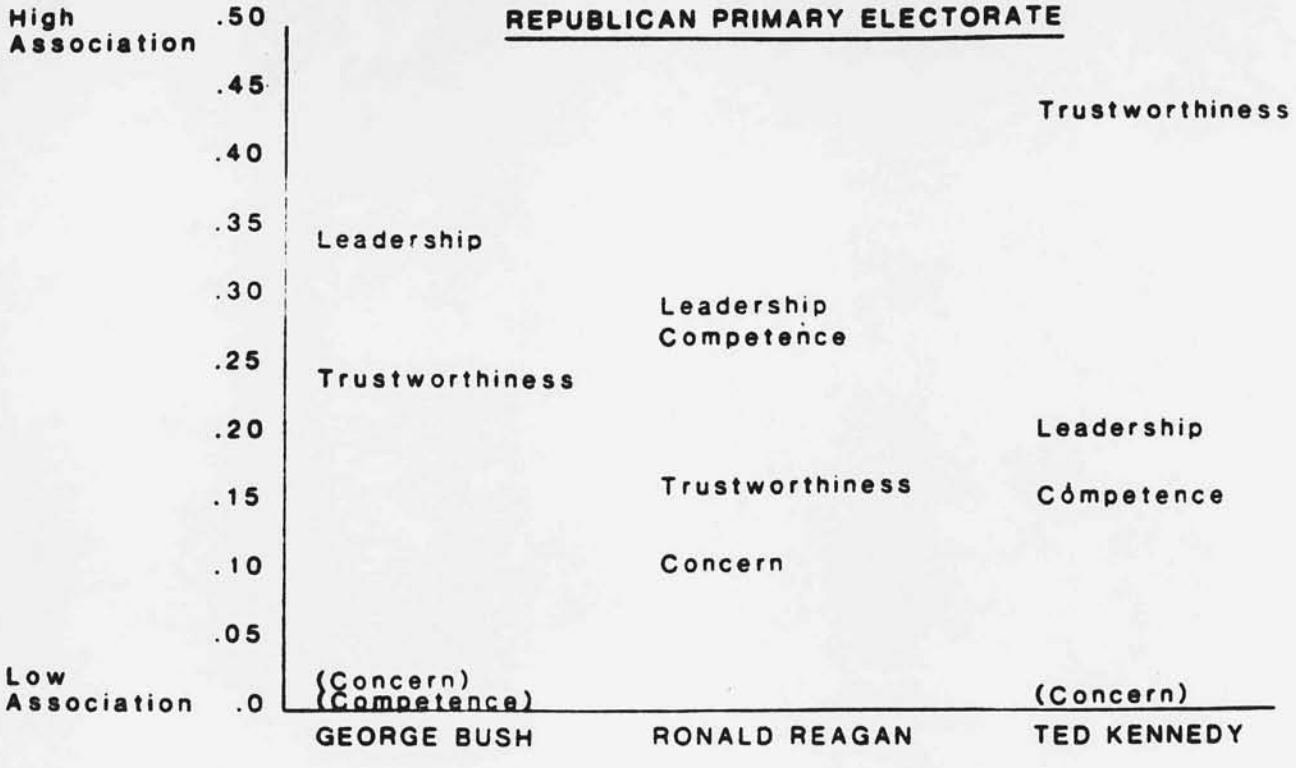
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ISSUE HANDLING COMPARISON OF GEORGE BUSH AND RONALD REAGAN



Perceptions Associated With Feelings Toward Bush, Reagan, and Kennedy





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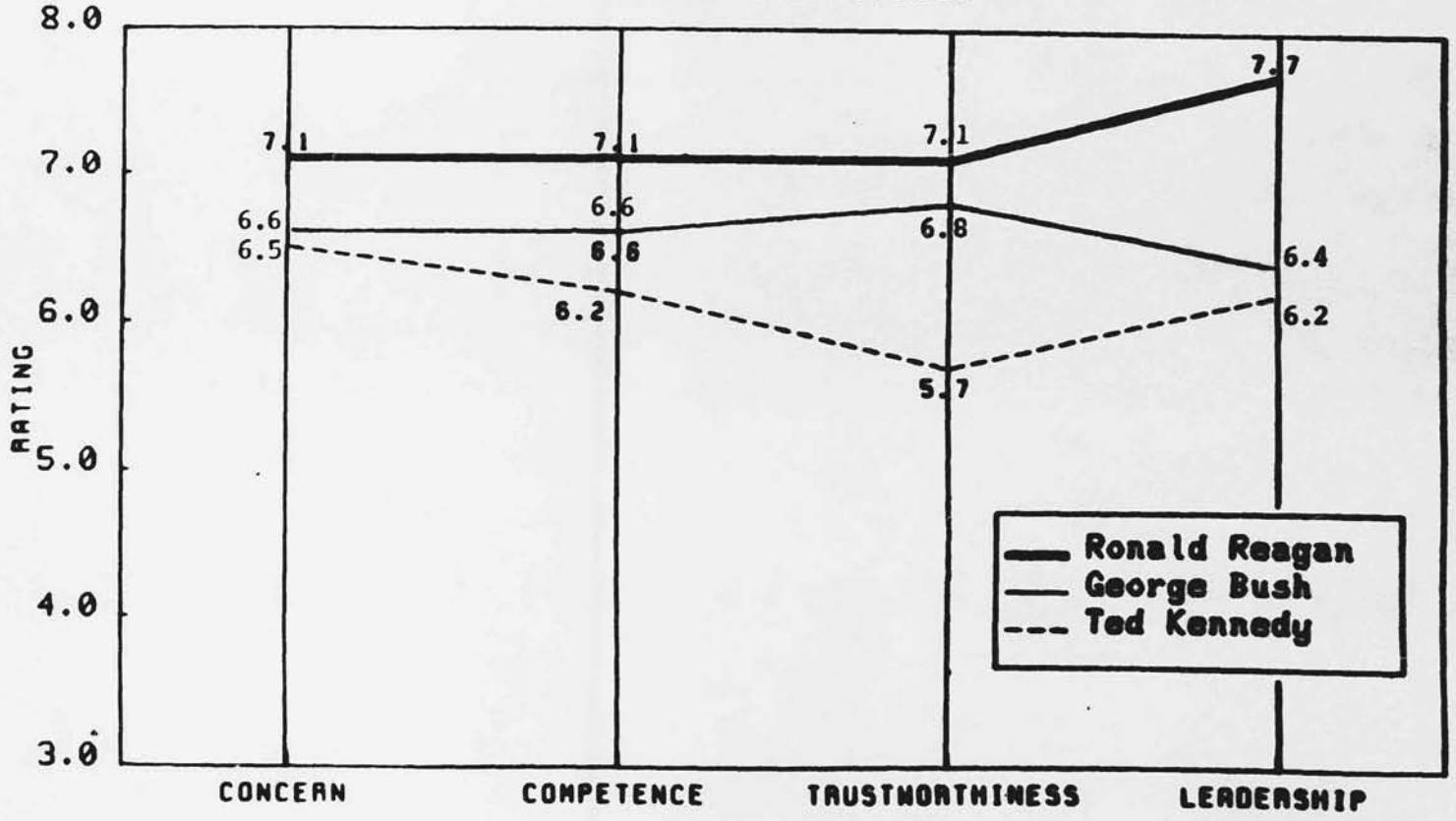
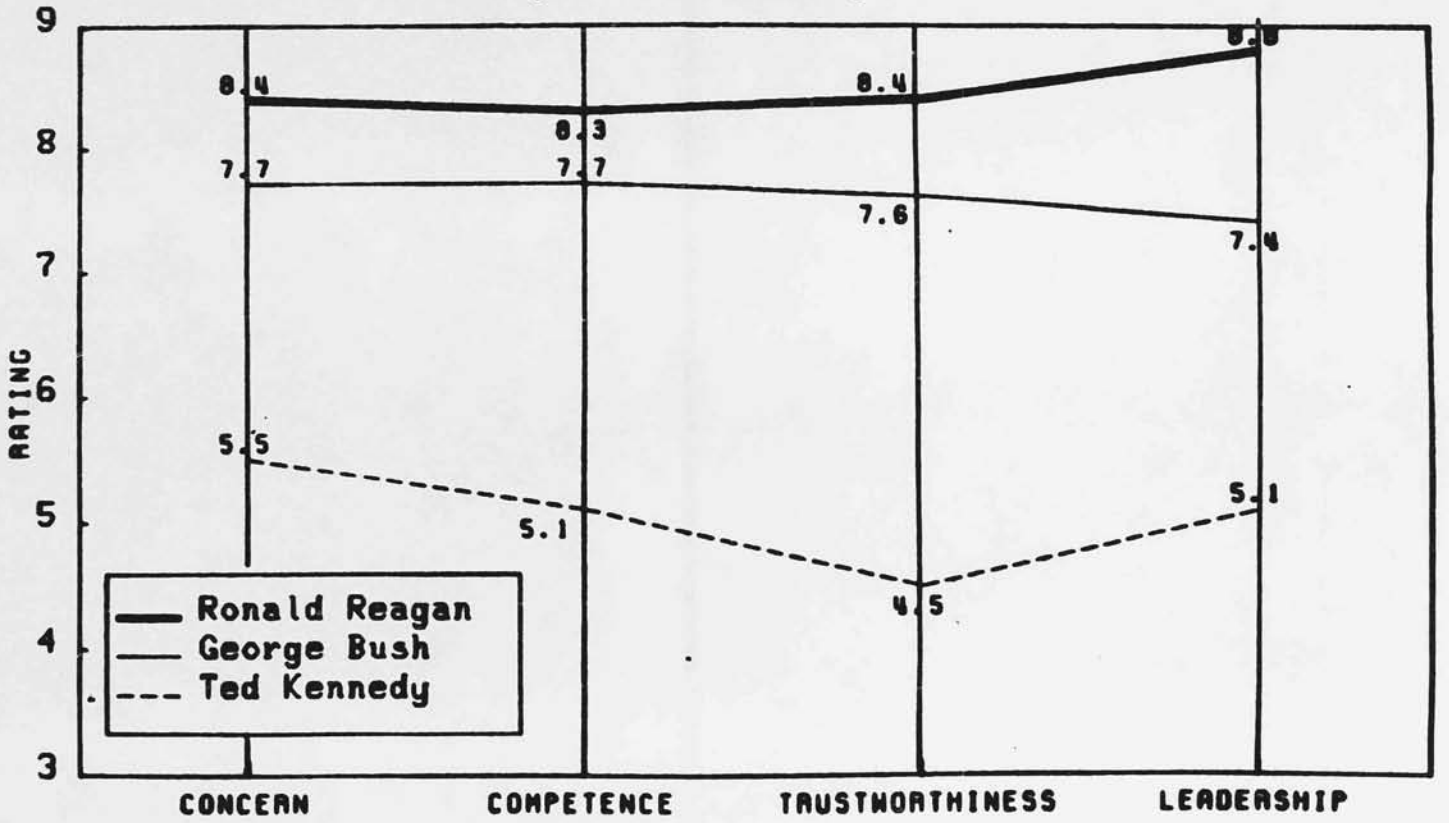
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS
(Total Electorate)



RATINGS OF REAGAN, BUSH, AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISITCS
(Republican Primary Voters)



Analysis of Perceptions of Reagan and Bush*

	Thermometer Comparison General Electorate					Thermometer Comparison Republican Primary Electorate				
	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR	Total	RR>>GB	RR>GB	RR=GB	GB>RR
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(431)	(328)	(525)	(216)	(540)	(190)	(158)	(154)	(39)
Personal Qualities										
Trustworthiness										
Ronald Reagan	7.1#	7.9	8.0	6.8	4.7	8.4	8.5	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.8	6.6	7.1	6.7	6.6	7.8	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.9
Leadership										
Ronald Reagan	7.6	8.5	8.5	7.3	5.5	8.8	8.9	9.1	8.9	6.7
George Bush	6.4	6.0	6.9	6.6	6.1	7.4	6.7	7.7	8.1	7.5
Competence										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	8.0	7.9	6.8	4.6	8.3	8.4	8.5	8.4	6.1
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.1	6.7	6.2	7.7	7.1	7.9	8.3	7.6
Concern										
Ronald Reagan	7.1	7.9	7.8	6.8	4.9	8.4	8.3	8.7	8.6	6.5
George Bush	6.6	6.4	7.2	6.7	6.3	7.7	7.0	8.0	8.2	7.4
Handling of Issues										
Our relations with the Soviet Union	+ 0&	-24	- 7	+ 7	+44	- 4	-26	+ 2	+ 4	+4[illegible]
National economic policy	+ 0	-17	- 5	+ 4	+33	- 1	-13	- 5	+ 5	+[illegible]
Taxes	- 1	-19	- 6	+ 4	+29	- 4	-17	- 3	+ 5	+[illegible]
The federal budget deficit	+ 2	-19	+ 1	+ 8	+31	+ 8	-12	+ 6	+20	+[illegible]
Abortion	+ 1	-11	- 3	+ 3	+26	+ 0	-15	+ 4	+ 8	+[illegible]
Policies concerning minorities	+ 8	- 8	+ 8	+12	+35	+11	+ 2	+ 9	+17	+30
Women's rights	+ 8	- 6	+ 7	+11	+33	+11	- 1	+12	+17	+38

#Numbers are averages on a 0 to 10 scale, where 0=doesn't possess the characteristic at all and 10-possesses as much as any person possibly can.

&Numbers are the percent difference between "(George Bush) would handle it better" than Ronald Reagan and "would not handle it well." A positive number means Bush would handle it better than Reagan.

*Qualities and issues are listed in order of strength of effect on perceptions of Reagan and Bush. Boldfaced items indicate a significant relationship between that item and the difference in opinion of Reagan and Bush.

Republican Primary Trial Heat by Republicans' Generic Preferences

	Primary Trial Heat				
	Total	Bush	All Others	Undecided	Republican Distribution
Total	100%	58	36	6	100%
Most Important Presidential Characteristics*					
Respected by foreign leaders	100%	61	34	5	56
Has held a variety of government positions	100%	55	39	6	39
Is in government now	100%	54	39	7	27
Conservative	100%	57	40	3	32
Has worked with Ronald Reagan	100%	68	25	7	29
Most Appealing Candidate*					
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our posiiton in the world.	100%	56	38	6	64%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits, the country's number one priority.	100%	55	39	6	63
Has the best personal qualifications for the job.	100%	66	31	3	37
Is a fighter for making major changes in government.	100%	57	34	9	29

*Combined first and second choice used in each row.

I will briefly describe four presidential candidates and I'd like you to tell me which one most appeals to you.

Which one would you choose second?

	Republican Primary Electorate	
	Combined	First Choice
Combined First & Second Choices		
Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world	64%	40%
Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority	63	28
Has the best personal qualifications for the job	37	19
Is a fighter for making major changes in government	29	11
None/No second choice	2	1
Don't know/Refused	2	1

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(540)	(99)	(188)	(119)	(50)	(84)	(270)	(270)	(115)	(68)	(204)	(85)	(10)	(17)	(15)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices															
George Bush	76%	81%	77%	71%	70%	76%	78%	74%	75%	78%	76%	72%	73%	100%	75%
Bob Dole	30	38	29	24	29	36	33	28	31	21	35	35	—	16	25
Howard Baker	27	19	29	23	31	38	28	27	32	34	25	22	46	8	42
Jack Kemp	18	16	17	26	20	11	25	12	25	22	15	16	19	24	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	20	18	20	29	24	18	23	21	30	18	21	27	45	—
Don't know/Refused	20	22	23	26	10	11	14	27	14	12	25	25	18	6	17
First Choice															
George Bush	58%	69%	55%	56%	57%	54%	61%	55%	55%	58%	58%	58%	55%	100%	42%
Bob Dole	10	15	11	7	7	8	11	9	13	4	13	5	—	—	21
Howard Baker	12	5	15	10	9	17	11	12	12	11	13	12	18	—	7
Jack Kemp	8	4	7	14	5	6	10	6	12	11	5	6	—	—	21
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	5	6	4	13	12	4	9	6	13	5	11	9	—	—
Don't know/Refused	6	3	6	8	8	3	3	8	2	4	5	8	18	—	10

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

If the primary election to select the Republican candidate for President were being held today and the candidates were (CANDIDATE NAMES), would you be voting for (CANDIDATE NAMES)?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

Who would be your second choice?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(500)	(498)	(16)	(26)	(22)	(93)	(78)	(47)	(46)	(142)	(29)	(83)
Combined 1st & 2nd Choices												
George Bush	76%	76%	63%	74%	71%	73%	72%	75%	73%	83%	71%	75%
Bob Dole	30	30	17	43	25	25	34	38	27	33	26	30
Howard Baker	27	28	34	20	30	28	24	33	41	26	25	22
Jack Kemp	18	19	6	13	13	23	19	11	16	18	8	24
Jeane Kirkpatrick	21	21	29	19	28	31	22	21	13	12	25	24
Don't know/Refused	20	20	31	21	25	18	23	16	18	23	29	16
First Choice												
George Bush	58%	59%	58%	47%	60%	55%	54%	54%	55%	64%	52%	61%
Bob Dole	10	9	11	21	--	8	9	16	13	11	10	9
Howard Baker	12	12	5	17	21	11	11	15	14	12	16	5
Jack Kemp	8	8	--	6	--	11	11	9	9	4	--	11
Jeane Kirkpatrick	7	7	6	5	11	13	10	2	--	5	6	8
Don't know/Refused	6	5	20	4	8	3	5	4	9	4	16	6

(continued on next page)

Demographic Profile of Republican Electorate 1985 vs. 1979

	Year	
	1979	1985
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(457)	(659)
Political Region		
New England	6%	4%
Mid-Atlantic	19	18
East North Central	19	16
West North Central	10	8
Border South	11	7
Deep South	16	26
Mountain	6	6
Pacific	13	15
Age		
18-24	16	19
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	10
65+	21	15
Sex		
Male	51	53
Female	50	47
Education		
Less than high school	17	10
High school/Vocational	37	34
Some college	24	31
College graduate	22	25
Other Groups		
Hispanics	2	4
Blacks	3	2

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A similar lack of association is seen in the groupings of Republicans by their selections of the five Bush characteristics as most important for a president to have, e.g. respected by foreign leaders, held a variety of government positions, etc. The trial heat results do not significantly change across four of the five groups of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who select "has worked with Ronald Reagan." Bush is their candidate; 68% vote for him against 25% for the combined field. As previously discussed, the latter characteristic is the only one of the five which in now associated with Bush and helps explain why voters like or dislike him. The relationship of the primary trial heat to these selections is an important demonstration of the earlier finding.

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As the Republican primary voters first choice, the unclaimed theme beats Dole, 40% to 28%. Bush (19%) and Kemp (11%) trail considerably behind. Dole gains strength in the Republicans' second choices (36%) against the unclaimed theme (25%) and finishes in a virtual tie of combined choices: unclaimed theme 64%, Dole 63%. Bush finishes a distant third (37%) and Kemp is last (29%).

One clear lesson of this experiment is that Bush is not going to cross the goal line with the theme most commonly associated with him. His resume characteristics are an important asset for him, but, alone, they will not get him elected.

The results, just as clearly demonstrate the great appeal of an issue theme and the need for Bush to be associated with one. Moreover, six years into the Reagan Revolution the two principle themes of that revolution still exhibit significant appeal. This, of course, may change by 1988. Nevertheless, these results confirm that the candidate who is most associated with carrying on the Reagan Revolution would have the inside track in the Republican primary.

For the most part, the potential Republican primary candidates have not successfully associated themselves with one of these generic preferences of Republican primary voters. The primary trial heat result among Bush, Dole, Kemp, et al does not significantly change across three of the four generic preferences of Republicans. The exception are the Republicans who prefer the candidate with the best personal qualifications for the job. Bush is their candidate; 66% vote for him against 31% for the combined field.

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Republican Generic Preferences

Primary trial heats taken three years before the first state primary have little predictive value. The main reason for this is that early trial heats are primarily driven by large descripencies in the voters' familiarity with the tested candidates. These "name I.D. gaps" usually disappear by the time the real vote is taken, and the election outcome often bares slight resemblence to the early survey data.

In this study an attempt was made to provide some data that could be projected into the future. The voters were presented with the description of the central themes of four candidacies. By design, three of the themes were meant to correspond to the themes with which George Bush, Bob Dole, and Jack Kemp might become uniquely associated by 1988. The fourth theme is not known to be uniquely associated with any 1988 contender, but it was added as the possible unclaimed winner. (Its resemblence to the meaning of Reagan's presidency is clear enough, however.)

The four themes, randomly presented, were:

- Has the best personal qualifications for the job. (Bush)
- Considers reducing the federal budget deficits the country's number one priority. (Dole)
- Is a fighter for making major changes in government. (Kemp)
- Would step-up the pace of reducing government spending and strengthening our position in the world. (Unclaimed)

Jeane Kirkpatrick is most popular in the Mid-Atlantic states, among members of the intelligentsia, women, and primary voters over 55.

Kemp draws mainly from Republican party regulars and gets his highest geographic share from the Mid-Atlantic and Pacific states. He is far more popular among men than women, and draws more from middle aged Republicans than from either young or old Republicans.

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The Race for the Republican Nomination

Vice-President George Bush is the clear front-runner for the Republican nomination for President at this juncture. He leads fellow Republicans Bob Dole, Howard Baker, Jack Kemp, and Jeane Kirkpatrick with 58% of the first choice vote and 76% of the combined first and second choice vote. The others are far behind — Dole with 30% of the combined first and second choice vote, Baker with 27%, Kirkpatrick with 21% and Kemp with 18%.

Voting intentions are strongly related to awareness at the present time. Only 3% of the country's Republicans have never heard of Bush, but 25% are unaware of Dole, 27% are unaware of Baker, 33% have never heard of Kirkpatrick, and fully 48% have never heard of Kemp.

Bush is the clear choice among Republicans across the country. None of the other candidates comes close in any geographic or demographic subgroup. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see where the other candidates get the support they do receive.

Bob Dole receives his highest levels of support from independent Republicans, West North Central state residents, Republicans under 25, and those 65 or older.

Howard Baker draws from Republicans of all strengths of partisanship and gets 41% of the Border South vote and higher than (his) average levels of support from Republicans 55 or older.

CHAPTER 3: THE 1988 REPUBLICAN PRIMARY BATTLE

The Republican Primary Electorate: 1985 vs. 1979

It is instructive to take a look at the changes in the composition of the Republican primary electorate since the 1980 Presidential campaign before taking a hard look at organizing for 1988. As we know, the "Reagan Revolution" has had a significant impact on partisan politics. Republicans have gone from the minority party to party parity over the past three election cycles.

Republicans today are younger and better educated than were Republicans in 1979. In 1979, 44% of the Republicans were under 40. Now, 54% are. The percent of college educated (at least some college) Republicans has gone from 46% six years ago to 56% today.

Republican gains in the South are very evident when looking at the geographic distribution of the national electorate. In 1979, 27% of the nation's behavioral Republicans lived in the South. That number has gone up to 33% today. Gains are biggest in the Deep South, where the contribution has gone from 16% to 26%.

So, the party's constituency has changed in the last six years. There are more young Republicans and more Republicans in the South, especially the Deep South.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Geodemographic Analysis of Key Bush Support Groups

		General Election				Primary Election		Bush Thermometer		
	Total	Core Republican	Republican Defectors	Democratic Defectors	Core Democrat	Bush	All Others	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
Total	100%	30%	19%	20%	24%	58%	42%	49%	26%	20%
Northern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	27	22	25	19	59	41	46	32	19
40-54, under $40,000	100%	27	23	19	24	55	45	43	25	26
55+, under $40,000	100%	34	14	19	26	46	[54]	52	25	15
18-39, over $40,000	100%	33	18	19	26	52	48	56	28	15
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[40]	[27]	14	13	60	40	49	35	14
55+, over $40,000	100%	35	[26]	16	23	49	[51]	[56]	26	18
Southern White										
18-39, under $40,000	100%	41	22	19	14	68	32	54	24	15
40-54, under $40,000	100%	34	23	17	23	55	45	51	26	18
55+, under $40,000	100%	32	19	18	18	65	35	[64]	22	8
18-39, over $40,000	100%	[42]	26	16	16	43	57	63	21	13
40-54, over $40,000	100%	[58]	15	15	6	58	42	[79]	12	6
55+, over $40,000	100%	[71]	9	—	10	[75]	25	[87]	13	—
Jews	100%	15	16	[35]	[32]	55	45	34	28	[30]
Hispanics	100%	33	10	20	27	100	—	51	29	16
Blacks	100%	9	9	20	[53]	42	58	26	24	[43]

Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

(cont'd.)

		Presidential Ballot Summary*							
	Total	Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
Tracer Group									
White northern Protestant	25%	19%	21%	25%	22%	13%	29%	31%	31%
White northern Catholic	14	14	21	14	14	14	15	22	9
White northern union	14	17	10	17	15	18	19	11	12
Southern white	26	14	29	20	18	34	30	27	37

*Boxes drawn compare core Democratic and Republican constituencies.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jewish	Hispanic	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
George Bush	51%	54%	46%	53%	48%	57%	56%	45%	66%	62%	57%	46%	34%	44%	13%
Ted Kennedy	45	43	50	42	49	38	40	50	30	33	40	51	62	51	83
Don't know/Refused	4	3	3	6	4	6	4	5	4	7	4	3	4	6	4
George Bush	50%	53%	47%	51%	50%	56%	54%	46%	62%	52%	54%	53%	32%	49%	25%
Gary Hart	45	43	50	44	46	36	41	49	36	39	42	41	68	43	69
Don't know/Refused	5	5	4	5	6	7	5	5	1	9	4	5	—	8	6
George Bush	49%	54%	48%	50%	46%	51%	48%	51%	54%	52%	52%	55%	38%	43%	28%
Lee Iacocca	43	40	46	42	43	43	48	39	42	42	42	36	55	41	63
Don't know/Refused	7	5	6	7	12	7	5	10	4	6	6	9	8	16	10

Demographic Profile of Presidential Ballot Groups*

		Presidential Ballot Summary*							
	Total	Core Democratic	Anti-Kennedy Dems	Anti-Hart Dems	Anti-Iacocca Dems	Pro-Kennedy Reps	Pro-Hart Reps	Pro-Iacocca Reps	Core Republican
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(359)	(87)	(70)	(137)	(83)	(72)	(120)	(457)
Party Identification									
Republican	44%	6%	30%	28%	19%	44%	53%	75%	[80%]
Independent	10	6	16	11	8	9	12	12	7
Democrat	46	[88]	54	61	73	47	35	13	13
Political Region									
New England	5	7	6	10	9	5	7	6	[16]
Mid-Atlantic	16	[19]	17	21	14	17	19	22	14
East North Central	18	[20]	17	20	21	16	20	15	15
West North Central	7	7	7	7	5	9	9	6	8
Border South	8	6	4	6	8	9	8	7	[10]
Deep South	26	22	30	22	24	35	24	22	[redacted]
Mountain	5	5	10	2	8	3	4	7	[redacted]
Pacific	14	14	9	13	12	8	9	17	15
Age									
18-24	16	15	16	17	10	22	28	12	17
25-39	35	[37]	38	43	49	31	34	35	31
40-54	21	21	24	13	16	27	23	21	22
55-64	13	14	12	10	16	12	4	11	13
65+	15	14	12	17	9	9	12	20	12
Sex									
Male	48	45	56	54	34	45	47	73	49
Female	52	55	44	46	66	55	53	27	51
Status Groups									
High income	15	12	20	13	6	11	17	23	21
Intelligentsia	11	8	12	8	9	4	14	15	13
Middle class	31	25	35	23	32	35	30	42	32
Lower end	18	16	12	26	22	27	19	11	14
Jewish	4	5	5	6	7	2	4	2	[redacted]
Hispanic	4	5	3	3	6	1	—	4	[redacted]
Black	11	[24]	6	14	13	15	2	—	[redacted]

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Here are some general election races for President that could be on the ballot in 1988. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mention were the candidates.

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT FULL NAMES IN SAME ORDER)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush	51%	82%	51%	20%	34%	49%	45%	54%	55%	54%	55%	53%
Ted Kennedy	45	16	38	74	61	48	51	41	41	42	39	41
Don't know/Refused	4	1	11	5	5	2	5	5	5	4	6	5
George Bush	50%	80%	44%	24%	33%	47%	44%	58%	57%	56%	43%	53%
Gary Hart	45	17	40	72	61	48	50	41	38	41	50	40
Don't know/Refused	5	2	17	4	6	5	6	2	5	4	8	6
George Bush	49%	73%	39%	29%	42%	44%	46%	51%	58%	57%	45%	45%
Lee Iacocca	43	25	42	61	53	51	47	39	32	38	46	43
Don't know/Refused	7	2	18	10	6	5	7	11	10	6	9	11

(continued on next page)

The core Democratic vote, 24% of the electorate in these 3 trial heats, is young (15% are under 25, 37% are aged 25 to 39), middle class (25%) or lower end (16%), black (24%), and from the Eastern Seaboard (35%) or the East North Central states (20%).

A 46% plurality of the Democratic defectors, who vote for Bush on one of the three ballots, do so to vote against Iacocca. They are strongly Democratic, lower status, and largely female. They just don't like Lee Iacocca.

Each Democrat appears, then, to have his own constituency. Kennedy is supported most by the party regulars, Hart draws a younger vote, and Iacocca grasps a larger share of the centrist vote. None currently has a larger or broad enough constituency to outdraw George Bush. Each contest looks as though it would be a tight one, however.

Looking at these data, the demographic profile of the defectors, and their perceptions of Bush, it appears that the voter groups Bush can most easily lose are:

- Northern whites under 40 with incomes under $40,000, who could go Democratic
- Northern high income whites over 55, who could defect in a primary situation, but probably would not in a general election

Thus, Bush may have difficulty holding onto the younger, marginal voter, who came over to the Republican column because of Reagan.

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Demographically, Bush tops the Democrats among adults under 25 and over 65, among high income and middle class whites, among the intelligentsia, and among men.

Combining all three ballots gives a good sense of the core Republican and Democratic presidential constituencies at the present time. In total, 49% of the vote is Republican — with 30% core Republican and 19% soft Republican — and 44% is Democratic — 24% core Democratic, 20% soft Democratic. The other 7% are marginal voters who are undecided on the trial heats at the present time.

The core Republican vote against the 3 tested Democrats consists of:

- northern white Protestants (31%)
- whites in the South (37%)
- over 55 (30%)
- over $40,000 income (21%)

The soft Republican vote is made up of those who vote Republican on 2 out of the 3 ballots. A plurality of them (44%) are Lee Iacocca defectors. These eligible voters are largely weak or independent Republicans. Iacocca Republican defectors are older than Kennedy or Hart defectors; Hart's defectors are the youngest. Iacocca defectors are mostly male; Hart defectors are female. Iacocca defectors are also of higher socioeconomic status than are either Hart or Kennedy defectors. Regionally, Iacocca defectors live north of the Mason-Dixon line, while slightly over a third (34%) of the pro-Kennedy defectors are white Southerners. Also, union defectors go for Kennedy and Hart more than for Iacocca.

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CHAPTER 2: THE 1988 GENERAL ELECTION

Even though the 1988 Presidential election is 36 months away, three 1988 trial heats were tested in order to assess the early strength of George Bush against possible Democratic opponents. At the present time, Bush leads Ted Kennedy by a 51% to 45% margin, with 4% undecided; he tops Gary Hart by a 50% to 45% margin, with 5% undecided; and he edges out Lee Iacocca by a 49% to 43% margin, with 7% undecided.

All three races are similar in their overall margins, but each reveal a different subgroup pattern of voting. Bush leads all three men among Republicans, garnering a solid 82% against Kennedy and 80% against Hart. He falls to a lesser 73% against Iacocca, indicating that Iacocca has some drawing power among Republicans. Bush gets his largest share of Independents (51%) against Kennedy, and the lowest (39%) against Iacocca again indicating Iacocca's potential drawing power. Bush gets his biggest share of the Democratic vote (29%) against Iacocca and the least (20%) against Kennedy.

Regionally, Bush leads all three men in all but the Eastern Seaboard, East North Central, and Mountain states. Kennedy's regional strength lies in New England, Hart's in New England and the Mountain states, and Iacocca in the Eastern Seaboard (New England and the Mid-Atlantic states).

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of disucssion in the 1988 Presidential campaign and, as such, is an important area to explore here.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

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Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englanders, women, Democrats, and senior citizens are the most pacifist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

The fact that Bush is the head of a task force on international terrorism could be of great benefit to him when discussing this issue. Pro Bush voters are more pro military action than average, and his role on the task force should be a plus for him. This issue is surely one that will be around in 1988, and it provides Bush with a good opportunity to demonstrate his strength and resolve on the issue as well as his breadth of experience.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	12	2.1	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	24	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	30	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	27	11	2.1	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	(80)
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(2[illegible]
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237)
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531)
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	14	2.0	(313)
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(189)
65+	100%	24	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225)
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	28	13	2.1	(72[illegible]
Female	100%	20	30	27	13	5	1.6	(77[illegible]
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(22[illegible]
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(163
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	1.9	(45[illegible]
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	27	12	2.1	(27[illegible]
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	16	2.1	(5[illegible]
Black	100%	27	26	20	20	6	1.5	(6[illegible]
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	29	4	2.0	(15[illegible]

#Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

		Sex	
	Total	Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.8	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

(continued on next page)

Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	--

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#Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy.

A small 34% plurality of voters state that there should be less "trade" with other countries than there is now. A lesser 31% believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. However, fully 51% say that there should be fewer "imports." Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist," 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

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Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- **Democrats**
- **mid-Atlantic state residents**
- **women**
- **blacks**
- **middle class lower end whites**
- **those with no college education**

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

The electorate's relative perceptions of Bush and Reagan do not appear to be affected by the trade issue. Core Reaganites are somewhat more protectionist than the anti-Reagan, pro-Bush voter, but those who rate them equally also lean toward protectionism. It is therefore an issue that Bush can develop without concern about alienating the Reagan constituency. The only concern should be not to appear too "free trade-ish," but that would alienate most voters, including Reagan supporters.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely than free traders to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign

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competition. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

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There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

The placement of blame for trade problems does not divide the Reagan-Bush coalition groups. All groups feel that the blame lies with foreign contries more than U.S. business, and secondarily that the blame should be shared.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept should be explored. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

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Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

	Total	Protectionism Index: Protectionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**47%**	**30%**	**23%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[56]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[56]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[56]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

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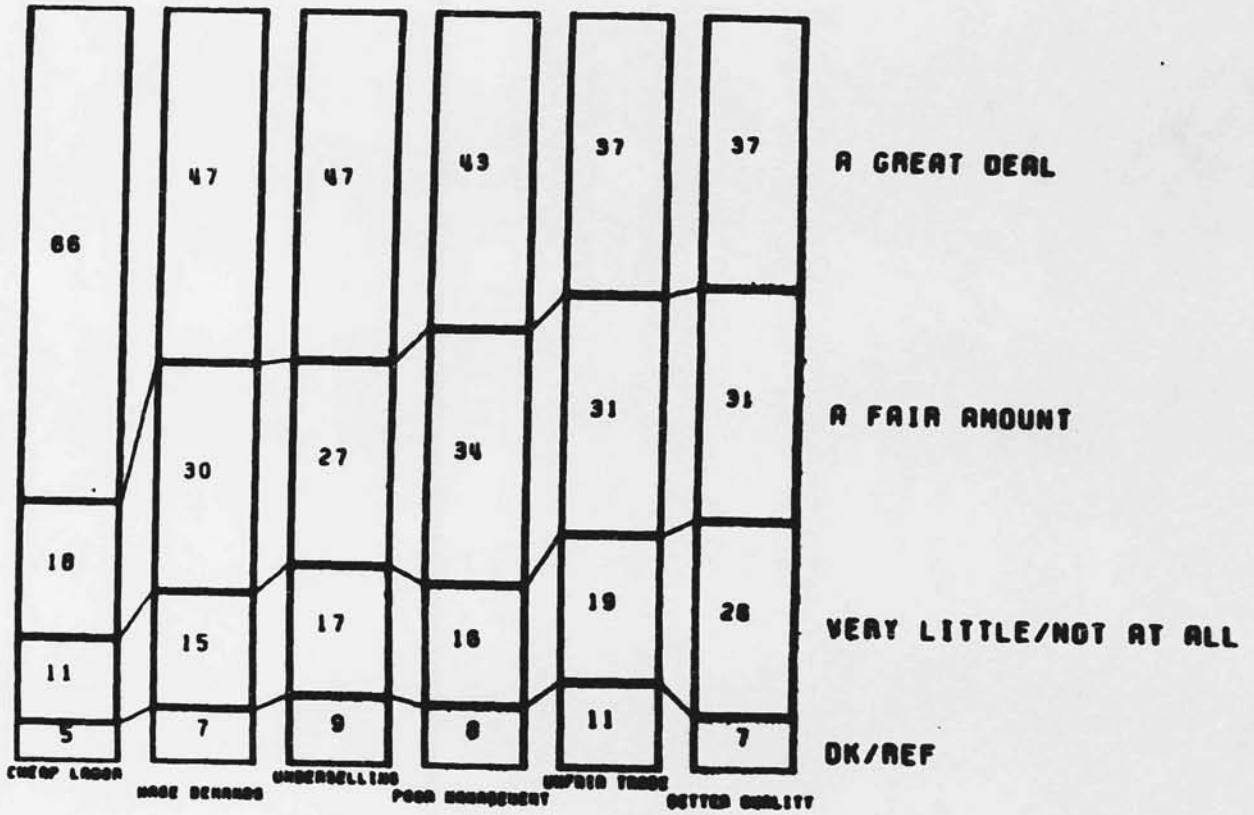
PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

		Blame for Trade Problems[a]			
	Total	Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	30	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	43	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

(continued next page)

Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a]: Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	39	34	27	(421)
RR>GB	100%	41	36	23	(328)
RR=GB	100%	38	39	23	(444)
GB>RR	100%	36	34	30	(216)

[a] Composite index of questions 17-22.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

U.S. National Study

Analysis Report

Prepared For:

The Republican National Committee

Not to be released without the joint permission
of Market Opinion Research and
the Republican National Committee

December, 1985
#P85040

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FOREWORD

This survey of adults in the United States was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the survey are:

* To measure public support for the Republican and Democratic parties, profile their respective coalitions, and analyze their strengths and weaknesses.
* To uncover whether or not the 1984 post-election party parity has been maintained through 1985.
* To compare the current 44% Republican Party coalition with the minority coalitions of years past.
* To assess the mood of the national electorate with regard to their perceptions of the direction of the country and approval of President Reagan and Vice-President Bush.
* To measure the basic issue attitudes of the American public with regard to such areas as traditionalism, government assistance, unions, and foreign aid and intervention.
* To map the national issue agenda, especially with respect to the important issues of foreign trade and international terrorism.
* To map voter perceptions of major political figures on a two-dimensional space containing partisan and ideological axes.

Research Design

Sample/Field

Fifteen hundred (1500) telephone interviews were administered to a clustered, probability-proportionate-to-size random sample of U.S.

citizens, 18 years old or older living in the continental United States. The interviewing was conducted between September 17th and 25th, 1985.

Sample Design

The sample was stratified by the nine U.S. Census regions.

Sampling Frame by Census Region

Census Region	PPS Sample: Number of Areas	PPS Sample: Total Number of Interviews
New England	16	79
Mid-Atlantic	49	245
East North Central	55	265
West North Central	22	111
South Atlantic	51	257
East South Central	19	95
West South Central	32	158
Mountain	16	80
Pacific	42	211
Totals	300	1500

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Sample Weights

The sample was checked against census data and previous survey results. Adjustment weights were applied by party identification, age and race within regions. The weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e. fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is fifteen hundred (N=1500).

The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1500) is ±2.5% at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their sample estimate within plus or minus 2.5% of the population value.

Data Processing

The interviews were conducted, validated and edited in MOR's telephone facilities in Detroit, Farmington, and Livonia, Michigan. The completed interviews were coded and keyed and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

Staff Participation

Design/Questionnaire: Robert Teeter and Frederick Steeper

Analysis Report: Julie Weeks and Frederick Steeper

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Special Analysis Measures in the Report

Party identification in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Strong Democrat	17%		
Weak Democrat	17	Dem.	46%
Independent Democrat	12		
Independent	10	Ind.	10%
Independent Republican	13		
Weak Republican	17	Rep.	44%
Strong Republican	14		
Other	1		
	100%		

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"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refer to the following data:

	Education				
	Less than H.S. Grad.	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduates	Post Graduates
Family Income					
Less than $15,000	LOWER END			INTELLIGENTSIA	
$15,000-$40,000		MIDDLE CLASS			
Over $40,000	HIGH INCOME				

The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

These status groups have been found to have significantly different issue interests and degrees of support for the Republican Party.

	Distribution of Index
High income	15%
Intelligentsia	11
Middle class	31
Lower end	18
Jews	4
Hispanics	4
Blacks	11
Not ascertained	7
Total	100%

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"Historical Tracer Group" in the analysis tables is another socio-demographic segmentation of the population based on religion, union membership, and region. Each group is mutually exclusive, that is, a person can only be in one group.

		Distribution of Index
(White Northern)	Protestant	25%
(White Northern)	Catholic	13
(White Northern)	Union	14
	Southern whites	26
	Jews	4
	Blacks	11
	Hispanics	4
	All others	3
	Total	100%

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There are two protectionism indices. One is a simple combination of questions 14 and 24. In this measure, free traders are those who think the country would be better off with more foreign trade and more imports. Protectionists have the opposite view.

	Distribution of Index	
1. Protectionist	28%	47%
2.	19	
3. Mixed	30	
4.	17	23%
5. Free trader	6	
Total	100%	

The other index is a combination of questions 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, and 25. It yields the following distribution:

	Distribution of Index	
Core protectionist	17%	42%
Lean protectionist	25	
Neutral/Mixed	13	
Lean anti-protectionist	28	45%
Core anti-protectionist	17	
Total	100%	

The "Military Action Index" is comprised of questions 33 to 37. Those who favor the questions are counted to form a 0 to 4 scale. Voters at the 0 end oppose military action in all the situations presented to them, those who are a 4 favor it in all the situations presented to them.

		Distribution of Index
0	No military action	16%
1		25
2		28
3		23
4	Military action in all cases	9
Total		100%

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U.S. National Study
September, 1985
Total Results

		Total Electorate
1.	Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?	
	Right direction	50%
	Wrong track	39
	Don't know	10
	Refused/NA	1
2.	Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?	
	Working fairly well	53
	Need significant changes	43
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	*
3.	What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)	
	SEE ATTACHED TABLE	
4.	Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	
	Strongly approve	34
	Somewhat approve	34
	Somewhat disapprove	12
	Strongly disapprove	15
	Don't know	4
	Refused/NA	2
5.	Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?	
	Strongly approve	22
	Somewhat approve	35
	Somewhat disapprove	8
	Strongly disapprove	9
	Don't know	23
	Refused/NA	3

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(IF NEED SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN Q.2:)

Q.3 What kinds of changes do you think need to be made? (Responses of 2% or more)

	Total
The deficit/National debt/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control/Deficit spending/Cut spending/ Spending less money	7%
Taxes/Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/Tax structure/Need fair taxation/ Taxes are way out of line/Taxes need to be re-worked	4
Better leadership in government/We need new politicians/Change in government officials/Different officials/Change the people in office	4
More concern for the people/Think more about the people in the country/Start looking out for people in this country/Interaction with people instead of issues	4
Less foreign aid/Stay out of foreign countries/Focus on problems here, rather than overseas/Take care of ourselves instead of other countries	4
The President/Need a new president/Need a different president/Replace the president	4
Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work/Need jobs for people/More jobs	4
Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majorities' opinions/Popular vote instead of electoral vote	3
Our trade policy/Balance trade/Foreign trade balance/Knock out all imports/ Too many imports/Importing too much/ Should buy more American	3
More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values/Reduce corruption in government	3
Social Security/Changes in Social Security/Social Security should still be given/Taking money from Social Security/Not fair to older people-Social Security	2%
The judicial system needs to be changed/Supreme Court overhaul	2
Farming/Farming policy/Need a better farm policy/Farmers need help/Government should do something for the farmers	2
Not enough for the poor/Help poor people/Concern for the poor/ Underprivileged citizens need help/Concern for the homeless	2
Need changes in criminal law/ Stystem of parolling convicts is bad/Crime	2
Our political system/Need a new system/Not a well-balanced system	2
Not enough for the middle class/ More needs to be done for middle and lower class	2
Foreign policy/More concern for foreign affairs/Our relationship with other countries	2
Less defense/Less money on defense/Less spending on the military/Military budget should be trimmed	2
All other miscellaneous responses	4
Don't know	17
Refused/No answer	*

Combined Responses

Social/Domestic policy mentions	23
Economic mentions	18
Foreign policy mentions	15
Defense/Foreign policy	11
Systemic changes	7
Taxes	6

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Attitude Scale #1	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.	100%	22	19	4	25	26	5	- 9
Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world.	100%	41	32	1	13	10	3	+50
Attitude Scale #2								
We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	100%	41	21	4	19	11	4	+32
Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries.	100%	22	34	2	17	22	3	+17
Attitude Scale #3								
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	100%	55	20	3	7	13	1	+55
A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion is she wants one.	100%	46	19	2	6	24	3	+36

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #4	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	100%	39	24	3	15	16	32	+32
The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.	100%	30	21	1	22	25	1	+ 3
Attitude Scale #5								
Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	100%	20	27	4	18	27	4	+ 2
Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them.	100%	53	24	1	9	9	3	+59
Attitude Scale #6								
Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	100%	42	23	2	15	15	3	+35
Labour unions are very necessary to protect the working man.	100%	31	35	1	16	16	2	+35

(continued on next page)

Q.6-12 Now I'd like to read you some statements about various issues in the country. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q.26-31 Here are some statements about other issues in the country. For each one please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

(cont'd)

Attitude Scale #7	Total	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (VOL.)	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know/ Refused	PDI (a)
Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	100%	11	15	2	25	45	2	-44
(Combined with Jesse Jackson thermometer rating to form scale #7)								

(a) PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Agree" minus % "Disagree,"

Thinking about foreign trade for a moment. . .

		Total Electorate
13. All in all, do you think that trade with other countries, both buying and selling goods, helps the United States' economy or hurts the United States' economy?	Helps	55%
	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4
	Hurts	36
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	*
14. Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries? (See, also, Q.24)	More	31
	About the same	28
	Less	34
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1
15. Do you know of any specific businesses in your area that have been hurt by foreign competition?	Yes	46
	No	51
	Don't know	2
	Refused/NA	*

16. Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(RANDOMIZE)

a.	Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price	16
b.	Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries	53
c.	Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products	27
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	1

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Q.17-22 As you know, we have a foreign trade deficit. This means that we are buying more from foreign countries than we are selling to them. For each of the following, please tell me how much you think it has contributed to the trade deficit -- a great deal, a fair amount, very little or not at all. First, how much do you think (READ ITEM) has contributed to the trade deficit?

Total Electorate	Total	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Very Little	Not At All	Don't know/ Refused
Cheap labor in foreign countries	100%	66%	18%	8%	3%	5%
Wage demands by American labor unions.	100%	47	30	11	4	7
The selling of goods at less than cost by foreign companies.	100%	47	27	12	5	9
Poor planning and management by U.S. companies.	100%	43	34	12	4	8
Better quality of foreign products.	100%	37	31	18	8	7
Unfair trade policies of foreign countries.	100%	37	31	15	4	11

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HALF SAMPLE A

23A. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)	Total Electorate
a. The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries.	32%
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mismanagement and excessive labor costs.	58
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	1

HALF SAMPLE B

23B. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

(ROTATE)	
a. The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30
OR	
b. American industries are blaming the Europeans for their on mismanagement and excessive labor costs	55
Don't know.	14
Refused/NA.	2

24.	Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?	More . . . . . 9 About the same . . . . . 36 Less . . . . . 51 Don't know . . . . . 3 Refused/NA 1
25.	If we allow fewer foreign imports into our country, other countries may allow fewer of our products into their country. This is sometimes called a "trade war." Which do you think is more important (ROTATE: avoiding a trade war or allowing fewer foreign imports into our country?)	Avoiding a trade war . . . . . 35 Allowing fewer imports into country 58 Don't know . . . . . 7 Refused/NA . . . . . *

International terrorism is another issue which has been in the news recently. . .

		Total Electorate
32. Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Not much gov't can do	36%
	Gov't can significantly reduce	57
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	*
33. Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	73
	Oppose	19
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1
34. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?	Favor . . .(GO TO Q.35)	43
	Oppose. . .(GO TO Q.38)	40
	Don't know.(GO TO Q.38)	15
	Refused/NA.(GO TO Q.38)	3

(ASK Q.35-37 ONLY IF FAVORS Q.33 OR Q.34)

35. Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?	Favor	35
	Oppose	40
	Oppose all military action (Q33,34)	16
	Don't know	8
	Refused/NA	1
36. Would you also favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?	Favor against suspected terrorists	28
	Favor only as retaliation	47
	Favor neither	4
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	1
37. Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?	Favor	36
	Oppose	40
	Oppose all (Q.33,34)	16
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1

(ASK ALL)

38. When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?	Should negotiate	59
	Refuse to negotiate	34
	Don't know	6
	Refused/NA	1
39. Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?	Individuals/Small groups	27
	Foreign government	66
	Don't know	7
	Refused/NA	1

Q.40-64 Now I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The first person is (READ AND ROTATE). How do you feel about (him/her) using a zero to one hundred scale?

	Total	Unfavorable (0-49)	Neutral (50)	Favorable (51-100)	Don't know/ Refused	Average
Ronald Reagan	100%	17	55	66	1	68°
Lee Iacocca	100%	16	14	51	19	64
Jeane Kirkpatrick	100%	11	15	35	38	62
The Republican Party	100%	21	23	52	4	60
Howard Baker	100%	12	21	36	32	60
George Bush	100%	20	26	49	5	59
The Democratic Party	100%	21	27	49	4	59
Robert Dole	100%	12	23	35	29	58
John Glenn	100%	17	27	43	12	58
Gerald Ford	100%	22	34	50	4	58
Jack Kemp	100%	9	13	22	57	57
Mario Cuomo	100%	14	9	25	53	56
Gary Hart	100%	19	23	41	17	55
Tip O'Neill	100%	27	19	44	10	55
Ted Kennedy	100%	30	22	44	5	54
Jimmy Carter	100%	31	21	45	2	53
Pat Robertson	100%	8	10	12	70	53
Conservatives	100%	29	29	32	10	50
Walter Mondale	100%	36	26	33	5	47
Jesse Jackson	100%	39	21	36	4	46
Geraldine Ferraro	100%	39	21	35	6	46
Jane Fonda	100%	40	20	30	9	43
Liberals	100%	41	27	21	11	41
George Wallace	100%	45	23	22	10	40
Jerry Falwell	100%	49	15	17	19	33

Here are some character traits and I'm going to ask you how much three well-known people possess each one. We will use a zero to ten scale where ten means the person possesses the trait as much as any person possibly can, and zero means the person doesn't possess it at all.

Let's start with (TRAIT). How would you rate (NAME) on this trait?

(Q. 90 - 101)

	Total Electorate Average
TRUSTWORTHINESS	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	5.7
CONCERN	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	6.5
LEADERSHIP	
Ronald Reagan	7.7
Ted Kennedy	6.2
COMPETENCE	
Ronald Reagan	7.1
Ted Kennedy	6.2

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		Total Electorate
102. On most political issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you tend to be extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	3%
	Fairly liberal	8
	Slightly liberal	4
	Moderate	52
	Slightly conservative	8
	Fairly conservative	13
	Extremely conservative	7
	Don't know	5
	Refused/NA	1

(ROTATE Q.103 AND Q.104)

103. How would you describe Ronald Reagan — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? (ASK:) Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2
	Fairly liberal	5
	Slightly liberal	3
	Moderate	26
	Slightly conservative	10
	Fairly conservative	25
	Extremely conservative	20
	Don't know	8
	Refused/NA	1

104. How would you describe George Bush — as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? Would you say he's extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative) or just slightly (liberal/conservative)? (liberal/conservative)?	Extremely liberal	2
	Fairly liberal	4
	Slightly liberal	4
	Moderate	36
	Slightly conservative	11
	Fairly conservative	21
	Extremely conservative	7
	Don't know	13
	Refused/NA	1

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

		Total Electorate
D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?	Republican.	31%
	Democrat.	34
	Independent	30
	No preference	3
	Other	*
	Don't know.	1
	Refused	*

Party Identification Scale	
Strong Democrat . . .	17
Weak Democrat	17
Independent Democrat.	12
Independent	10
Independent Republican	13
Weak Republican . . .	17
Strong Republican . .	14
Other/Not ascertained	*

D2. (V6)	In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)	Straight Democratic . 12 Mostly Democratic . . 17 A few more Democrats than Republicans. . 8 About equally for both parties . . . . . 21 A few more Republicans than Democrats. . . 7 Mostly Republican . . 18 Straight Republican . 8 Other . . . . . * Never voted . . . . . 5 Don't know. . . . . 2 Refused/NA. 1
D3.	Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?	Yes . . . . . 81 No. . . . . 16 Registered elsewhere. 3 Don't know. . . . . * Refused/NA. . . . . —

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		Total Electorate
D8B. What is your approximate age? (V10)	18-24 years	16
	25-29 years	11
	30-34 years	13
	35-39 years	11
	40-44 years	8
	45-49 years	6
	50-54 years	7
	55-59 years	6
	60-64 years	6
	65-74 years	11
	75 and over	4
	Refused	*
D9. What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5
	Some high school (Grade 9-11)	11
	Graduated high school	32
	Vocational school/ Technical school	3
	Some college-2 years or less	19
	Some college-more than 2 years	9
	Graduated college	14
	Post-graduate work	8
	Refused	--
D10. Are you currently. . . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	51
	Employed and working part-time	11
	Unemployed	5
	Retired	18
	Housewife	11
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*
	Other	4
	Don't know	--
	Refused/NA	*

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		Total Electorate
D11. What is your present marital status?	Single	24
	Married	62
	Divorced	7
	Separated	1
	Widow/Widower	7
	Don't know	—
	Refused/NA	*
D11a. (IF MARRIED) Is your spouse currently . . . (READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)	Employed and working full-time	58
	Employed and working part-time	8
	Unemployed	1
	Retired	17
	Housewife	15
	Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)	*
	Other	1
	Don't know	—
	Refused/NA	*
D13. From the following list, what would you say is the occupation of the primary wage earner in your family?	Salaried employee (manager, salesman, accountant)	26
	Self-employed	10
	Retired	17
	Professional (doctor, lawyer, CPA)	8
	Tradesman (carpenter, foreman, machinist)	7
	Executive (corporate officer)	4
	Homemaker	1
	Services (nurse, police, military)	5
	Hourly worker (laborer, typist)	12
	Student	1
	Education (teacher, counselor)	4
	Other	4
	Don't know	*
	Refused/NA	1

1 8 0 4 0 7 9 1

		Total Electorate
D15. Does anyone in your household do any farming?	Respondent.	3
	Other member of household	2
	Both.	2
	None.	93
	Don't know.	*
	Refused	—

D18. Is your work or anyone in your household in the field of health, education, or social welfare services?	Respondent.	11
	Other member of household.	10
	Both.	2
	None.	77
	Don't know.	*
	Refused	—

D19. Does anyone in your household belong to labor union or teachers' association? (CIRCLE A CODE UNDER BOTH RESPONDENT AND OTHER MEMBER)

	Total Electorate	
	Respondent	Other Member
Labor union.	10	10
Teachers' association.	4	5
No	85	83
Refused/Single member household.	*	3

D21. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?	— Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.). . .	54
	— Roman Catholic.	26
	Jewish.	4
	— Other Christian	10
	Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified	2
	Agnostic/Atheist. . . .	*
	None.	2
	Don't know.	1
	Refused	1

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D21X. Would you say that you go to church . . . (READ CODES)	Every week.	28
	Almost every week . . .	12
	Once or twice a month .	17
	A few times a year. . .	31
	Never	11
	Don't know.	*
	Refused	*

1 8 0 9 0 7 2 0 7 9 2

		Total Electorate
D25. Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 1984 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)	Under $10,000	11
	$10,000-$15,000 (14,999)	13
	$15,000-$20,000 (19,999)	12
	$20,000-$25,000 (24,999)	12
	$25,000-$30,000 (29,999)	11
	$30,000-$40,000 (39,999)	14
	$40,000-$50,000 (49,999)	7
	$50,000 and over	11
	Don't know	3
	Refused	5
D26. (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White	83
	Black	11
	Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4
	Oriental	*
	American Indian	1
	Other	1
	Not ascertained	*
D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male	48
	Female	52
	Political Strata	
	Pacific	14
	Mountain	5
	East North Central	18
	West North Central	7
	Deep South	26
	Border	8
	Mid-Atlantic	16
	New England	5

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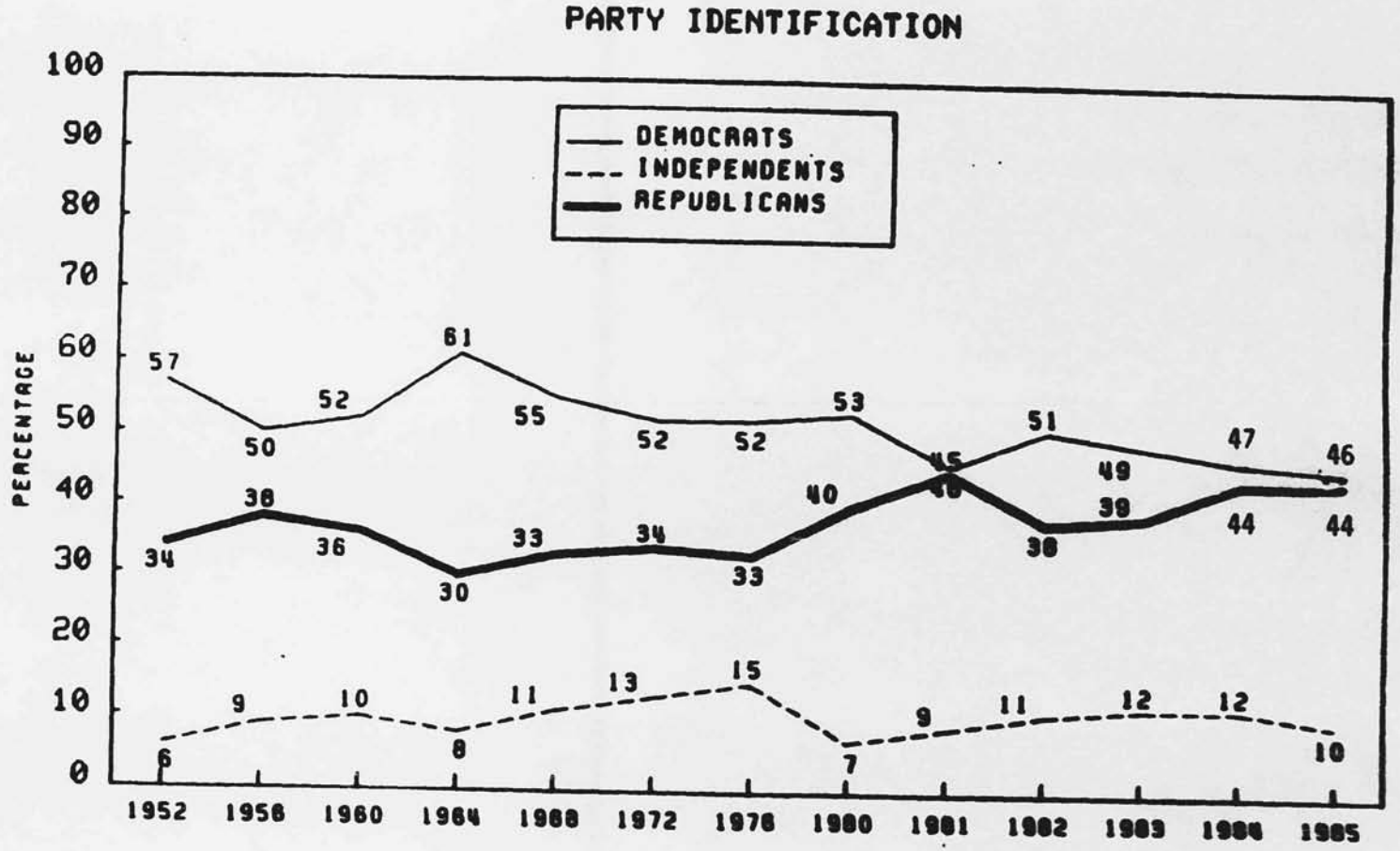
CHAPTER 1: REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY COALITIONS

During the year after the 1984 elections, the Republican Party has maintained the party identification gap between itself and the Democratic Party. At the present time, 44% of the nation's adults identify themselves as Republicans, while 46% call themselves Democrats. This 2-point margin continues the trend begun after Ronald Reagan's 1980 election to the Presidency, and is about the same as last year's 3-point, 44% to 47%, gap and 1981's 3-point, 45% to 48%, gap. The Republican Party is truly at parity with the Democratic Party.

A major question that remains to be answered is whether those voters who have climbed on the Republican bandwagon because of President Reagan will remain on the wagon after Reagan has gotten off. In other words, is this party parity transitory because it is based largely on the power of President Reagan's personality, or are these newfound Republicans on the bandwagon for the long haul? And, if some of these voters can go either way, what issues and policies will solidify their new partisan inclinations? The answers to these questions are critical for the future of the Republican Party.

Before answering the what and how of keeping these voters in the Party, it is necessary to discuss who they are, and how the Republican Party coalition differs from the Democratic Party coalition.


PARTY IDENTIFICATION
DEMOCRATS
INDEPENDENTS
REPUBLICANS
PERCENTAGE
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
57
50
52
61
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Major Determinants of Partisanship

There are several factors — generational, lifestyle, and situational -- that have a bearing on one's partisan inclination. At the present time, the major determinants of partisanship are income, race, sex, religion, education, age, and ideology.

The household income at which partisanship changes is $25,000. Over half of the voters with incomes under $25,000 a year, who comprise 53% of the electorate, are Democrats, while over half of those with incomes over $25,000 a year (47% of the electorate) are Republicans. Income is one of the most clear-cut delimiters of partisanship.

Party identification among whites is fairly evenly divided, although the Republican Party holds a 49% to 41% plurality over the Democrats. Among blacks, the Democratic Party is the overwhelming favorite. Fully 85% of the nation's blacks identify themselves as Democrats; only 9% call themselves Republican. Hispanics identify more with Democrats as well, but the gap is not nearly as large. Fifty percent (50%) of the nation's Hispanics call themselves Democrats, 39% say they are Republican.

Though the differences are not great, men identify themselves as Republicans (by a 48% to 42% margin) while women generally think of themselves as Democrats (50% to 40%). This gender difference became prominent after 1980 along with the so-called Reagan "gender gap." In the mid-1970's, there was little or no difference in party identification between men and women.

The pattern of age and partisanship has changed over the course of the last generation. In the past, younger voters were more liberal and thus more inclined to be Democratic. Political theory stated that, as one grew older and had to deal with buying a house, raising children, planning for retirement, etc., one was likely to become more conservative and more Republican. However, now it is voters under 25, those who are being politicized in the Reagan years, who are most likely to be Republican. Fully 51% of adults under 25 say they are Republican, while only 39% report to be Democrats. That margin shifts in mid-age, and voters over 55 are more likely to be Democrats -- those 55 to 64 by a margin of 56% to 37%, those 65 and older by a 49% to 44% margin. These partisan differences show how important <u>when</u> one enters the electorate is. The New Deal generation, who entered the electorate 40 years ago, are more Democratic than Republican, and those entering the electorate now are more Republican than Democratic.

Religion has always been a source of political differences, though the partisanship of Protestants and Catholics is not as different as one might think. Only a small 48% to 44% plurality of the nation's Protestants call themselves Republicans, and an almost equally small 49% to 40% plurality of the country's Catholics call themselves Democratic. The biggest gap comes among the country's Jews, a 63% majority of whom identify themselves as Democrats. Only 28% say they are Republican.

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As education increases, so does the likelihood of being a Republican — until graduate school. Most of those voters with less than a high school education (58%) consider themselves as Democrats. That gap narrows to 47% to 43% with the acquisition of a high school diploma, and reverses to a 49% to 41% Republican advantage with some college education, and 53% to 41% with a college degree. Those who continue onto graduate school, however, are more likely (49% to 43%) to be Democrats.

The relationship between ideology and partisanship has been clouded somewhat in recent years due to changing definitions of the words liberal and conservative. Given the choice, most people eschew the words liberal and conservative and call themselves moderate. Indeed, 52% of the country's adults say they are moderate on political issues, while 28% describe themselves as conservative and 15% say they are liberal. Republicans and Democrats alike are more likely to label themselves moderate than either liberal or conservative.

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Relationship Between Ideology and Partisanship

		Party Identification		
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat
Ideology				
Conservative	28%	42%	17%	18%
Moderate	52	45	60	56
Liberal	15	9	13	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

There is still a relationship between ideology and partisanship, albeit not a strong one. Many more Republicans call themselves conservative (42%) than liberal (9%). There are only a few more Democrats calling themselves liberal (21%) than conservative (18%) — most (56%) prefer the label "moderate."

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**44%**	**46%**	**37%**	**(1500)**
Ideology					
Conservative	**100%**	**64**	**30**	**24**	**(427)**
Moderate	**100%**	**39**	**50**	**40**	**(774)**
Liberal	**100%**	**27**	**65**	**53**	**(220)**
Age					
18-24	**100%**	**51**	**39**	**27**	**(237)**
25-34	**100%**	**43**	**45**	**37**	**(365)**
35-44	**100%**	**42**	**47**	**36**	**(283)**
45-54	**100%**	**47**	**44**	**37**	**(196)**
55-64	**100%**	**37**	**56**	**44**	**(189)**
65+	**100%**	**44**	**49**	**46**	**(225)**
Education					
Less than high school	100%	29	58	47	(228)
High school/Vocational school	100%	43	47	38	(521)
Some college	100%	49	41	31	(419)
College graduate	100%	53	41	33	(215)
Post graduate	100%	43	49	45	(117)
Occupational Group					
Farm household	100%	39	46	39	(99)
Union household	100%	33	56	44	(265)
Teacher household	100%	42	50	34	(113)
Religion					
Protestant	100%	48	44	33	(811)
Catholic	100%	40	49	47	(391)
Jewish	100%	28	63	59	(54)

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

(cont'd.)

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Income					
Under $15,000	100%	34%	55%	42%	(359)
$15,000-$25,000	100%	39	50	39	(370)
$25,000-$40,000	100%	53	37	30	(377)
$40,000 and over	100%	54	40	35	(268)
Race					
White	100%	49	41	41	(1244)
Black	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Hispanic	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Sex					
Male	100%	48	42	33	(726)
Female	100%	40	50	41	(774)
Combined Demographics					
Men					
18-44 years old	100%	49	41	31	(444)
45 years and older	100%	47	45	36	(280)
Women					
18-44 years old	100%	41	48	37	(441)
45 years and older	100%	39	53	47	(331)
College					
18-44 years old	100%	46	46	41	(229)
45 years and older	100%	57	37	29	(102)
Non-College					
18-44 years old	100%	45	43	31	(656)
45 years and older	100%	40	52	45	(509)
White					
Men	100%	53	37	37	(599)
Women	100%	44	45	45	(645)
Black					
Men	100%	12	83	—	(78)
Women	100%	7	86	—	(81)

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Party Coalitions by Important Demographic Groups

(cont'd.)

			Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	60%	36%	36%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	57	35	35	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	36	36	(458)
Lower end	100%	38	51	51	(275)
Jews	100%	28	63	60	(53)
Hispanics	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Blacks	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Tracer Group					
White northern Protestant	100%	57	34	34	(373)
White northern Catholic	100%	41	48	48	(202)
White northern union	100%	45	45	45	(209)
Southern white	100%	51	40	40	(395)
Jews	100%	28	63	60	(53)
Blacks	100%	9	85	—	(159)
Hispanics	100%	39	50	49	(63)
Political Region					
New England	100%	33	55	51	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	48	46	38	(246)
East North Central	100%	40	51	42	(263)
West North Central	100%	50	38	36	(111)
Border South	100%	39	51	42	(118)
Deep South	100%	44	47	32	(392)
Mountain	100%	45	41	40	(80)
Pacific	100%	47	40	24	(210)

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Demographic Profile of the Republican Party

Though partisanship is related to income, race, sex, age, education, religion, and ideology, the stereotype of Republicans as being white, Protestant, rich, stodgy, older white men is simply not true. The Democratic Party has often been cast as the party of the working man, the "average Joe." However, it is actually the case that more middle class Americans (as defined by income and education -- see the Foreword for the definition) call themselves Republicans than Democrats. A demographic profile of the nation's Republican partisans reveals that:

* 53% are under 40
* 36% are middle class
* only 24% have incomes over $40,000
* 31% are Southern whites
* 24% are Catholic

It is the case that 92% are white and 53% are male, and it is true that, as a group, Republicans have higher incomes and more education than Democrats. But these tendencies can hide the diversity that exists within the Party.

Geographically, the only area where the Republicans have a slight advantage over the Democrats is among Southern whites. In all other areas of the country the two party coalitions are close to equal in strength, though the Eastern Seaboard (New England, Mid-Atlantic regions) leans Democratic, while the West Coast is slightly more Republicans.

The most recent additions to the Republican coalition are younger voters and voters from the South. These voter groups are key elements of the new Republican coalition. The Republican coalition is no longer predominately older, northern WASP's. The social group profile of the Republican Party ten years ago shows that 51% were Northern white Protestants and only 21% were white Southerners. Now, the northern WASP component of the Republican Party has dropped to 32% and white Southerners now comprise 31% of the party. The increased contribution of white Southerners to Republican coalition makes the Republican coalition a truly national coalition for the first time in its history. The Republican new plurality is also slightly younger than the Democratic coalition. A 53% majority of the Republican identifiers and leaners are under 40 years old. Conversely, a 54% majority of the Democratic coalition is 40 yers old or older.

It is among these key voter groups -- white Southerners and voters under 40 — that work must be done to make their changing partisanship a lasting rather than a temporary phenomenon.

Demographic Profile of the Democratic Party

Comparing the Democratic party coalition with the Republican coalition shows that, among the Democratic Party:

* 48% are under 40
* 24% are middle class
* 12% have incomes over $40,000
* 23% are Southern whites
* 28% are Catholic

The groups among whom Democrats outdraw Republicans are:

* Blacks (19% of the Democratic coalition are blacks, vs. 2% of the Republican coalition)
* lower end whites (20% vs. 16%)
* union household members (21% vs.13%)
* Jews (5% vs. 2%)

Blacks, as a proportion of the Democratic coalition, have doubled their importance, increasing from 10% of the Democratic identifiers in the 1950's to a 20% share today.

Where 44% of the Republicans have incomes under $25,000, 60% of the Democrats do. Where 44% of the Republicans have no more than a high school education, 55% of the Democrats do. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the Republicans are classified as middle class on the basis of income and education, while only 24% of the Democratic coalition are middle class. There are indeed demographic differences between the two parties, and the Republican Party is quite competitive with the Democrats on the middle ground.

Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(695)	(559)
Ideology				
Conservative	28%	42%	18%	18%
Moderate	52	45	56	56
Liberal	15	9	21	21
Age				
18-24	16	18	13	11
25-34	24	24	24	24
35-44	19	18	19	18
45-54	13	14	12	13
55-64	13	11	15	15
65+	15	15	16	19
Education				
Less than high school	15	10	19	19
High school/Vocational school	35	34	36	36
Some college	28	31	25	23
College graduate	22	25	21	22
Occupational Group				
Farm household	7	6	7	7
Union household	18	13	21	21
Teacher household	8	7	8	7
Religion				
Protestant	54	59	52	48
Catholic	26	24	28	33
Jewish	4	2	5	6

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Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

(cont'd.)

		Democrat		
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Income				
Under $15,000	26%	20%	31%	27%
$15,000-$25,000	27	24	29	26
$25,000-$40,000	27	33	22	20
$40,000 and over	20	24	17	17
Race				
White	83	92	74	94
Black	11	2	19	—
Hispanic	4	4	4	3
Sex				
Male	48	53	44	43
Female	52	47	56	57
Combined Demographics				
Men				
18-44 years old	30	33	26	25
45 years and older	19	20	18	18
Women				
18-44 years old	29	27	30	29
45 years and older	22	20	25	28
College				
18-44 years old	15	16	15	17
45 years and older	17	9	5	5
Non-College				
18-44 years old	44	44	41	37
45 years and older	34	31	38	41
White				
Men	40	48	32	39
Women	43	43	42	52
Black				
Men	5	1	9	—
Women	5	1	10	—

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Demographic Profile of Party Coalitions

(cont'd.)

			Democrat	
	Total	Republican	Total	Non-Black
Status Group				
High income	15%	21%	12%	15%
Intelligentsia	11	14	8	10
Middle class	31	36	24	30
Lower end	18	16	20	25
Jews	4	2	5	6
Hispanics	4	4	4	3
Blacks	11	2	19	—
Tracer Group				
White northern Protestant	25	32	18	22
White northern Catholic	13	13	14	17
White northern union	14	14	14	17
Southern white	26	31	23	28
Jews	4	2	5	6
Blacks	11	2	19	—
Hispanics	4	4	4	3
Political Region				
New England	5	4	6	7
Mid-Atlantic	16	18	16	17
East North Central	18	16	19	20
West North Central	7	8	6	7
Border South	8	7	9	9
Deep South	26	26	27	22
Mountain	5	5	5	6
Pacific	14	15	12	13

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Social Group Profile of the Party Coalitions, 1952-1982

Democratic Party Identifiers

	1952-1960	1962-1972	1976	1980	1984	1985
WASPs	19%	20%	17%	17%	19%	18%
Catholics	13	16	19	16	23	14
Northern Union	22	19	18	18	13	14
White Southerners	31	25	23	23	20	23
Jews	5	3	4	6	5	5
Blacks	10	16	18	21	20	19
	100%	100%	109%	100%	100%	100%

Republican Party Identifiers

	1952-1960	1962-1972	1976	1980	1984	1985
WASPs	56%	51%	51%	43%	34%	32%
Catholics	10	10	14	16	16	13
Northern Union	18	13	11	14	10	14
White Southerners	11	23	21	24	34	31
Jews	1	1	1	*	2	2
Blacks	5	2	2	3	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Age Profile of the Party Coalitions

	Democratic Identifiers	
	1979	1985
18-24	19%	13%
25-39	31	35
40-54	20	21
55-64	14	15
65+	16	16
	100%	100%

	Republican Identifiers	
	1979	1985
18-24	16%	18%
25-39	28	35
40-54	22	21
55-64	14	13
65+	21	15
	100%	100%

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CHAPTER 2: MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

The American public is generally satisfied with the way things are going in the country today. When asked, "Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?", 50% answer that things are going in the right direction while 39% feel that things are off on the wrong track.

This 50% to 39% positive majority is a dramatic turnaround from the 1972-1980 period, when more voters felt the country was seriously off on the wrong track than believed they were heading in the right direction.

Not surprisingly, their satisfaction with the way things are going is reflected in the public's feeling that the political system is "working fairly well at the present time." A 53% to 43% majority opine that the system is working well and needs no significant changes.

These two evaluations go hand in hand -- those who feel things in the country are going well feel that the political system is running well, and those who think things are off on the wrong track also feel that the political system needs changes.

Those voters who are the most satisfied with the status quo are those who support the party in the White House:

* Republicans
* high income voters
* northern white Protestants
* voters under 25

Also satisfied with the way things are going are: Jews, Eastern Seaboard residents (New England, Mid-Atlantic), and members of the intelligentsia. Though they are not what one would call die-hard Republicans or Reaganites, they are more likely to be fairly well-off economically.

Those who are the least satisfied with the way things are going are the most Democratic and the least financially secure elements of society:

* Democratic party identifiers
* blacks
* women
* low income whites
* voters over 55
* residents of the Midwest

The least satisfied of these voters are blacks, 64% of whom think things are on the wrong track and 66% of whom feel that the political system needs changes.

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One interesting finding comes from Mountain state residents. Though a 49% to 41% plurality feel things are going well in the country, a 58% to 40% majority nonetheless feel that the political system needs changes.

When those who reply that the political system needs significant changes were asked what kinds of changes are needed, very few offer any systemic changes. Most responses are related to issues:

"The deficit/Reduce the deficit/Get our spending under control"	7%
"Tax system/Tax reform/Changes in taxes/ Need fair taxation"	4
"Less foreign aid/Stay out of countries"	4
"Better jobs/Create jobs/Need work"	4

All told, 23% mention social domestic policy issues, 18% mention economic issues, and 15% mention foreign policy.

Some responses related to the way leaders respond to the people:

"More concern for people/Interaction with people instead of issues"	4%
"Changes in government should be by the people/They should respond more to the majority's opinions"	3
"More honesty in politics/People in office need better moral values"	3

Only 7% of the voters who want changes, and 3% of the total electorate, offer systemic changes. Those few who do mention the need for systemic change respond with the following suggestions:

"The judicial system needs to be changed/ Supreme Court overhaul"	2%
"Our political system/Need a new system/ Not a well-balanced system"	2
"No one in office more than 6 years/Let legislature run for 1 term, not 2"	1
"The way they run Congress/The administration/Relationship between Congress and the President"	1

So, even though 43% of the nation's voters want to see "significant changes," not very many actually want our system of government to change. Rather, they want the deficit reduced, the tax system reformed, less money spent on national defense and foreign aid, and more concern for people from government officials and elected representatives.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Things in this country												
Right direction	50%	66%	40%	36%	54%	57%	45%	46%	48%	49%	49%	50%
Wrong track	39	25	44	52	32	34	43	46	38	40	41	39
Don't know/Refused	11	9	16	11	14	9	12	8	14	11	11	11
Our political system												
Working fairly well	53	70	41	40	63	55	51	50	51	55	40	54
Need significant changes	43	28	51	56	33	41	46	50	45	40	58	43
Don't know/Refused	3	2	8	4	4	3	3	1	4	6	2	3

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Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
Things in this country								
Right direction	50%	62%	52%	49%	43%	39%	57%	43%
Wrong track	39	30	39	40	45	45	32	46
Don't know/Refused	11	8	10	12	12	15	10	11
Our political system								
Working fairly well	53	62	53	54	52	45	60	46
Need significant changes	43	35	44	43	45	49	36	50
Don't know/Refused	3	4	3	4	3	6	3	4

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Generally speaking, do you think our political system and government are working fairly well at the present time, or do you think they need significant changes?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks	Protestant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
Things in this country												
Right direction	50%	71%	60%	52%	37%	60%	46%	27%	55%	51%	52%	53%
Wrong track	39	23	33	37	47	28	41	64	35	36	40	36
Don't know/Refused	11	7	7	11	16	13	13	9	11	13	8	11
Our political system												
Working fairly well	53	68	62	54	46	64	49	30	53	57	55	59
Need significant changes	43	30	37	42	48	32	48	66	44	39	43	37
Don't know/Refused	3	2	1	4	5	4	3	4	3	4	2	4

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The Reagan Administration

Public approval of both President Reagan and Vice-President Bush is high — President Reagan enjoys a 68% to 26% approval rating, Vice President Bush a 57% to 17% rating.

Perceptions of President Reagan, naturally, are more well-formed than those of Bush. Only 6% have no opinion of Reagan's job performance, while 26% have no opinion of Bush's performance.

President Reagan enjoys nearly universal approval among the nation's Republicans — 90% approve and only 8% disapprove of the job he is doing as President. Democrats, on the other hand, are evenly divided in their opinions of Reagan -- 47% approve, 46% disapprove. Independents side with the Republicans, as 70% approve of Reagan and only 19% disapprove.

Demographically, Reagan is well-liked among all but the most Democratic voters — blacks and Jews. He is well-liked among all other voter groups, especially:

* voters under 25
* Southern whites
* Hispanics
* high income whites
* middle class whites
* West North Central state residents

The oft-commented upon gender gap is currently 9 points. Men approve of Reagan by a 73% to 23% margin, women by a 64% to 30% margin.

The fact that young voters and Southern whites are included in the "high on Reagan" group is an indication that at least part of their new-found attraction to the Republican Party is because of their warm feelings and support for President Reagan. It will be doubly important, then, to profile their issue attitudes to uncover what issues are attracting and can keep them in the Republican Party.

Vice-President Bush is also well-liked among his own partisans. Republicans approve of Bush by a 74% to 7% margin. Democrats approve by a less positive 42% to 28% margin, although 30% could offer no opinion. Likewise, Independent voters approve of Bush by a 53% to 14% margin, but 34% have no opinion.

Geographically, Bush gets his highest marks in the West North Central, Mountain, and Border South states, where 68%, 61%, and 60%, respectively, approve of the job he is doing as Vice-President. New Englanders give him both the lowest marks and the most undecideds -- 48% approve, 19% disapprove, and 35% have no opinion.

Demographically, Bush receives his highest marks from the same voter groups that applaud Reagan, with the following exception: older voters like Bush better than younger voters. Voters aged 55 to 64 approve of Bush by a 62% to 16% margin, and those 65 and older approve by a 61% to 14% margin. Eighteen to twenty-four year olds only approve by a 53% to 16% margin. The difference between the two age extremes is due to less familiarity with Bush among younger voters. While only 22% and 24% of the two older age groups have no opinion of Bush, fully 30% of those under 25 are undecided about Bush.

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In summary, voter perceptions of the direction of the country and their evaluations of the Reagan administration are both positive. Only the most Democratic elements of society want to change the status quo and give the Reagan administration a thumbs-down.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Ronald Reagan												
Strongly approve	34%	57%	30%	13%	27%	36%	26%	40%	37%	39%	31%	31%
Somewhat approve	34	32	40	35	41	31	36	35	31	32	30	38
Somewhat disapprove	12	5	11	19	9	13	16	9	11	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	15	3	8	27	16	17	18	13	9	11	20	16
Don't know/Refused	6	2	10	7	8	4	4	3	10	6	9	4
Collapsed												
Approve	68	90	70	47	67	67	62	75	69	71	63	69
Disapprove	26	8	19	46	25	30	33	23	20	22	29	27

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
Ronald Reagan								
Strongly approve	34%	29%	32%	37%	38%	36%	38%	30%
Somewhat approve	34	44	36	35	26	27	35	33
Somewhat disapprove	12	15	13	7	14	9	11	13
Strongly disapprove	15	7	14	16	20	19	12	17
Don't know/Refused	6	5	6	5	3	8	5	7
Collapsed								
Approve	68	73	68	72	64	63	73	64
Disapprove	26	22	27	23	34	28	23	30

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelli-gentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	His-panics	Blacks	Prot-estant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
Ronald Reagan												
Strongly approve	34%	50%	38%	37%	31%	26%	27%	9%	41%	29%	29%	45%
Somewhat approve	34	31	31	36	38	25	51	28	33	42	35	33
Somewhat disapprove	12	8	12	10	12	19	11	21	9	10	15	9
Strongly disapprove	15	10	15	11	12	30	6	32	13	15	16	8
Don't know/Refused	6	2	6	5	6	2	5	10	4	5	5	6
Collapsed												
Approve	68	80	69	74	69	51	78	37	74	71	64	78
Disapprove	26	18	26	21	24	47	17	54	22	24	31	17

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
George Bush												
Strongly approve	22%	37%	13%	11%	19%	23%	19%	23%	25%	26%	19%	19%
Somewhat approve	35	37	40	32	29	34	33	44	34	34	43	37
Somewhat disapprove	8	4	5	13	10	8	11	5	7	9	4	9
Strongly disapprove	9	3	9	15	9	9	10	7	4	9	9	10
Don't know/Refused	26	19	34	30	35	26	28	20	30	22	25	25
Collapsed												
Approve	57	74	53	42	48	57	52	68	58	60	61	56
Disapprove	17	7	14	28	19	17	21	13	11	18	13	19

(continued on next page)

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex	
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)
George Bush								
Strongly approve	22%	19%	17%	25%	26%	31%	25%	20%
Somewhat approve	35	35	38	33	37	31	36	35
Somewhat disapprove	8	11	9	8	7	7	8	8
Strongly disapprove	9	6	11	10	8	7	8	10
Don't know/Refused	26	30	25	26	22	24	24	27
Collapsed								
Approve	57	53	56	58	62	61	60	55
Disapprove	17	16	19	17	16	14	16	18

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(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as Vice-President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

(cont'd.)

		Status Group							Tracer Group			
	Total	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Blacks	Protestant	Catholic	Union	Southern White
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)	(373)	(202)	(209)	(395)
George Bush												
Strongly approve	22%	33%	23%	23%	23%	13%	30%	5%	24%	23%	19%	29%
Somewhat approve	35	35	42	36	34	28	33	31	40	34	34	36
Somewhat disapprove	8	6	5	7	12	8	3	16	5	8	12	7
Strongly disapprove	9	6	7	7	7	17	6	19	8	8	9	6
Don't know/Refused	26	21	24	28	24	35	27	29	23	27	26	12
Collapsed												
Approve	57	68	66	59	56	42	63	36	64	57	53	65
Disapprove	17	12	12	14	19	23	10	36	13	16	21	13

CHAPTER 3: BASIC ISSUE ATTITUDES IN THE ELECTORATE

In past national opinion studies, Market Opinion Research has explored the underlying basic issue attitudes and beliefs that govern public opinion. MOR has uncovered eight basic issue attitudes that tap into the major issue areas on the public issue agenda today. Exploring how the electorate is arrayed on these attitudinal dimensions gives a better sense of the fundamental beliefs held by the American public. With this base, public opinion on topical questions is better understood.

The seven basic attitudinal dimensions are:

* gunboat diplomacy/interventionism
* America first
* traditional values
* government assistance
* government welfare
* union agenda
* black agenda
* protectionism

To uncover these dimensions, a long series of agree-disagree statements were read to the adults being interviewed for earlier studies. For this study, the two questions with the best explanatory power on each dimension were used. The eighth dimension, protectionism, is looked at in Chapter 5.

An analysis of each dimension will help develop the what and how of the Republican party coalition -- what attitudes are most strongly held by Republican partisans and how the Party can, through issues, solidify younger voters and Southerners as more permanent members of the coalition.

Gunboat Diplomacy

There are two foreign policy dimensions at work in the American public. The first is a combative one, which taps voter sentiment on our military involvement around the world. The two statements which make up this dimension are, "The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely" and "Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world." Voters agree by a 73% to 23% margin that our security would suffer if we did not use military troops, and a more evenly divided 51% to 40% disagree that we should never send troops to foreign countries.

The largest share of the electorate falls into the "gunboater" category. Gunboaters disagree that the U.S. should never send troops, and they agree that our national security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests. Forty-four percent (44%) of the electorate falls into this category. At the other extreme are anti-interventionists, who number 23%. They are against the U.S. sending troops abroad. In the middle, with mixed opinions, is the remaining third (33%) of the electorate.

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 2 8

The most interventionist elements of the electorate are:

* Republicans
* Southern whites
* voters aged 25 to 39

The most anti-interventionist groups in the electorate are:

* New England and Pacific Coast residents
* senior citizens
* Jews

This, then is a good issue for Republicans and one that can solidify Southern whites.

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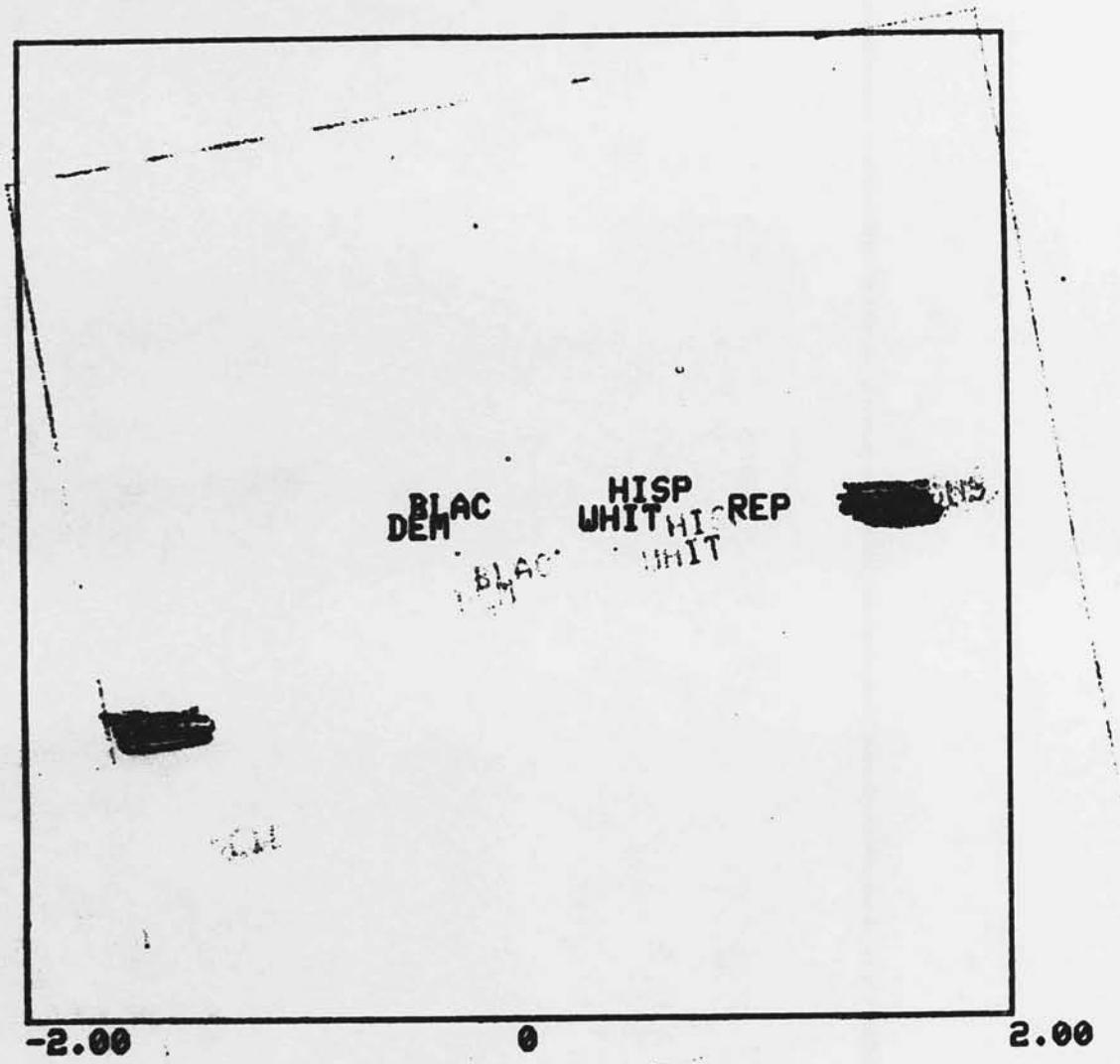
Composition and Distribution of Gunboat Diplomacy Attitude Scale

	Our economy and security would suffer if we did not use military troops to protect our interests in other parts of the world					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
The United States should never send troops to fight in a civil war in another country, even if a communist takeover is likely.						
Strongly agree	7%	6%	1%	3%	5%	22%
Somewhat agree	6	7	1	4	2	19
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	4	4	1	1	*	9
Somewhat disagree	9	10	1	4	1	25
Strongly disagree	15	5	1	2	2	26
Total	41	32	5	13	10	100%

		Distribution
Anti-interventionists	.000	5%
	.125	5
	.250	5
	.375	9
Mixed	.500	20
	.625	12
	.750	15
	.875	15
Gunboaters	1.000	15
Total		100%
Average		.62

Combined

Anti-interventionists	23%
Mixed	33
Gunboaters	44



Key:

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DEM PARTY
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WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

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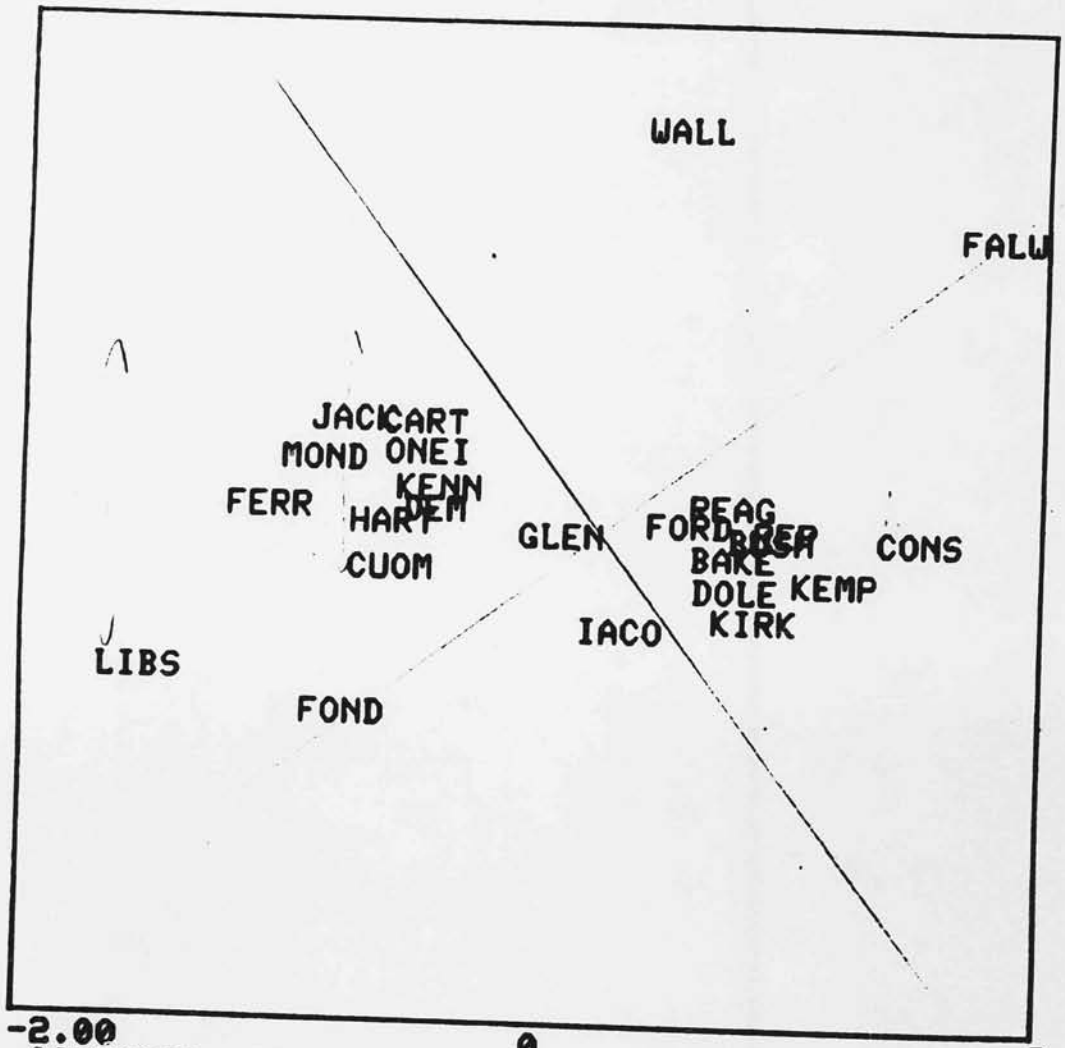
3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 3 2



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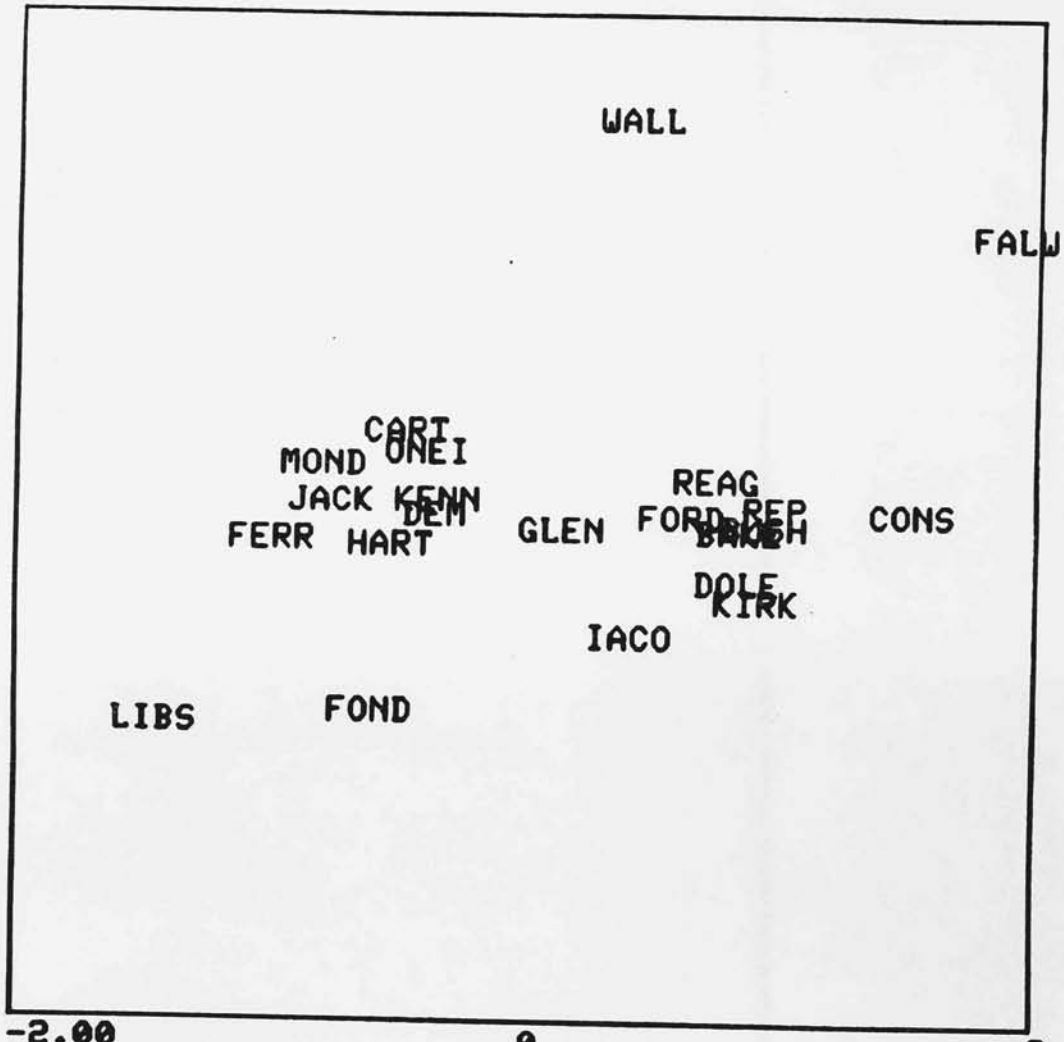
28	2	BUSH
29	3	DOLE
30	4	BAKER
31	5	KEMP
33	6	KIRKPATRICK
34	7	MONDALE
35	8	KENNEDY
36	9	ONEILL
37	A	JACKSON
38	B	CUOMO
39	C	HART
40	D	FERRARO
41	E	GLENN
42	F	FONDA
43	G	FALWELL
44	H	FORD
45	I	CARTER
46	J	WALLACE
47	K	IACOCCA
48	L	REP PARTY
49	M	DEM PARTY
50	N	LIBS
51	O	CONS

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS "SORT"
?

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 3 3



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28	2	BUSH
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36	8	ONEILL
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40	B	FERRARO
41	C	GLENN
42	D	FONDA
43	E	FALWELL
44	F	FORD
45	G	CARTER
46	H	WALLACE
47	I	IACOCCA
48	J	REP PARTY
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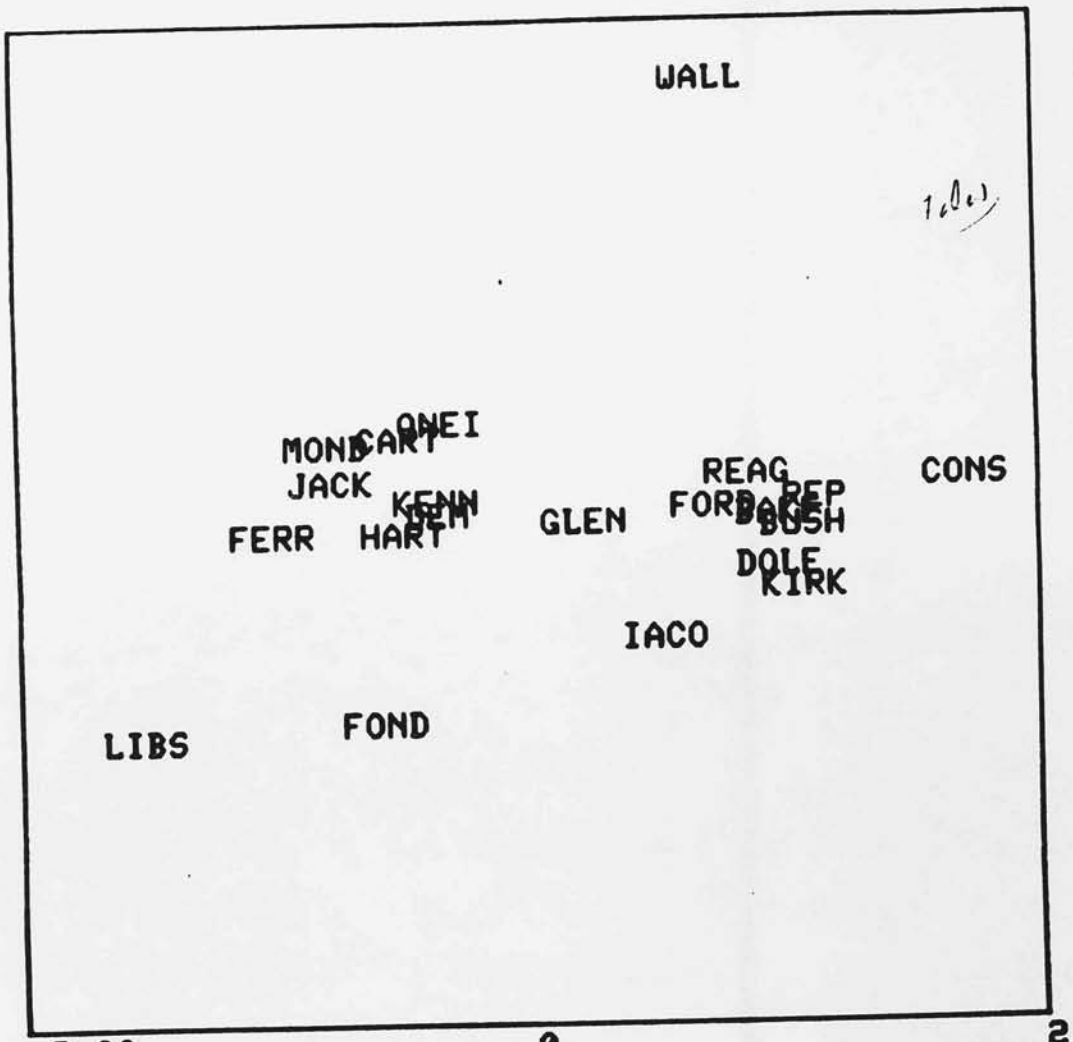
50	L	LIBS
51	M	CONS

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS "TURN"
? ACTI

3 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 3 4



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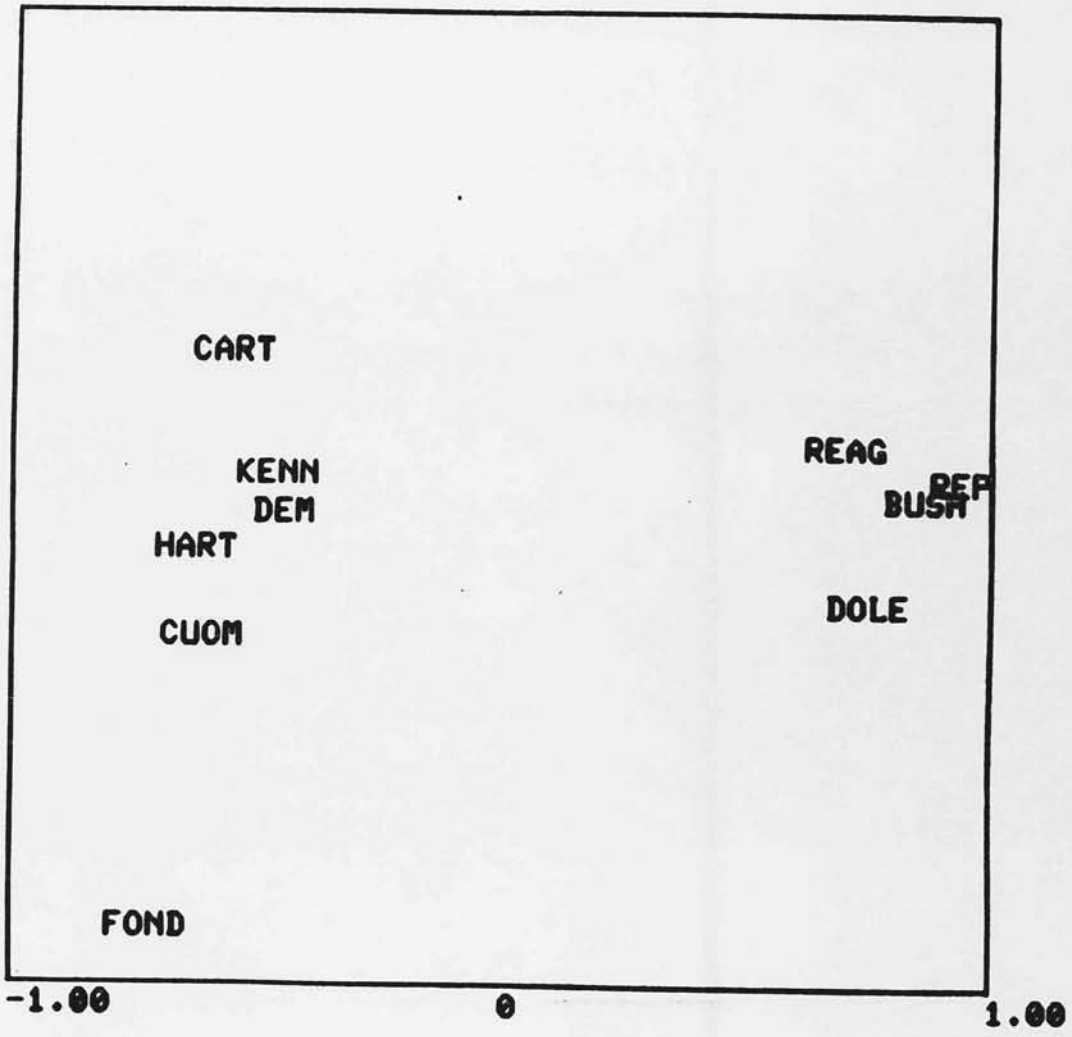
28	2	BUSH
29	3	DOLE
30	4	BAKER
33	5	KIRKPATRICK
34	6	MONDALE-
35	7	KENNEDY
36	8	ONEILL
37	9	JACKSON
39	A	HART
40	B	FERRARO
41	C	GLENN
42	D	FONDA
44	E	FORD
45	F	CARTER
46	G	WALLACE
47	H	IACOCCA
48	I	REP PARTY
49	J	DEM PARTY
50	K	LIBS
51	L	CONS

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS "SORT"
?

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 3 5

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

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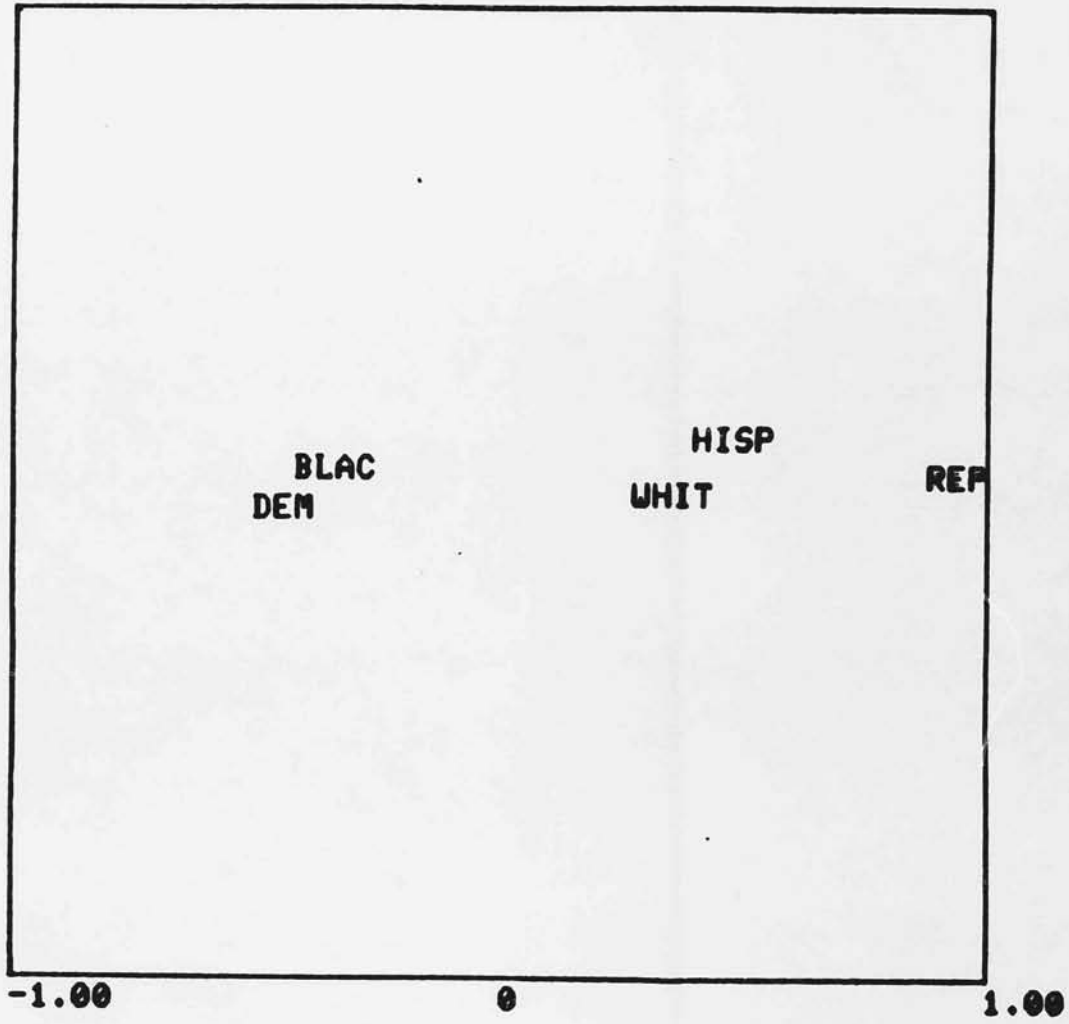
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 3 6

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

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DEM PARTY

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BLACK
HISPANIC

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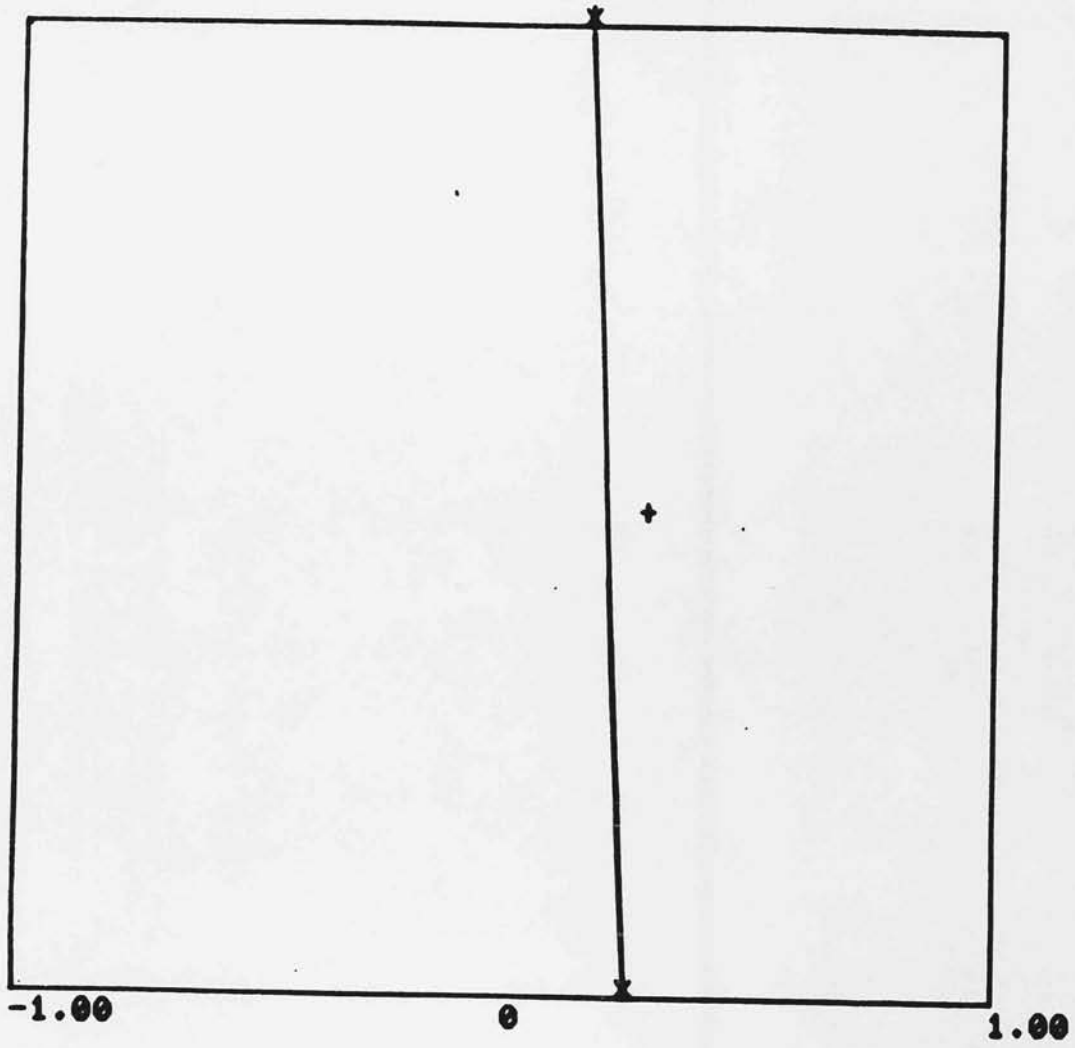
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



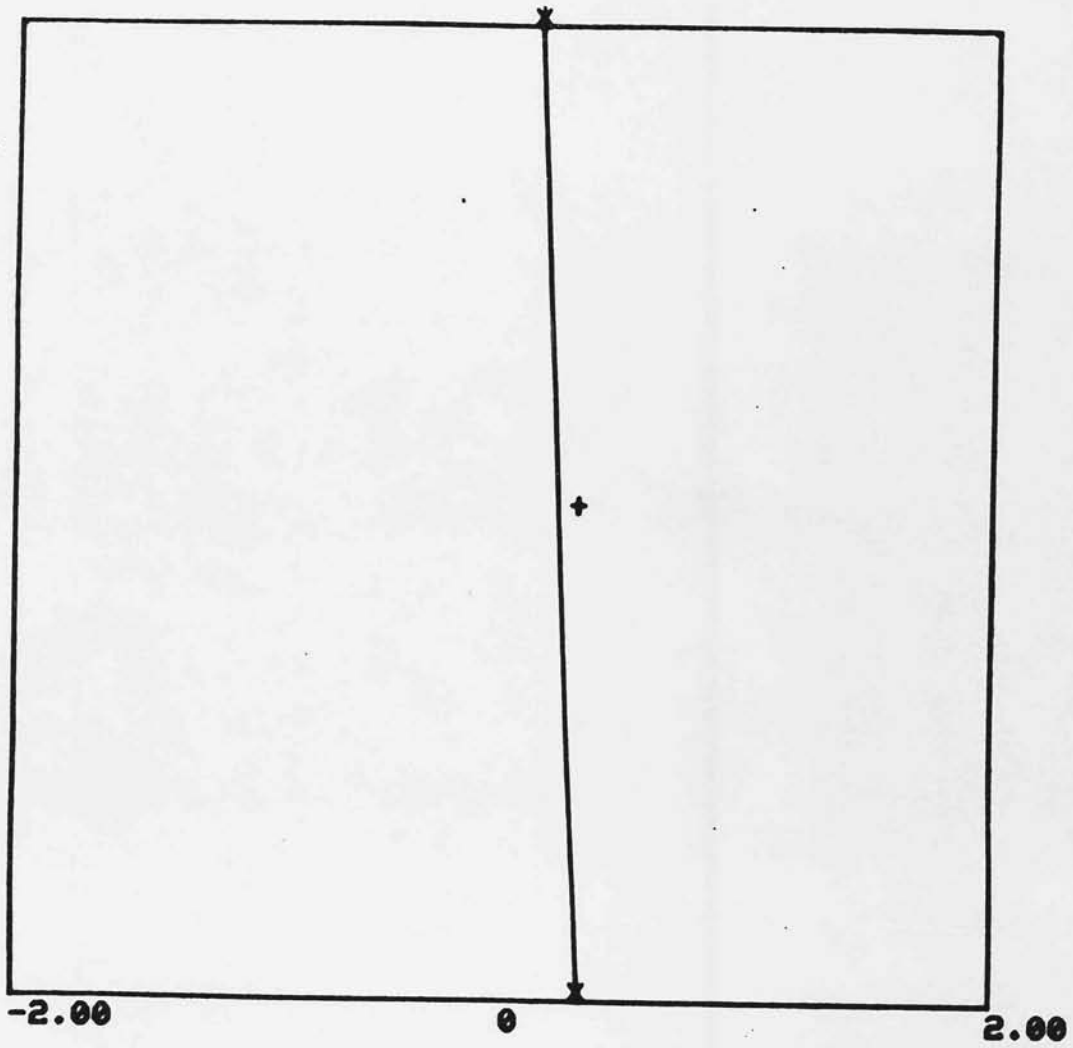
Key:

✦ = Total population mean

✱]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties
✱

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 3 8

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale



Key:

+ = Total population mean

*] = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

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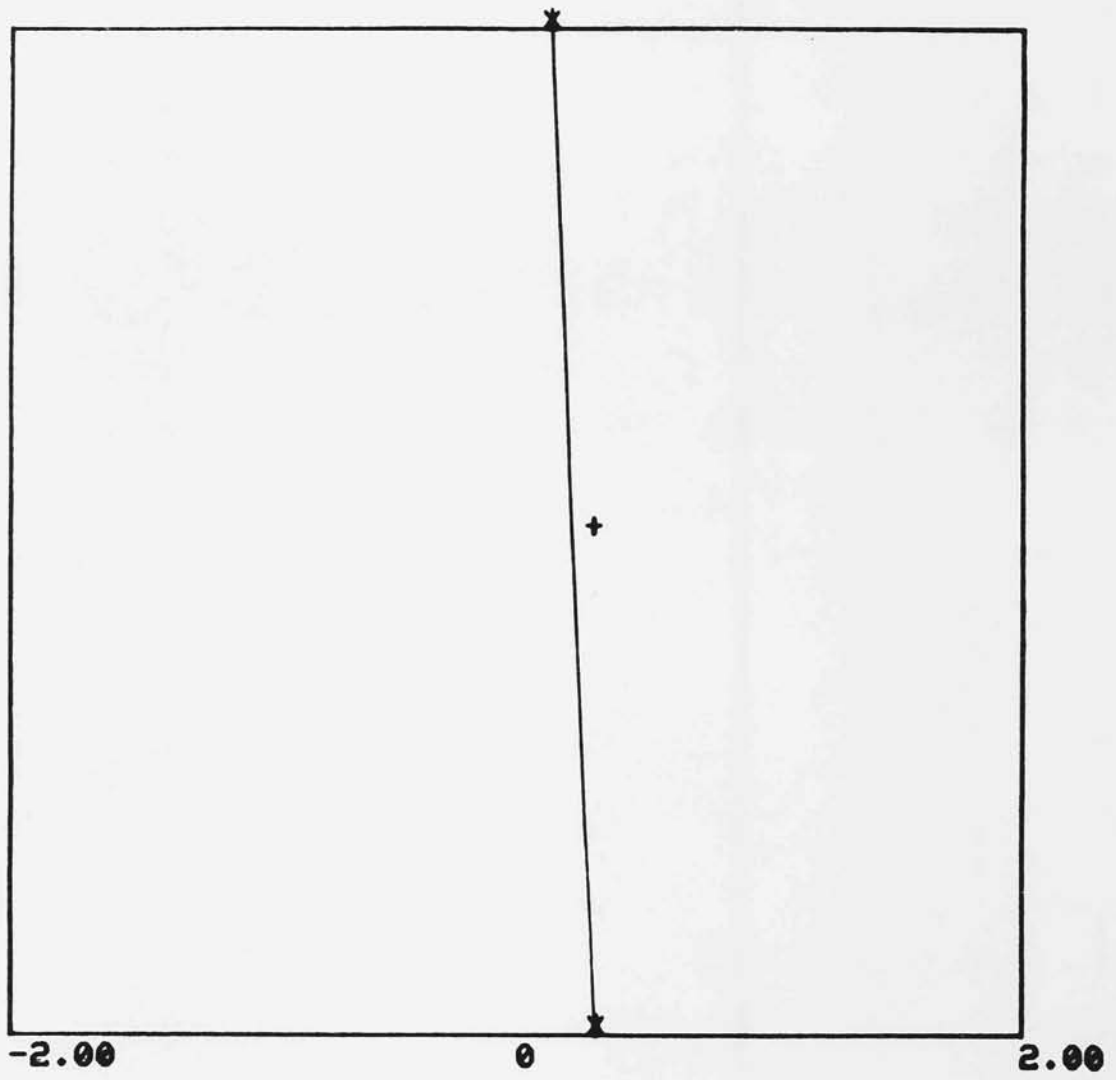

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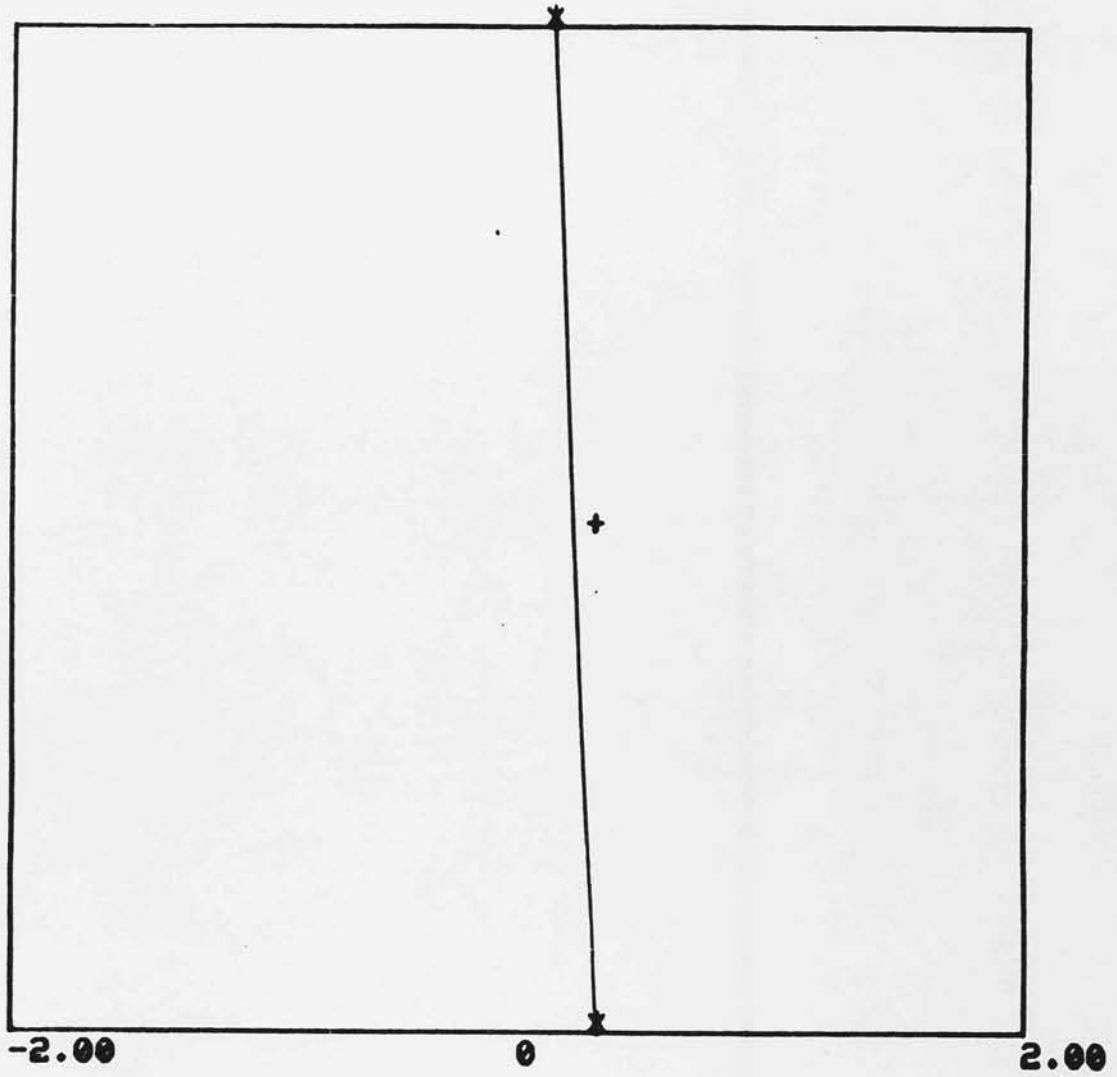

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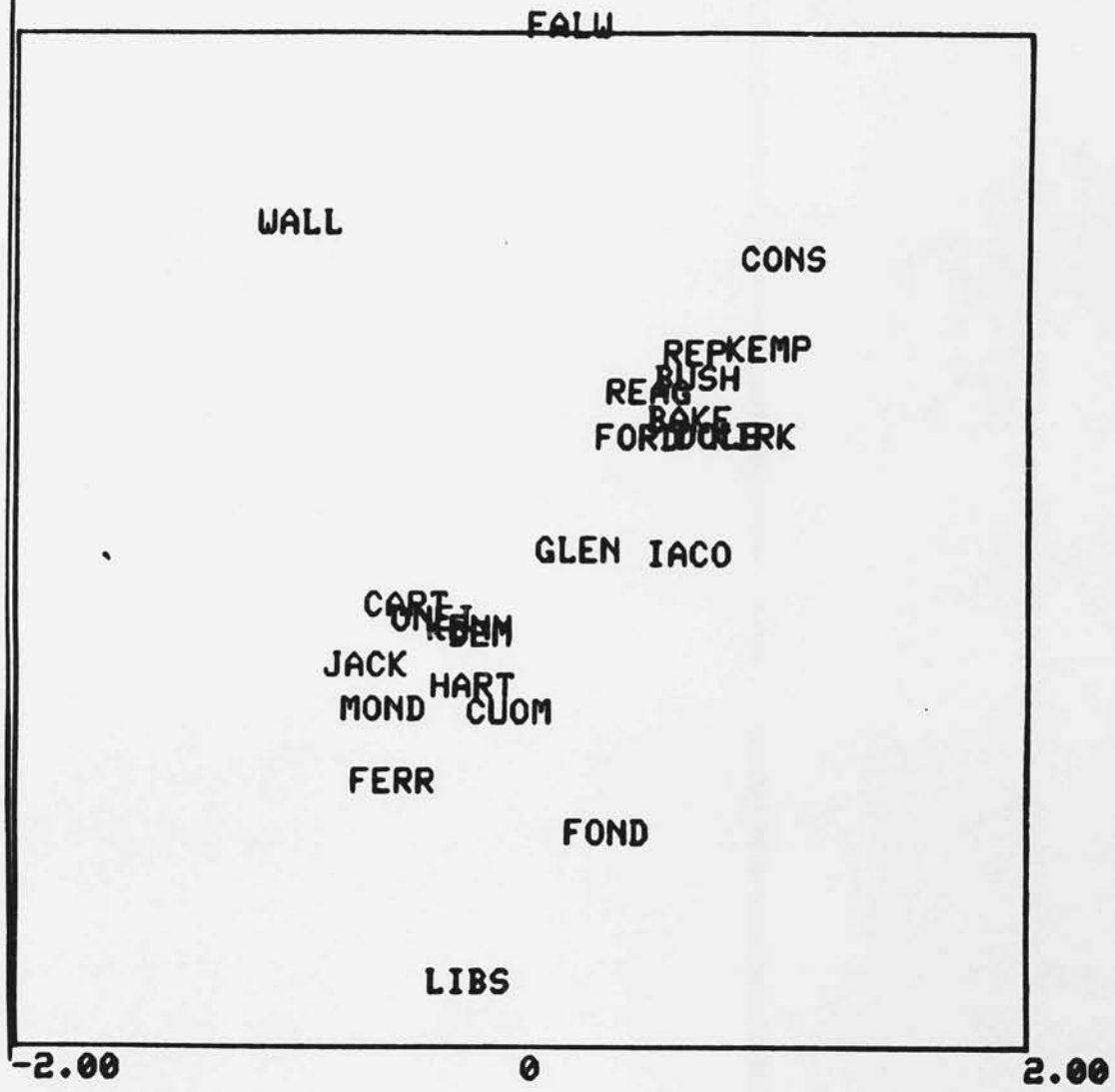
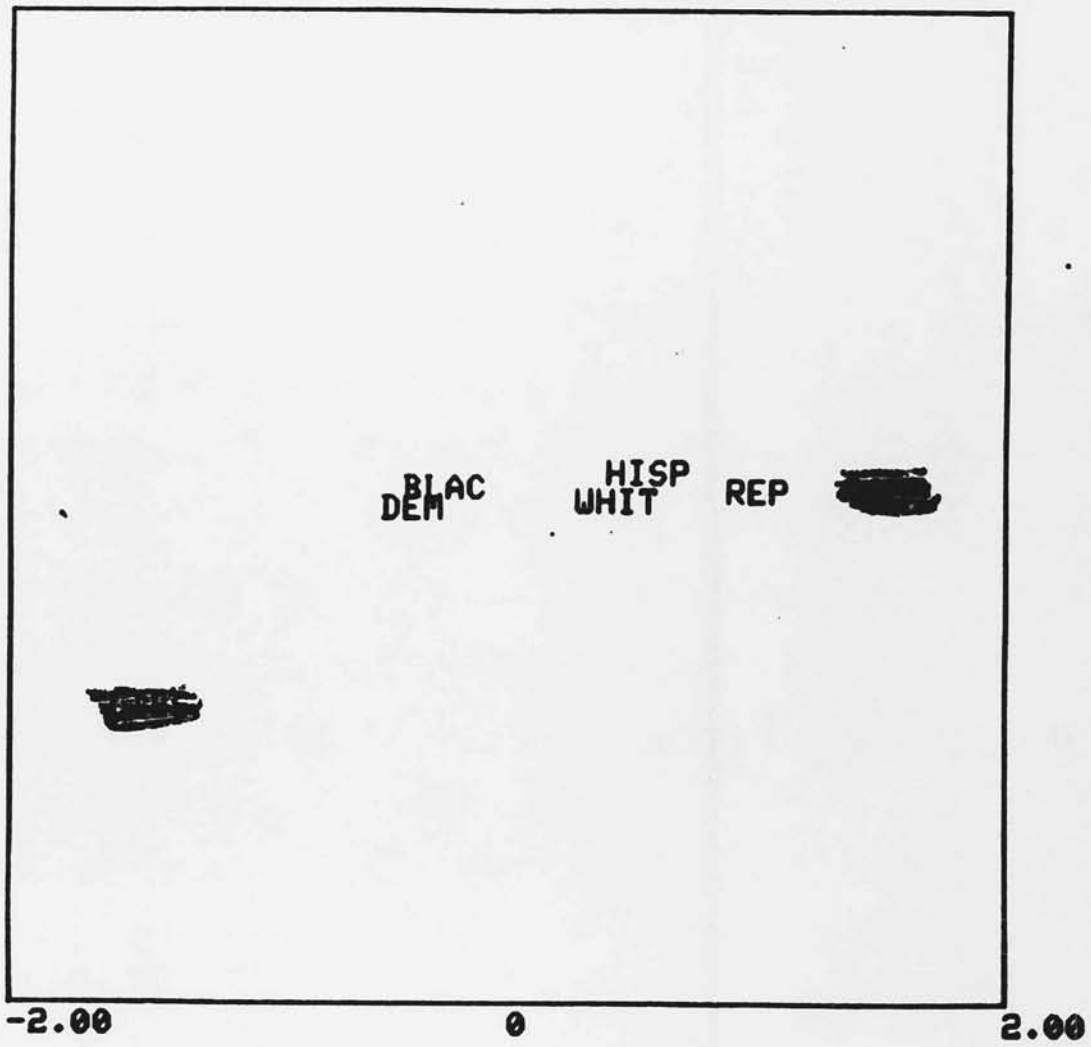
1985 Candidate Space



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS



Key:

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DEM PARTY
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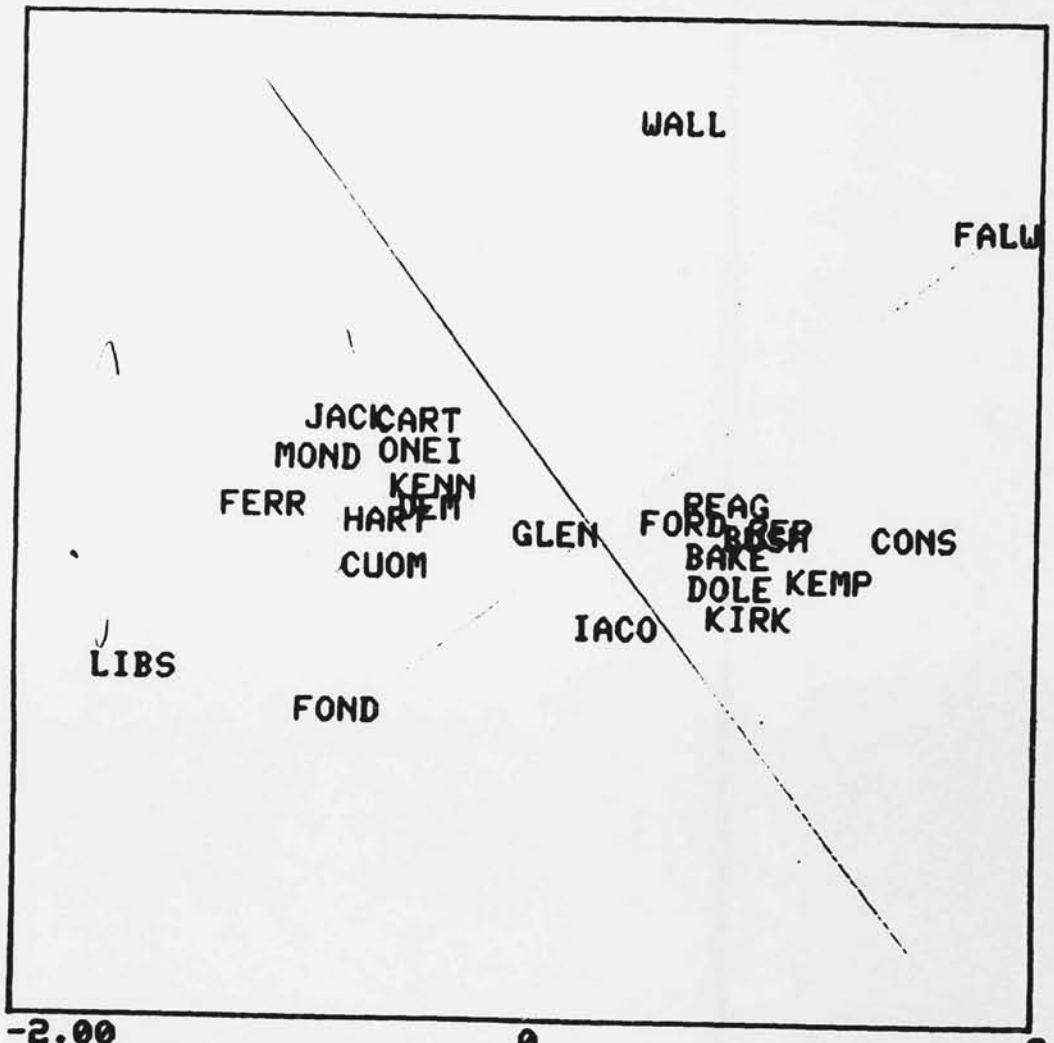

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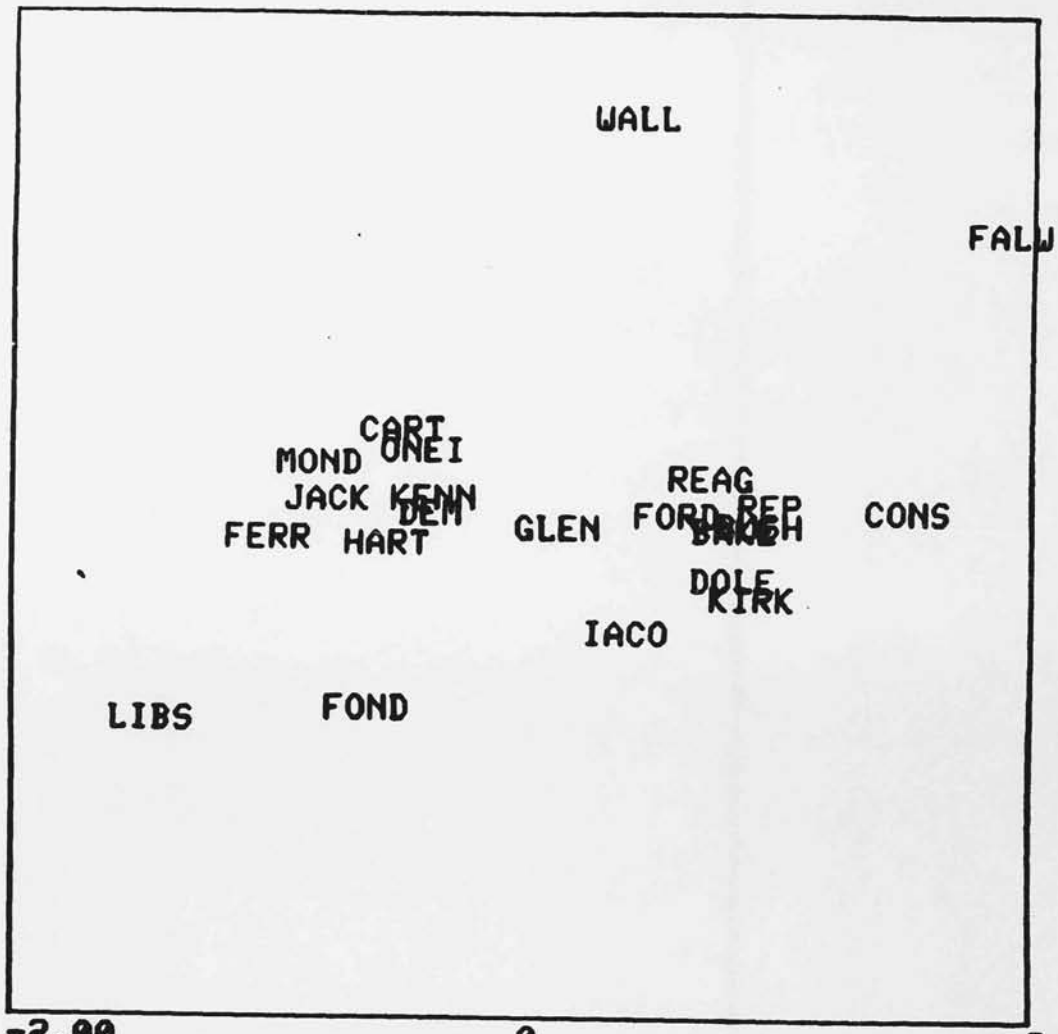
51	O	CONS

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS "SORT"
?



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44 F FORD
45 G CARTER
46 H WALLACE
47 I IACOCCA
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50 L LIBS
51 M CONS

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS "TURN"
? ACTI

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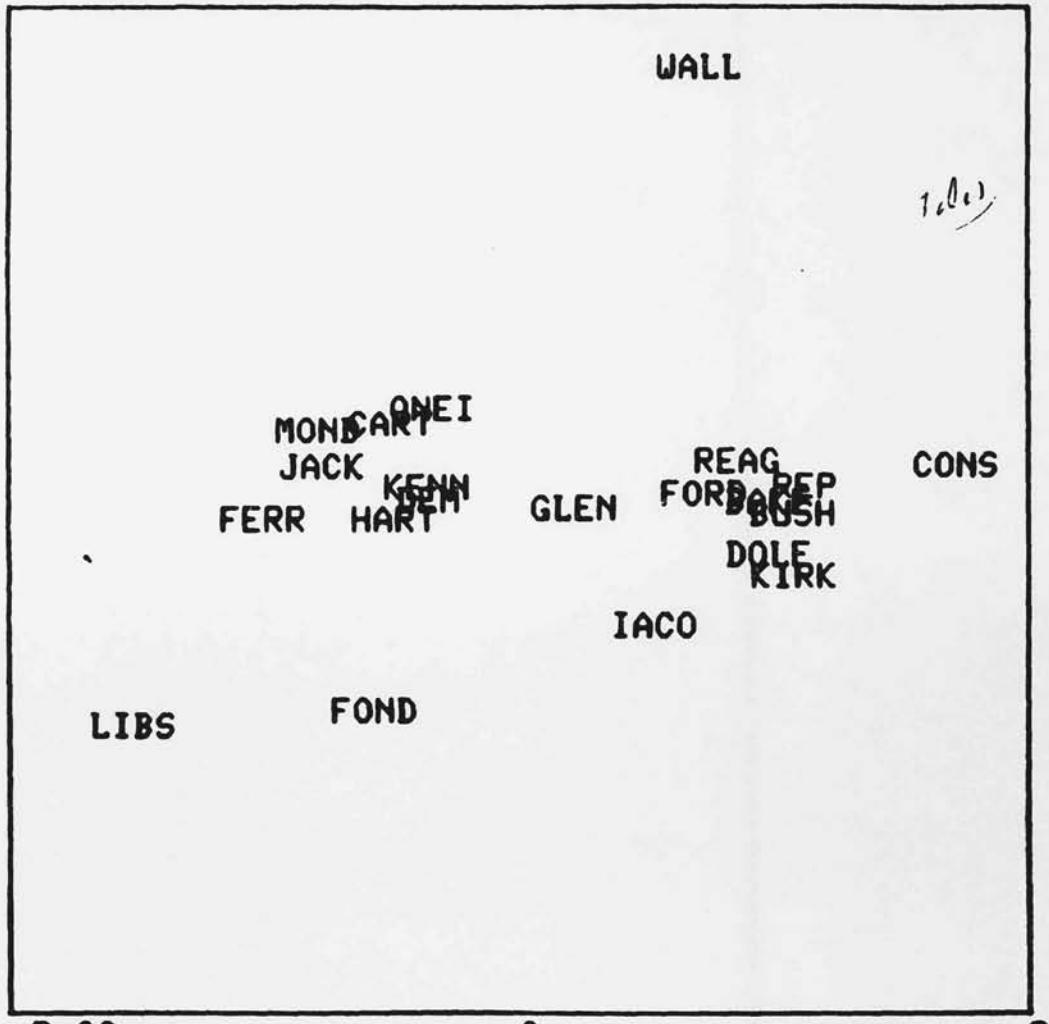

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36 8 ONEILL
37 9 JACKSON
39 A HART
40 B FERRARO
41 C GLENN
42 D FONDA
44 E FORD
45 F CARTER
46 G WALLACE
47 H IACOCCA
48 I REP PARTY
49 J DEM PARTY
50 K LIBS
51 L CONS

COMMAND? DEFAULT IS "SORT"
?

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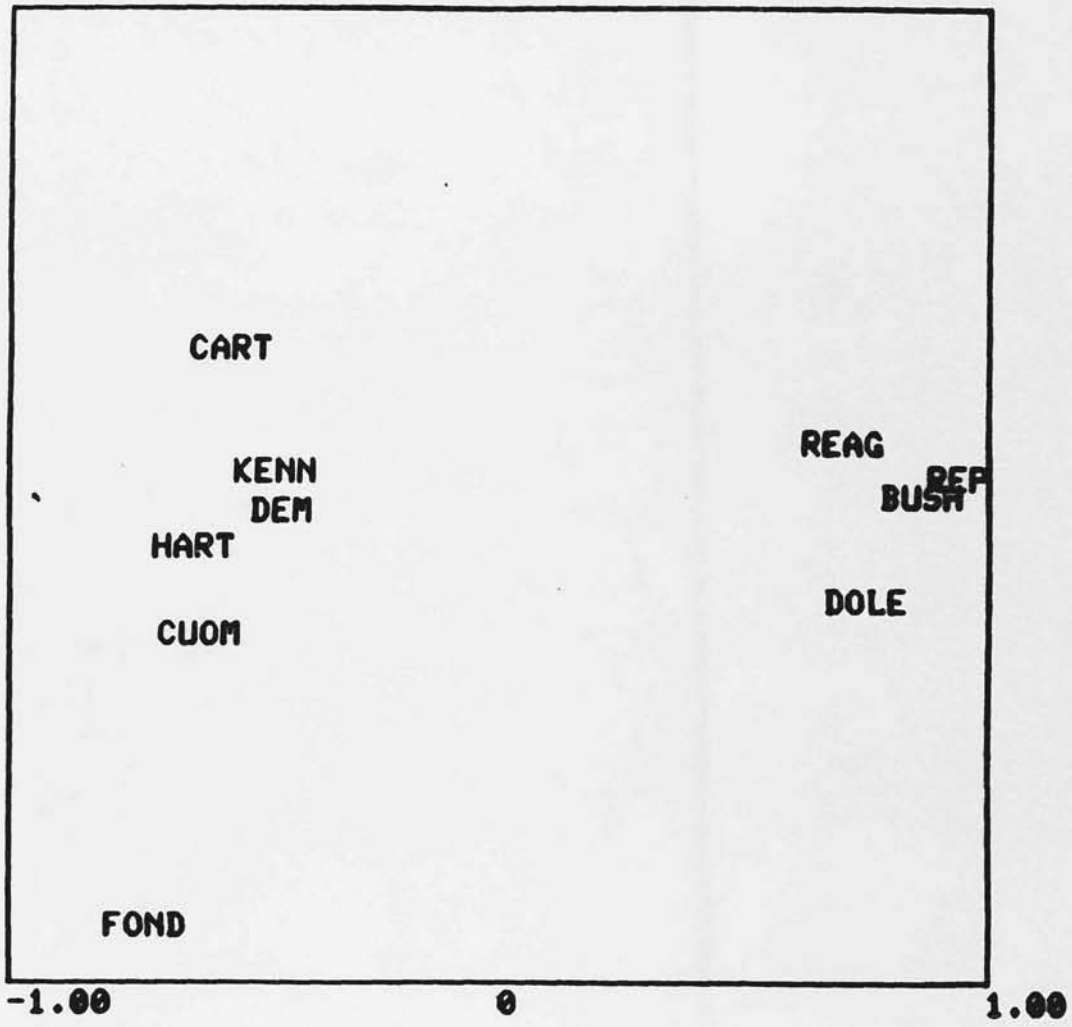
Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale

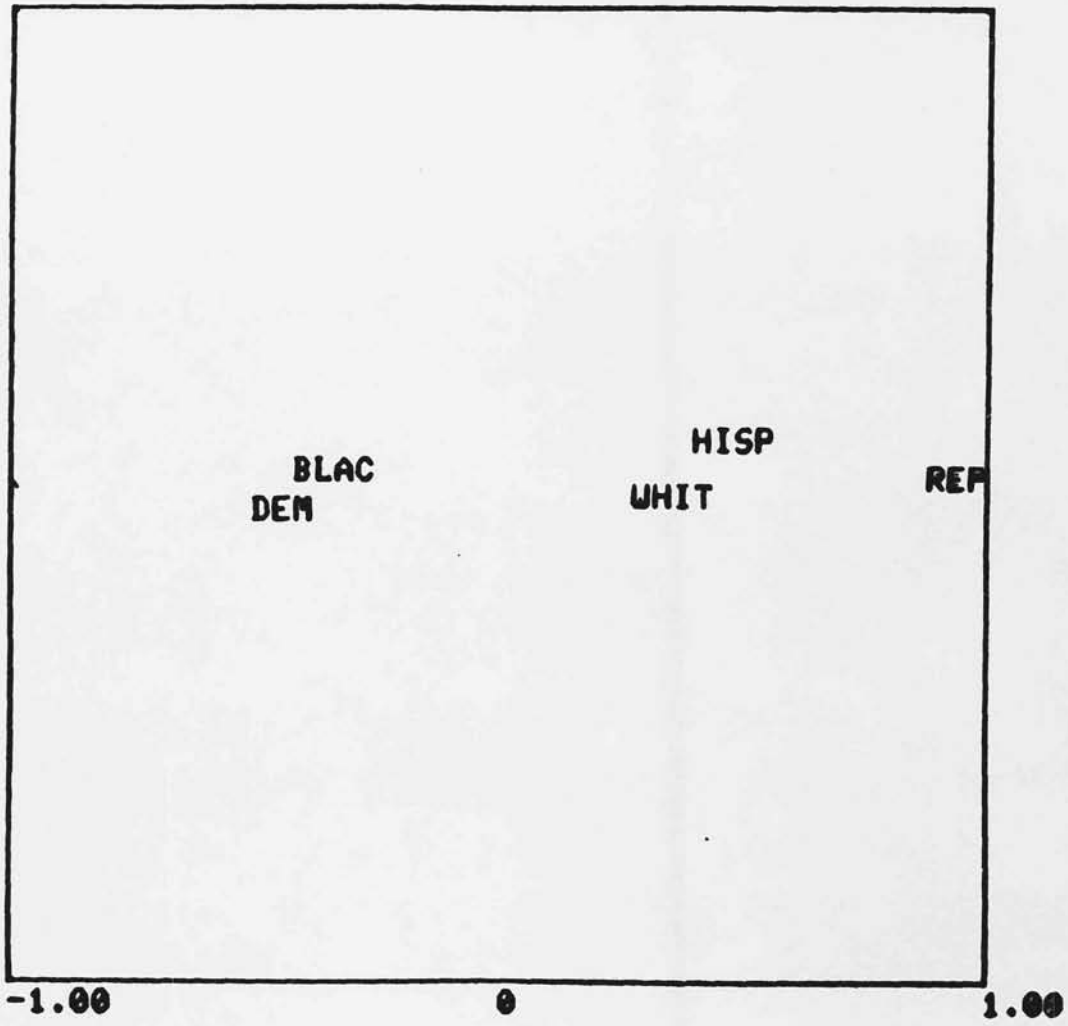


Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 4 7

Overlay for the 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

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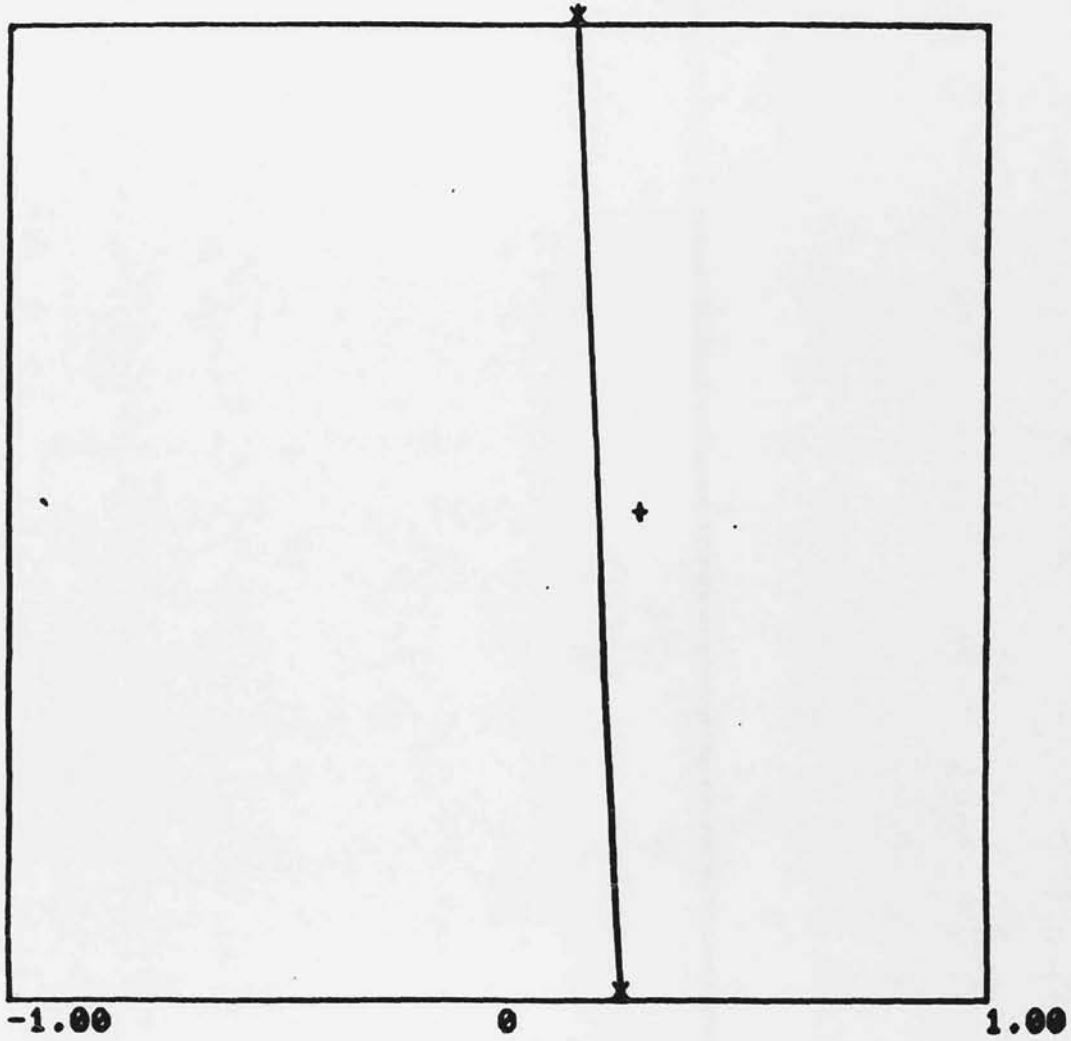
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 4 8

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 1.0 Scale



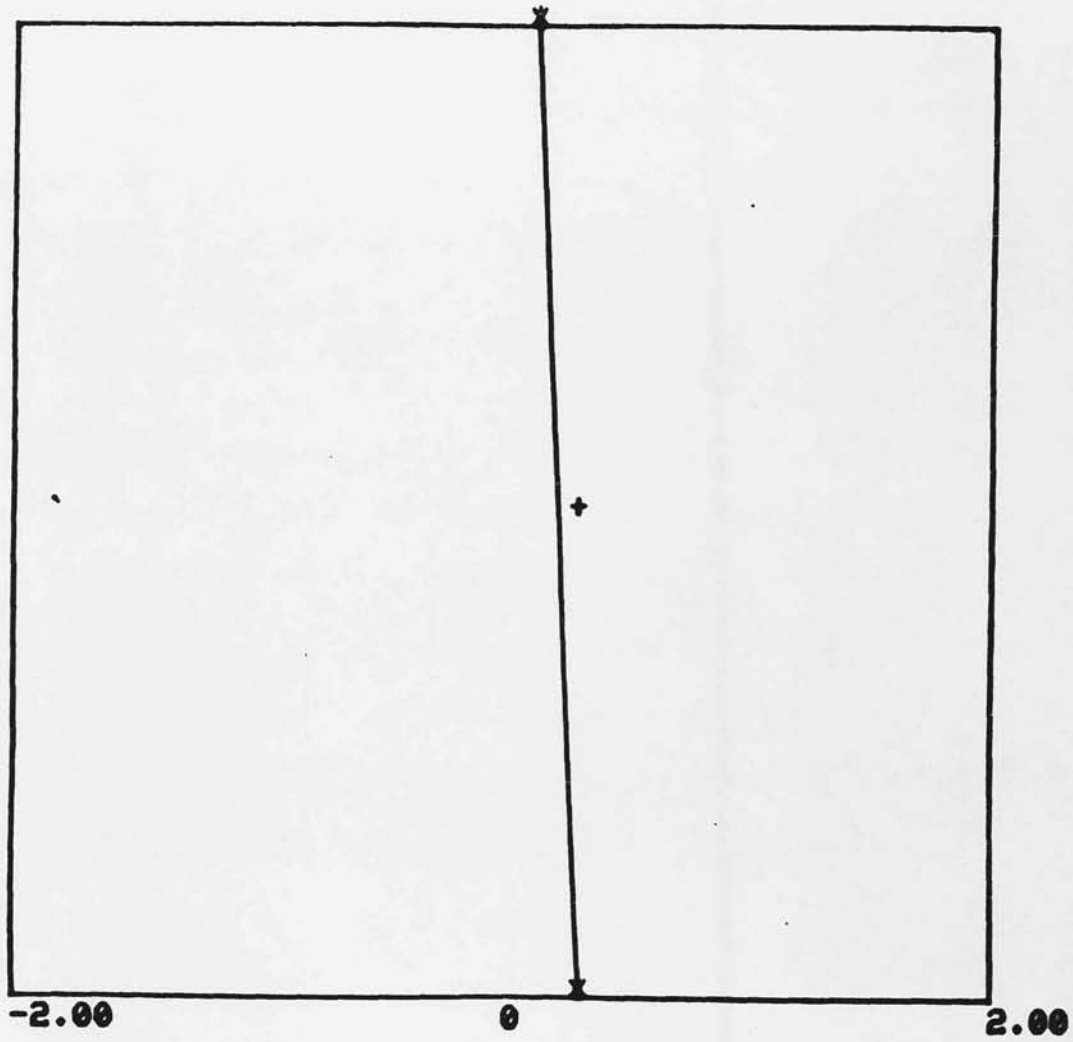
Key:

+ = Total population mean

]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 4 9

Overlay for 1985 Candidate Space, ± 2.0 Scale



Key:

+ = Total population mean

] = Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

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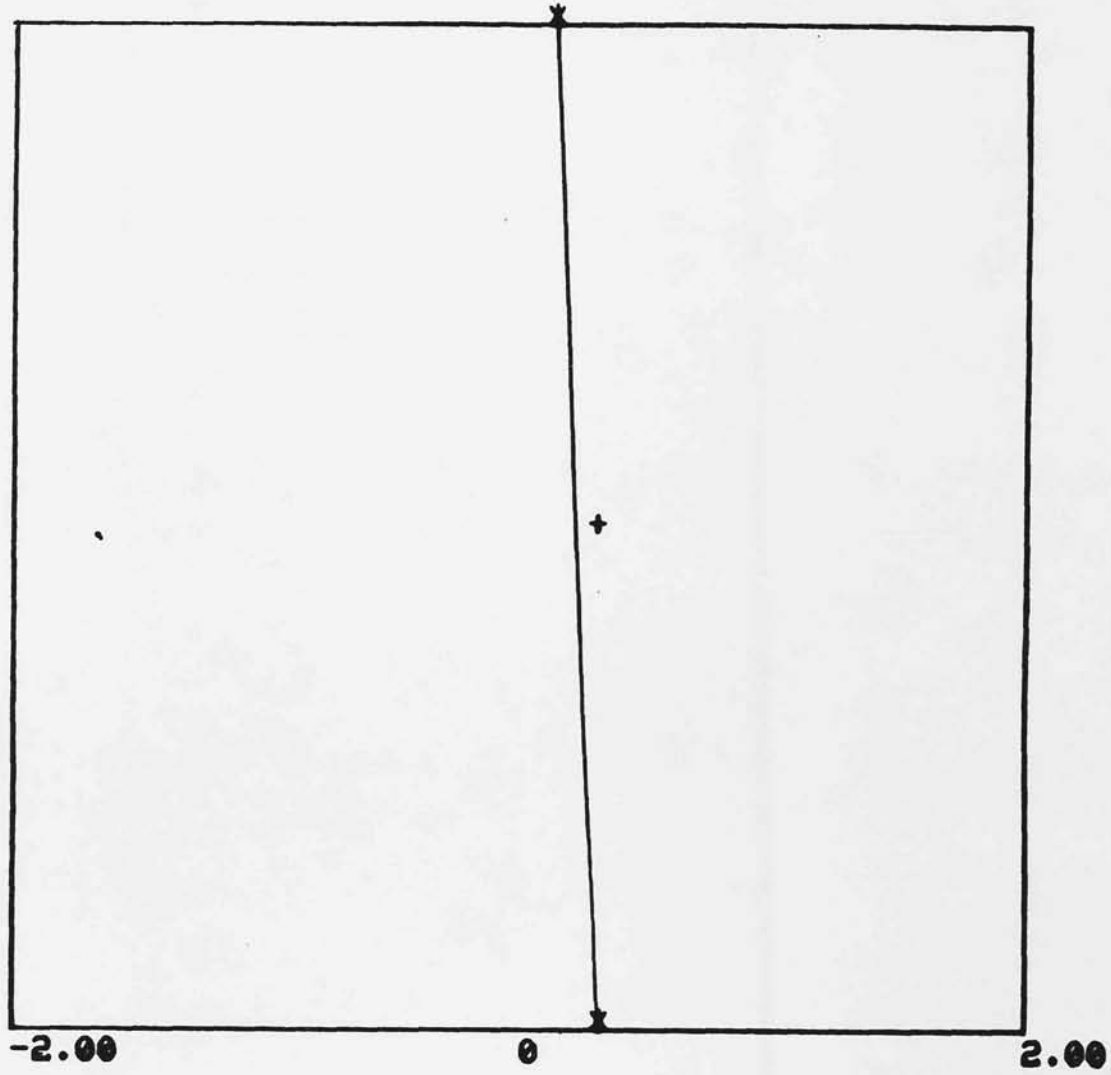
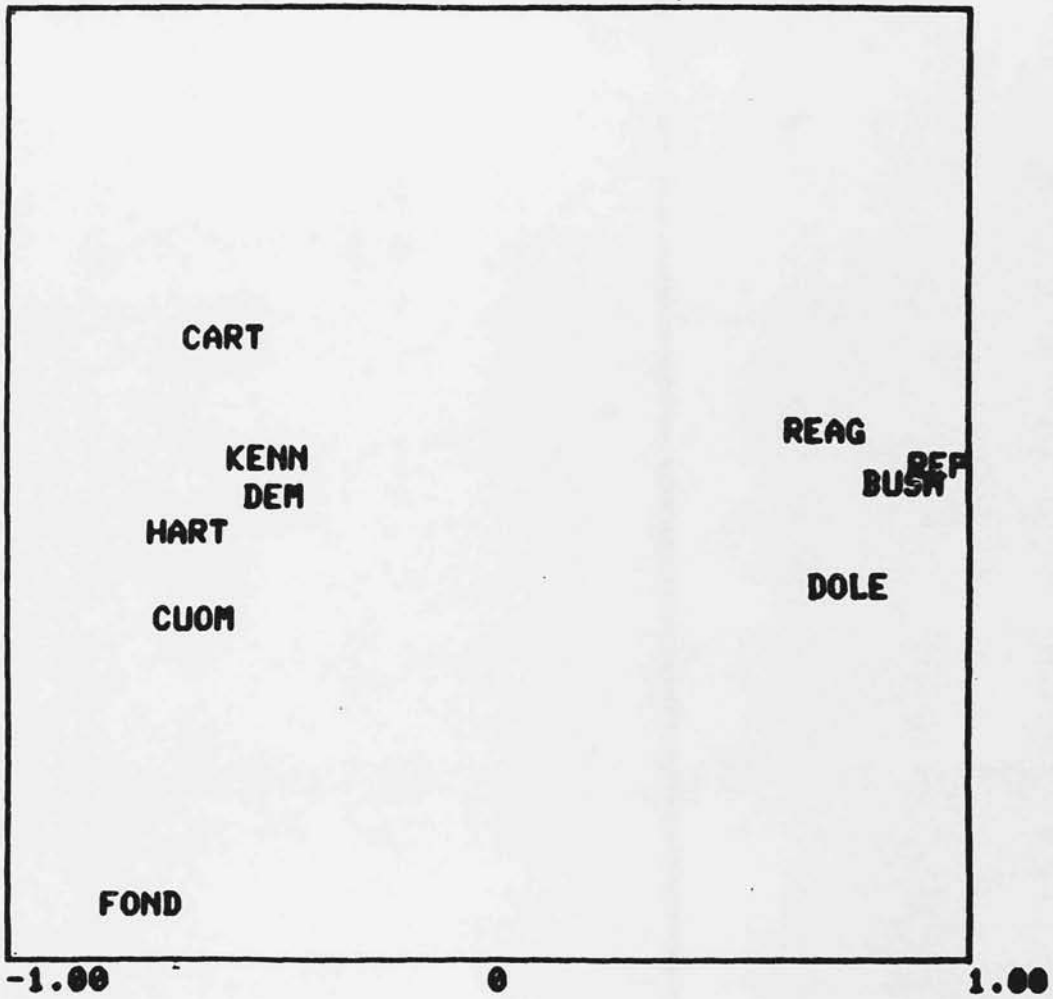


8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 5 1

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale

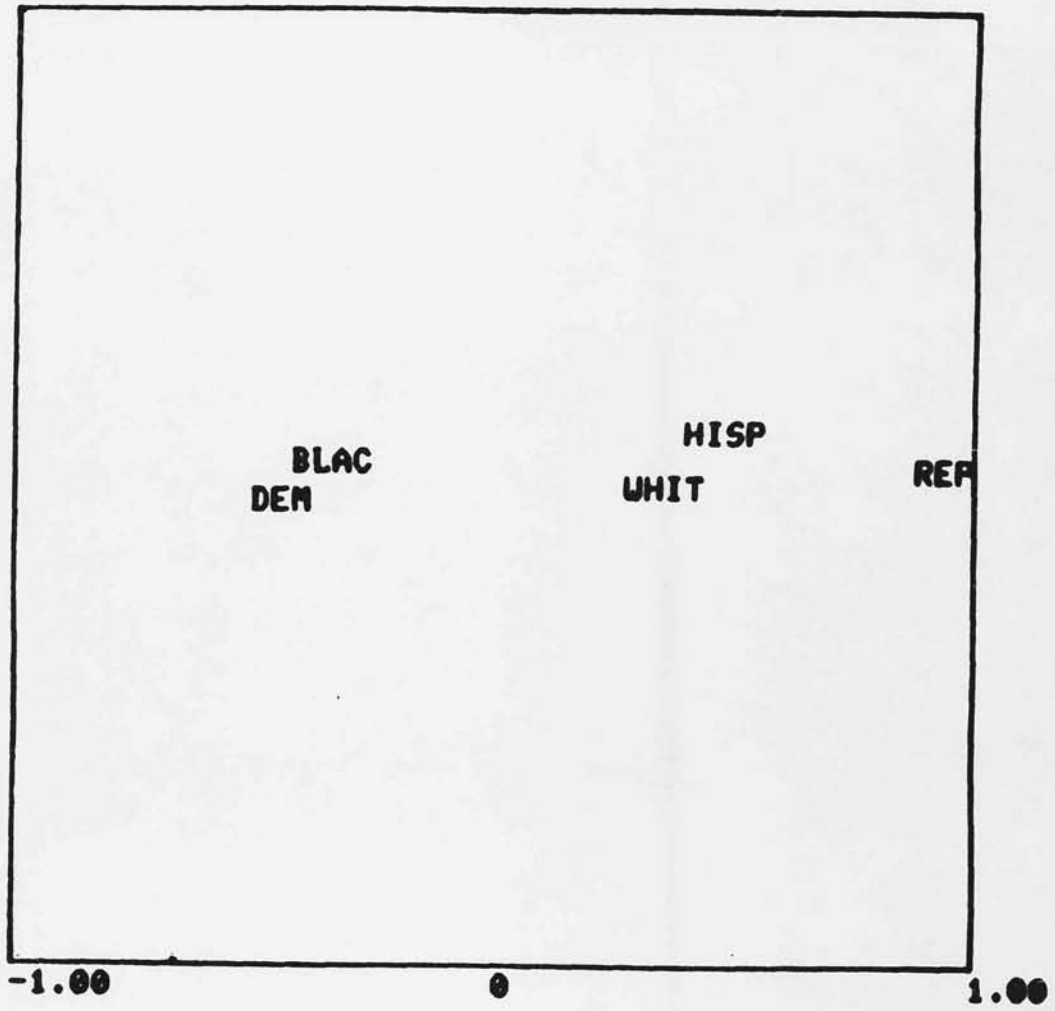


Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 5 2

Overlay for the 1995 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

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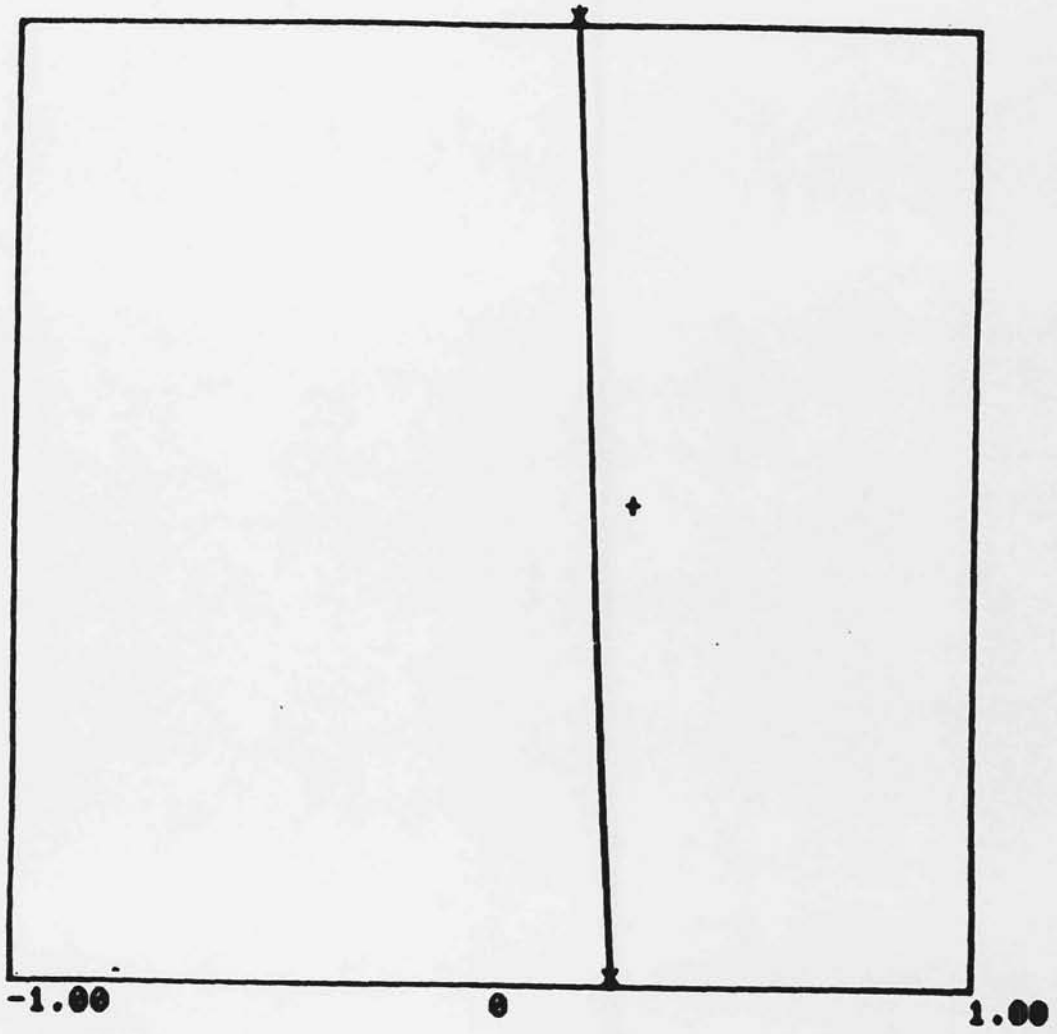
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 5 3

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



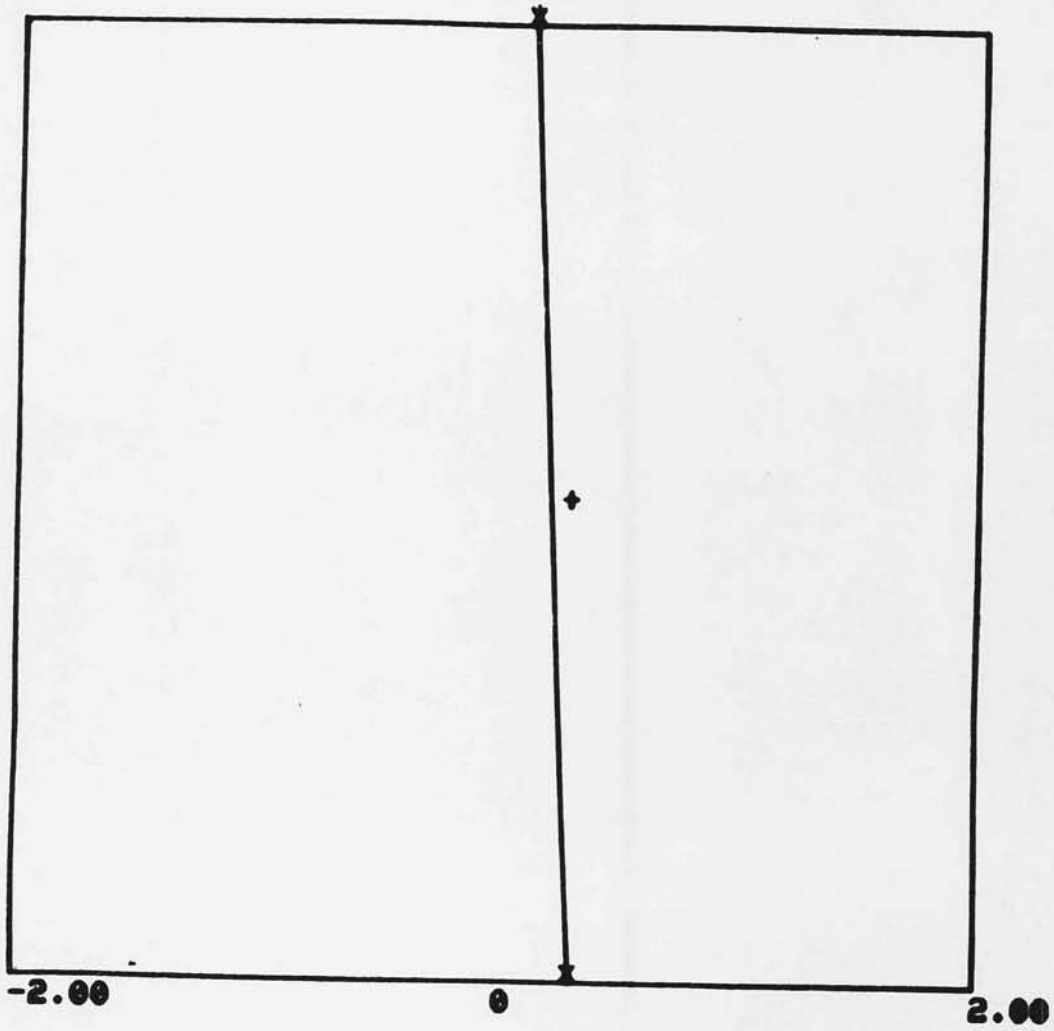
Key:

✦ = Total population mean

✱]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

8 8 0 4 0 7 4 0 8 5 4

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 2.0 Scale



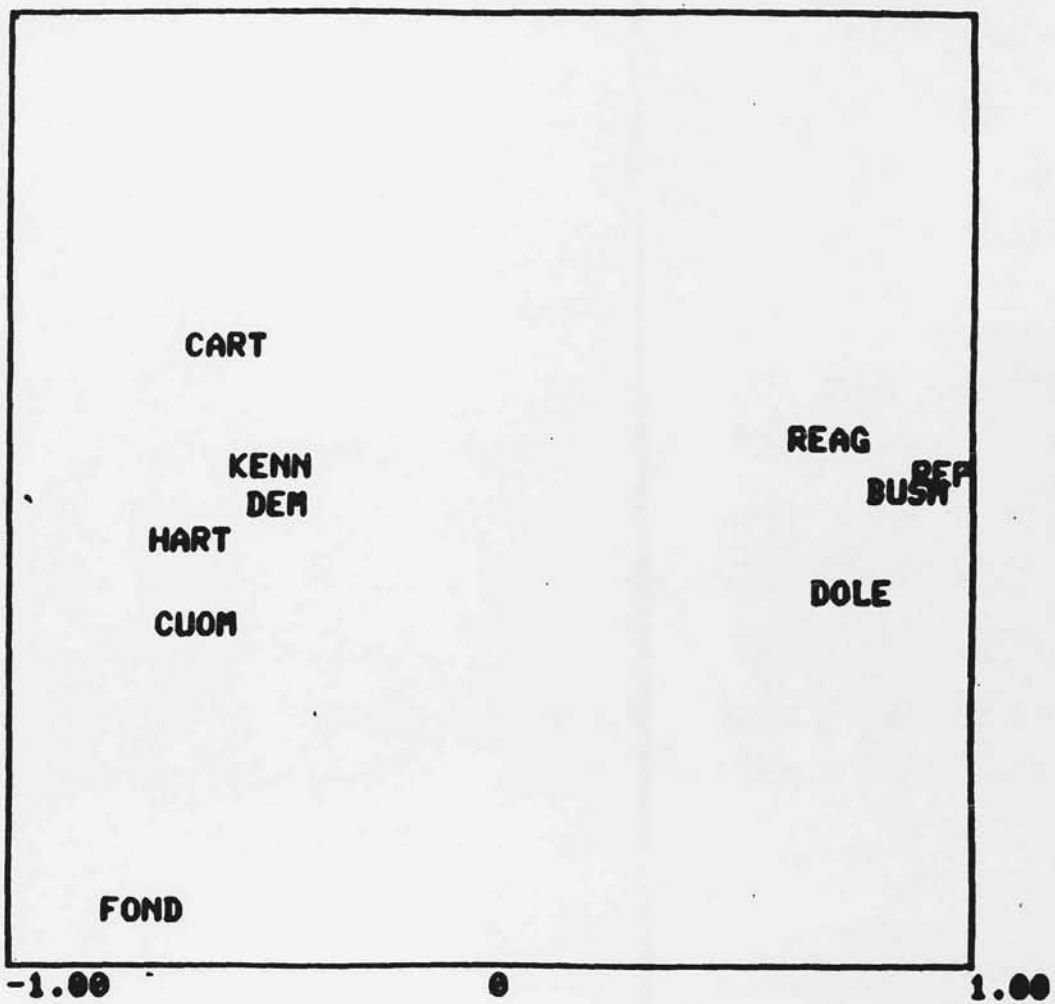
Key:

= Total population mean

= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 5 5

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

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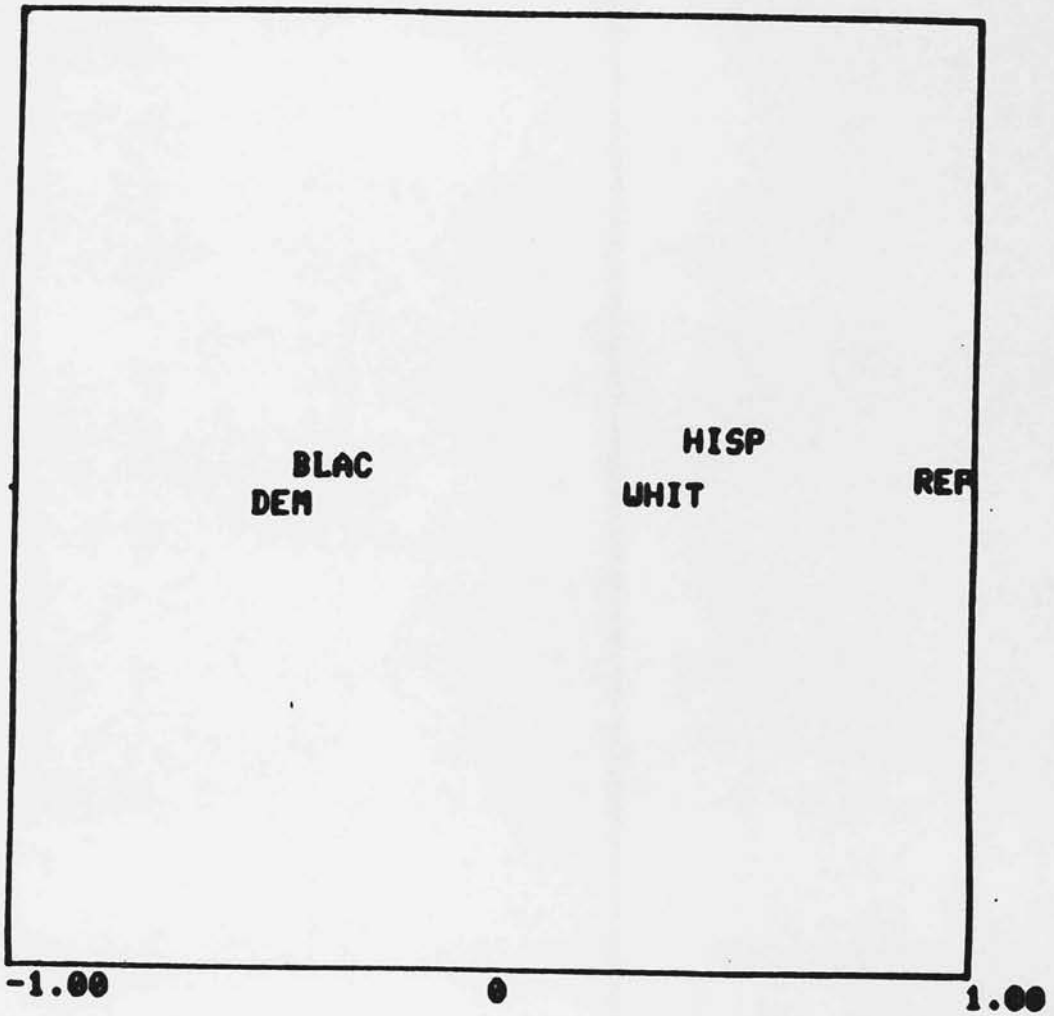
Overlay for the 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



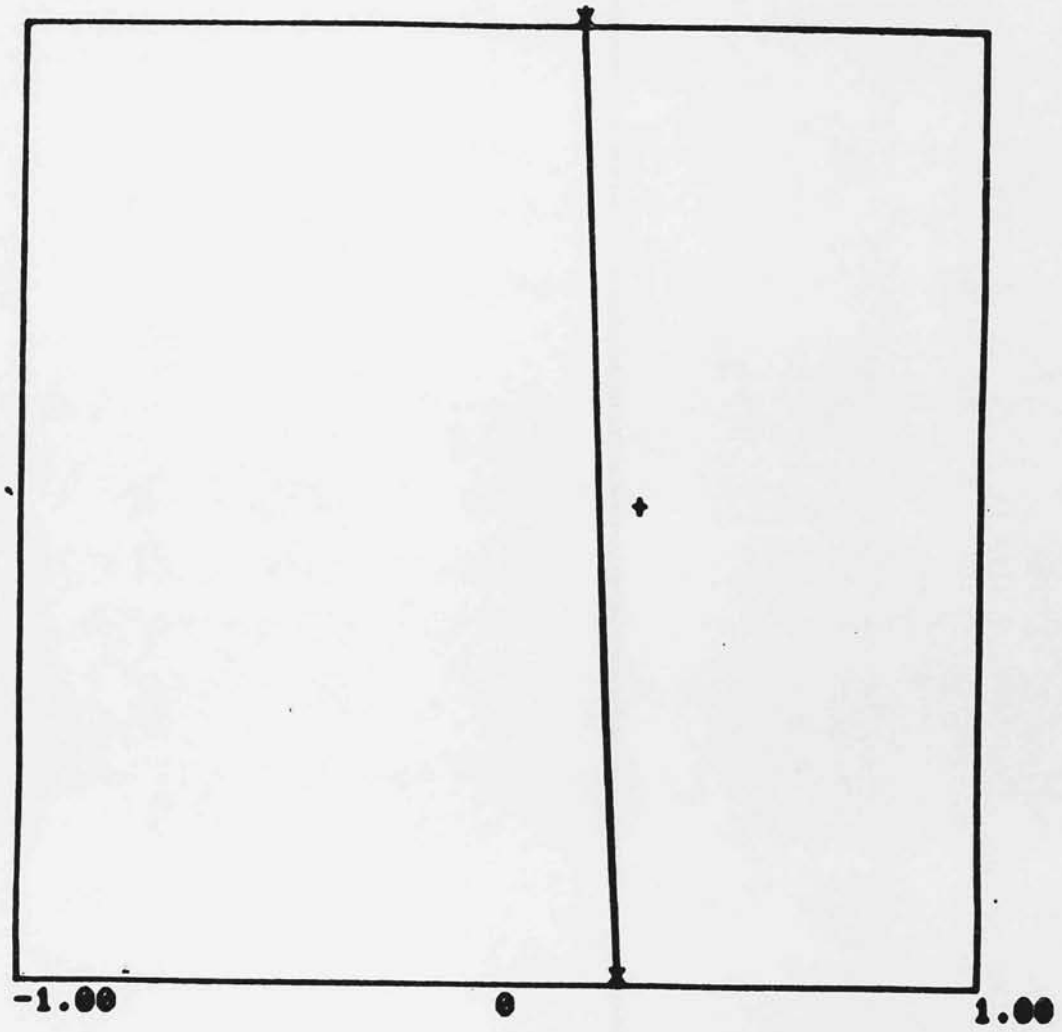
Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 5 7

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



Key:

♦ = Total population mean

]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

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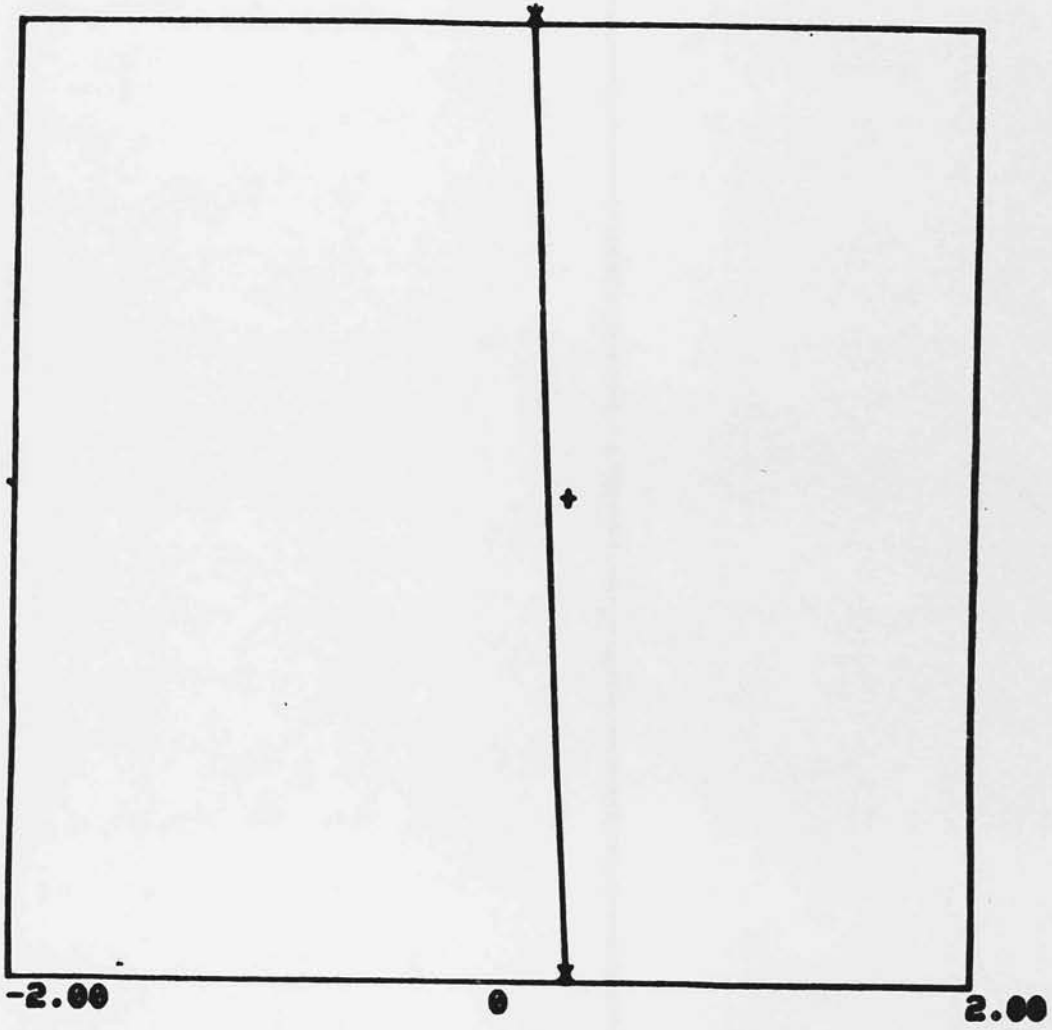
Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 2.0 Scale



Key:

= Total population mean

= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

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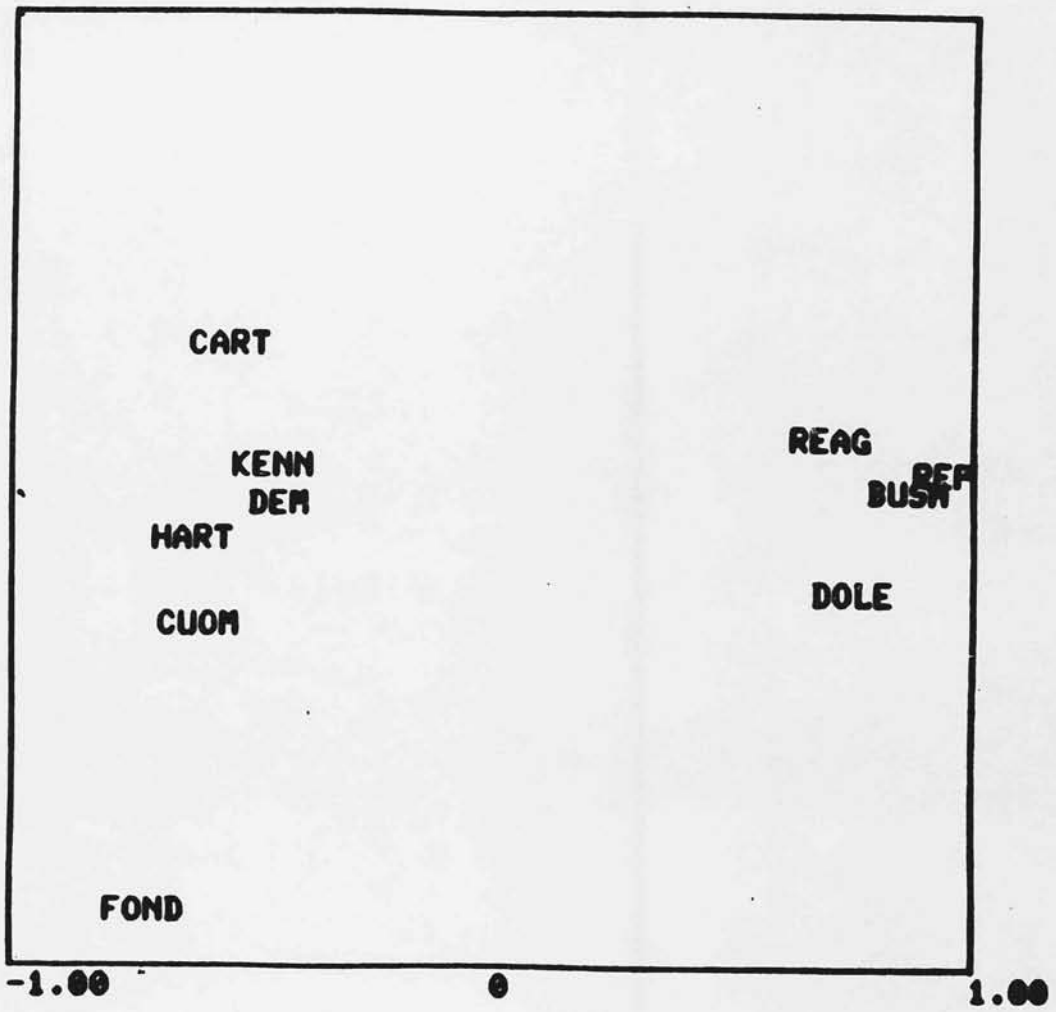
8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 6 0

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale

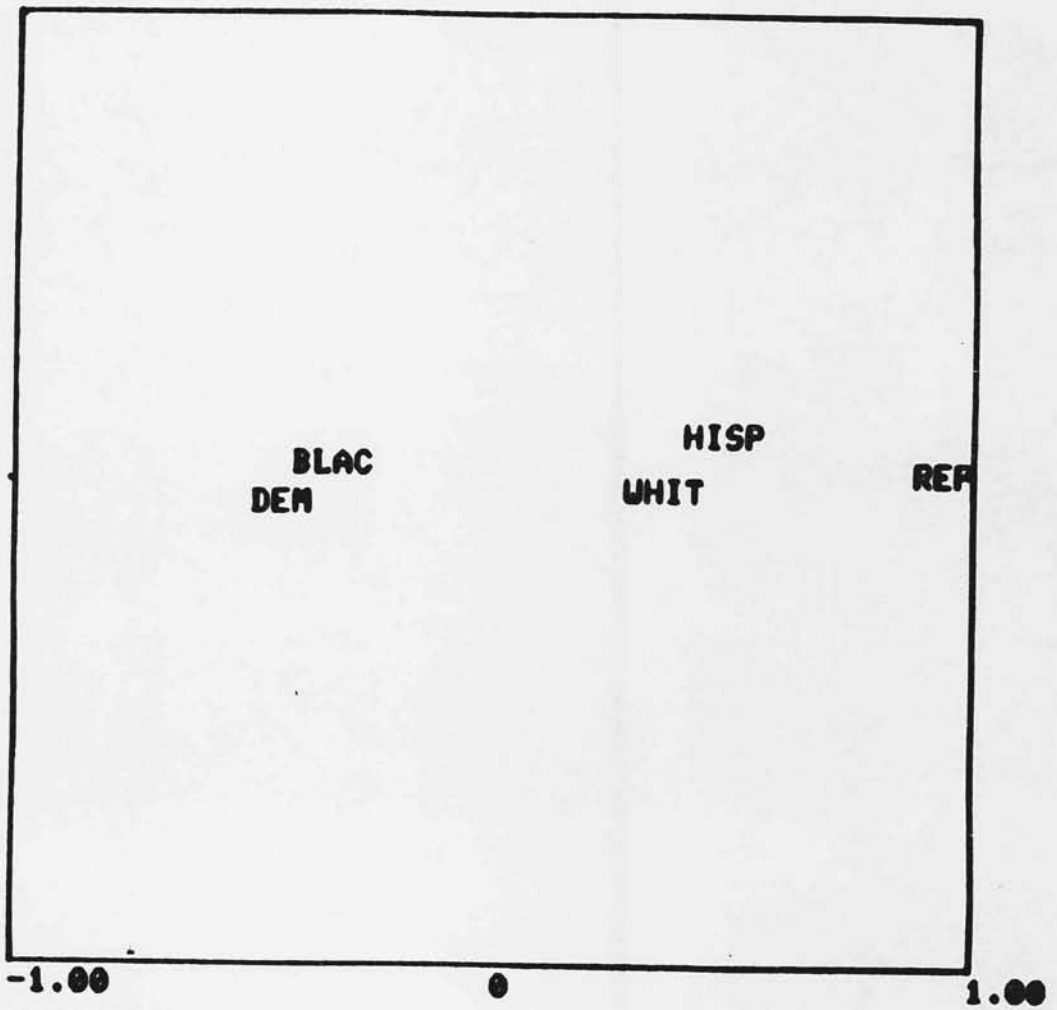


Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
KENNEDY
CUOMO
HART
FONDA
CARTER
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

8804072086 1

Overlay for the 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



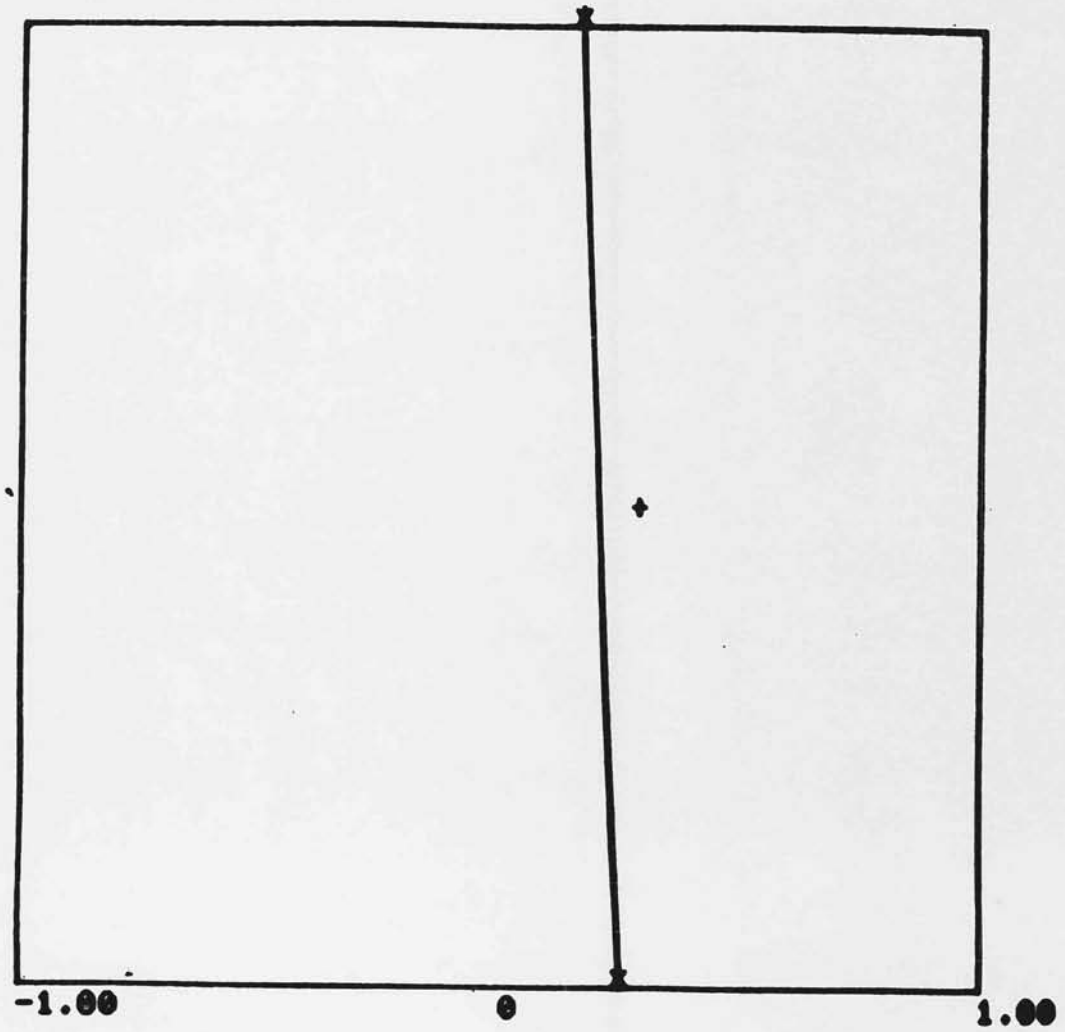
Key:

REP PARTY
DEM PARTY

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 6 2

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 1.0 Scale



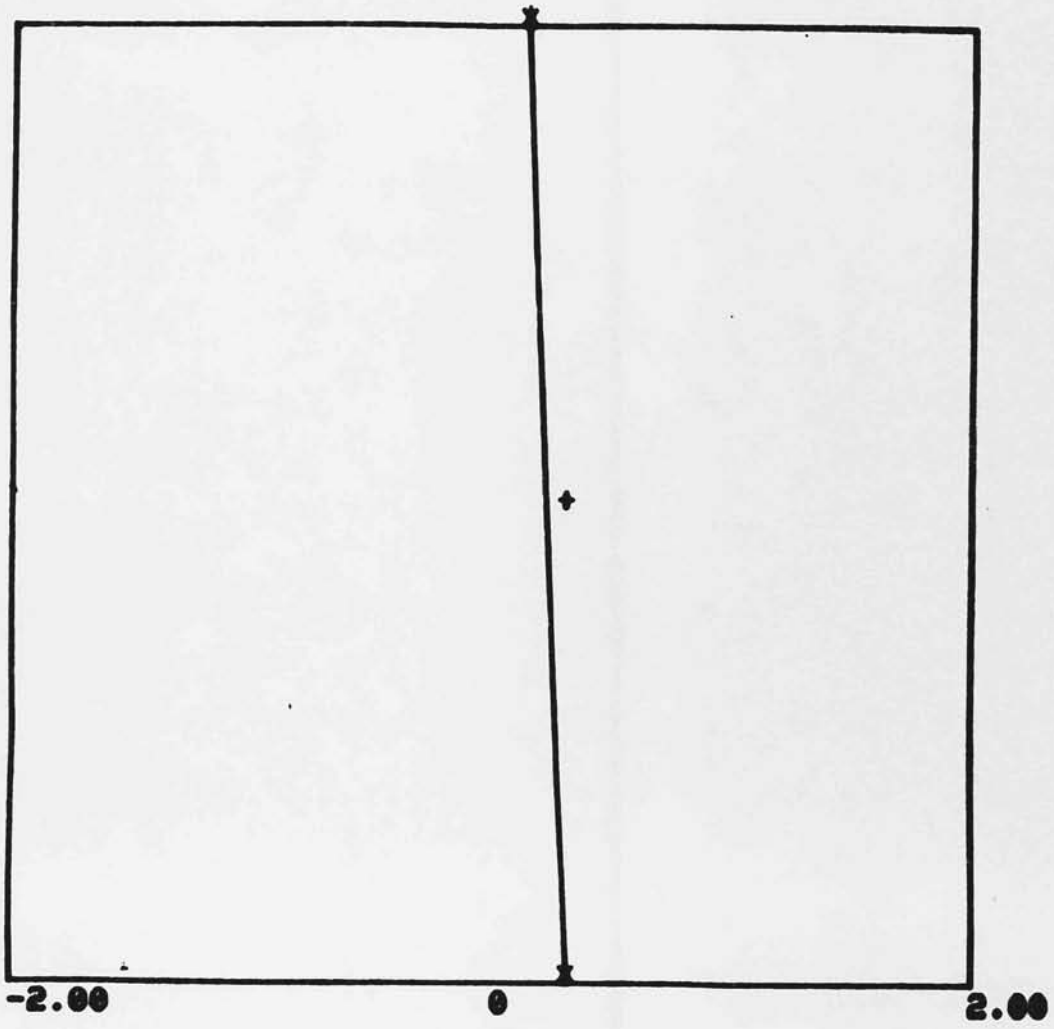
Key:

✦ = Total population mean

]= Bisector between the Republican and Democratic Parties

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 8 6 3

Overlay for 1985 Political Space, ± 2.0 Scale



Key:

= Total population mean

= Director between the Republican and Democratic Parties

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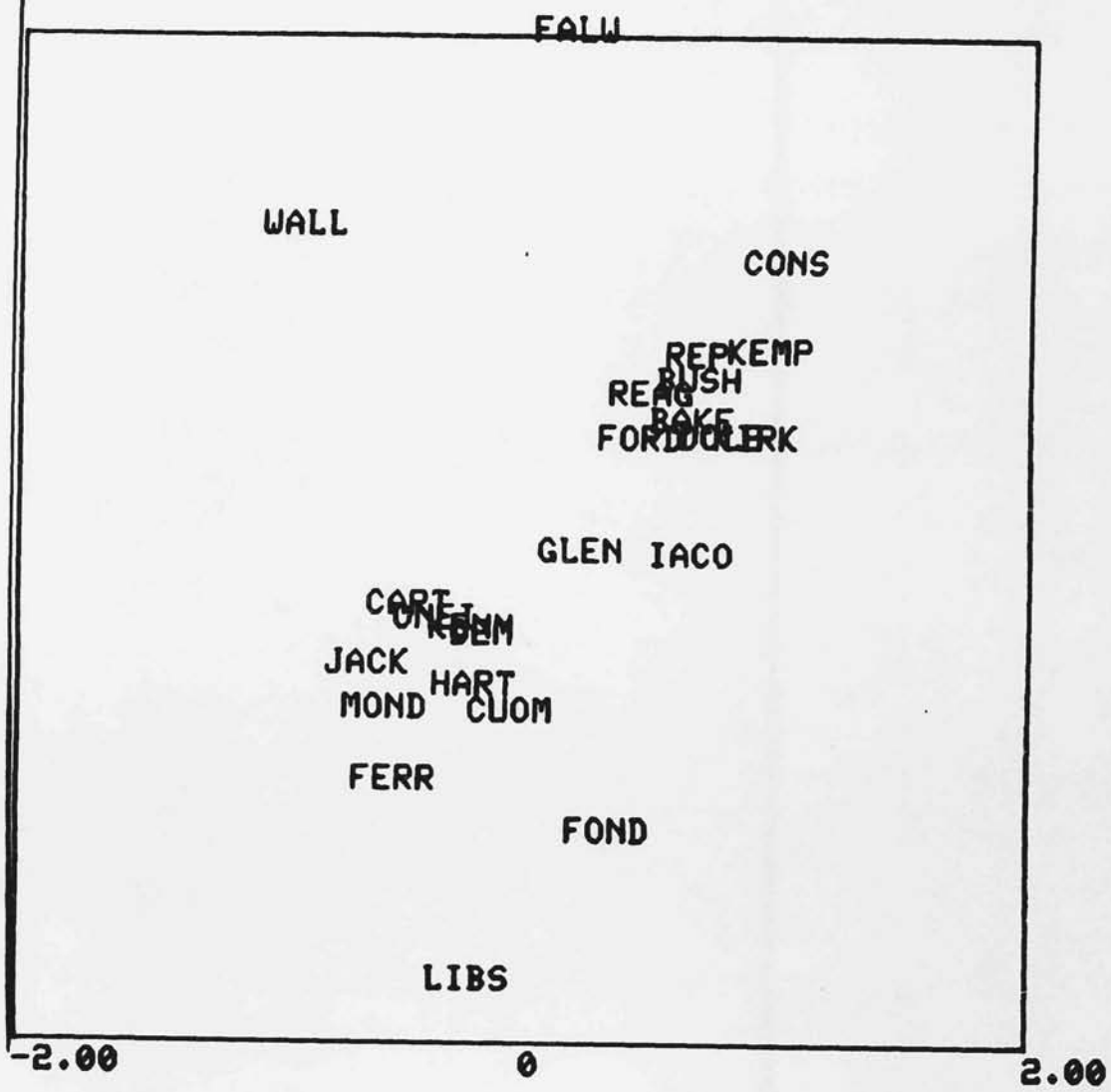
1985 Candidate Space



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS

Voter Attitudes on Gunboat Diplomacy Scale

	Total	Gunboat Diplomacy: Anti-Interventionists	Mixed	Gunboaters	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**23%**	**33%**	**44%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	**100%**	**20**	**30**	**50**	**(659)**
Independent	**100%**	**19**	**42**	**39**	**(144)**
Democrat	**100%**	**26**	**34**	**40**	**(695)**
Political Region					
New England	**100%**	**39**	**28**	**34**	**(79)**
Mid-Atlantic	**100%**	**24**	**32**	**44**	**(246)**
East North Central	**100%**	**27**	**32**	**41**	**(263)**
West North Central	**100%**	**22**	**32**	**48**	**(111)**
Border South	**100%**	**17**	**36**	**47**	**(118)**
Deep South	**100%**	**17**	**33**	**50**	**(392)**
Mountain	**100%**	**18**	**46**	**36**	**(80)**
Pacific	**100%**	**28**	**30**	**42**	**(210)**
Age					
18-24	100%	23	37	41	(237)
25-39	100%	20	30	50	(531)
40-54	100%	19	33	47	(313)
55-64	100%	25	34	40	(189)
65+	100%	33	33	34	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	25	30	46	(726)
Female	100%	21	36	43	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	24	27	49	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	24	37	38	(163)
Middle class	100%	23	31	47	(458)
Lower end	100%	18	36	46	(275)
Jews	100%	40	23	36	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	37	40	(63)
Blacks	100%	21	36	42	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	22	35	43	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	28	32	41	(202)
Northern white union	100%	28	27	44	(209)
Southern whites	100%	18	33	49	(395)

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America First

The second foreign policy dimension taps voter sentiment about the U.S. as a member of the "world community." It is more aid-related than intervention-related. The questions that make up this dimension are, "We should help only those countries which are for us and not help those which are against us," to which a 62% to 30% majority agrees, and "Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries." A 56% to 39% majority agrees with that statement.

As there is an inherent dissonance in those two responses, a plurality of the voters (41%) has mixed opinions. The remainder of the electorate divides 33% America First, 25% internationalist.

The strongest America First-ers in the electorate are:

* voters over 55
* lower end whites
* Jews

Younger voters, members of the intelligentsia, high income voters, and West North Central residents have a greater share of internationalist sentiment. This issue is non-partisan; there is no significant difference in opinion between Democrats and Republicans. Both are mixed, but lean toward the America First view.

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Composition and Distribution of America First Attitude Scale

We should help only countries which are for us and not help those which are against us.	Our country has a moral obligation to help people in other parts of the world, even those in neutral or unfriendly countries					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	6%	10%	2%	8%	15%	41%
Somewhat agree	4	10	1	4	3	21
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	2	1	1	1	8
Somewhat disagree	5	9	*	3	1	19
Strongly disagree	5	3	1	1	1	11
Total	22	34	5	17	21	100%

		Distribution
Internationalist	.000	5%
	.125	9
	.250	12
	.375	7
Mixed	.500	21
	.625	13
	.750	8
	.875	11
America First	1.000	15
Total		100%
Average		.55

Combined

Internationalist	25%
Mixed	41
America First	33

Voter Attitudes on America First Scale

	Total	America First: Internationalist	America First: Mixed	America First: America First	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**25%**	**41%**	**33%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	24	42	34	(659)
Independent	100%	23	44	33	(144)
Democrat	100%	27	40	33	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	29	46	25	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	26	41	33	(246)
East North Central	100%	27	42	31	(263)
West North Central	100%	31	32	37	(111)
Border South	100%	22	49	29	(118)
Deep South	100%	23	41	37	(392)
Mountain	100%	24	46	30	(80)
Pacific	100%	26	40	33	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	42	25	(237)
25-39	100%	26	43	31	(531)
40-54	100%	26	39	35	(313)
55-64	100%	20	42	39	(189)
65+	100%	19	41	40	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	27	44	29	(726)
Female	100%	24	39	37	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	32	39	29	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	37	41	22	(163)
Middle class	100%	25	41	34	(458)
Lower end	100%	16	41	42	(275)
Jews	100%	26	32	40	(53)
Hispanics	100%	17	52	30	(63)
Blacks	100%	29	43	28	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	27	37	36	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	27	43	30	(202)
Northern white union	100%	25	42	33	(209)
Southern whites	100%	22	43	35	(395)

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Traditional Values

The third dimension taps people's beliefs in traditional values. The two statements used to form this dimension are "It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer" and "A woman should have the legal right to an abortion if she wants one." Abortion and school prayer are at the heart of the difference between traditionalists and non-traditionalists, but a large share of the electorate is divided. On the issue of school prayer, a 75% to 20% majority favor letting prayer into public schools, but on the issue of abortion, a 66% to 30% favor allowing women to have an abortion if they choose.

Thus, a 51% majority of the electorate has mixed views on the traditional values dimension. Twenty-nine percent (29%) have consistent traditional values, 20% have consistently anti-traditional values. So, though it is an area which has received a great deal of attention in recent years, relatively few voters are diehard traditionalists as it relates to these two issues. It must be said, though, that when the issues of marijuana reform, gay rights, and pornography are included in the scale, as they were in the earlier study, the dimension polarizes somewhat. In that instance, 49% were classified as traditionalists and 17% were anti-traditionalist.

Those voter groups who are more traditionalist than the electorate at large are:

* Southern whites
* West North Central residents
* voters over 40

Anti-traditionalists are more likely to be:

* Pacific and Mid-Atlantic residents
* under 40
* Jews
* high income whites

This issue dimension is non-partisan. There is very little difference between the parties on the dimension. It is a good issue dimension with which to attract Southern whites, but not a good one to attract younger voters. This is largely because of the abortion issue. Younger voters strongly favor a woman's right to an abortion, Southern whites are less supportive. Both of these groups favor prayer in schools, however.

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Composition and Distribution of Traditional Values Attitude Scale

	A woman should have the legal right to have an abortion if she wants one					
It is all right for public schools to start each day with a prayer.	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	20%	10%	3%	3%	19%	55%
Somewhat agree	10	5	1	2	2	20
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	3	1	*	*	1	5
Somewhat disagree	3	2	*	1	1	7
Strongly disagree	10	1	*	1	1	14
Total	46	19	5	6	24	100%

		Distribution
Anti-traditional values	.000	10%
	.125	5
	.250	5
Mixed	.375	11
	.500	28
	.625	13
	.750	5
	.875	5
Traditional values	1.000	19
Total		100%
Average		.55

Combined

Anti-traditional values	20%
Mixed	51
Traditional values	29

Voter Attitudes on Traditional Values Scale

	Total	Traditional Values: Anti-Traditional Values	Mixed	Traditional Values: Pro-Traditional Values	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**20%**	**51%**	**29%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	16	53	31	(659)
Independent	100%	17	58	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	24	48	28	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	16	61	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	28	49	22	(246)
East North Central	100%	21	52	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	20	46	35	(111)
Border South	100%	12	53	35	(118)
Deep South	100%	13	53	35	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	53	31	(80)
Pacific	100%	28	48	24	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	27	49	24	(237)
25-39	100%	24	54	23	(531)
40-54	100%	16	50	35	(313)
55-64	100%	14	53	33	(189)
65+	100%	13	51	36	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	21	53	25	(726)
Female	100%	13	49	33	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	25	58	17	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	25	42	33	(163)
Middle class	100%	15	55	30	(458)
Lower end	100%	10	49	41	(275)
Jews	100%	60	36	4	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	51	25	(63)
Blacks	100%	23	48	29	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	20	53	27	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	15	47	38	(202)
Northern white union	100%	19	59	22	(209)
Southern whites	100%	11	53	36	(395)

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Government Assistance

There are two government action/domestic policy dimensions. The first one, government assistance, taps voter attitudes on how much the government should do to ensure quality of life. It differs from the government welfare dimension in that government assistance is seen to help everyone, while government welare is directed at the low income groups in the electorate. The two statements that comprise the government assistance dimension are "If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need" and "The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living." The public supports the first statement by a 63% to 31% margin but is evenly divided, 50% agree to 47% disagree on the second. When the two are combined to form the index, 42% are pro-government assistance, 32% are anti-government assistance, and 26% are mixed.

This index is highly partisan. A 43% to 32% plurality of the nation's Republicans are anti-government assistance, and a 53% to 20% majority of the Democrats are pro-government assistance.

Other groups who agree with Republicans that less government assistance is best are:

* voters over 55
* Mountain state residents
* high income, intelligentsia voters
* Southern whites
* Northern white Protestants

On the "more is better" side of the coin are:

* Eastern Seaboard (New England & Mid-Atlantic) and Pacific residents
* Blacks
* Hispanics
* Jews
* women
* lower end whites

Again, this agenda item is an attraction for Southern whites, but not for younger voters.

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Composition and Distribution of Government Assistance Attitude Scale

	The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
If cities and towns around the country need financial help to improve their schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.						
Strongly agree	19%	8%	1%	6%	5%	39%
Somewhat agree	5	8	1	7	4	24
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	1	1	1	2	6
Somewhat disagree	2	3	*	5	5	15
Strongly disagree	2	2	*	3	10	16
Total	30	21	3	22	25	100%

		Distribution
Anti-government assistance	.000	9%
	.125	8
	.250	7
	.375	7
Mixed	.500	17
	.625	9
	.750	11
	.875	13
Government assistance	1.000	19
Total		100%
Average		.58

Combined

Anti-government assistance	32%
Mixed	26
Government assistance	42

Voter Attitudes on Government Assistance Scale

	Total	Government Assistance: Anti-Government Assistance	Mixed	Pro-Government Assistance	Number of Cases
Total	100%	32%	26%	42%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	43	25	32	(659)
Independent	100%	32	28	39	(144)
Democrat	100%	20	27	53	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	23	20	57	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	23	27	50	(246)
East North Central	100%	32	23	45	(263)
West North Central	100%	32	35	33	(111)
Border South	100%	32	28	39	(118)
Deep South	100%	34	27	39	(392)
Mountain	100%	43	33	25	(80)
Pacific	100%	35	20	45	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	15	32	52	(237)
25-39	100%	27	27	46	(531)
40-54	100%	41	21	38	(313)
55-64	100%	42	23	36	(189)
65+	100%	40	26	34	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	35	26	39	(726)
Female	100%	28	26	46	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	50	26	25	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	43	26	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	35	27	39	(458)
Lower end	100%	23	25	52	(275)
Jews	100%	25	32	43	(53)
Hispanics	100%	13	22	63	(63)
Blacks	100%	8	28	65	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	41	23	35	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	29	25	47	(202)
Northern white union	100%	30	31	40	(209)
Southern whites	100%	40	27	34	(395)

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Government Welfare

The next government involvement/domestic policy dimension deals with government welfare, which is a separate area in voters' minds from government assistance. This is a very one-sided dimension, a majority or plurality of all voter groups are anti-government welfare.

The statements that comprise this dimension are "Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated, most people receiving assistance truly need it," which garners 47% agreement and 45% disagreement, and "Tighter controls are needed in the federal good stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them," to which a strong 77% to 18% majority agree. All told, 58% of the electorate is anti-government welfare, 22% are pro-government welfare, and 21% have mixed opinions.

Though all voters are anti-government welfare, those most strongly opposed are:

* Republicans
* Mountain state residents
* Southern whites
* middle class whites

Those the least opposed include:

* Blacks
* Jews
* Democrats
* New England and East North Central residents

Attitudes about government welfare do not vary significantly by age or gender.

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Composition and Distribution of Government Welfare Attitude Scale

Claims about welfare abuses are greatly exaggerated; most people receiving welfare assistance truly need it.	Tighter controls are needed in the federal food stamp program, many people now receiving food stamps don't deserve them					
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	4%	1%	3%	5%	20%
Somewhat agree	9	10	2	4	2	27
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	4	2	1	*	*	8
Somewhat disagree	11	6	*	1	1	19
Strongly disagree	22	3	*	1	1	27
Total	53	24	5	9	9	100%

		Distribution
Anti-government welfare	.000	22%
	.125	13
	.250	10
	.375	12
Mixed	.500	21
	.625	7
	.750	6
	.875	4
Pro-government welfare	1.000	5
Total		100%
Average		.36

Combined

Anti-government welfare	58%
Mixed	21
Pro-government welfare	22

Voter Attitudes on Government Welfare Scale

	Total	Government Welfare: Anti-Government Welfare	Mixed	Pro-Government Welfare	Number of Cases
Total	100%	58%	21%	22%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	67	18	15	(659)
Independent	100%	59	20	21	(144)
Democrat	100%	49	23	28	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	54	19	27	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	55	24	22	(246)
East North Central	100%	52	22	26	(263)
West North Central	100%	59	23	19	(111)
Border South	100%	55	21	24	(118)
Deep South	100%	62	19	19	(392)
Mountain	100%	70	13	18	(80)
Pacific	100%	59	20	20	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	52	24	24	(237)
25-39	100%	60	18	22	(531)
40-54	100%	57	19	24	(313)
55-64	100%	57	23	20	(189)
65+	100%	62	23	16	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	58	22	20	(726)
Female	100%	58	19	23	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	54	21	25	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	53	21	25	(163)
Middle class	100%	66	16	19	(458)
Lower end	100%	60	23	17	(275)
Jews	100%	51	21	28	(53)
Hispanics	100%	49	25	24	(63)
Blacks	100%	41	28	31	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	63	18	19	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	51	24	24	(202)
Northern white union	100%	58	20	23	(209)
Southern whites	100%	65	17	18	(395)

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Labor Unions

Public opinion on the usefulness of and necessity for labor unions is another major attitudinal dimension in the electorate. This dimension does not predict attitudes on the right of labor unions to exist, but to what extent they have more power and influence than they should. The electorate leans against labor unions in that regard by a 42% to 35% margin, with 23% mixed. The statements which are combined to form this dimension are "Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country," to which a 65% to 30% majority agree, and "Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man," to which a nearly equal 66% to 31% majority agree.

As expected, this is a highly partisan dimension. Republicans are anti-union by a 54% to 25% margin, Democrats are pro-union by a 44% to 32% margin. Age, region, status, and race are also divided on the union dimension. Besides Republicans, these voters are anti-union:

* Mountain state residents
* senior citizens
* northern white Protestants
* Southern whites

Siding with Democrats on the union dimension are:

* northern white union members
* voters under 25
* Jews
* Hispanics
* Blacks

This, again, could attract Southern whites, but is not a good arena in which to attract blue collar or young votes.

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Composition and Distribution of Labor Union Attitude Scale

Labor unions have become too big and powerful for the good of the country.	Labor unions are very necessary to protect the working man: Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly agree	7%	14%	1%	8%	12%	42%
Somewhat agree	6	12	1	4	1	23
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	2	2	1	1	1	6
Somewhat disagree	7	5	*	2	1	15
Strongly disagree	11	2	*	1	1	15
Total	31	35	3	16	16	100%

		Distribution
Anti-labor union	.000	12%
	.125	9
	.250	5
	.375	16
Mixed	.500	23
	.625	9
	.750	6
	.875	9
Pro-labor union	1.000	11
Total		100%
Average		.49

Combined

Anti-labor union	42%
Mixed	23
Pro-labor union	35

Voter Attitudes on Labor Union Scale

	Total	Labor Union: Anti-Labor Union	Labor Union: Mixed	Labor Union: Pro-Labor Union	Number of Cases
Total	100%	42%	23%	35%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	54	21	25	(659)
Independent	100%	40	23	37	(144)
Democrat	100%	32	24	44	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	38	24	39	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	23	40	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	21	36	(263)
West North Central	100%	40	24	37	(111)
Border South	100%	37	22	40	(118)
Deep South	100%	46	26	28	(392)
Mountain	100%	56	16	28	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	20	39	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	29	29	43	(237)
25-39	100%	41	24	35	(531)
40-54	100%	46	17	37	(313)
55-64	100%	44	20	37	(189)
65+	100%	52	26	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	42	22	36	(726)
Female	100%	42	24	34	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	48	15	37	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	48	23	29	(163)
Middle class	100%	48	24	28	(458)
Lower end	100%	45	23	32	(275)
Jews	100%	34	21	43	(53)
Hispanics	100%	24	22	54	(63)
Blacks	100%	18	25	57	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	54	22	24	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	40	26	35	(202)
Northern white union	100%	31	19	51	(209)
Southern whites	100%	52	24	24	(395)

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Black Agenda

Race is one of the major sociological divisions of the electorate. On the black agenda dimension one finds blacks at one end and everyone else at the other. This is not to say that non-blacks are anti-black or anti civil rights, but are against special treatment or privileges for blacks. The two items that make up this dimension are the statement that "Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them" and the 0° to 100° thermometer rating of Jesse Jackson. Blacks agree by a 60% to 38% margin to the statement and give Jackson a 77° rating. All other voters, however disagree with the statement by a 74% to 22% margin and give Jackson only a lukewarm 43° rating. In total, 60% of the electorate are anti-black agenda, 17% are pro-black agenda, and 23% are mixed.

The strongest sentiment against the black agenda is found among:

* Republicans
* senior citizens
* Southern whites
* lower end whites
* Jews
* Mountain state residents

Only among blacks is there a majority (54%) in favor of the black agenda, and only the following groups top 20% pro-black agenda:

* Democrats (24%)
* Hispanics (24%)
* voters under 25 (22%)

Non-black America is definitely against giving special consideration to blacks because of past discrimination.

In summary, there are eight attitudinal dimensions which account for most of the variance in opinions on major issues of the day. The seven dimensions which are described in this chapter are: gunboat diplomacy, America first, traditional values, government assistance, government welfare, union agenda, and black agenda. Each is listed below with the major voter groups the conservative position on the dimension attracts:

Gunboat diplomacy:	Southern whites, voters aged 25 to 39
America first:	voters over 55, lower end whites, Jews (non-partisan)
Traditional values:	Southern whites, West North Central, over 40 (non-partisan)
Government assistance:	over 55, Mountain, Southern whites, Northern white Protestants, high income, intelligentsia
Governmnt welfare:	Mountain, middle class, Southern whites
Labor unions:	Mountain, over 65, northern white Protestant, Southern white
Black agenda:	over 65, Southern white, lower end, Jews, Mountain

Comparing the Republican and Democratic coalitions on these dimensions shows that Republicans are significantly more conservative than Democrats on the black agenda (25 pts.), labor unions (22 pts.), government assistance (23 pts.), government welfare (18 pts.), and gunboat diplomacy dimensions (10 pts.), while there is little difference between the two parties on the traditional values (3 pts.) and America first (1 pt.) dimensions.

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Composition and Distribution of Black Agenda Attitude Scale

Black people in the country should be given special consideration for new jobs because of past discrimination against them.	Thermometer Rating of Jesse Jackson: Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Total
Strongly agree	6%	3%	2%	11%
Somewhat agree	8	4	4	15
Neither agree nor disagree/ Undecided	1	1	1	4
Somewhat disagree	10	7	8	25
Strongly disagree	11	10	24	45
Total	36	25	39	100%

		Distribution
Anti-black agenda	.000	18%
	.125	11
	.250	15
	.375	17
Mixed	.500	14
	.625	9
	.750	7
	.875	5
Pro-black agenda	1.000	4
Total		100%
Average		.38

Combined

Anti-black agenda	60%
Mixed	23
Pro-black agenda	17

Voter Attitudes on Black Agenda Scale

	Total	Black Agenda: Anti-Black Agenda	Black Agenda: Mixed	Black Agenda: Pro-Black Agenda	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**80%**	**23%**	**17%**	**(1500)**
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	72	19	9	(659)
Independent	100%	69	17	14	(144)
Democrat	100%	47	28	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	51	30	20	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	62	22	17	(246)
East North Central	100%	61	21	19	(263)
West North Central	100%	59	24	16	(111)
Border South	100%	58	25	18	(118)
Deep South	100%	60	22	17	(392)
Mountain	100%	74	21	6	(80)
Pacific	100%	59	24	17	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	53	24	22	(237)
25-39	100%	56	27	18	(531)
40-54	100%	64	20	16	(313)
55-64	100%	65	21	15	(189)
65+	100%	70	18	12	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	61	21	18	(726)
Female	100%	60	25	16	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	62	23	15	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	67	19	13	(163)
Middle class	100%	66	23	10	(458)
Lower end	100%	70	20	10	(275)
Jews	100%	75	17	8	(53)
Hispanics	100%	48	29	24	(63)
Blacks	100%	12	34	54	(159)
Tracer Group					
Northern white Protestant	100%	68	18	15	(373)
Northern white Catholic	100%	58	26	16	(202)
Northern white union	100%	65	25	11	(209)
Southern whites	100%	72	20	8	(395)

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

One of the most widely discussed issues in recent months has been international terrorism. Ever since the taking of hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Iran, this issue has been a subject of public debate and discussion. More recent events, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, have made this an even hotter topic. It is sure to be a topic of discussion in the 1986 and 1988 campaigns and is an important area for the Republican Party and its candidates to understand.

A solid number of Americans believe that terrorist acts are the acts of governments rather than of groups or individuals. Fully 67% feel that foreign governments are behind most terrorist acts. Less than one-third (27%) of the public feels that terrorists are individuals or groups acting on their own. This view is dominant throughout the electorate, but is most strongly held by senior citizens, lower end whites, and residents of the Deep South.

A 57% majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism, while 36% say that there is not much the government can do. This points out the desire on the part of the public that the government take an active role in trying to reduce terrorism around the world, including both military and diplomatic action.

One option the U.S. has against terrorism is retaliation. Fully 73% of the American public favors, in general, taking military action against terrorists. When probed further, however, that number declines as three specific situations are presented. All told, 60% of the public can be called pro-military action, while 40% are anti-military action.

The three specific situations presented were these: military action against terrorist camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded; military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation after an attack; military action against governments which help and train terrorists, even if that action could lead to larger conflict. To the first situation, endangering innocent lives, only 35% of the public would favor military action. Only 28% would favor a pre-emptive strike, and only 36% would favor military action against governments. So, while Americans, in general, are in favor of taking military action to stop terrorism, that support lessens when some of the consequences are discussed. Americans do not wish to see terrorist camps bombed if that would cost innocent lives, they do not wish to retaliate against governments if that could lead to a larger conflict, and they generally favor military force as retaliatory action rather than a pre-emptive one.

Republicans (most notably Independent Republicans), middle aged (40 to 54) citizens, residents of the Deep South, and Jews are the most pro-military action groups in the electorate. New Englanders, women,

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Democrats, and senior citizens are the most anti-interventionist and the least supportive of military action against terrorism. The most pro-military action groups in the electorate are southern men aged 40 to 54 and Jewish men aged 25 to 39. Compared to the national average of 1.8 on the 0 to 4 military action scale, they rate a 2.9 and a 2.6, respectively.

Comparing the Republican and Democratic coalitions on this scale shows the Republicans to have a 2.1 average on the scale and the Democrats a 1.6. Independent voters echo the national average of 1.9.

Despite their sentiments in favor of retaliatory action against terrorists, Americans also feel that the U.S. government should negotiate with terrorists if they are holding American hostages. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of the public supports negotiation, while 34% say the government should stand steadfast and refuse to negotiate.

Refusal to negotiate is more prevalent among Republicans, Mountain state residents, Jews, men, high income voters, and members of the intelligentsia. It is not, therefore, entirely a "shoot first, ask questions later" group. Many of these voters surely believe that negotiating with terrorists will only act to encourage future terrorist actions.

Americans are of a mind, then, that the U.S. government can and should act tough to discourage terrorism, but that when American lives are in the balance, there should be efforts made to save them.

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Public Opinion on Terrorism Issues

		Party ID		
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)
Some people say that there really is not much the U.S. government can do to reduce terrorism. Others say the U.S. government can significantly reduce terrorism. Which opinion is closest to your own?				
Not much government can do	36%	37%	39%	35%
Government can significantly reduce	57	57	51	58
Don't know/Refused	7	6	10	7
Do you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists?				
Favor	73%	77%	74%	68%
Oppose	19	15	15	24
Don't know/Refused	8	8	11	8
If oppose U.S. taking military action against terrorists, don't know or refused:				
Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists who had killed American citizens?				
Favor	43%	48%	44%	40%
Oppose	40	36	30	44
Don't know/Refused	18	16	27	16

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Public Opinion on Terrorism Issues

(cont'd.)

	Total	Party ID		
		Republican	Independent	Democrat
If favor U.S. taking military action against terrorists:				
Would you favor or oppose military action against terrorists camps if innocent people in the camps are likely to be killed or wounded in the attack?				
Favor	35%	42%	32%	29%
Oppose	40	37	38	43
Don't know/Refused	9	8	15	9
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19
Would you favor military action against terrorists who are suspected of planning an attack or only as retaliation against terrorists who have actually carried out an attack?				
Favor against suspected terrorists	28%	33%	33%	23%
Favor only as retaliation	47	47	37	49
Favor neither	4	3	6	4
Don't know/Refused	6	5	10	5
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19
Would you favor or oppose military action against governments which help train and finance terrorists, even if that means risking a larger war?				
Favor	36%	43%	34%	31%
Oppose	40	37	39	42
Don't know/Refused	8	7	12	9
Oppose all military action	16	12	15	19

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Demographic Profile of Support for Military Action Against Terrorists

		Military Action Index						
	Total	No Military Action	1	2	3	Military Action in All Cases	Avg.#	Number of Cases
Total	100%	16%	25%	28%	23%	9%	1.9	(1500)
Party Identification								
Republican	100%	12	19	31	26	|12|	|2.1|	(659)
Independent	100%	15	28	23	26	8	1.9	(144)
Democrat	100%	19	29	26	19	6	1.6	(695)
Political Region								
New England	100%	|24|	28	27	16	6	1.5	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	18	25	27	21	9	1.8	(246)
East North Central	100%	15	25	31	22	7	1.8	(263)
West North Central	100%	13	27	31	23	7	1.9	(111)
Border South	100%	17	|30|	24	22	8	1.7	(118)
Deep South	100%	11	23	27	|27|	11	|2.1|	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	29	30	16	9	1.7	(80)
Pacific	100%	19	21	29	22	9	1.8	(210)
Age								
18-24	100%	14	24	33	22	7	1.8	(237)
25-39	100%	13	28	27	24	8	1.9	(531)
40-54	100%	14	21	29	22	|14|	|2.0|	(313)
55-64	100%	15	28	29	20	8	1.8	(184)
65+	100%	|24|	21	25	25	6	1.7	(225)
Sex								
Male	100%	11	19	29	|28|	|13|	|2.1|	([illegible]
Female	100%	|20|	|30|	27	18	5	|1.6|	([illegible]
Tracer Group								
White northern Protestant	100%	19	26	29	18	8	1.7	(224
White northern Catholic	100%	18	28	25	20	9	1.7	(163
White northern union	100%	12	23	36	22	6	|1.9|	(456
Southern white	100%	10	23	27	|27|	|12|	|2.1|	(275
Jewish	100%	12	27	21	24	|16|	|2.1|	(55
Black	100%	|27|	26	20	20	6	1.5	(65
Hispanic	100%	9	19	38	|29|	4	|2.0|	(154

*Average ranges from 0 (no military action) to 4 (military action in all cases).

Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

		Sex	
	Total	Male	Female
Total	1.9	2.1	1.6
Age			
18-24	1.8		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.3
Catholic	1.5	1.8	1.2
Union	2.0	2.3	1.5
Southern white	2.1	2.1	2.1
Jewish	1.9	2.0	1.5
Hispanic	1.5	1.9	1.2
Black	2.1	3.0	0.7
25-39	1.9		
Protestant	1.7	2.0	1.5
Catholic	1.7	2.3	1.2
Union	1.8	2.0	1.6
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.8
Jewish	2.2	2.9	1.7
Hispanic	1.6	1.8	1.4
Black	2.2	2.4	2.0
40-54	2.0		
Protestant	1.9	2.2	1.5
Catholic	1.9	2.4	1.7
Union	1.9	2.2	1.7
Southern white	2.3	2.6	1.9
Jewish	2.1	2.3	1.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	1.1
Black	1.9	1.5	2.0
55-64	1.8		
Protestant	1.8	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.0	2.4	1.7
Union	1.8	1.9	1.8
Southern white	1.8	2.3	1.6
Jewish	2.2	2.2	—
Hispanic	1.4	1.8	0.8
Black	1.2	2.0	1.0

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Demographic Analysis of Military Action Index#

(cont'd.)

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Age (cont'd.)			
65+	1.7		
Protestant	1.4	1.7	1.2
Catholic	1.6	1.6	1.7
Union	1.9	1.9	1.9
Southern white	2.0	2.3	1.7
Jewish	1.4	1.5	1.4
Hispanic	1.3	.6	1.7
Black	1.7	1.7	—

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#Numbers are averages on the military action index, which ranges from 0 to 4.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Our government negotiate with terrorists												
Should negotiate	59%	54%	52%	65%	61%	61%	64%	59%	53%	61%	45%	55%
Refuse to negotiate	34	42	32	27	28	36	30	35	31	33	44	38
Don't know/Refused	7	4	16	7	12	4	6	6	17	6	11	6
Believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of. . .												
Individual/Small groups	27	27	24	28	29	27	32	32	25	23	20	28
Foreign government	66	66	67	65	65	67	62	60	63	70	66	66
Don't know/Refused	8	7	9	8	6	5	7	8	13	7	14	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

When terrorists are holding Americans hostage, do you think our government should negotiate with the terrorists for their release or refuse to negotiate with the terrorists?

Do you believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of individuals and small groups, or do you think that most of them are being backed by some foreign government?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Our government negotiate with terrorists															
Should negotiate	59%	68%	58%	55%	58%	58%	55%	63%	50%	48%	59%	61%	42%	62%	81%
Refuse to negotiate	34	28	37	37	31	33	40	28	46	42	33	31	51	38	15
Don't know/Refused	7	4	6	8	12	9	5	9	5	10	8	7	8	--	4
Believe terrorist acts are largely the acts of. . .															
Individual/Small groups	27	30	30	25	26	21	26	28	34	33	30	16	36	21	23
Foreign government	66	66	62	67	67	71	67	64	60	61	63	76	55	78	67
Don't know/Refused	8	4	8	7	8	9	7	8	7	7	7	7	10	--	11

CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM

The eighth master issue dimension uncovered in earlier research is protectionism. Though Americans generally feel that trade with other countries helps the U.S. economy, they nonetheless harbor protectionist sentiments. Protectionism to most Americans, though, means "fair trade" rather than "no trade." The public's lack of knowledge about trade issues fosters some ambivalence on this issue, however.

A 55% to 36% majority of the public believe that foreign trade helps rather than hurts the economy. This is true among all but strong Democrats, blacks, and lower end whites, who believe trade hurts the economy. It is also the case, however, that a small 34% plurality of voters believe that there should be less trade with other countries than there is now. Thirty-one percent (31%) believe there should be more trade and 28% say that it should stay about the same. In addition, fully 51% say that there should be fewer imports in the next few years than there is now. Thirty-six percent (36%) say it should stay the same, and only 9% feel there should be more foreign imports. Combining these sentiments about trade and imports reveals that 47% of the American public can be called "protectionist" to some degree, 23% are "free traders," and the rest (30%) have mixed opinions.

Americans are not blanket protectionists, however. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the public supports restricting foreign imports only

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from countries that restrict our products while trading freely with all other countries, the "fair trade" position. A lesser 27% feels that we should "restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products." Only 16% believe that there should be no restrictions on foreign imports.

Who are protectionists? Though most groups in the electorate exhibit some degree of protectionist sentiments, the most protectionist elements in our society are:

- Democrats
- mid-Atlantic state residents
- women
- blacks
- middle class lower end whites
- those with no college education

Education appears to be the most significant correlate with protectionist sentiments. The greater the educational attainment, the less likely a person is to harbour protectionist sentiments. Only among Jews and high income voters do free traders outnumber protectionists.

Why are some Americans protectionist? One reason is that Americans who are anti-imports are more likely to know of a specific business in their area that has been hurt by foreign competition than are free traders. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the core protectionists know of a business that has been hurt by foreign imports, while 53% of the free

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traders do not know of a local business that has been hurt. Other than protectionists, those most likely to know of a local business that has been hurt by foreign imports are New England and East North Central residents, men, high income voters, and voters aged 40 to 64.

Americans believe that the major reasons behind the trade deficit are cheap labor in foreign countries (66% feel this has contributed a great deal), wage demands by American labor unions (47%), dumping or selling at less than cost by foreign countries (47%), and poor planning and management by U.S. companies (43%). Americans blame unfair trade policies by foreign governments (37%) and the better quality of foreign products (37%) least of all.

It is somewhat surprising that Americans are as quick to admit some of the blame lies within the U.S. as to point the finger elsewhere. Indeed, over half of the voters feel that "American industries are blaming the Japanese/Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive costs," while less than a third feel that "the Japanese/Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries." This question, half-sampled to alternate "Japanese" with "European," came out very similar in each case, with a 58% to 32% majority pointing the finger at U.S. industry vis-a-vis the Japanese, and a 55% to 30% majority doing so vis-a-vis the Europeans.

Taking these opinions on the source of blame for trade problems together, only one-fourth of the American public (25%) puts the blame for U.S. trade problems solely at the feet of American business. On

the other hand, nearly 4 in 10 (38%) blame foreign countries. The rest (37%) blame both or have mixed opinions. The relationship between blame for trade problems and protectionist sentiments is strong. Protectionists place the blame on foreign countries, while free traders think the cause comes from U.S. business. Protectionists thus feel that, since the trade deficit is due to unfair competition from abroad, there should be trade restrictions so that U.S. industry can compete on an equal footing. Free traders place the blame on U.S. business and thus believe that it is up to business to straighten up and become more competitive.

There is, however, a large share of the electorate that divides the blame between U.S. business and foreign companies and governments. New Englanders, Mountain state residents, young voters (18-24), and lower end whites put the most blame on both camps.

One policy which has been espoused recently is one of "fair trade." Americans go along with that general idea, protectionist and free trader alike. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the free traders, 50% of the protectionists, and 60% of those in the middle feel that America's trade policy should be one of trading freely with those countries that trade freely with us, and restricting the products of those countries who restrict our products. From a policy perspective, this could lead to a trade war, but even when that was explained to those voters who wanted fewer imports, they said that having fewer imports was more important than avoiding a possible trade war.

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Where do the parties stand on the protectionism issue? Democrats are more protectionist than Republicans. Fifty-four percent (54%) of the nation's Democrats are protectionist, 19% are free traders, compared to a 40% protectionist, 28% free trader plurality among Republicans. Both voter groups support the notion of fair trade, Republicans to the tune of 56%, Democrats with 49%. More Democrats (32%) than Republicans (24%) favor the across-the-board trade restriction option, but neither feel that there should be no trade restrictions.

It is clear that Americans want a trade policy that takes into consideration the effect of imports on American jobs. The fair trade concept is generally supported as a policy option. Americans are definitely not in favor of "free" trade, but they are not intransigent in their protectionism either.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
Foreign Trade												
More	31%	37%	28%	26%	28%	31%	34%	36%	22%	29%	29%	34%
About the same	28	28	29	27	30	26	27	26	30	29	24	27
Less	34	29	30	40	30	37	30	33	39	37	36	29
Don't know/Refused	8	7	13	8	10	6	9	6	9	5	11	10
Foreign Imports												
More	9	9	10	9	14	9	9	6	11	10	6	8
About the same	36	43	35	29	32	35	37	41	31	35	28	41
Less	51	45	49	58	54	53	50	51	53	52	58	44
Don't know/Refused	4	2	7	4	1	4	4	2	5	3	8	6

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off with more trade, less trade, or about the same trade, as now, with foreign countries?

Over the next several years, do you think our country would be better off allowing more, less, or about the same amount of foreign imports, as now, into the country?

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
Foreign Trade															
More	31%	29%	30%	30%	34%	34%	44%	18%	46%	41%	30%	17%	42%	33%	19%
About the same	28	35	29	28	21	22	23	32	32	33	22	27	32	30	31
Less	34	32	35	35	35	32	27	41	18	20	39	46	19	33	45
Don't know/Refused	8	4	6	7	11	12	6	9	4	7	9	9	8	2	4
Foreign Imports															
More	9	8	11	9	9	6	11	7	11	10	7	6	7	22	1
About the same	36	39	34	35	30	41	40	31	51	50	36	26	46	18	20
Less	51	51	52	52	54	46	45	57	34	39	53	64	40	57	63
Don't know/Refused	4	1	3	4	7	7	4	5	4	2	3	4	6	3	4

Protectionist Sentiments in the American Public

		Protectionism Index			
	Total	Protec-tionists	Mixed	Free Traders	Number of Cases
Total	100%	47%	30%	23%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	32	[28]	(659)
Independent	100%	45	33	22	(144)
Democrat	100%	[54]	27	19	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	49	28	23	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	50	27	23	(246)
East North Central	100%	46	27	27	(263)
West North Central	100%	45	29	27	(111)
Border South	100%	48	36	15	(118)
Deep South	100%	48	30	22	(392)
Mountain	100%	48	34	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	40	33	27	(210)
Sex					
Male	100%	37	29	[33]	(726)
Female	100%	[56]	30	14	(774)
Status Group					
High income	100%	29	32	[39]	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	31	37	[31]	(163)
Middle class	100%	51	27	22	(458)
Lower end	100%	[63]	25	12	(275)
Jewish	100%	30	36	[32]	(53)
Hispanic	100%	43	32	25	(63)
Black	100%	[57]	31	13	(159)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	[56]	28	16	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	39	34	26	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	[56]	24	18	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	35	28	[36]	(300)
Bush-Reagan Perception Difference					
RR>>GB	100%	50	28	21	(431)
RR>GB	100%	39	29	30	(328)
RR=GB	100%	51	27	20	(444)
GB>RR	100%	39	32	27	(216)

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Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

		Country's Foreign Trade Policy				
	Total	(1) No Restrictions	(2) "Fair Trade"	(3) Restrictions	Don't Know/ Refused	Number of Cases
Total	**100%**	**16%**	**53%**	**27%**	**4%**	(1500)
Party Identification						
Republican	100%	17	56	24	3	(659)
Independent	100%	17	57	19	7	(144)
Democrat	100%	15	49	32	4	(695)
Political Region						
New England	100%	16	48	29	6	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	24	52	22	1	(246)
East North Central	100%	12	57	26	5	(263)
West North Central	100%	15	56	25	4	(111)
Border South	100%	14	42	42	1	(118)
Deep South	100%	16	51	29	4	(392)
Mountain	100%	16	50	26	7	(80)
Pacific	100%	15	59	24	3	(210)
Age						
18-24	100%	20	46	32	2	(237)
25-39	100%	15	57	26	3	(531)
40-54	100%	14	57	26	4	(31[illegible]
55-64	100%	17	49	30	4	(1[illegible]
65+	100%	17	46	26	11	(22[illegible]
Sex						
Male	100%	18	56	23	3	(72[illegible]
Female	100%	15	49	32	5	(77[illegible]

(continued on next page)

Which of the following three choices do you think should be our country's foreign trade policy?

(cont'd.)

	Total	Country's Foreign Trade Policy (1) No Restrictions	(2) "Fair Trade"	(3) Restrictions	Don't Know/ Refused	Number of Cases
Status Group						
High income	100%	17%	65%	14%	3%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	16	64	18	2	(163)
Middle class	100%	15	55	28	3	(458)
Lower end	100%	13	44	35	7	(275)
Jews	100%	19	58	23	3	(53)
Hispanics	100%	32	43	25	—	(63)
Blacks	100%	20	35	41	5	(159)

(1) Have no restrictions on foreign imports so Americans can have the widest choice possible on what to buy at the lowest possible price.

(2) Restrict foreign imports from any country which restricts our products and trade freely with all other countries.

(3) Restrict any foreign imports which threaten American jobs even if they are from a country which doesn't restrict our products.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Public Assessment of Source of Trade Problems (Half-Sampled)

		Party Identification			Political Region							
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border South	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(659)	(144)	(695)	(79)	(246)	(263)	(111)	(118)	(392)	(80)	(210)
First Half-Sample												
The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries	32%	32%	29%	32%	30%	33%	30%	31%	43%	35%	28%	24%
American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	58	61	55	57	63	60	59	54	44	57	64	65
Don't know/Refused	9	7	15	12	7	7	11	15	14	9	8	11
Second Half-Sample												
The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	29	16	34	26	26	33	38	35	31	17	25
American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	55	55	67	52	50	59	57	46	54	52	60	57
Don't know/Refused	16	17	18	15	24	15	10	16	11	16	24	17

(continued on next page)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Public Assessment of Source of Trade Problems (Half-Sampled)

(cont'd.)

		Age					Sex		Status Groups						
	Total	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female	High Income	Intelligentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	Jews	Hispanics	Black
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1500)	(237)	(531)	(313)	(189)	(225)	(726)	(774)	(228)	(163)	(458)	(275)	(53)	(63)	(159)
First Half-Sample															
The Japanese are competing unfairly with American industries	32%	35%	23%	31%	37%	46%	28%	36%	27%	25%	32%	42%	30%	28%	31%
American industries are blaming the Japanese for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	58	64	68	59	51	36	63	54	66	67	60	43	61	72	57
Don't know/Refused	9	1	9	10	12	18	9	11	8	8	7	16	9	—	12
Second Half-Sample															
The Europeans are competing unfairly with American industries	30	38	22	29	36	33	30	29	20	17	31	43	10	49	33
American industries are blaming the Europeans for their own mistakes and excessive labor costs	55	55	64	55	43	43	56	54	57	72	55	44	74	39	57
Don't know/Refused	16	7	14	17	20	24	14	17	22	10	15	13	16	12	10

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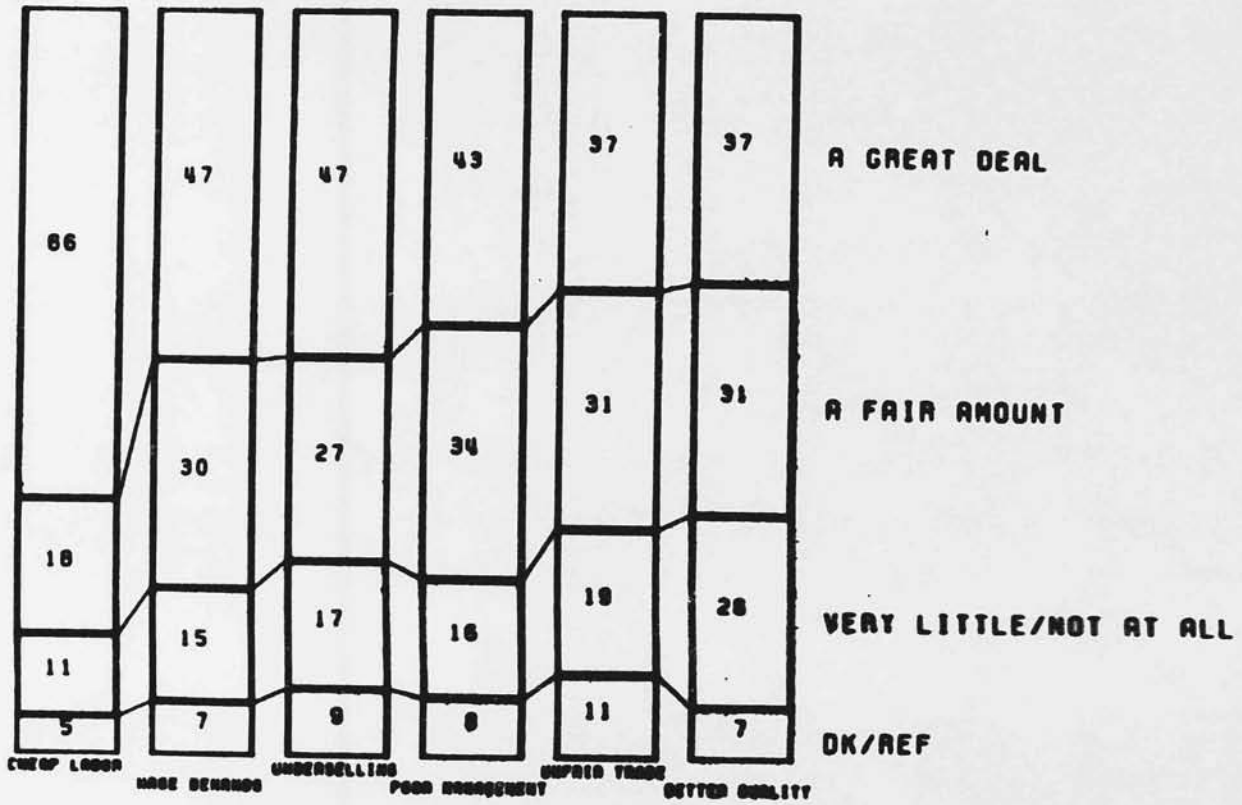
PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRADE DEFICIT



Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems[a] Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Total	100%	38%	37%	25%	(1500)
Party Identification					
Republican	100%	40	33	27	(659)
Independent	100%	33	43	24	(144)
Democrat	100%	38	38	24	(695)
Political Region					
New England	100%	37	41	22	(79)
Mid-Atlantic	100%	37	36	26	(246)
East North Central	100%	43	37	20	(263)
West North Central	100%	44	27	30	(111)
Border South	100%	41	32	26	(118)
Deep South	100%	35	38	27	(392)
Mountain	100%	35	47	19	(80)
Pacific	100%	37	38	26	(210)
Age					
18-24	100%	32	44	24	(237)
25-39	100%	39	35	26	(531)
40-54	100%	40	34	27	(313)
55-64	100%	38	41	22	(189)
65+	100%	43	34	23	(225)
Sex					
Male	100%	39	33	28	(726)
Female	100%	37	41	22	(774)

(continued next page)

Source of Blame for Current Trade Problems

(cont'd.)

	Total	Blame for Trade Problems (a) Blame Foreign Countries	Blame Both	Blame U.S.	Number of Cases
Status Group					
High income	100%	35%	32%	33%	(228)
Intelligentsia	100%	38	31	31	(163)
Middle class	100%	45	33	23	(458)
Lower end	100%	40	44	16	(275)
Jews	100%	43	28	29	(53)
Hispanics	100%	33	47	21	(63)
Blacks	100%	30	43	27	(159)
Protectionism Index					
Protectionists	100%	45	38	18	(701)
Mixed	100%	36	37	28	(428)
Free traders	100%	30	35	34	(351)
Union Household (non-black)					
Union	100%	47	34	19	(210)
Non-union	100%	38	36	26	(921)
Age/Education					
Under 40/No college	100%	39	39	21	(321)
Under 40/College	100%	35	37	28	(448)
Over 40/No college	100%	40	39	21	(427)
Over 40/College	100%	40	31	29	(300)

(a) Composite Index of questions 17-22.

8 8 0 4 0 7 0 9 1 4

CHAPTER SIX: PERCEPTUAL SPACE

Using multidimensional scaling techniques it is possible to construct the underlying attitudes people use to rate political figures. The main advantage of this technique is that allows the data to produce the dimensions; it does not impose predetermined dimensions on the data.

When this technique was first used for the Republican National Committee in 1976, two dimensions were found to account for a significant amount of variance in the thermometer ratings of the prominent political figures that year. The two dimensions were:

* Party affiliation
* Traditional American values

The public first sorted the political figures by Republicans and Democrats. While this initial sort was the most obvious one, subsequent analysis revealed that scales measuring the government's role in the economy was closely associated with the party affiliation dimension. Consequently, the public perceived virtually all the Democrats as economic liberals and virtually all the Republicans as economic conservatives, with some moderate differences within each party grouping.

To a greater extent the public used the second dimension, traditional American values, to distinguish Democrats from other Democrats, and, similarly, Republicans from other Republicans. This dimension lead to one of the key findings of the 1976 study: that Jimmy Carter was the only Democrat who was clearly perceived as a social conservative. This placed him in the most advantageous place in the 1976 political space: a liberal on government economic activism and a conservative on social issues. This positioning placed him closer to more voters than any other political figure at the time of the study (June, 1986).

The structure of the current political space, as measured in this study, has changed in a significant way from the one found in 1976. The space is much more one-dimensional than it was in 1976. The public still makes an initial sort by Republicans and Democrats, but this initial sort seems to carry with it a greater issue content than in 1976. The power of the first dimension, arbitrarily shown as the horizontal axis in the following pages, in explaining the individual thermometer ratings dominates the space to such an extent that the second dimension, represented by the vertical axis, is little more than a picture of random error differences.

This interpretion would mean that the public perceives more issue differences between the two major parties than in 1976. For one, the traditional American values dimension has collapsed onto the party affiliation dimension. In addition, attitudes about the Black Agenda

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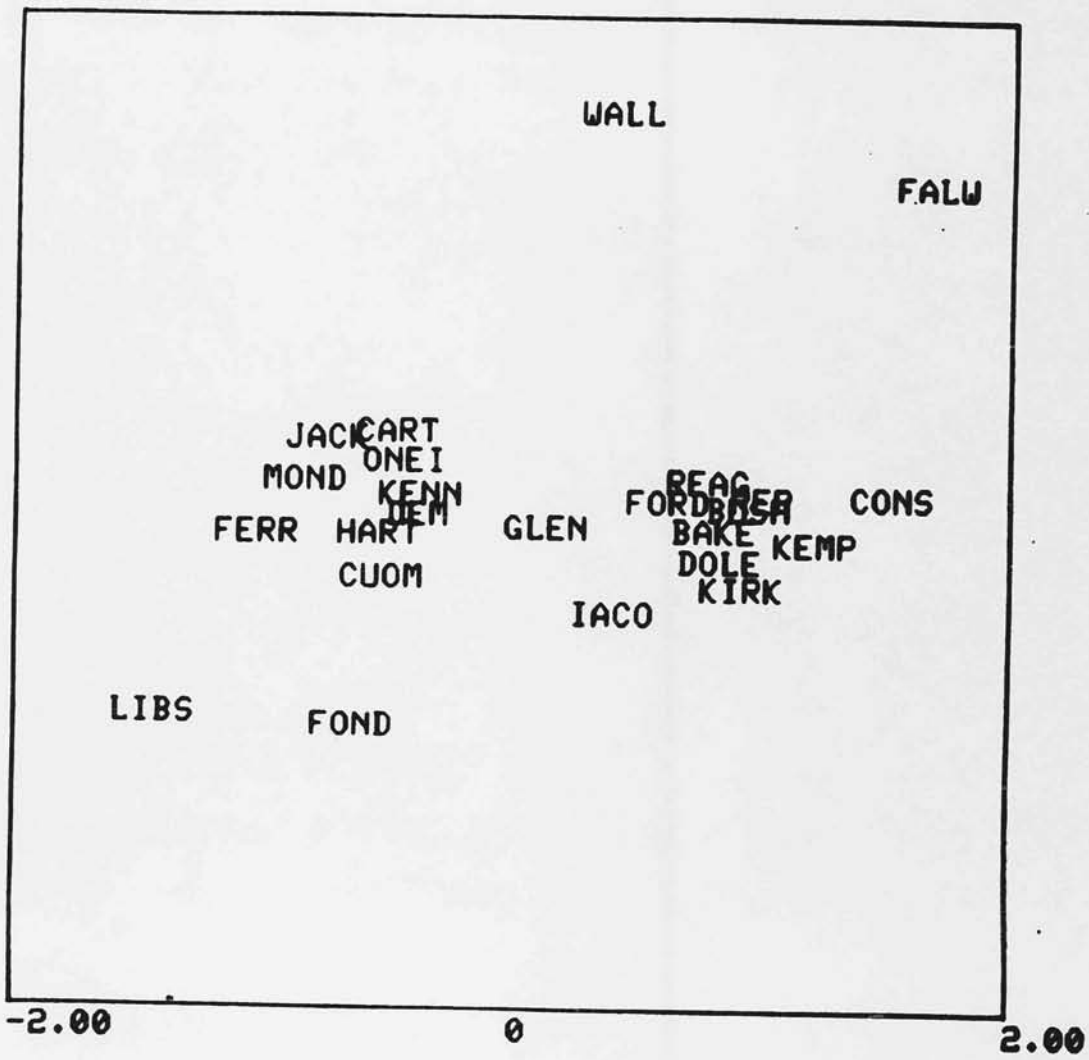
and the Labor Union Agenda, described elsewhere in the report, are now part of the basic party affiliation dimension. In short, the public now perceives a greater variety of issues distinguishing Republicans from Democrats than it did in 1976.

Lastly, there is a simple but very significant difference between the 1976 and 1985 political spaces. In 1976 the average voter (the weighted center point in the space) was closer to the Democratic cluster of names than to the Republican cluster of names. In 1985, the average voter is closer to the Republican cluster.

8 8 0 4 0 7 0 9 1 2

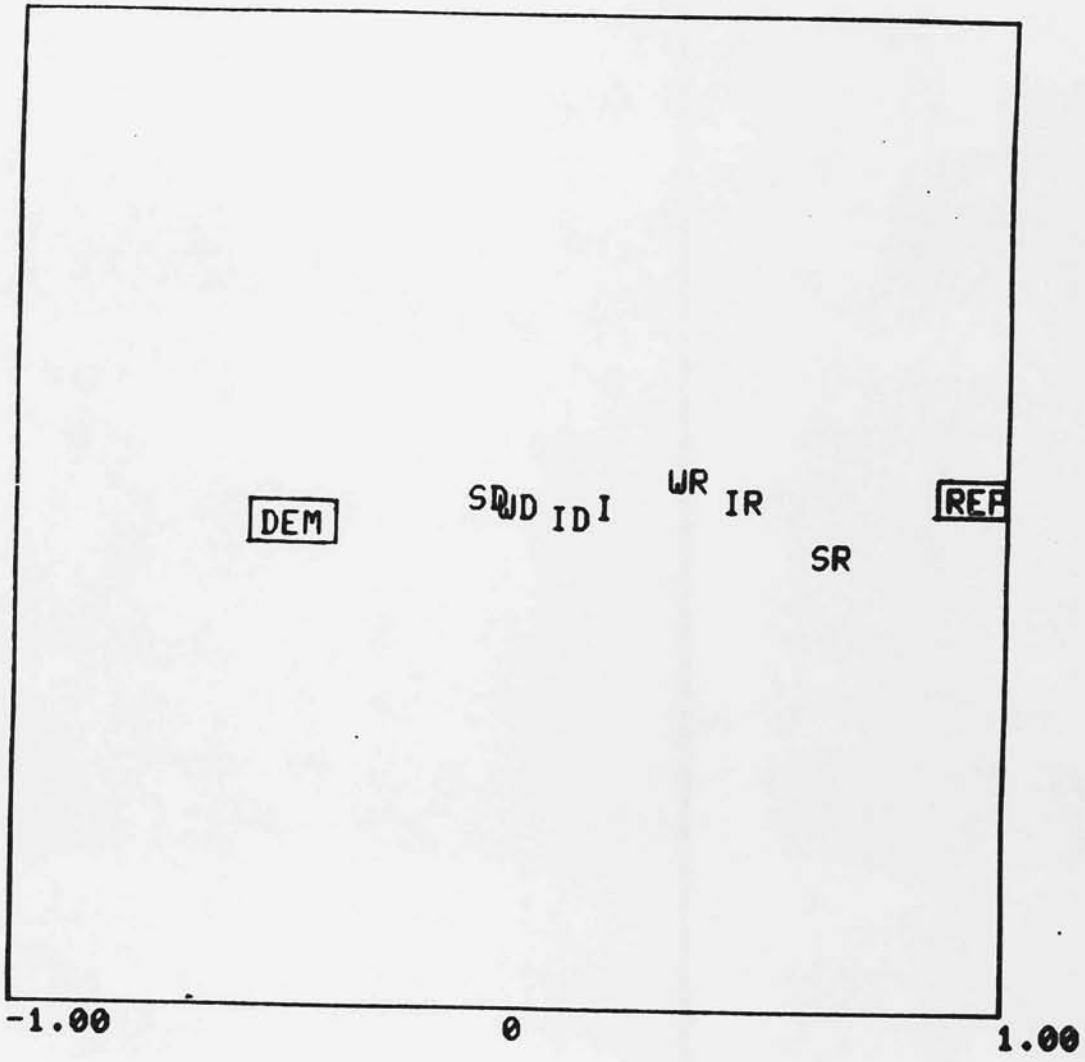
1985 Political Space



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS

Party Identification in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

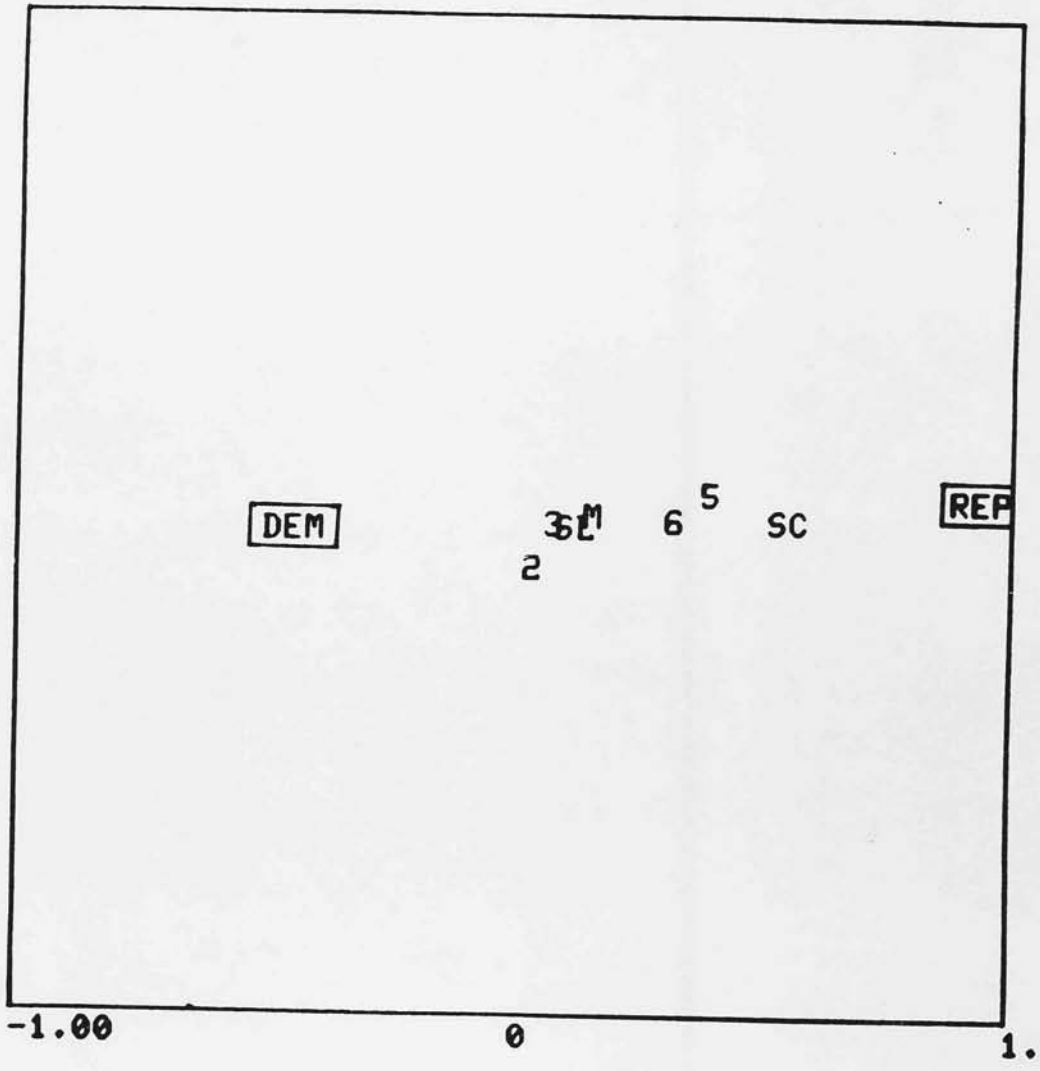
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

SD = Strong Democrat
WD = Weak Democrat
ID = Independent Democrat
I = Independent
IR = Independent Republican
WR = Weak Republican
SR = Strong Republican

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 1 9

Liberal/Conservative Self-Description
in the 1985 Political Space

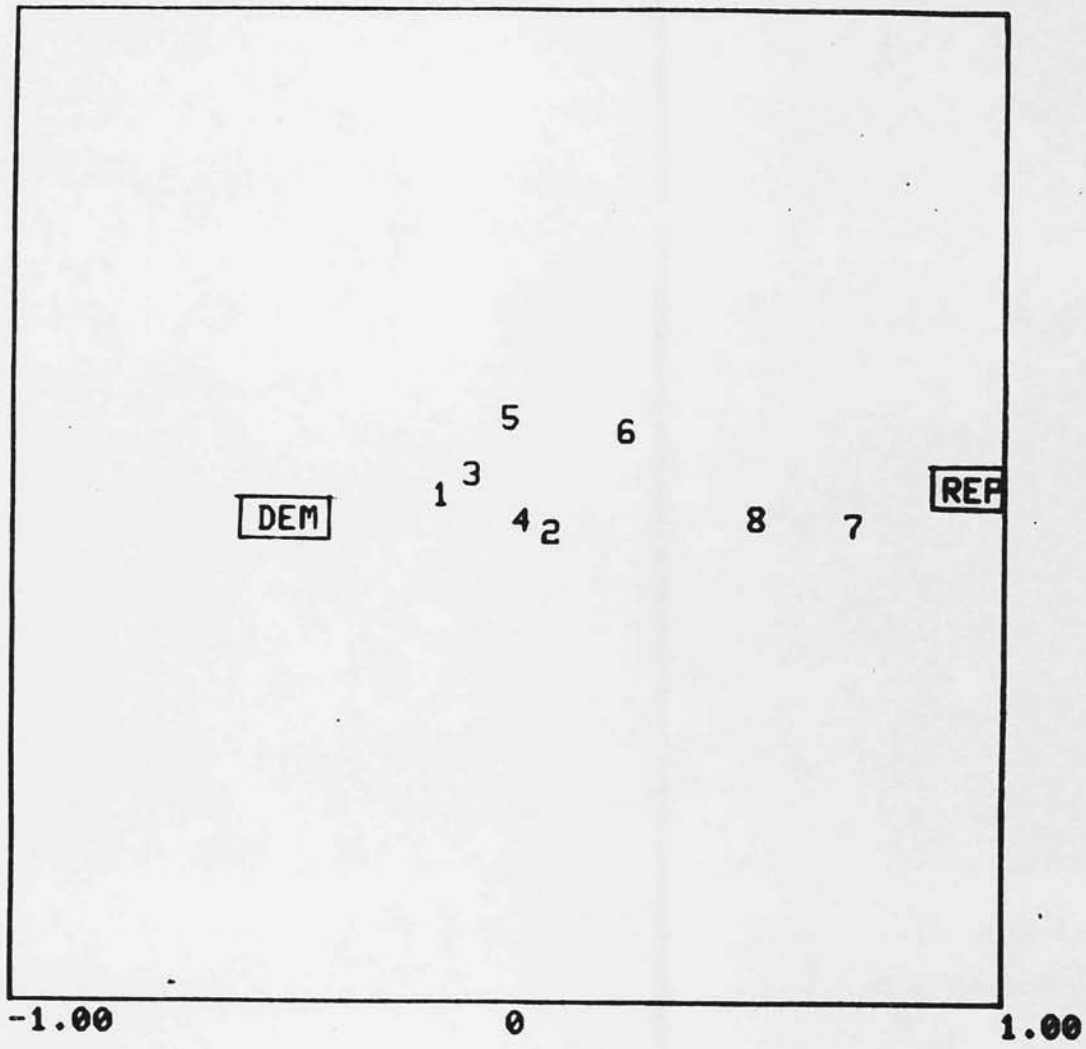


Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
SL = Extremely liberal
2 = Fairly liberal
3 = Slightly liberal
M = Moderate
5 = Slightly conservative
6 = Fairly conservative
SC = Extremely conservative

Presidential Trial Heat Summary Index
in the 1985 Political Space



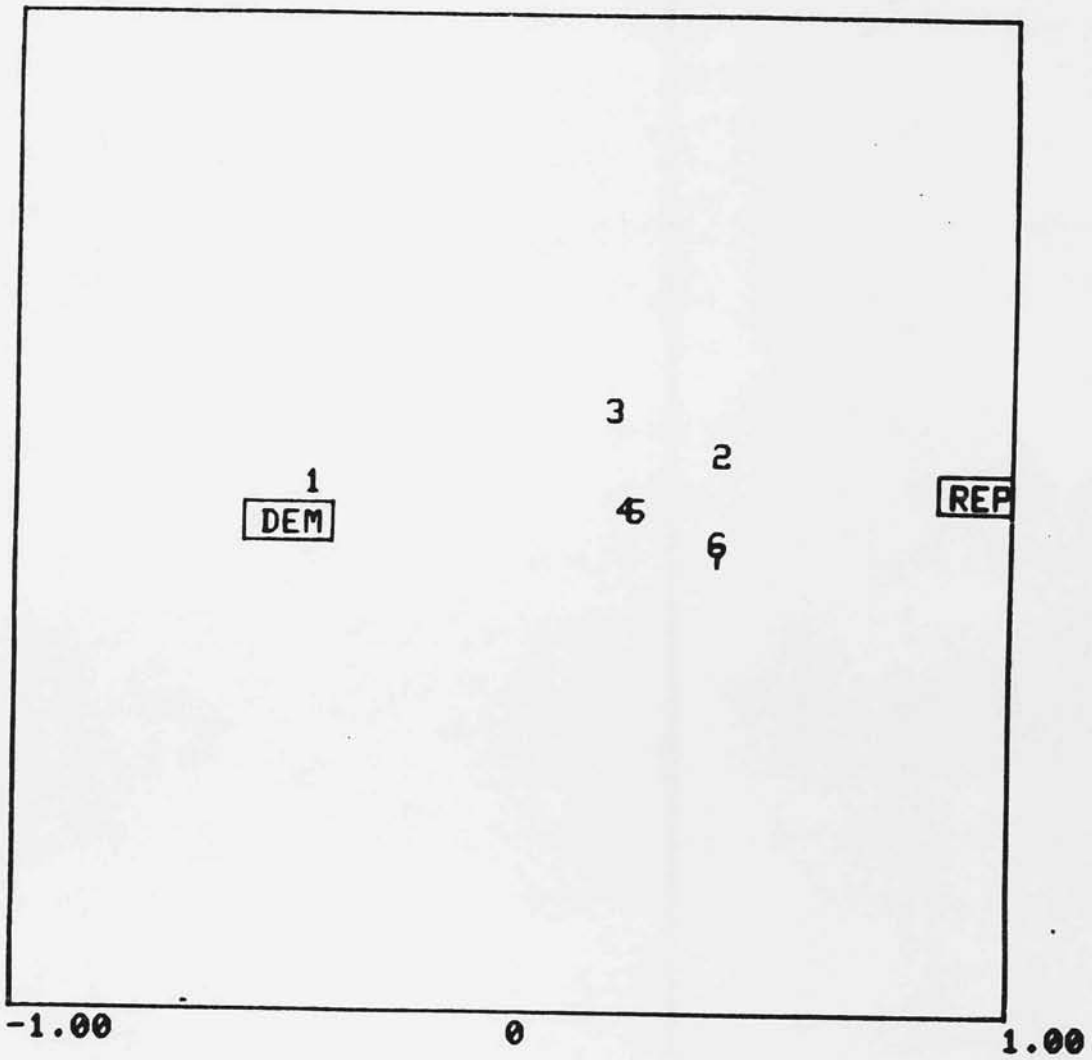
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Core Democrat
2 = Anti-Kennedy Democrats
3 = Anti-Hart Democrats
4 = Anti-Iacocca Democrats
5 = Pro-Kennedy Republicans
6 = Pro-Hart Republicans
7 = Pro-Iacocca Republicans
8 = Core Republican

Status Groups in the 1985 Political Space



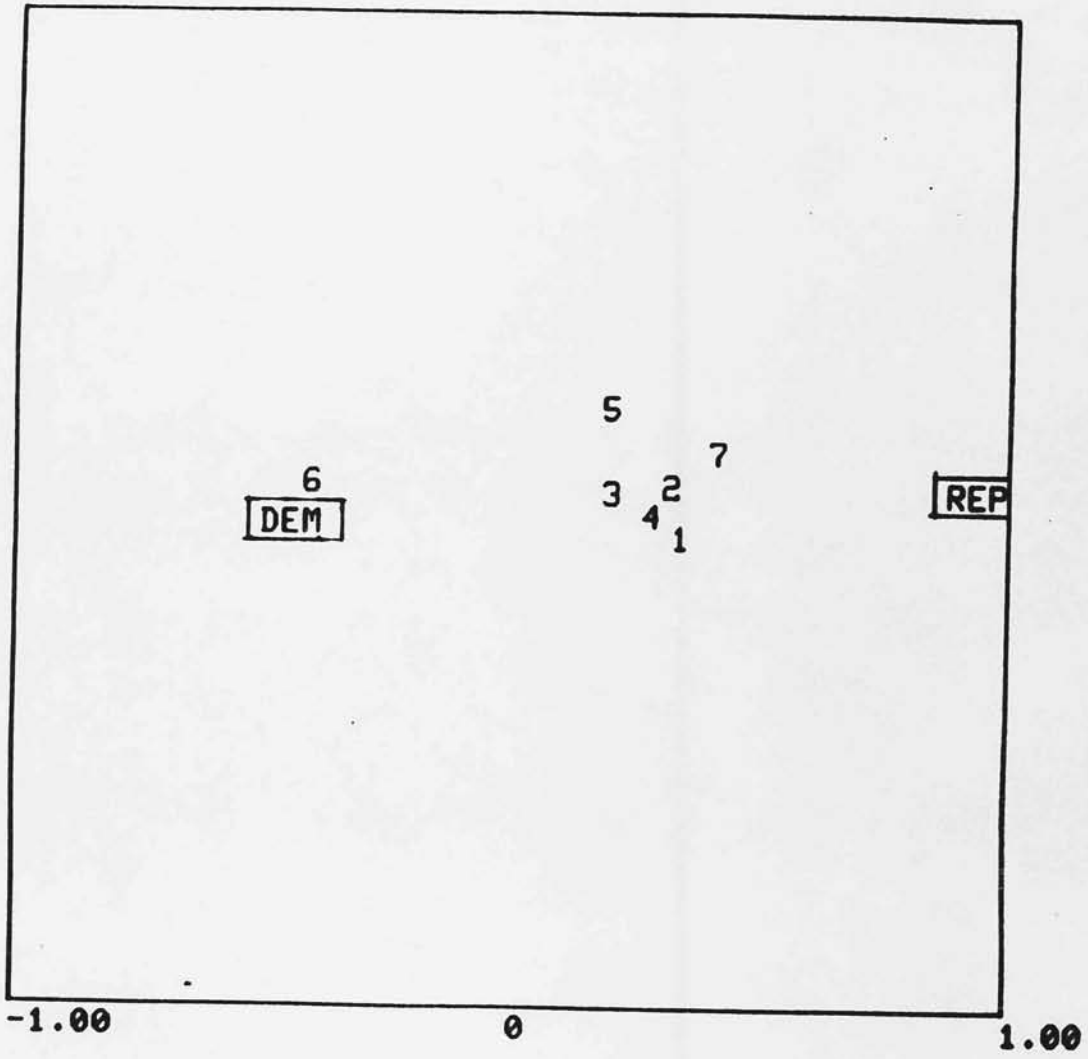
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Blacks
2 = Hispanics
3 = Jews
4 = Lower end whites
5 = Middle class
6 = Intelligentsia
7 = High income

Cultural Groups in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

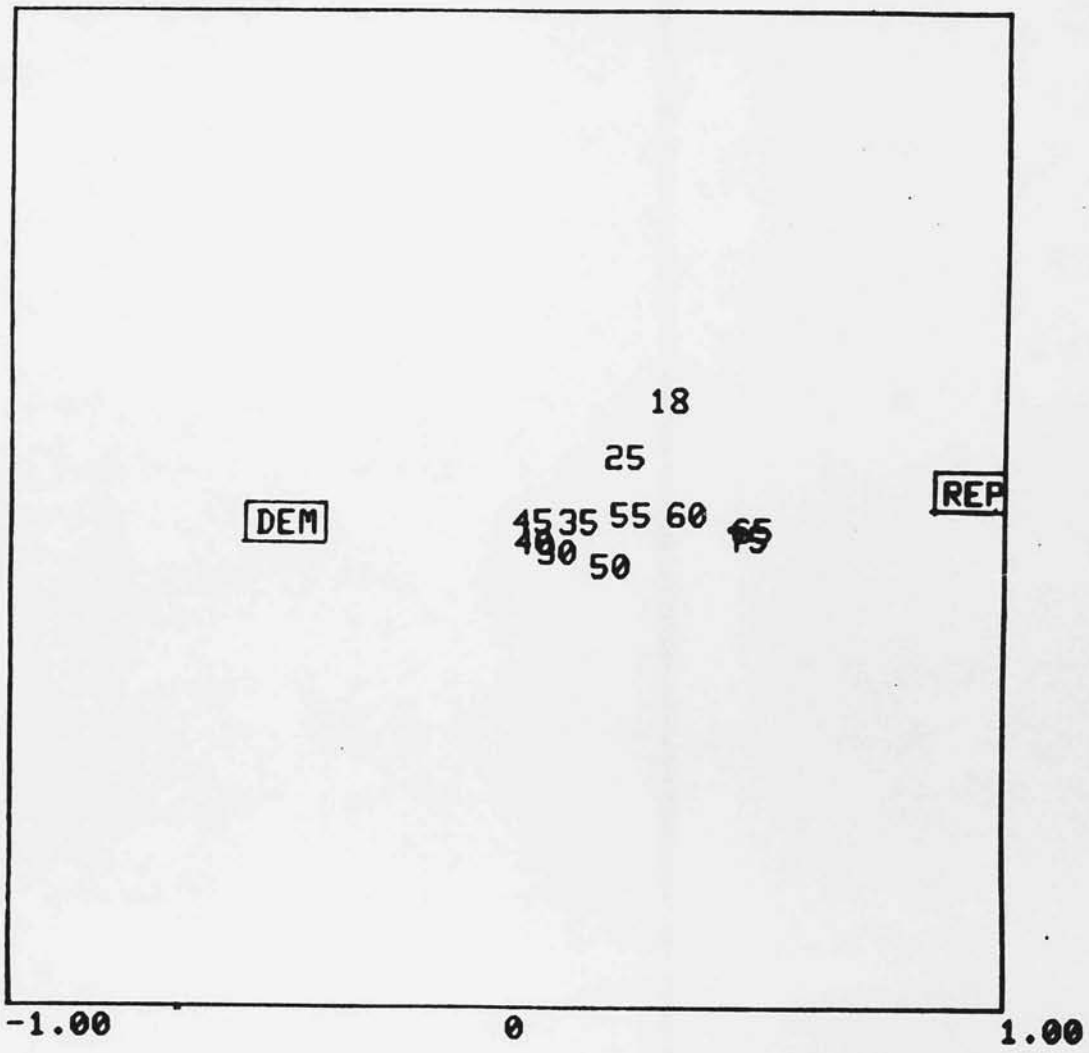
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Northern Protestants
2 = Catholics
3 = Union
4 = Southern whites
5 = Jews
6 = Blacks
7 = Hispanics

3 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 2 .

Age in the 1985 Political Space



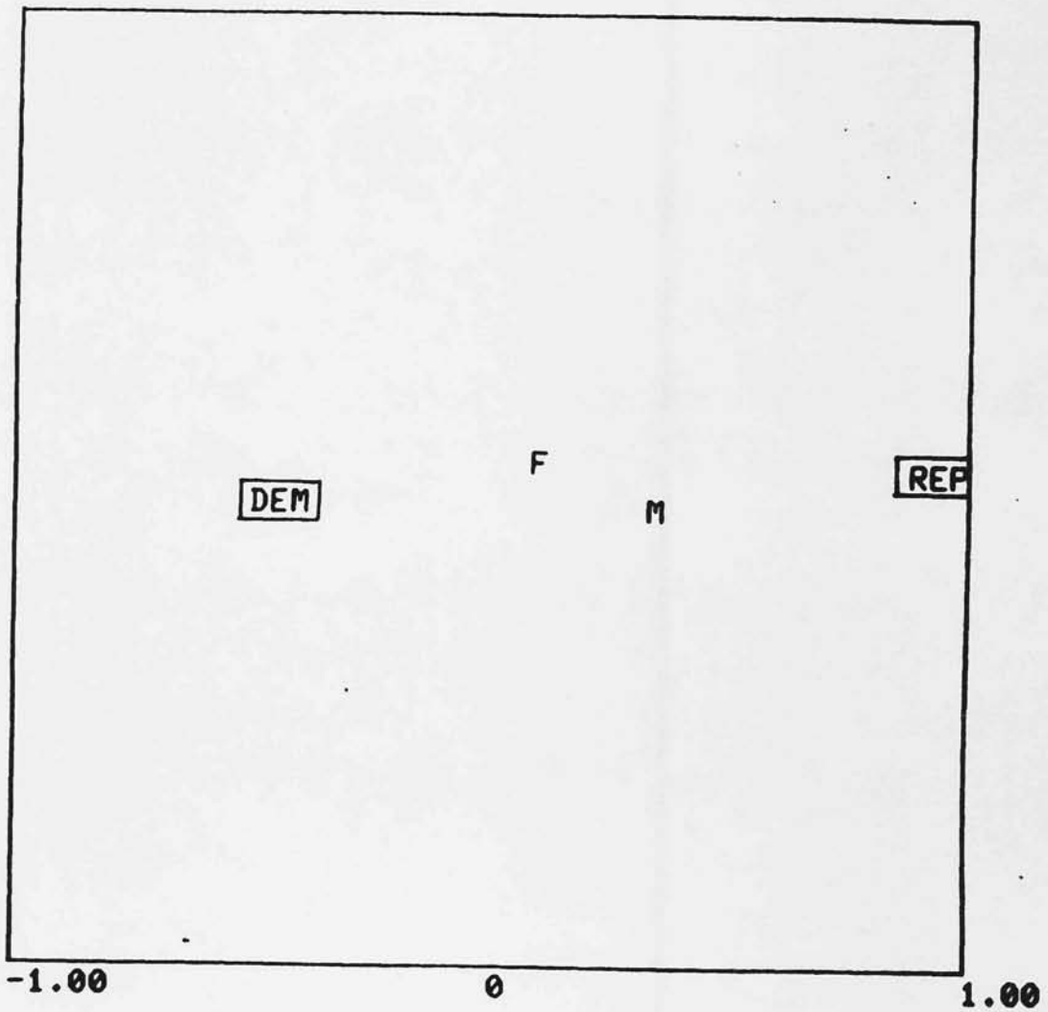
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

18 = 18-24
25 = 25-29
30 = 30-34
35 = 35-39
40 = 40-44
45 = 45-49
50 = 50-54
55 = 55-59
60 = 60-64
65 = 65-74
75 = 75 and over

Gender in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

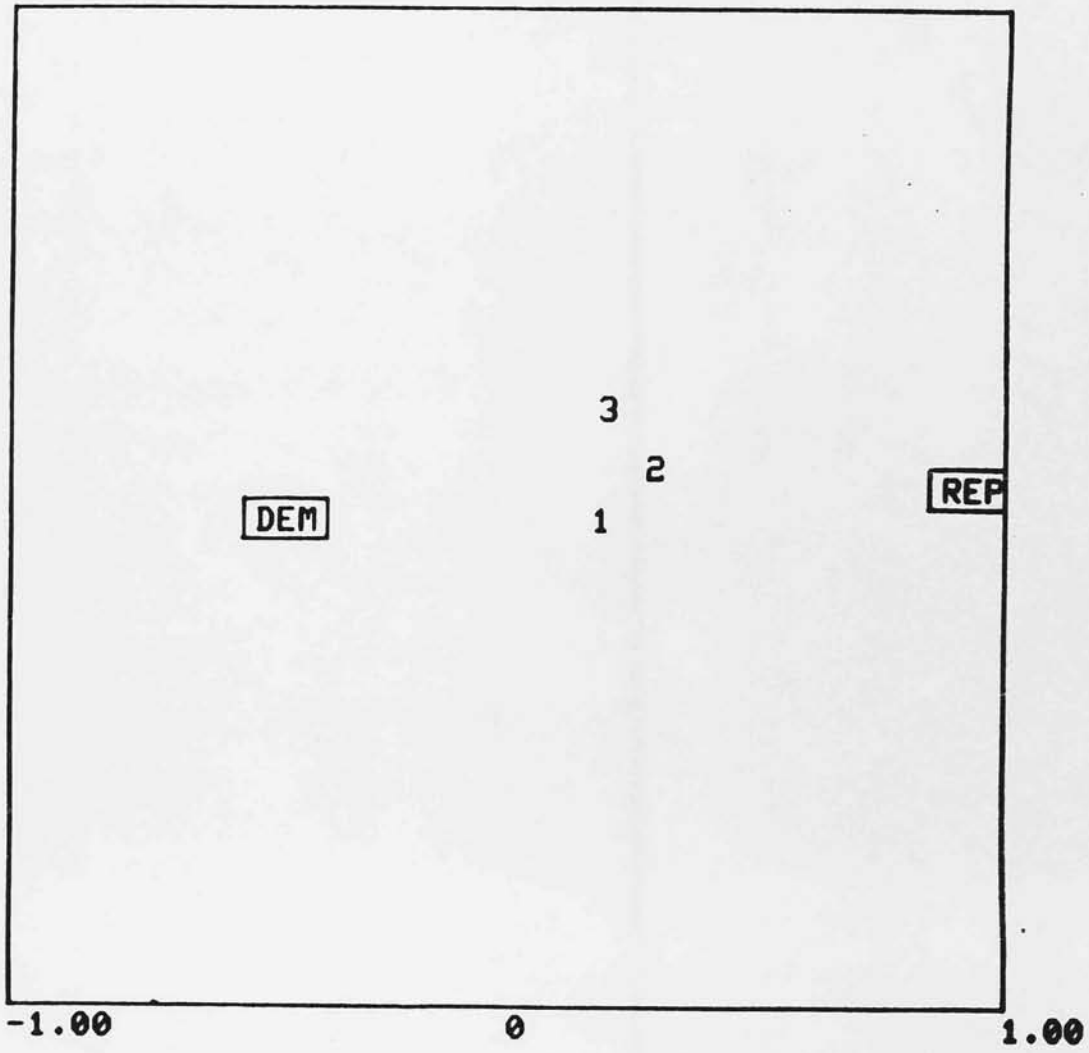
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

M = Males
F = Females

8 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 2 :

Religion in the 1985 Political Space

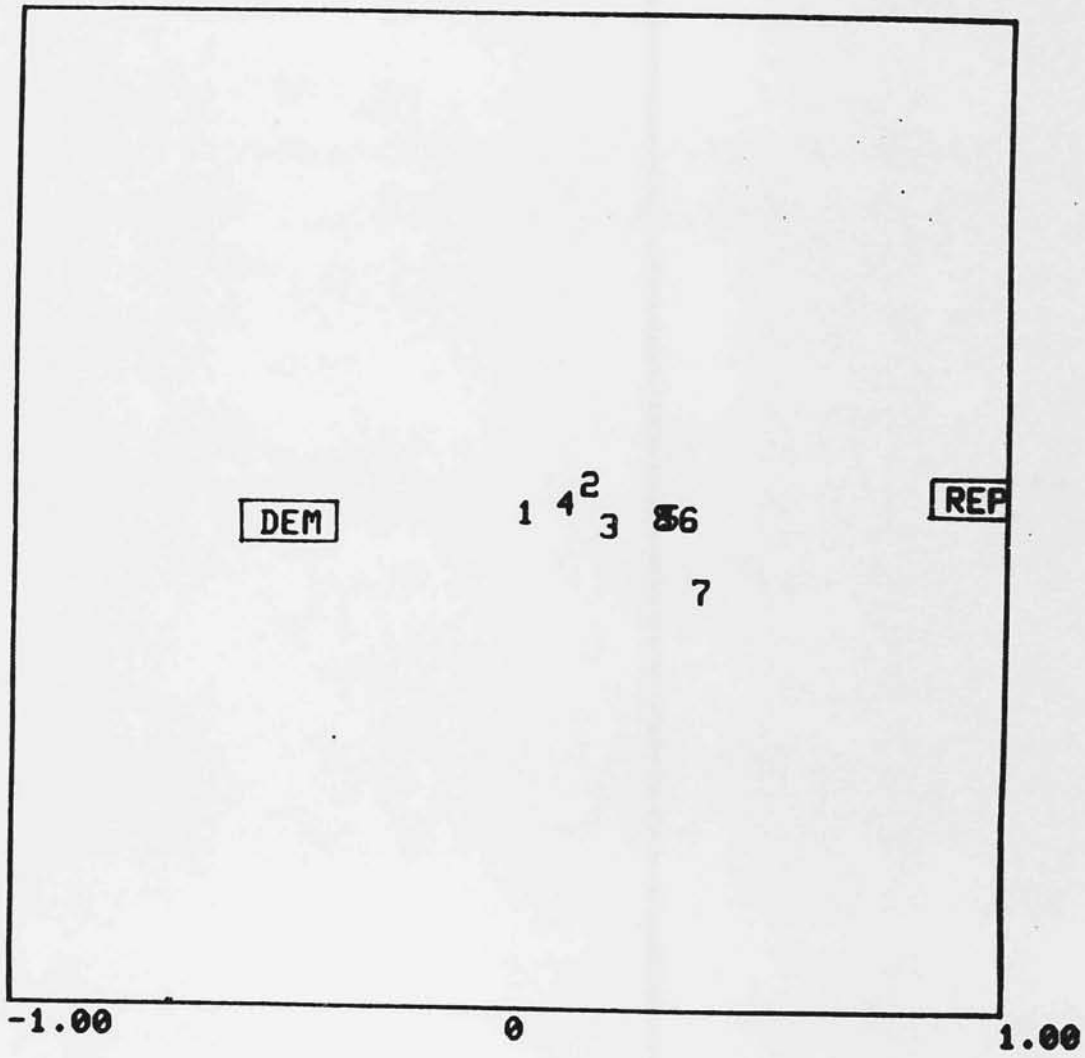


Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means	
1 =	Protestant
2 =	Catholic
3 =	Jew

Income in the 1985 Political Space



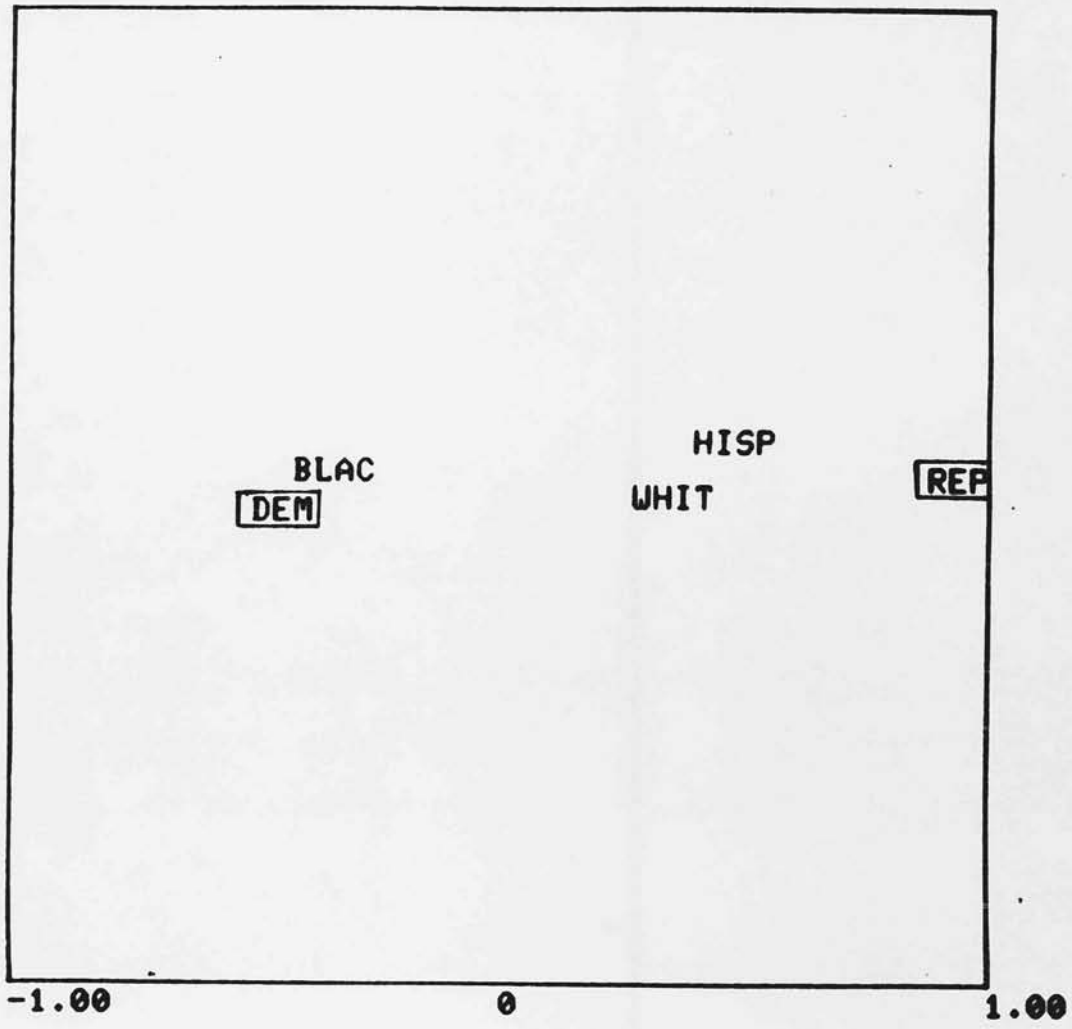
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Under $10,000
2 = $10,000-$15,000
3 = $15,000-$20,000
4 = $20,000-$25,000
5 = $25,000-$30,000
6 = $30,000-$40,000
7 = $40,000-$50,000
8 = $50,000 and over

Race in the 1985 Political Space



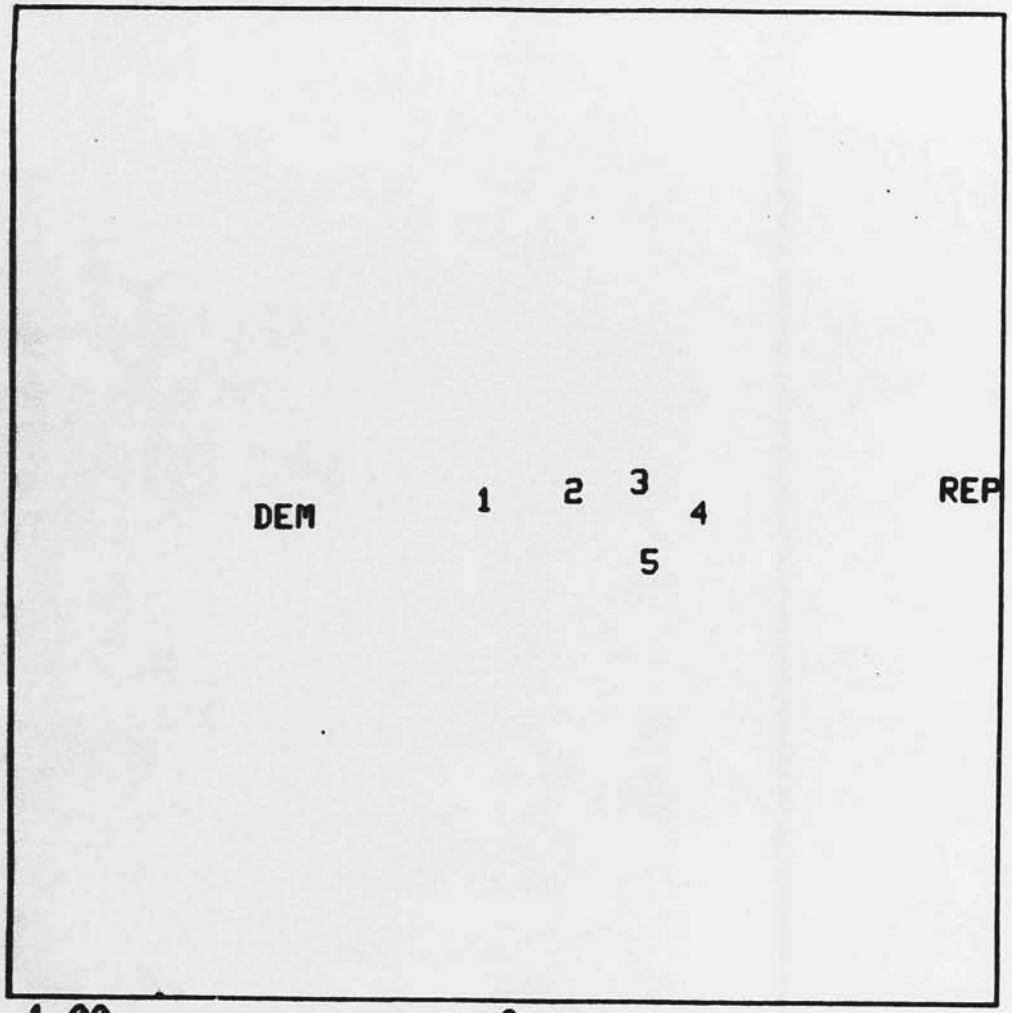
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

Military Action Against Terrorists Scale
in the Political Space



Key:

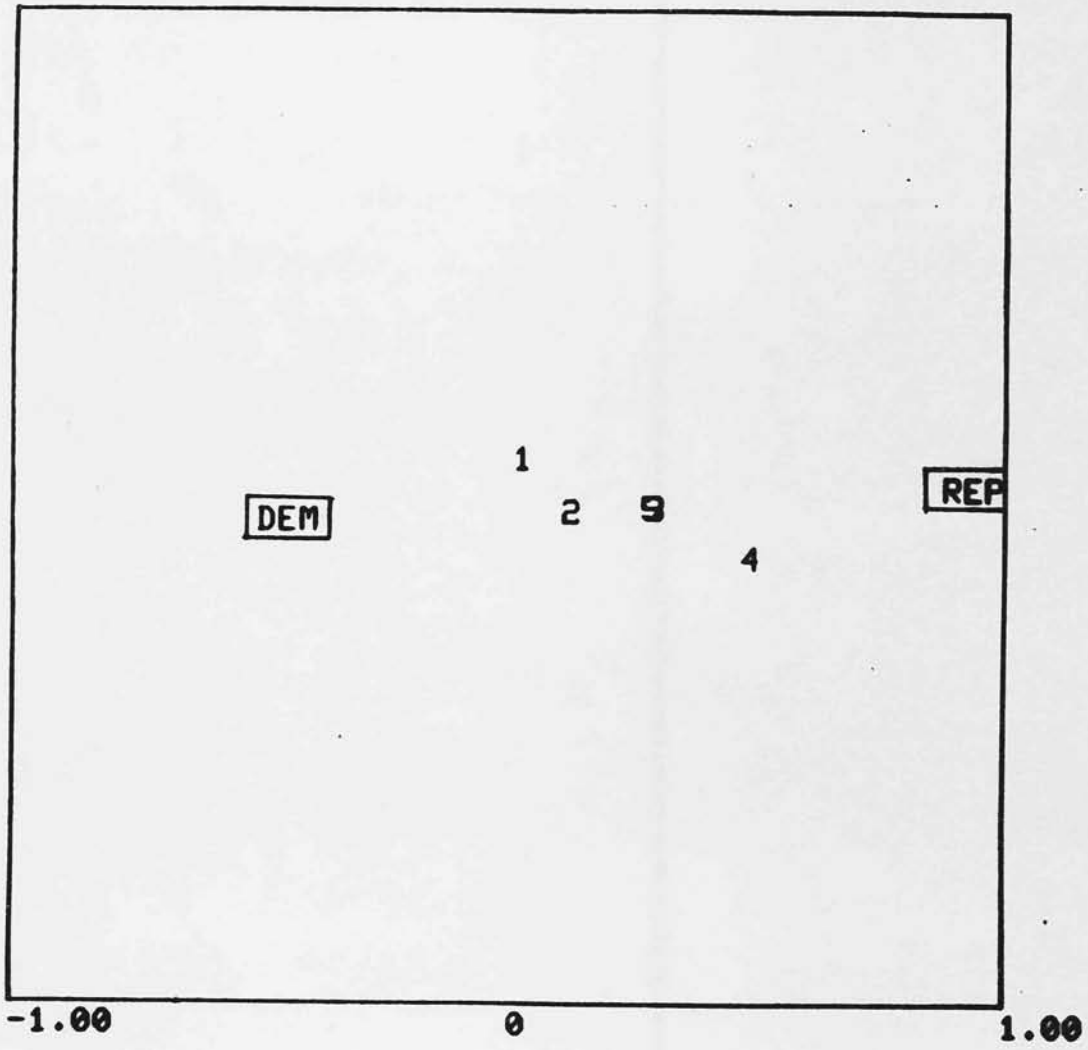
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Oppose any military action
2
3
4
5 = Favor military action in all cases

8 2 6 0 7 4 0 8 8

International Trade Scale #2 in the 1985
Political Space



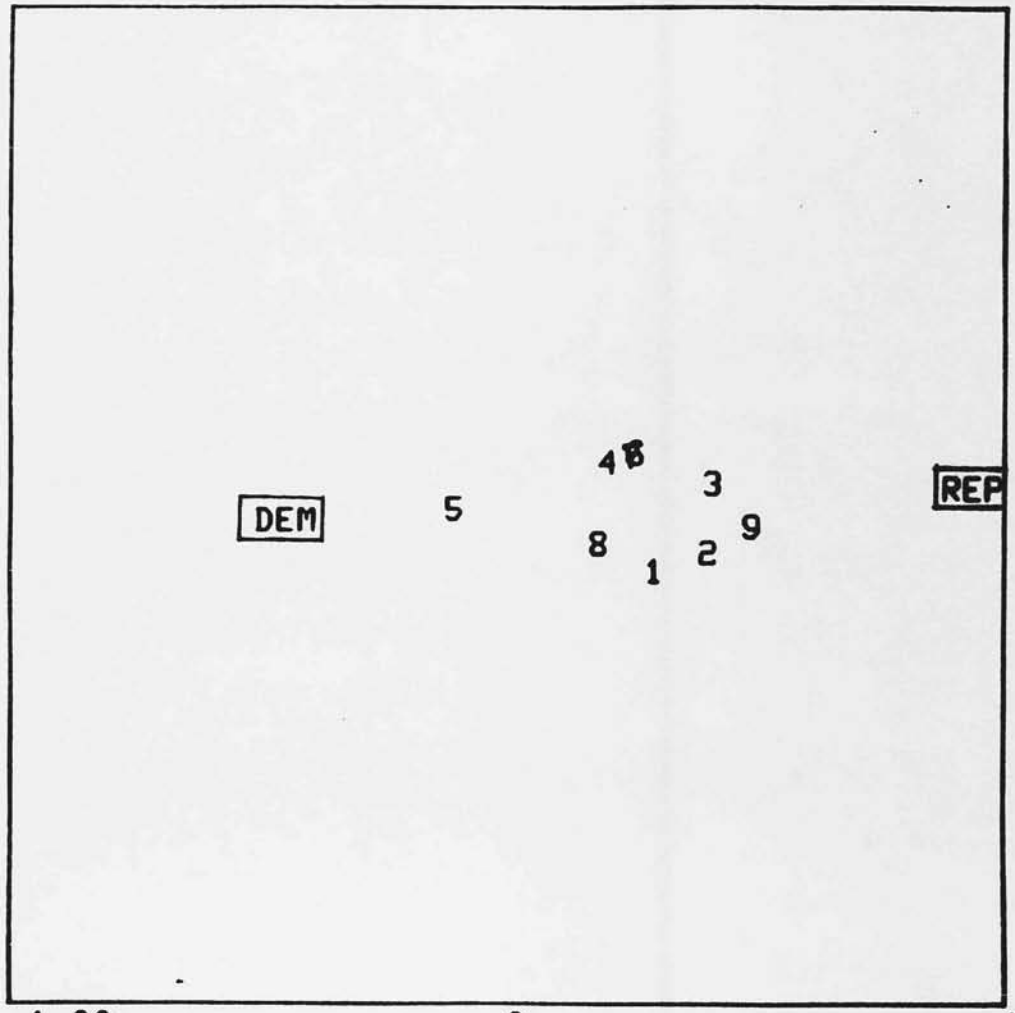
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Protectionists
2
3
4
5 = Free-traders

Gunboat Diplomacy Scale in the 1985 Political Space



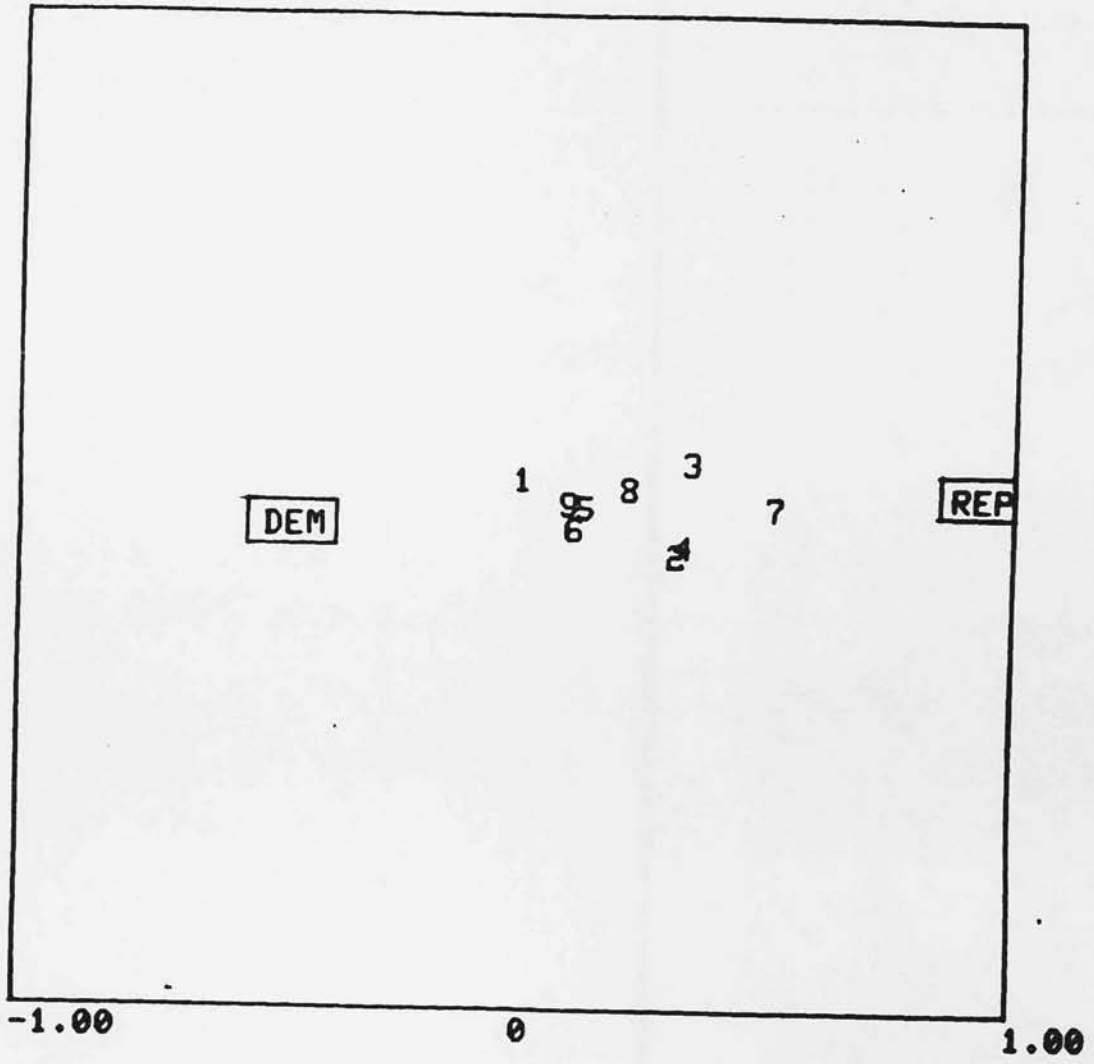
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Pacifists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme Gunboaters/Nationalists

America Firsters Scale in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

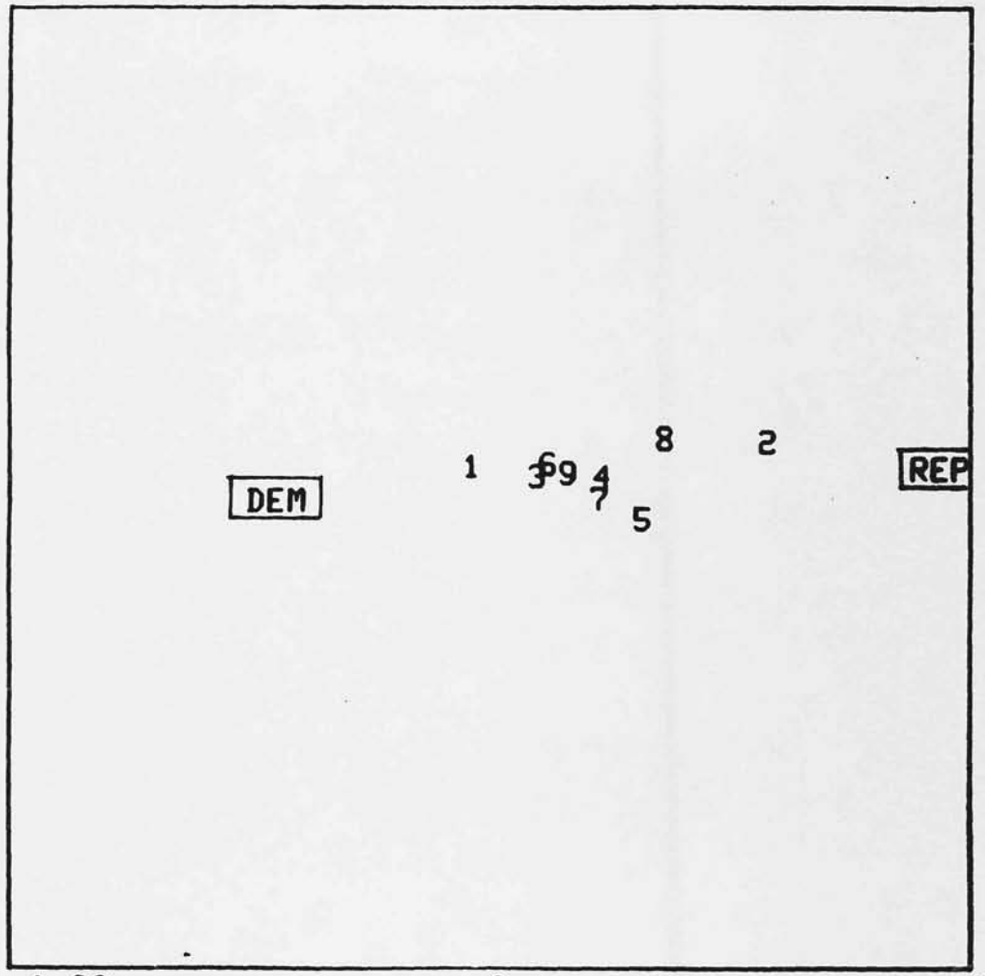
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Internationalists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme America Firsters

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 3 2

Traditional Values Scale in the 1985 Political Space



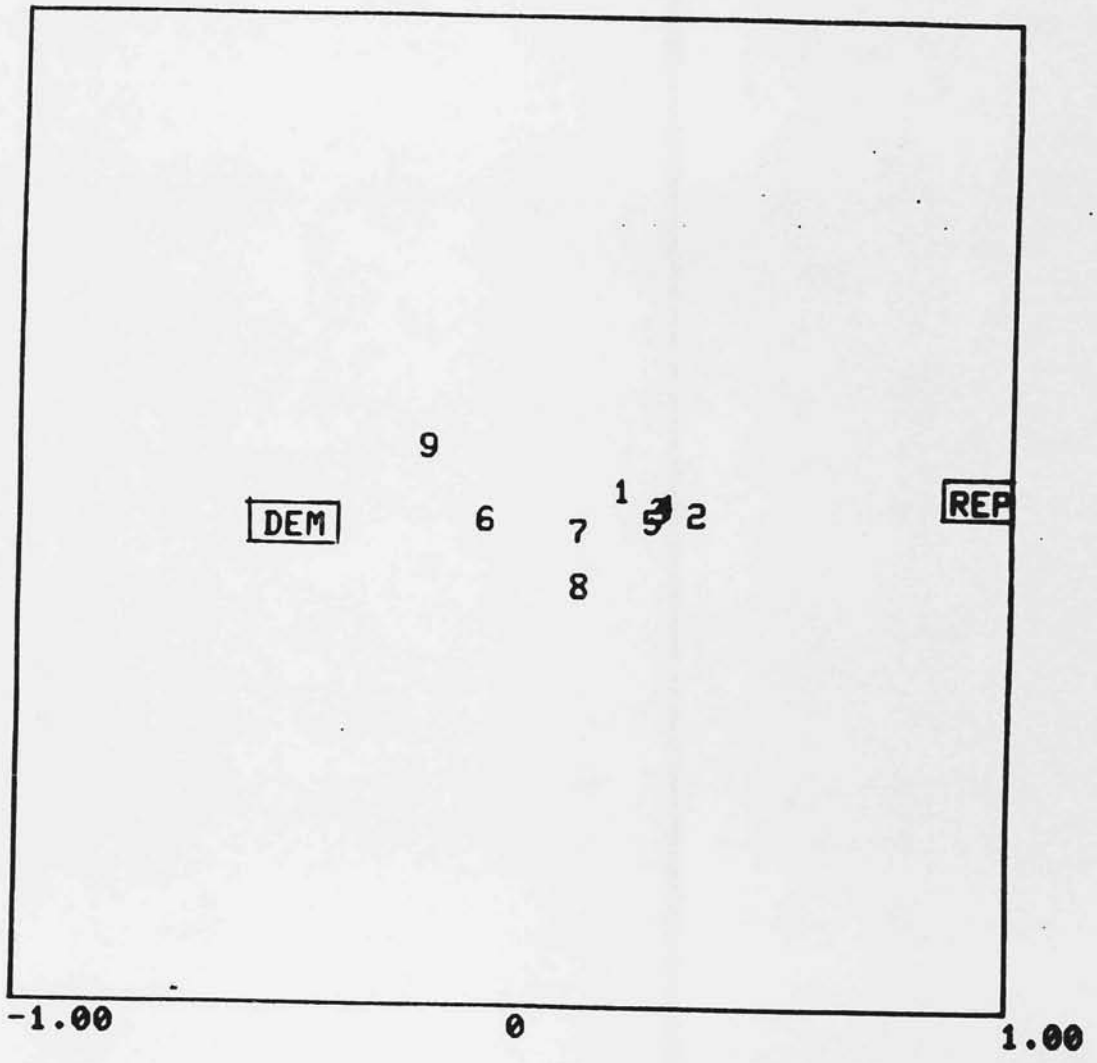
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme civil libertarians
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme traditionalists

Welfare Scale in the 1985 Political Space



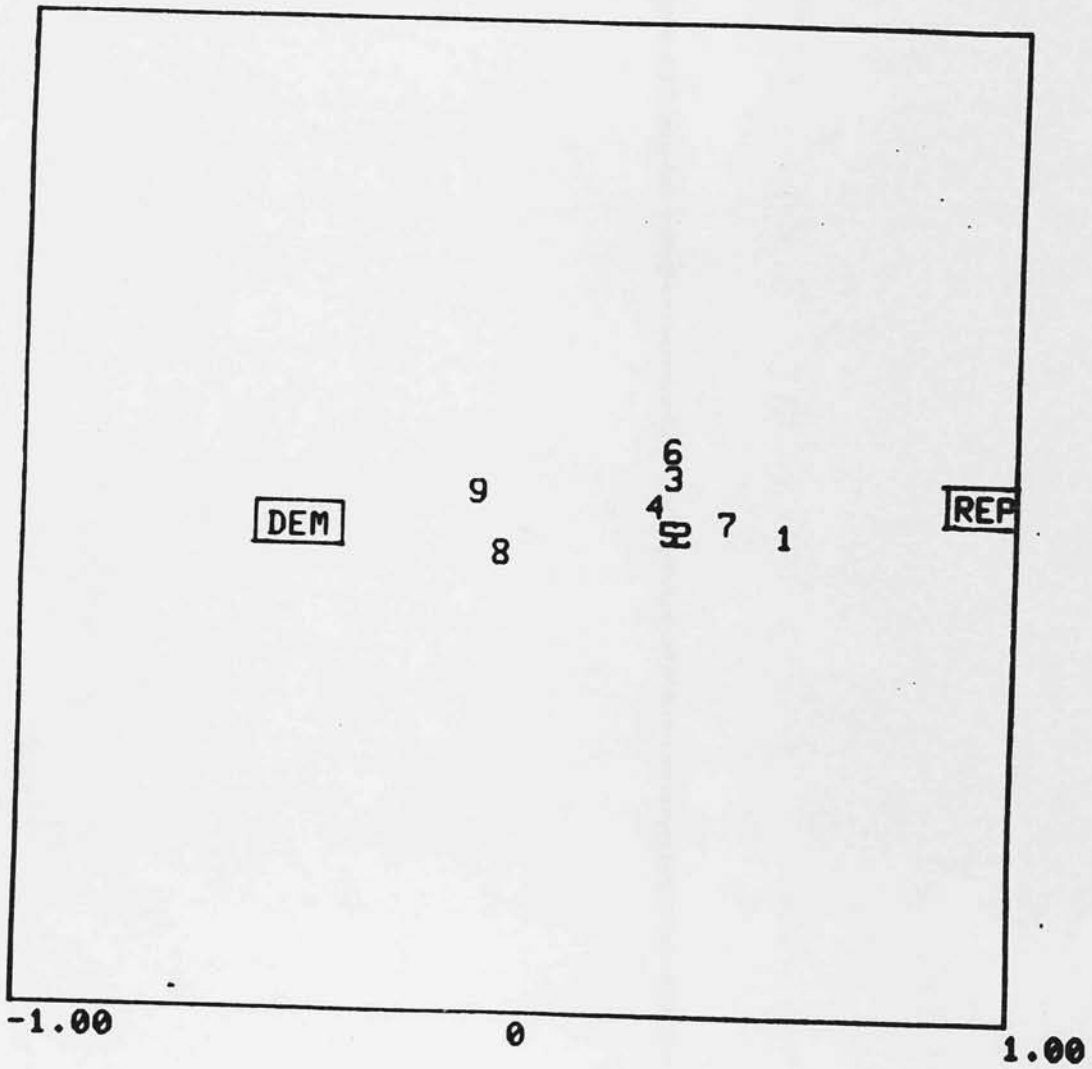
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-welfare
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-welfare

Government Assistance Scale in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

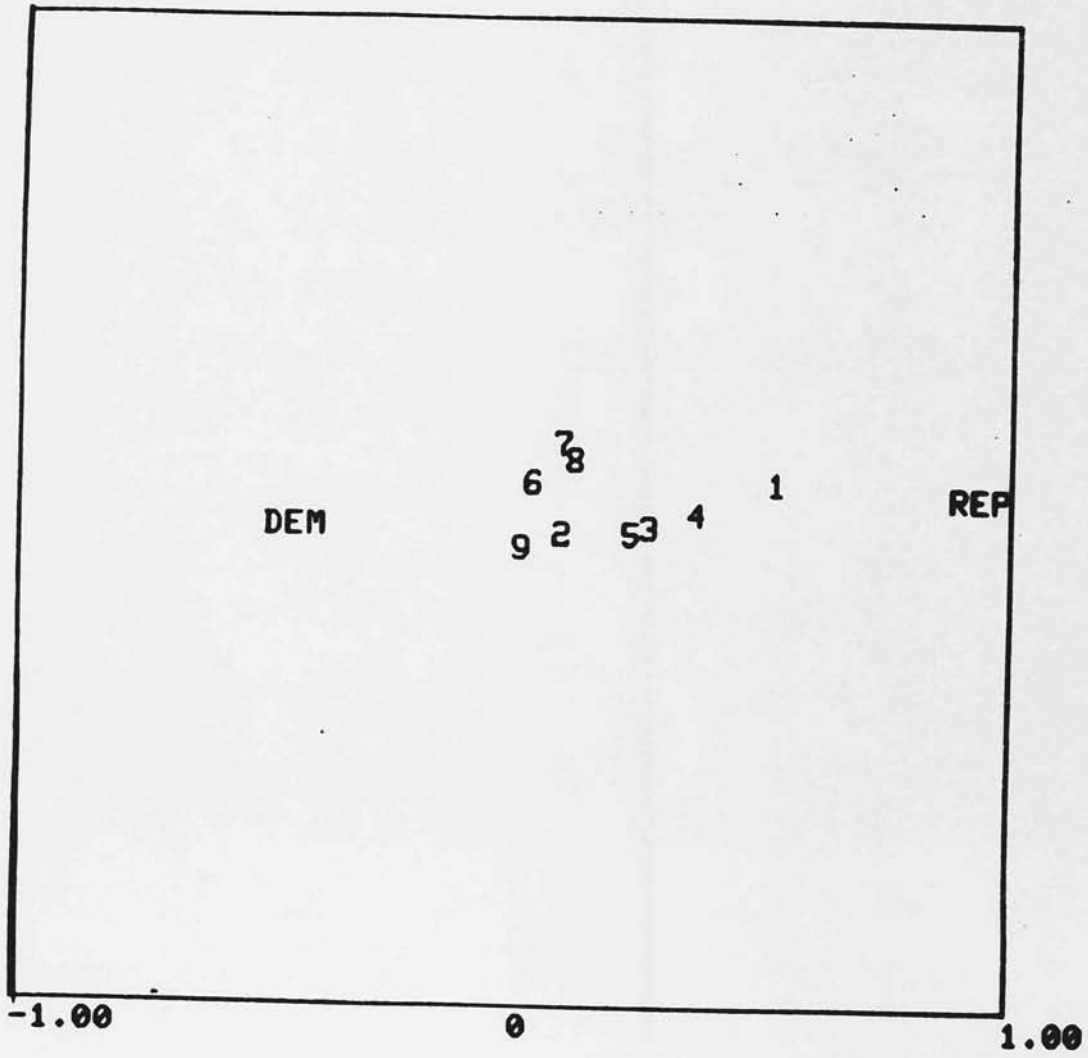
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-assistance
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-assistance

8 3 0 4 0 7 0 9 3 5

Labor Union Scale in the 1985 Political Space



Key:

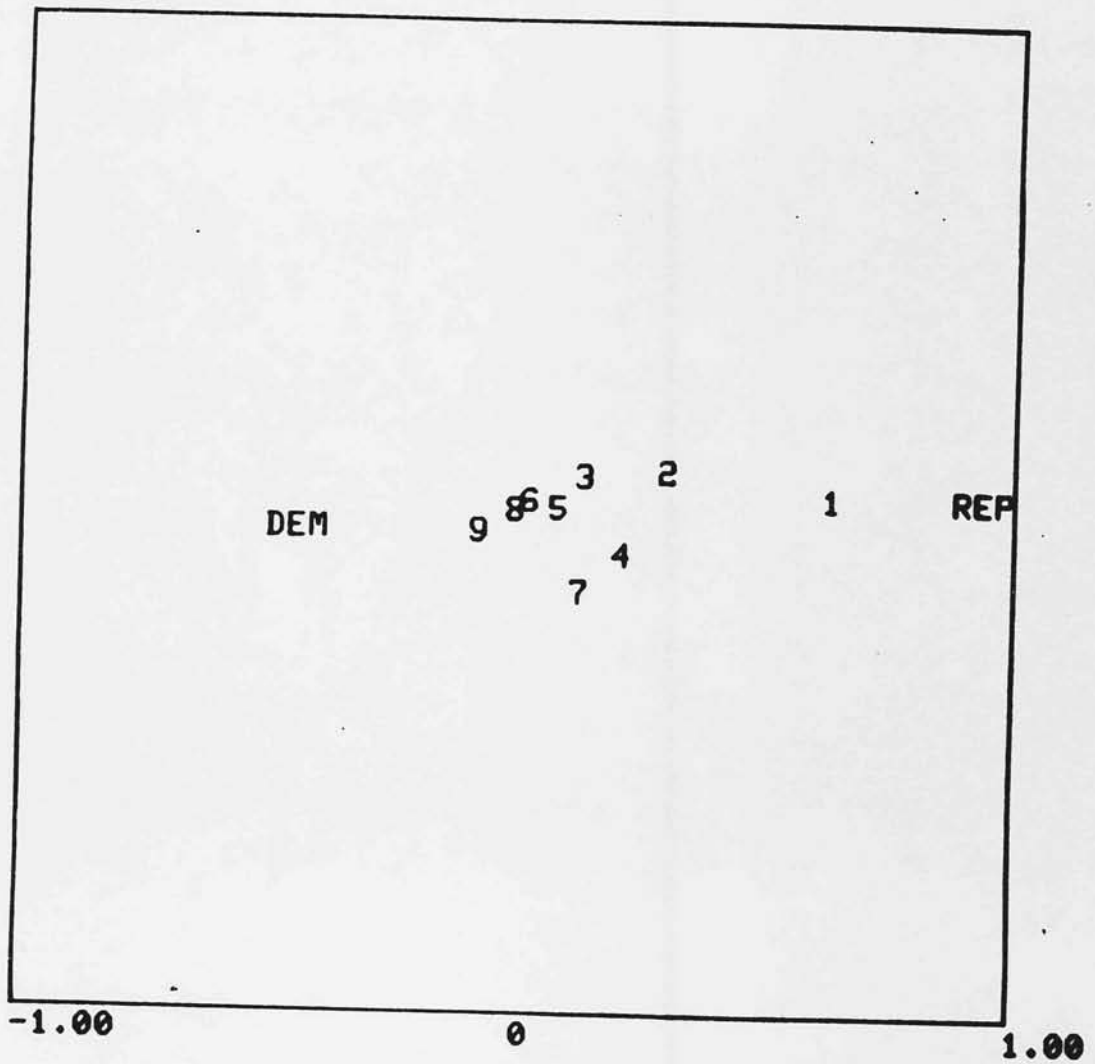
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-labor unions
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-labor unions

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 3 6

Black Agenda Scale in the 1985 Political Space



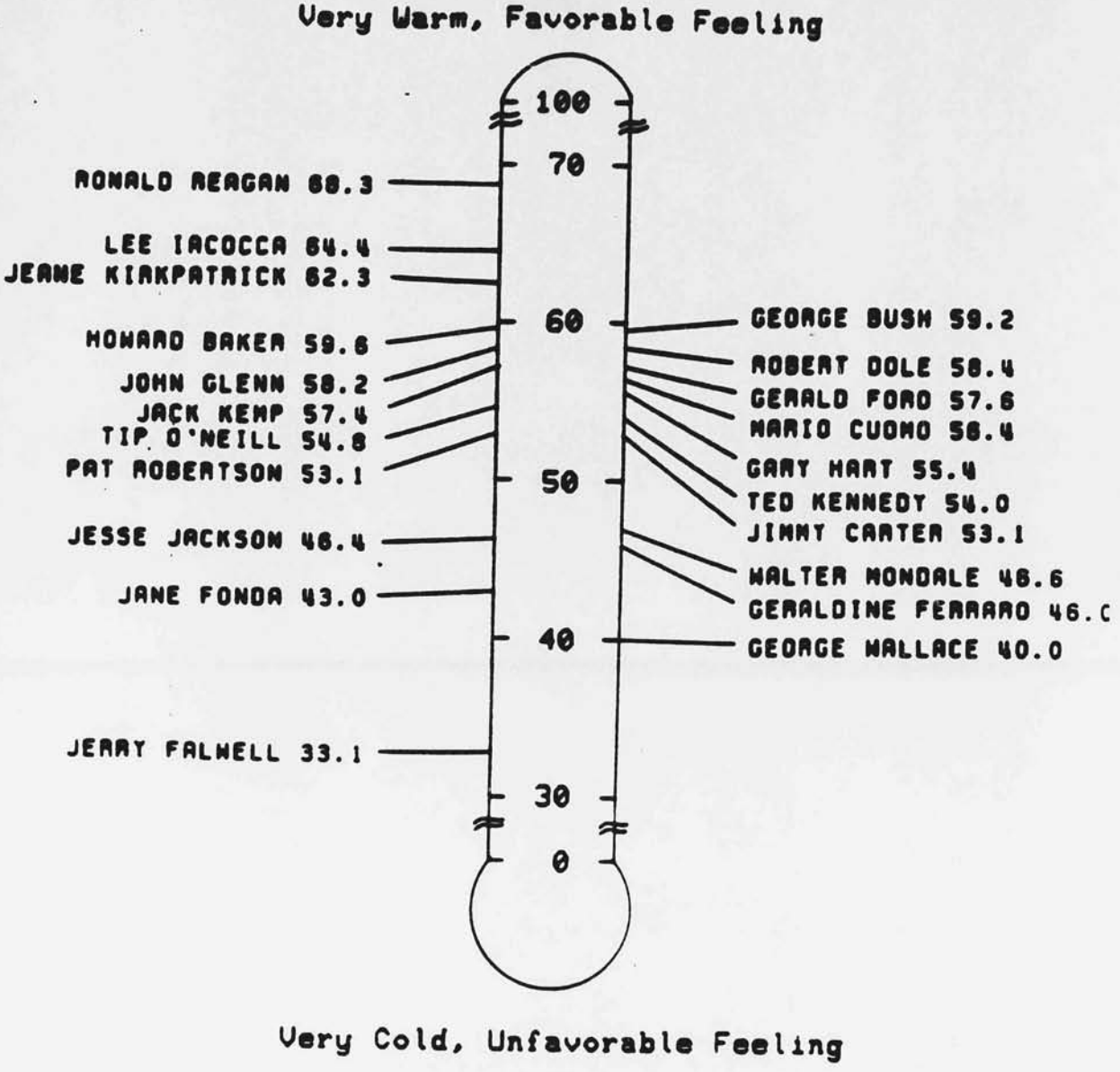
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-black agenda
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-black agenda

SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD SOME PEOPLE IN POLITICS

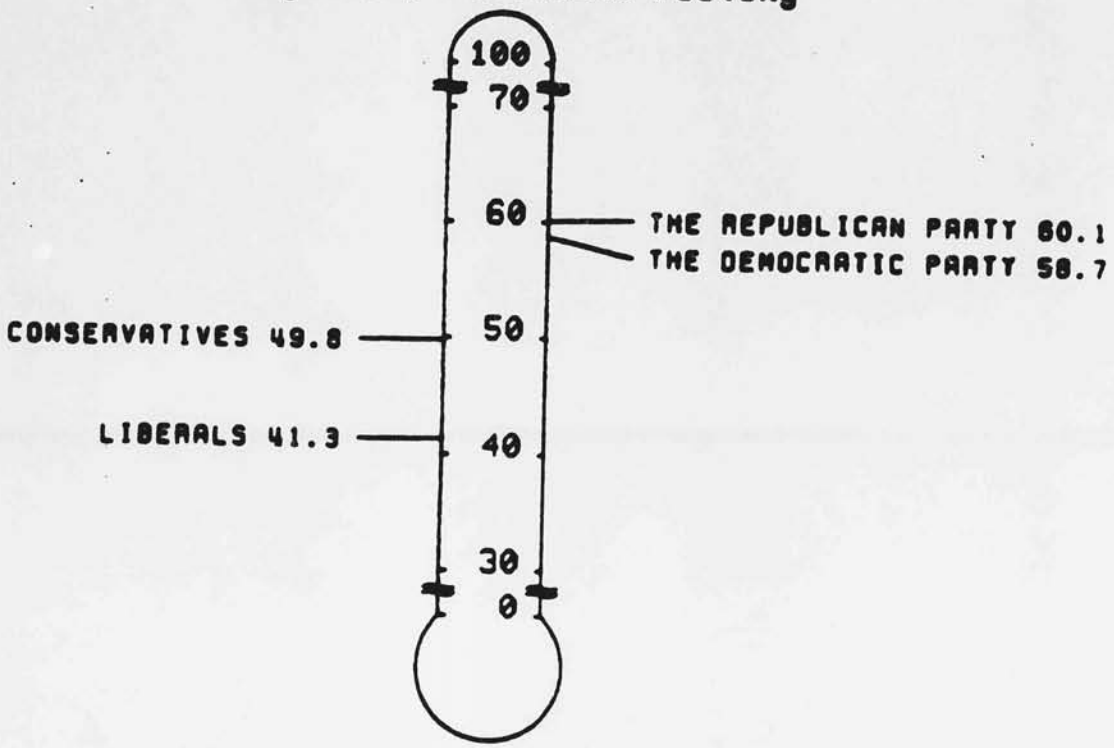


8804070093 7

8804070934

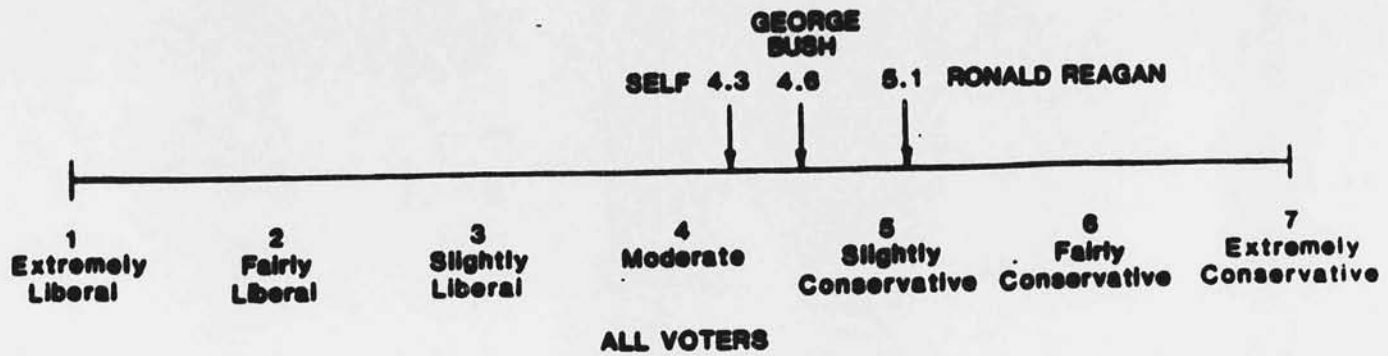
SUMMARY OF FEELINGS TOWARD GROUPS IN POLITICS

Very Warm, Favorable Feeling

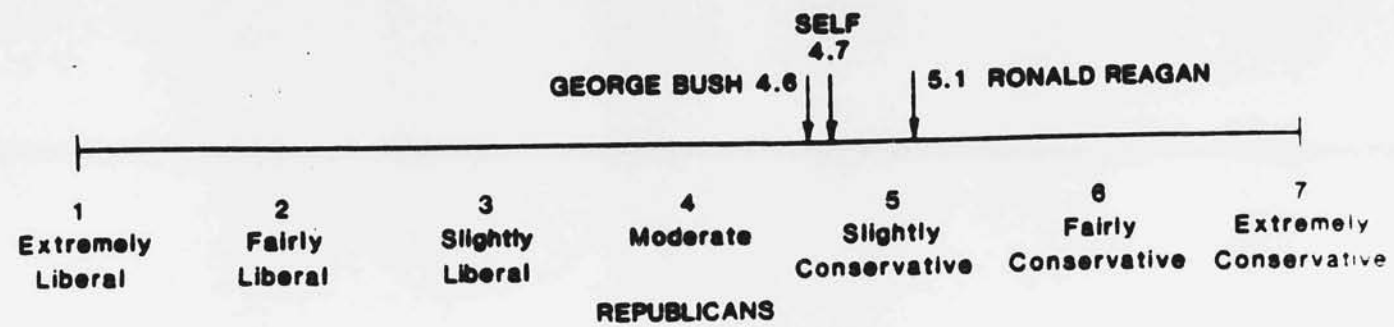


Very Cold, Unfavorable Feeling

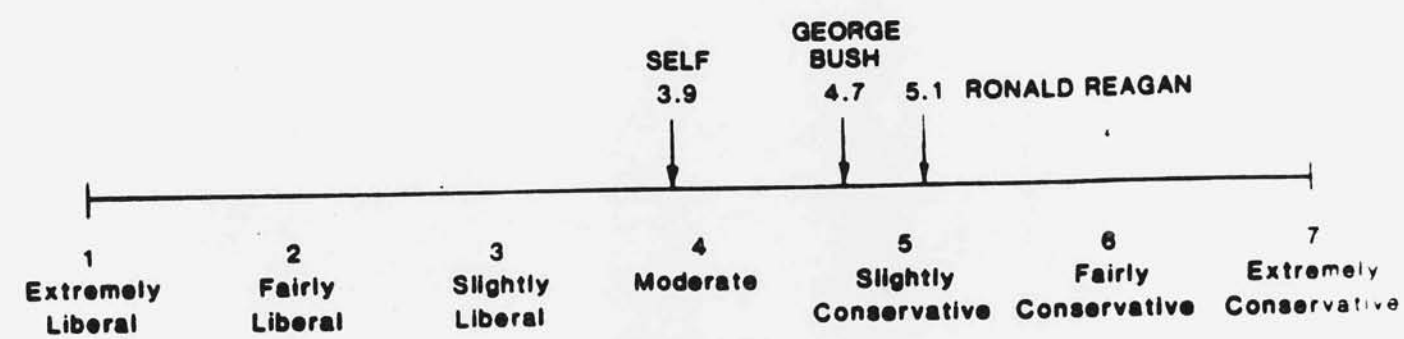
IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF ELECTORATE WITH BUSH & REAGAN



ALL VOTERS



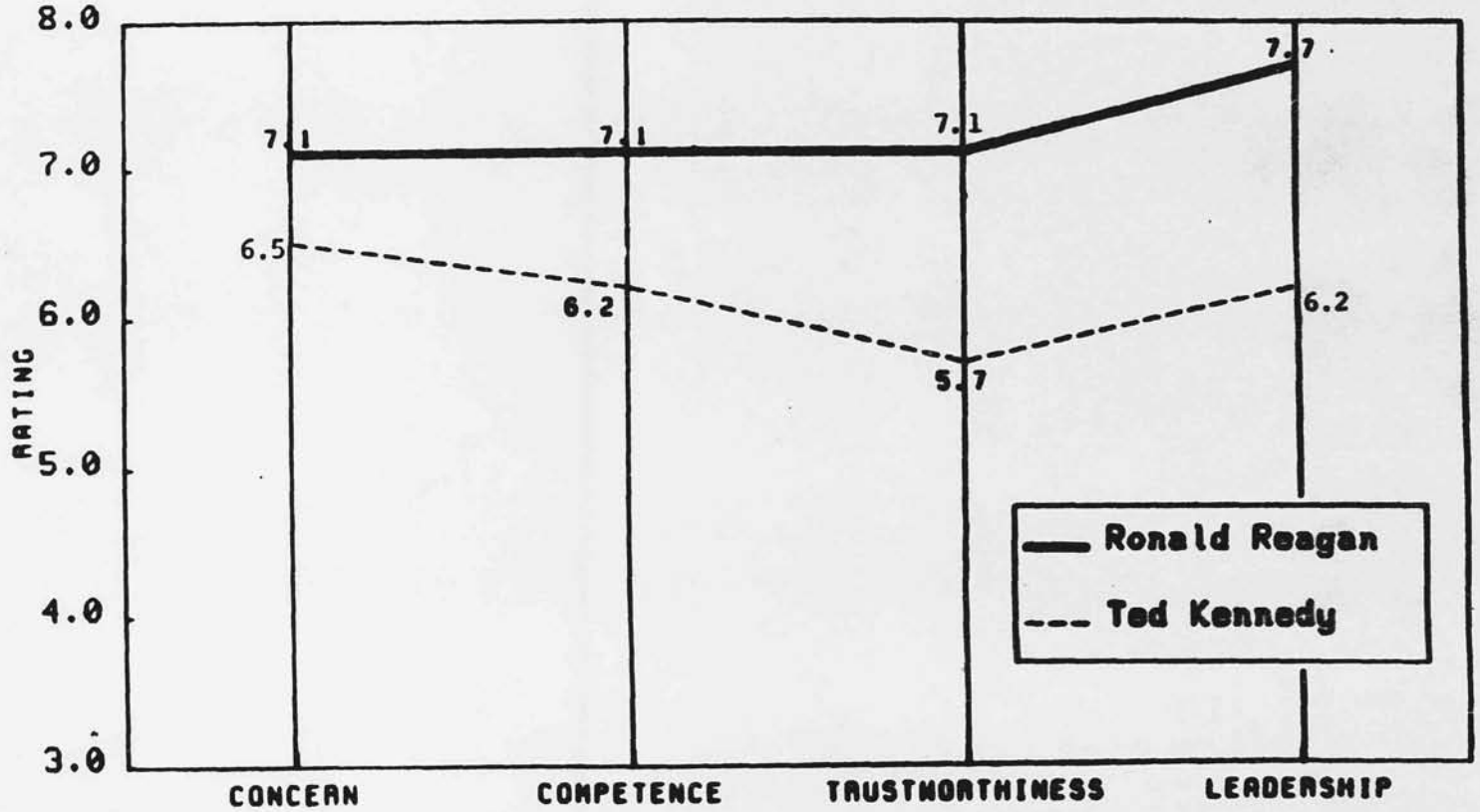
REPUBLICANS



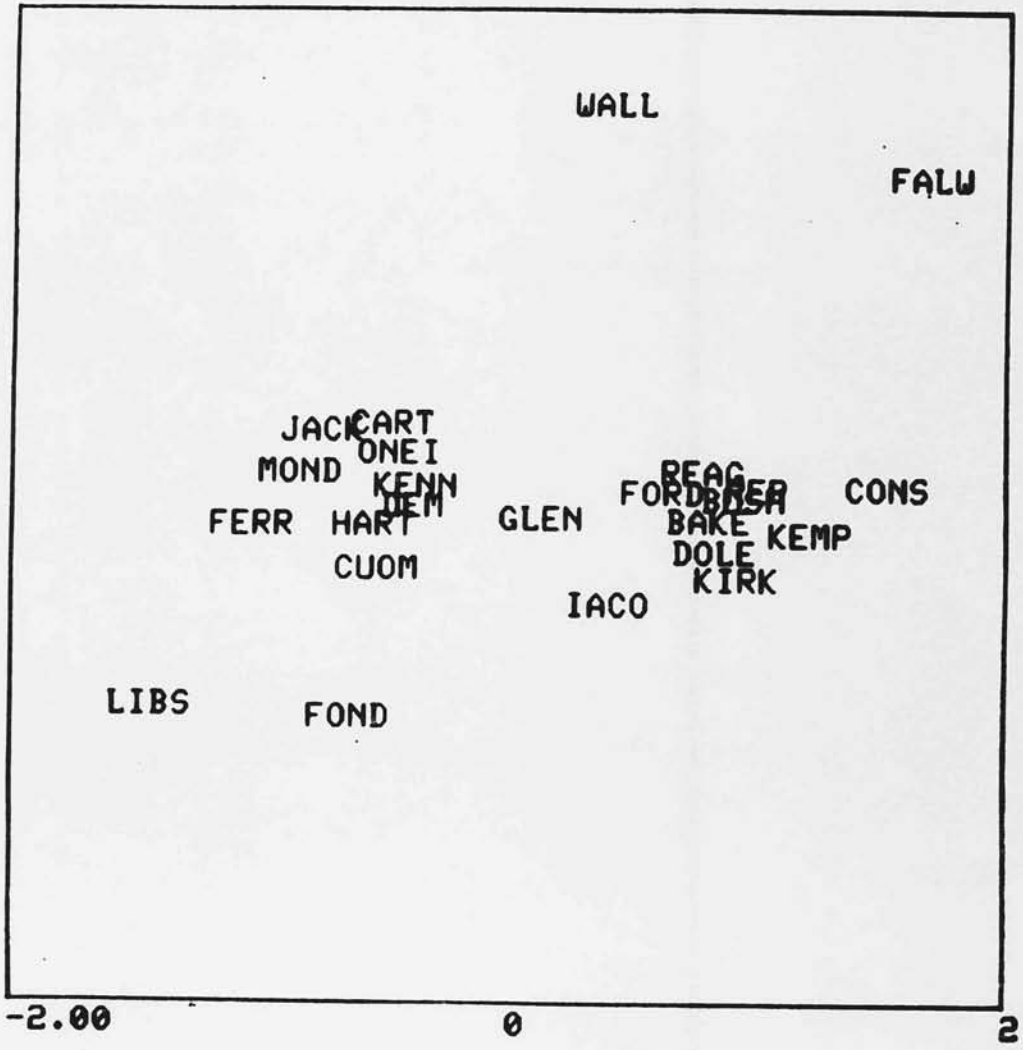
DEMOCRATS

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RATINGS OF REAGAN AND KENNEDY ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS



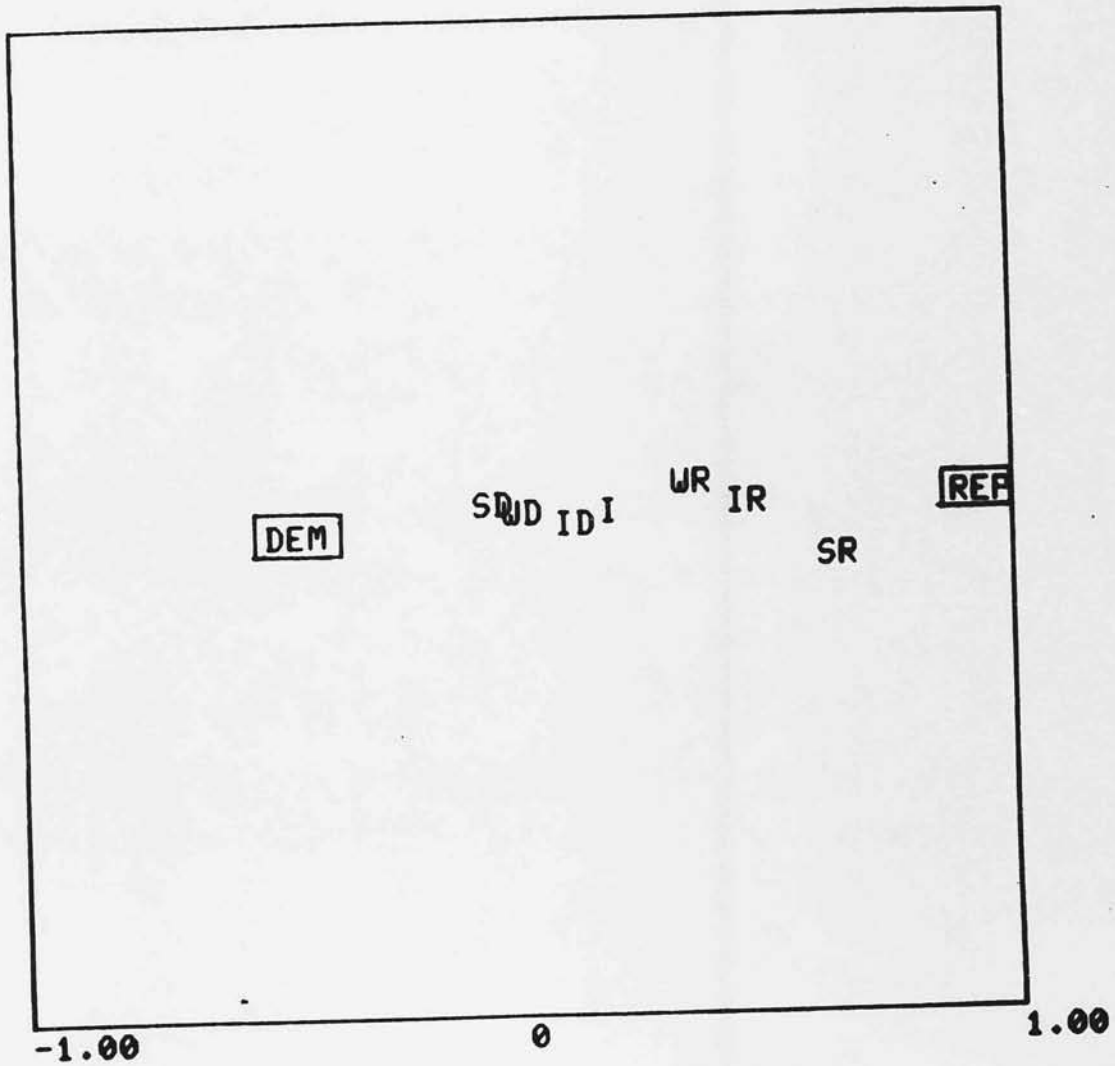
1985 Candidate Space



Key:

REAGAN
BUSH
DOLE
BAKER
KEMP
KIRKPATRICK
MONDALE
KENNEDY
ONEILL
JACKSON
CUOMO
HART
FERRARO
GLENN
FONDA
FALWELL
FORD
CARTER
WALLACE
IACOCCA
REP PARTY
DEM PARTY
LIBS
CONS

Party Identification in the 1985 Candidate Space



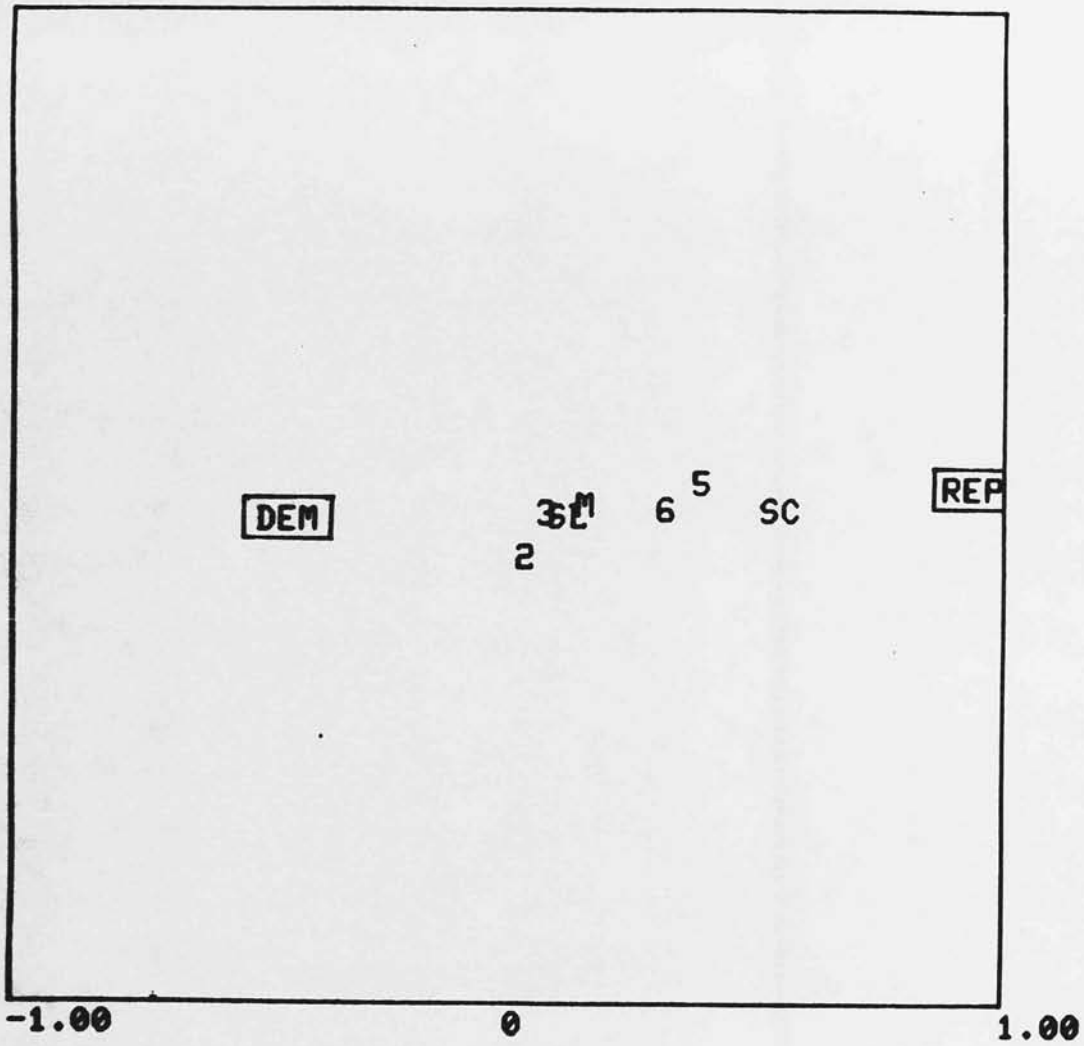
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

SD = Strong Democrat
WD = Weak Democrat
ID = Independent Democrat
I = Independent
IR = Independent Republican
WR = Weak Republican
SR = Strong Republican

Liberal/Conservative Self-Description
in the 1985 Candidate Space



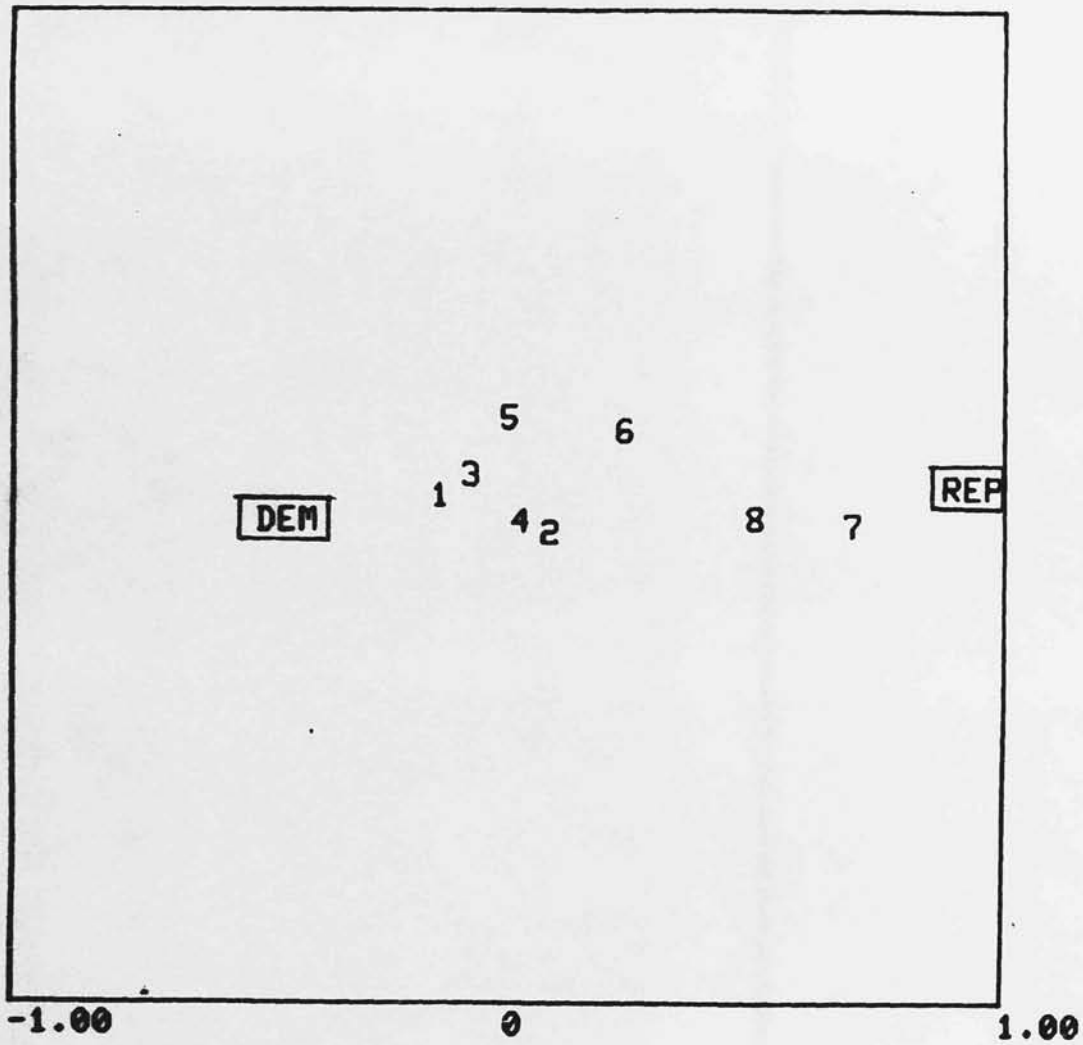
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
SL = Extremely liberal
2 = Fairly liberal
3 = Slightly liberal
M = Moderate
5 = Slightly conservative
6 = Fairly conservative
SC = Extremely conservative

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 4

Presidential Trial Heat Summary Index
in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

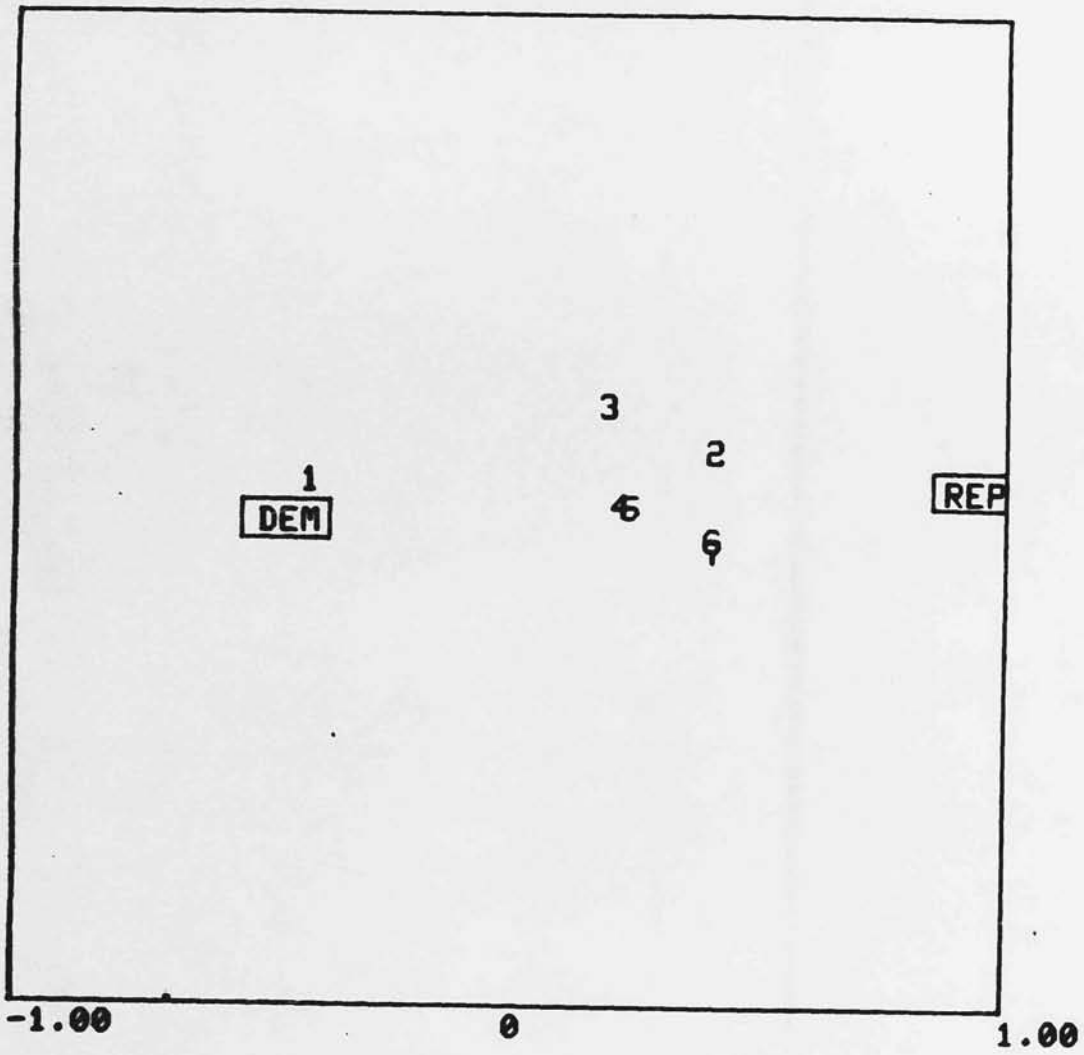
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Core Democrat
2 = Anti-Kennedy Democrats
3 = Anti-Hart Democrats
4 = Anti-Iacocca Democrats
5 = Pro-Kennedy Republicans
6 = Pro-Hart Republicans
7 = Pro-Iacocca Republicans
8 = Core Republican

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 4

Status Groups in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

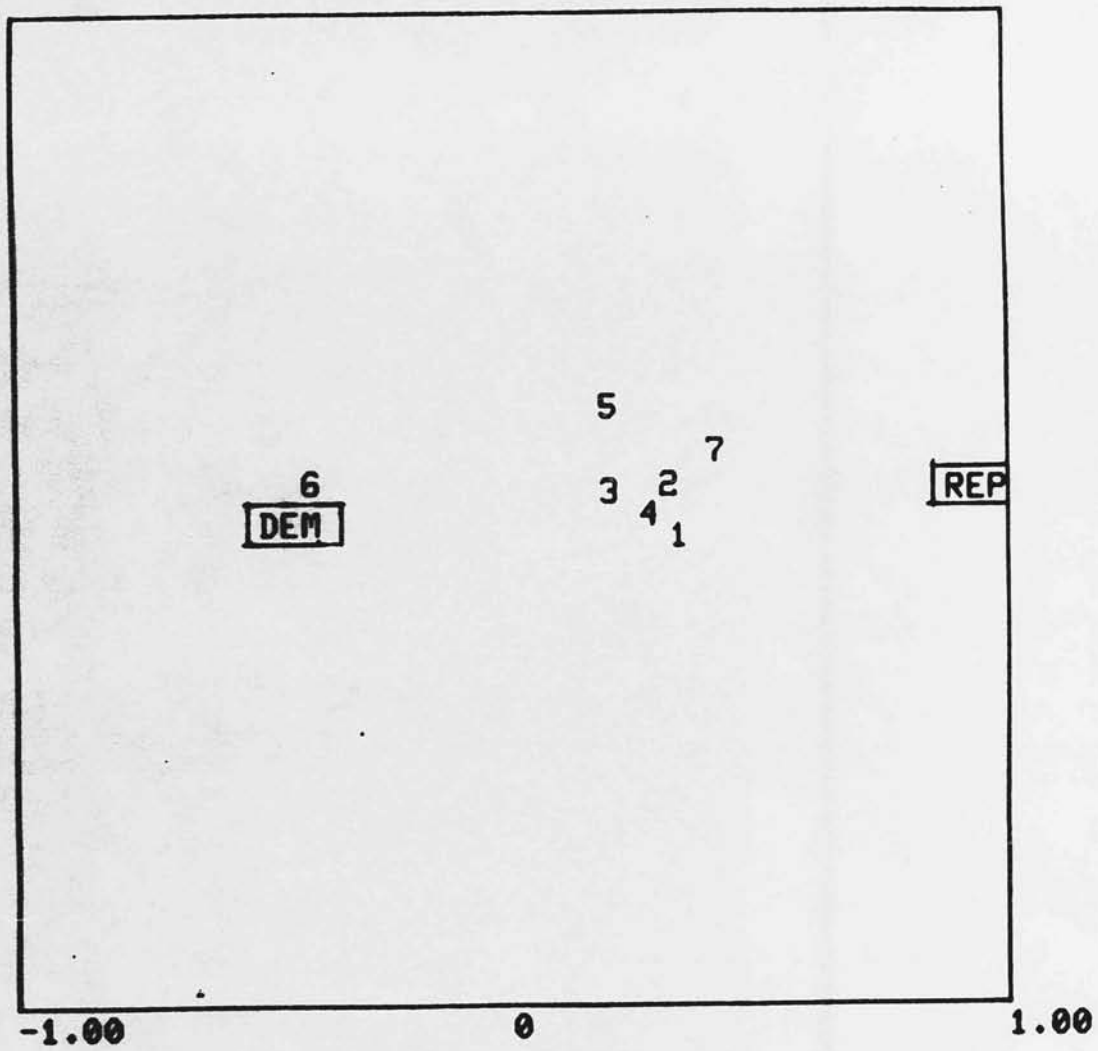
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Blacks
2 = Hispanics
3 = Jews
4 = Lower end whites
5 = Middle class
6 = Intelligentsia
7 = High income

8 9 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 4

Cultural Groups in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

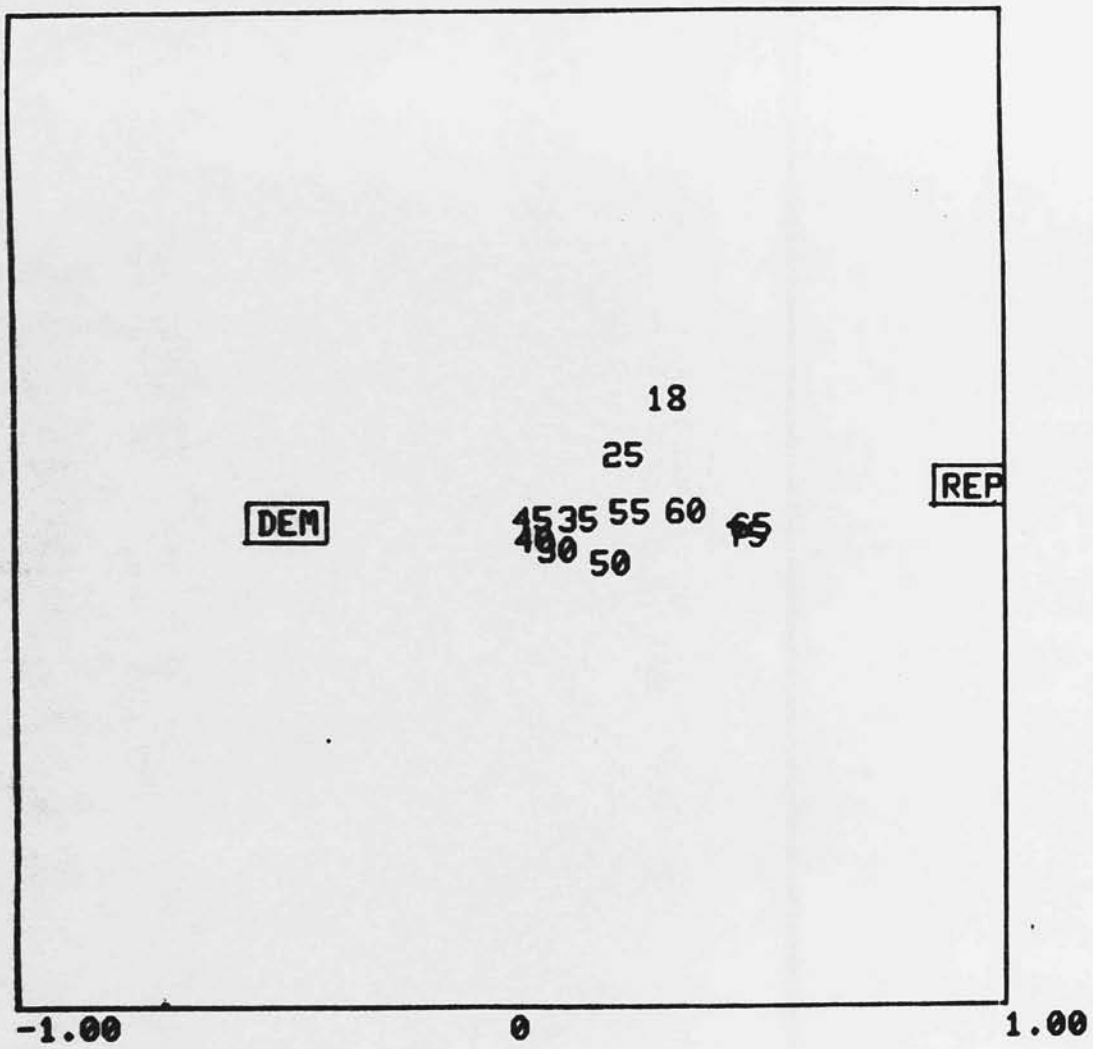
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Northern Protestants
2 = Catholics
3 = Union
4 = Southern whites
5 = Jews
6 = Blacks
7 = Hispanics

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 4 6

Age in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

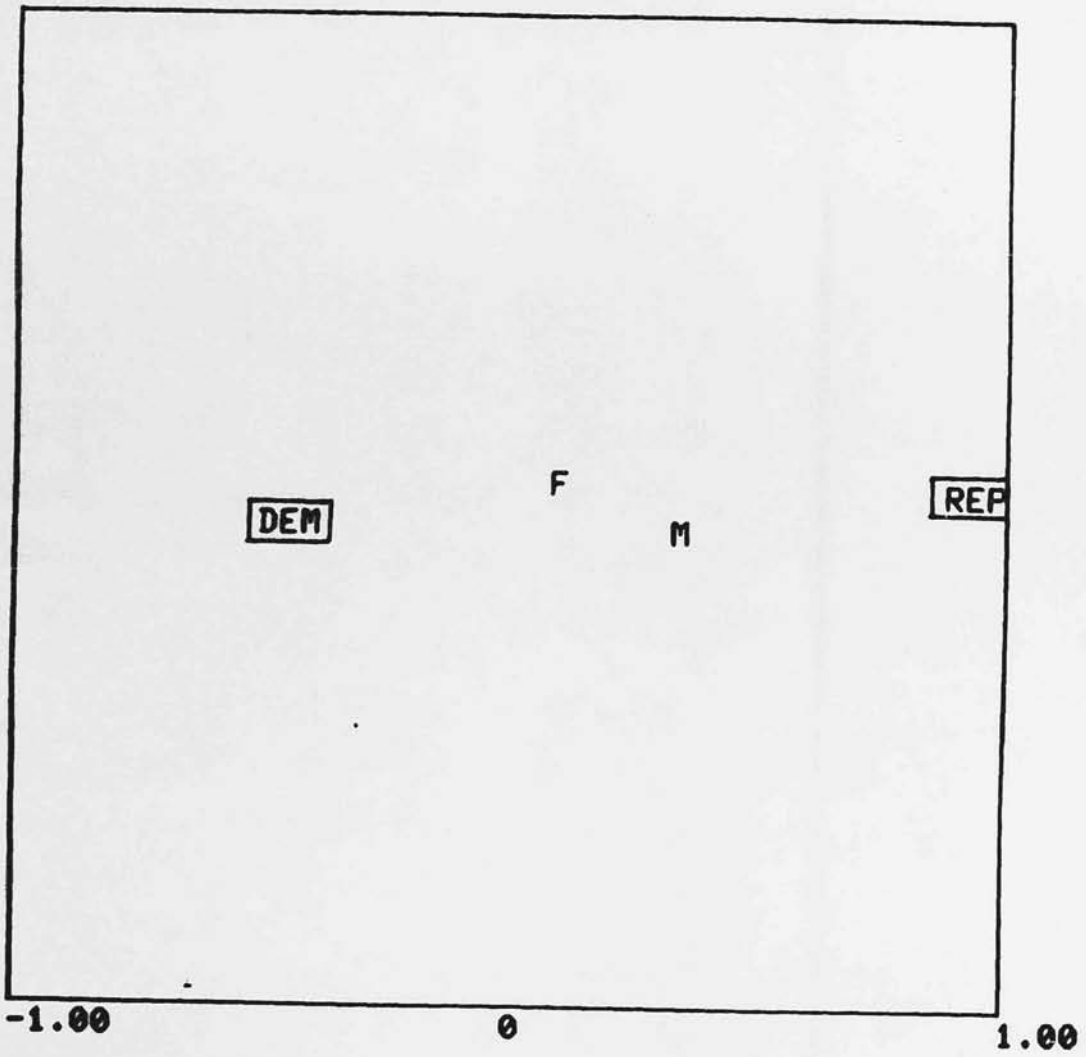
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

18 = 18-24
25 = 25-29
30 = 30-34
35 = 35-39
40 = 40-44
45 = 45-49
50 = 50-54
55 = 55-59
60 = 60-64
65 = 65-74
75 = 75 and over

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 4 1

Gender in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

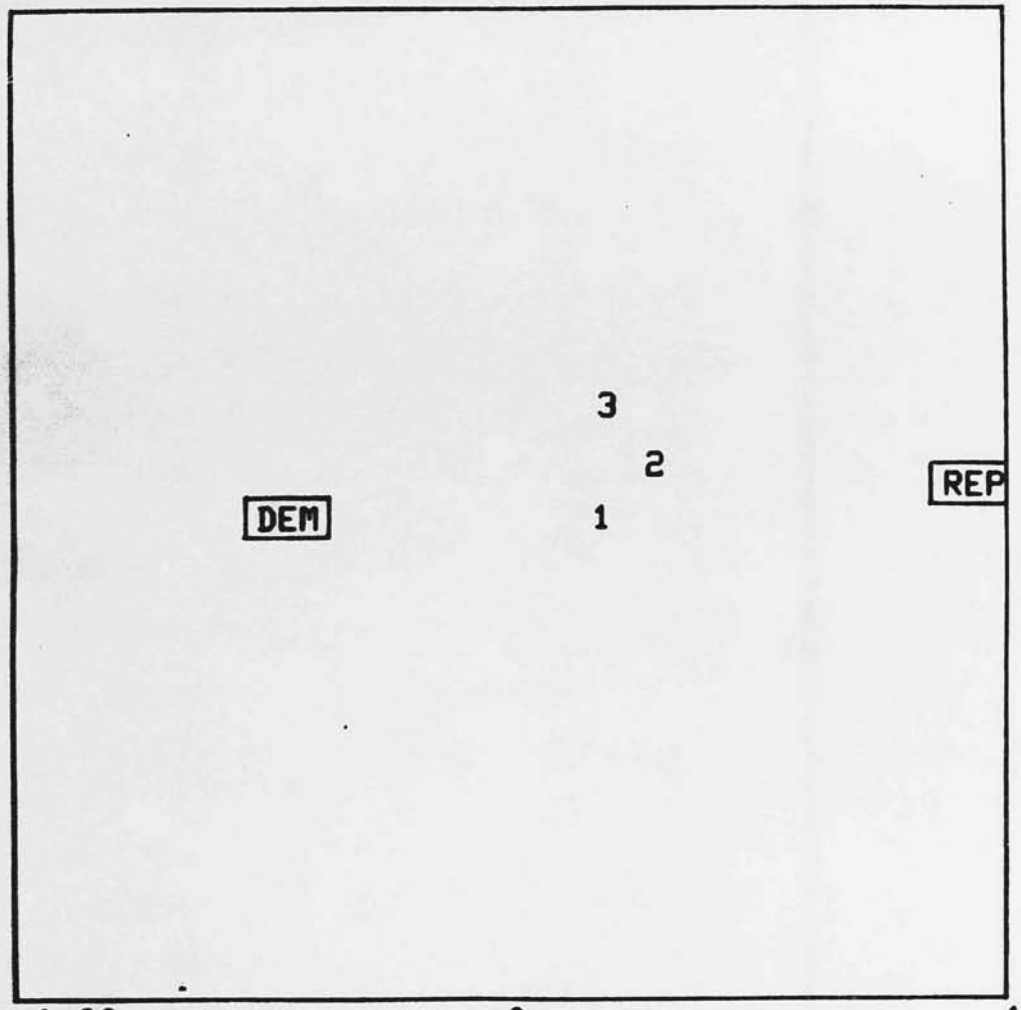
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

M = Males
F = Females

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 4 6

Religion in the 1985 Candidate Space



COMMAND? DEFAULT IS 'PRAX'
?

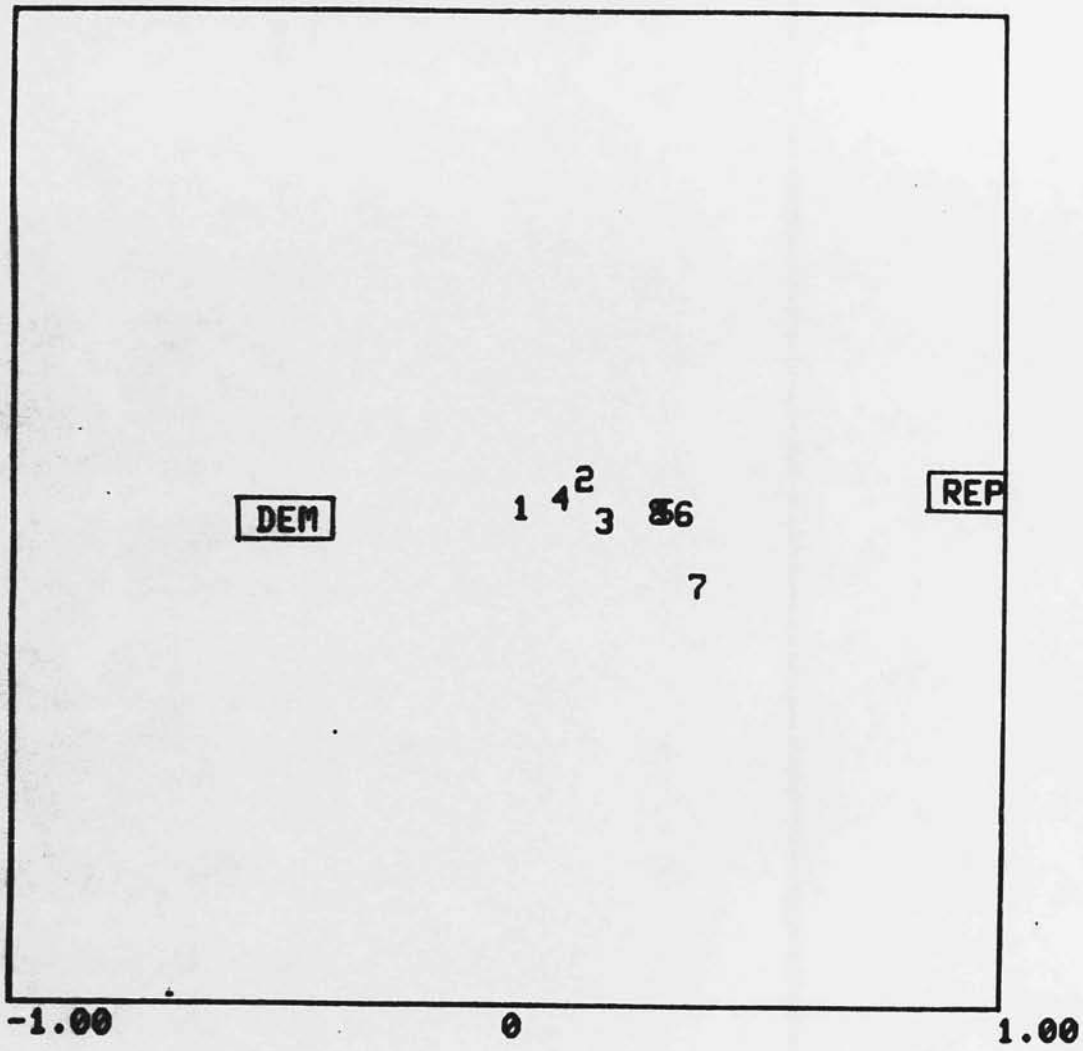
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means
1 = Protestant
2 = Catholic
3 = Jew

8 8 0 4 0 7 7 0 9 4

Income in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

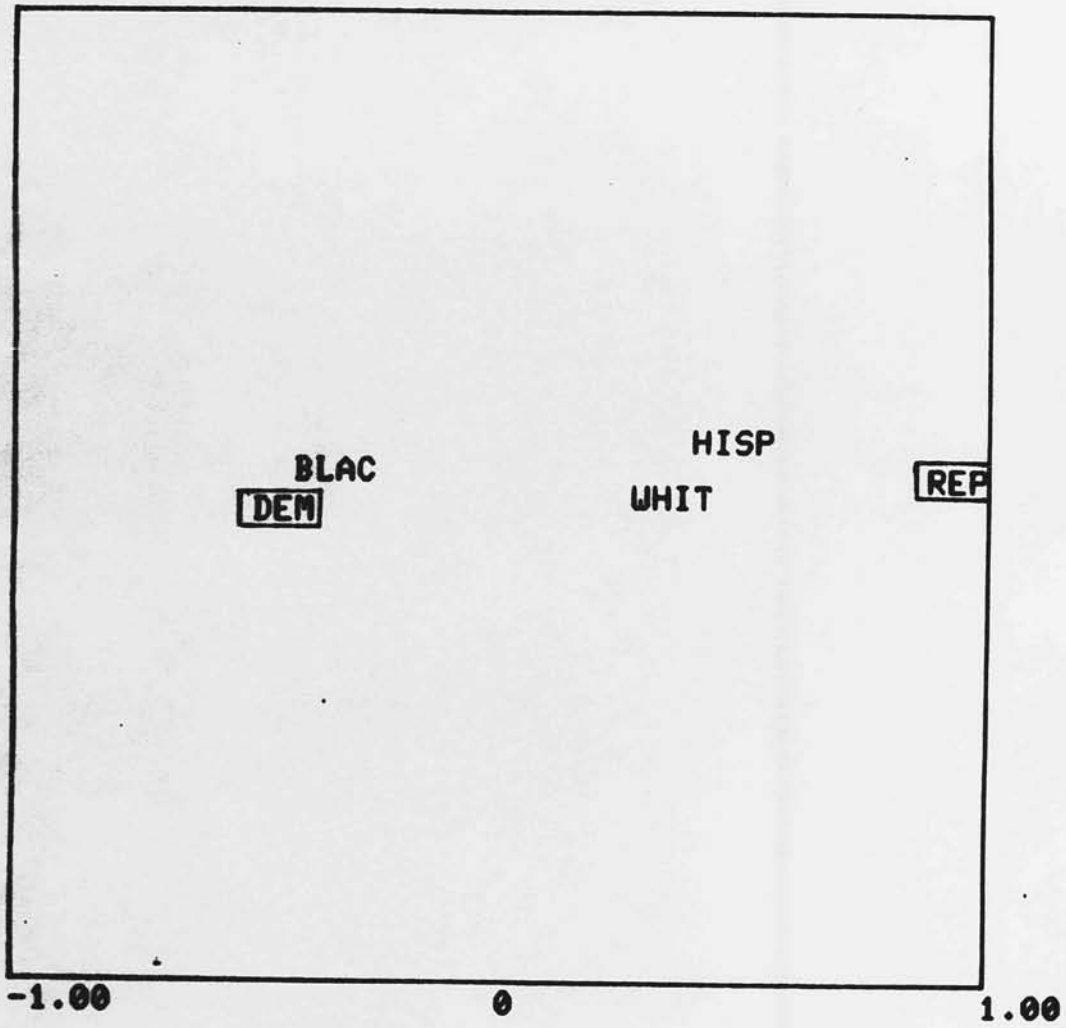
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Under $10,000
2 = $10,000-$15,000
3 = $15,000-$20,000
4 = $20,000-$25,000
5 = $25,000-$30,000
6 = $30,000-$40,000
7 = $40,000-$50,000
8 = $50,000 and over

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 5

Race in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

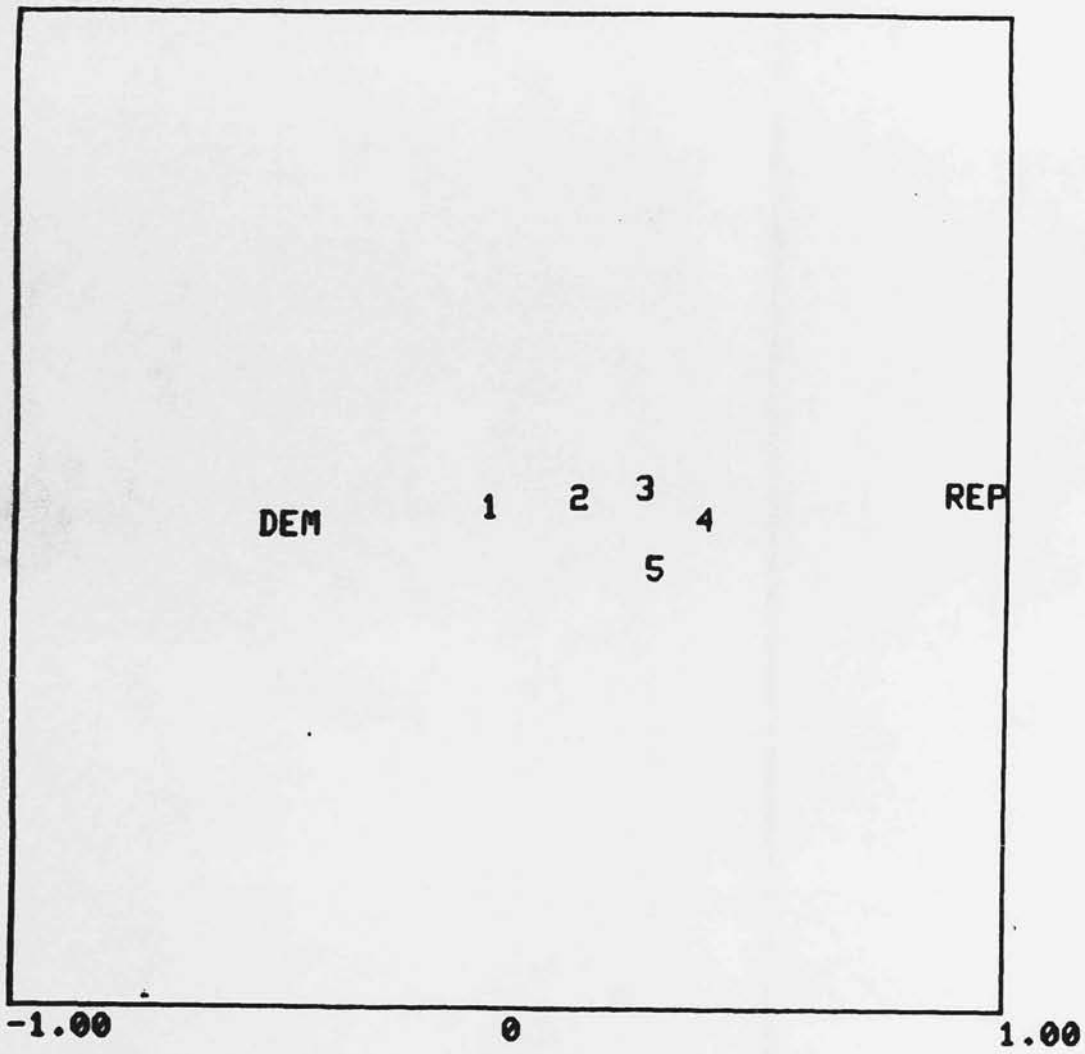
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

WHITE
BLACK
HISPANIC

8 3 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 5 1

Military Action Against Terrorists Scale
in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

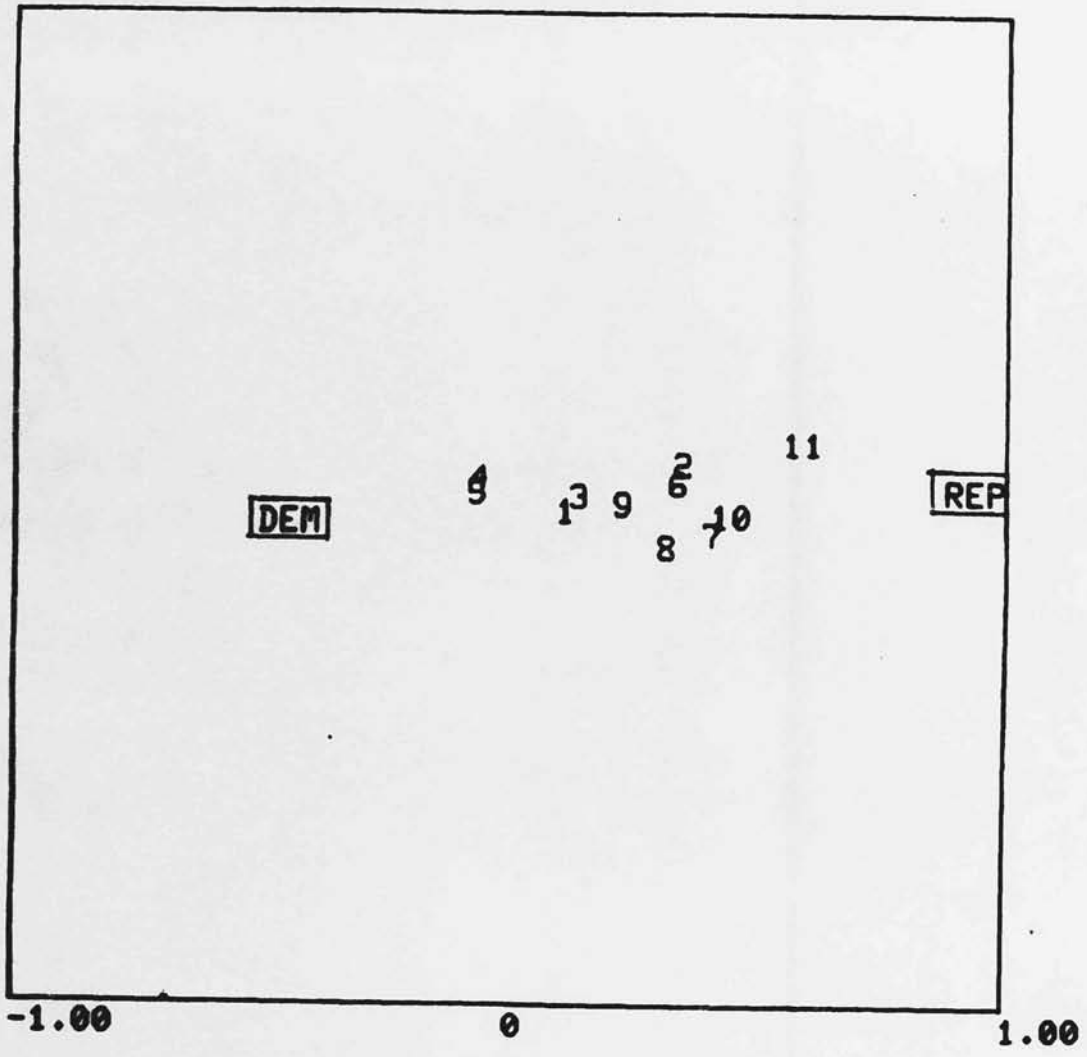
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Oppose any military action
2
3
4
5 = Favor military action in all cases

8 8 0 4 0 7 4 0 9 5

International Trade Scale #1 in the 1985
Candidate Space



Key:

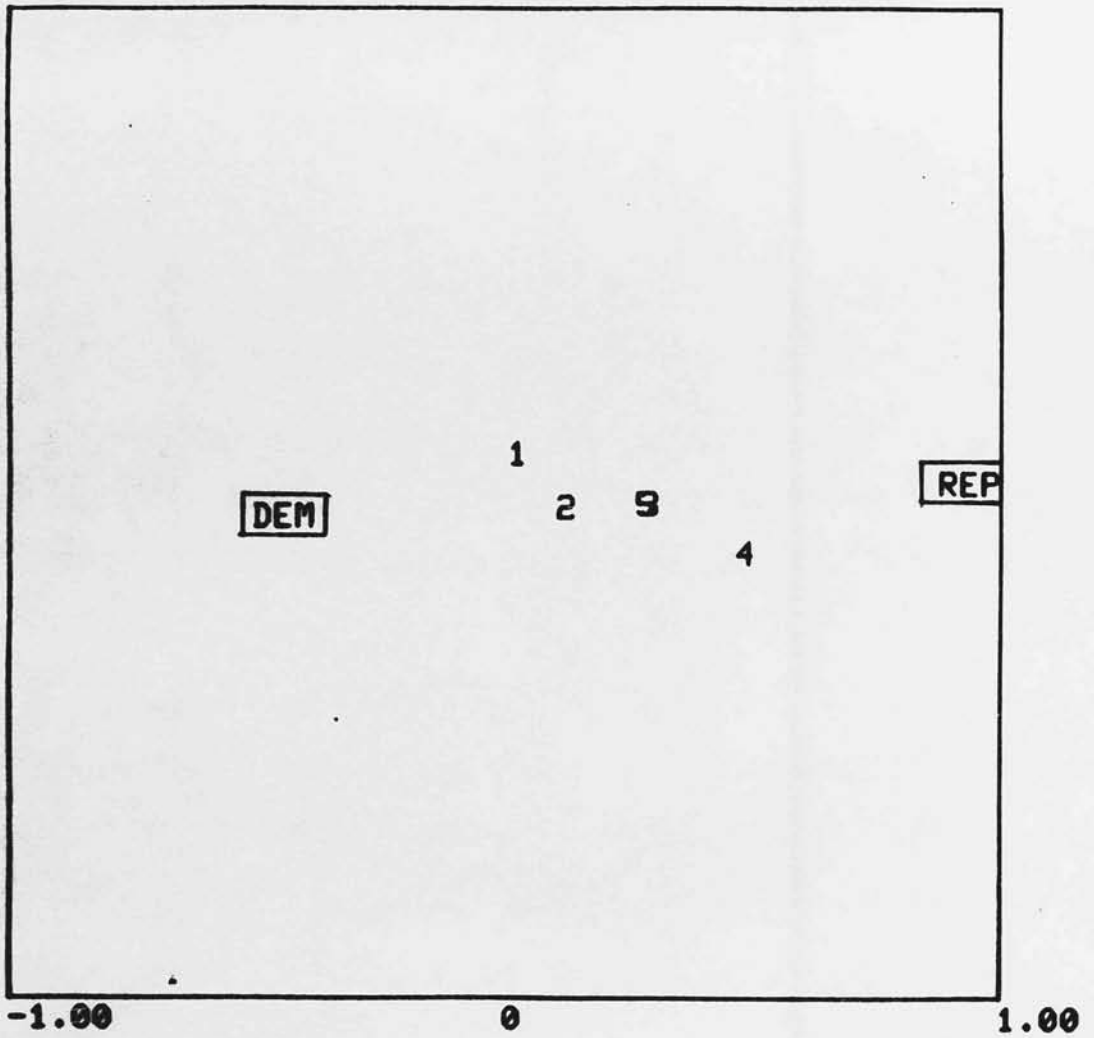
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Pro-Protectionism
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11 = Anti-Protectionism

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 5

International Trade Scale #2 in the 1985
Candidate Space



Key:

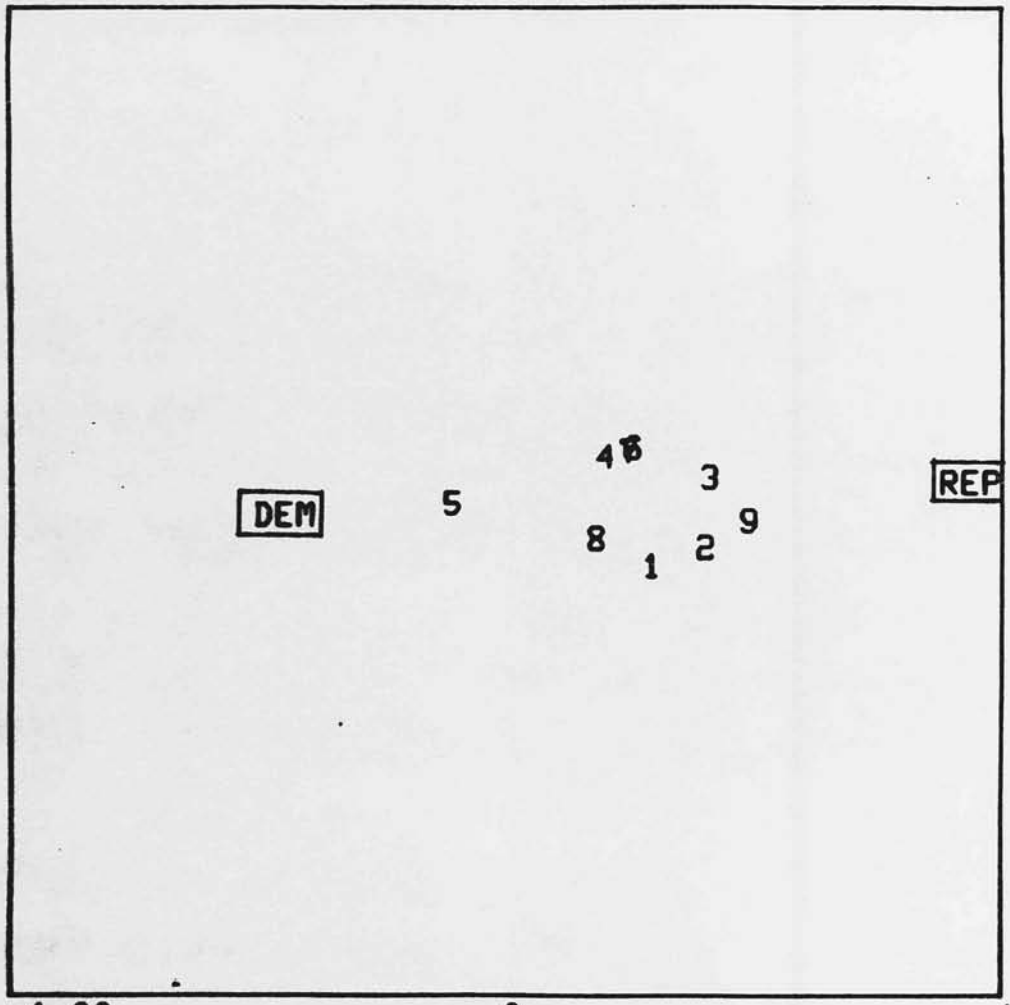
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Protectionists
2
3
4
5 = Free-traders

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 5

Gunboat Diplomacy Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

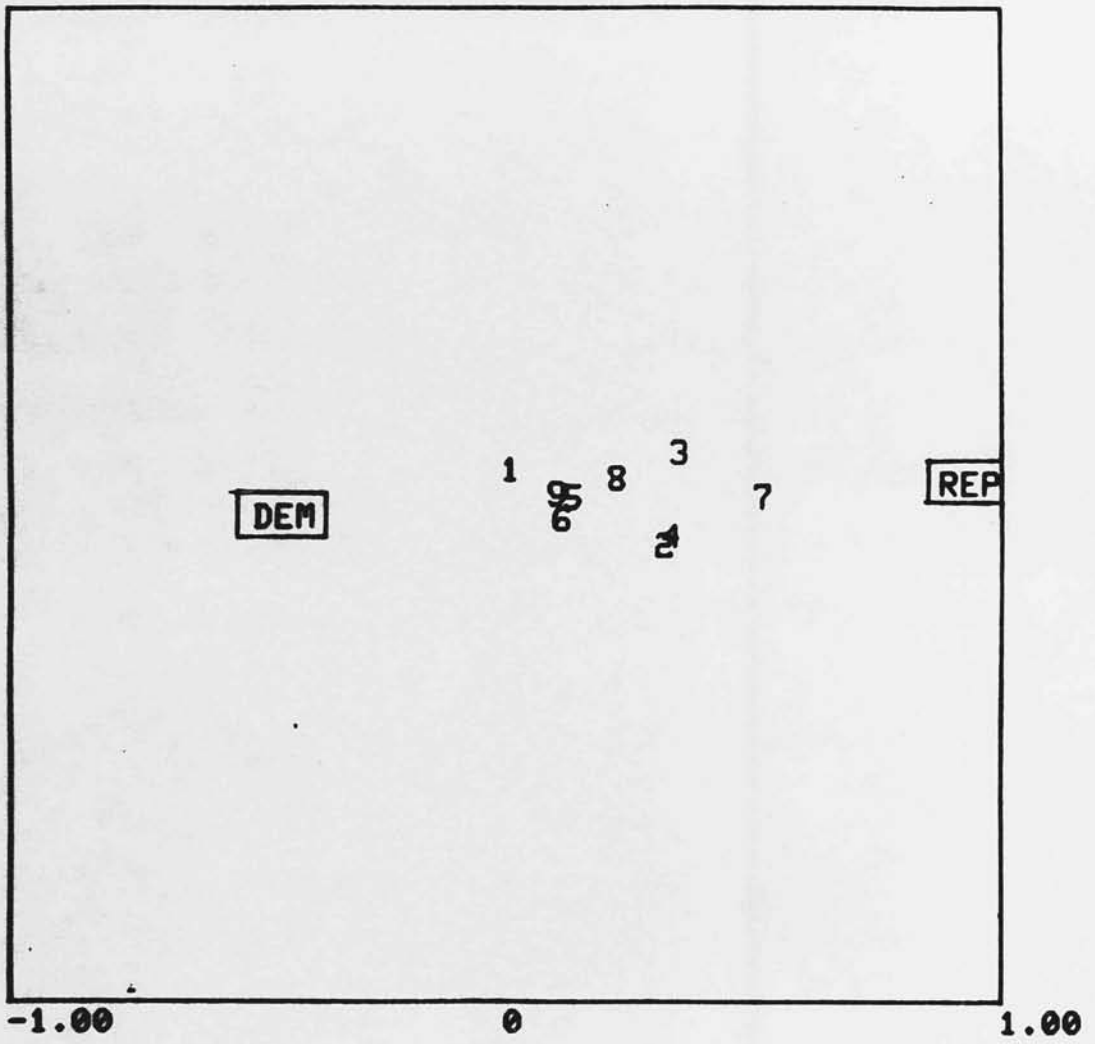
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Pacifists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme Gunboaters/Nationalists

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 5

America Firsters Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

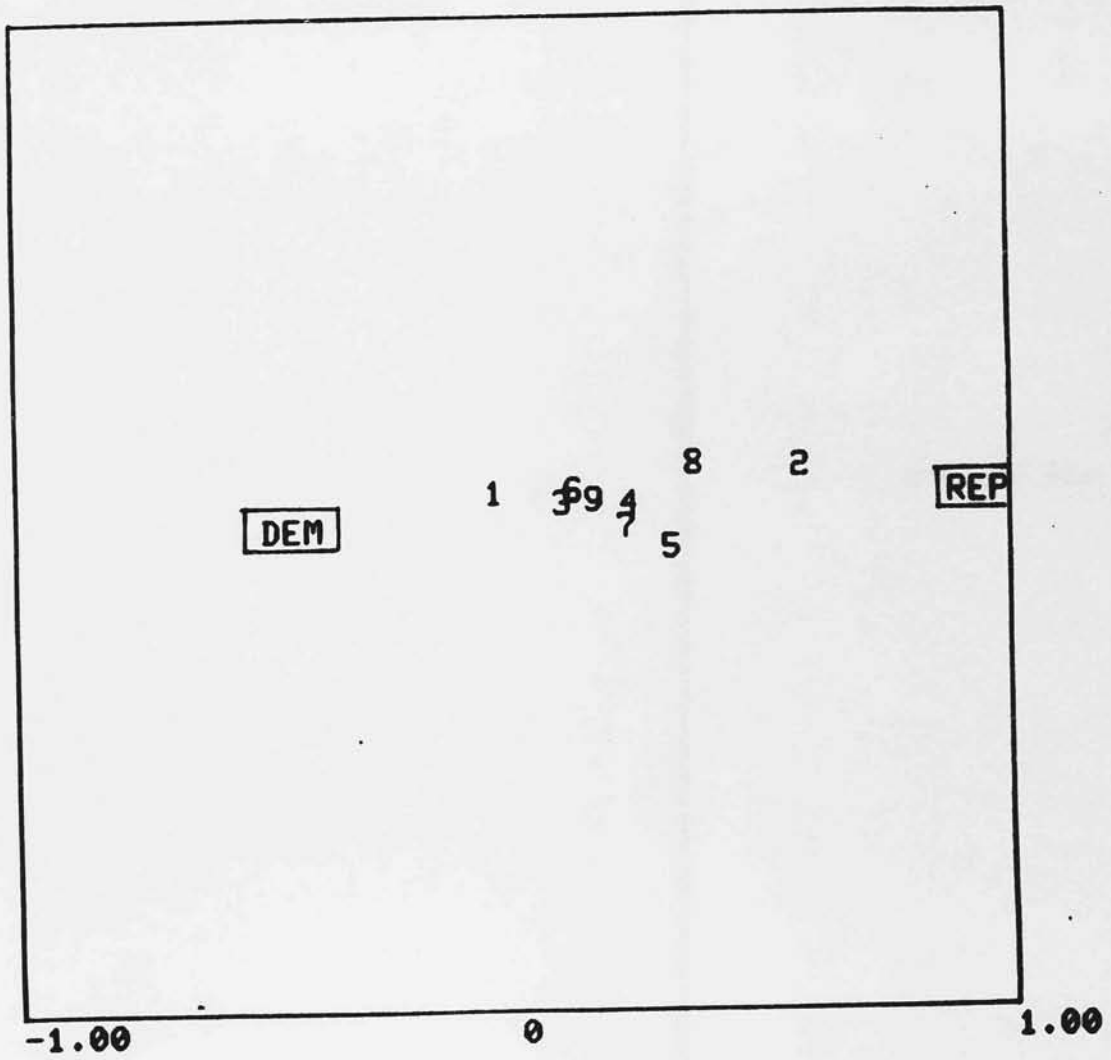
REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme Internationalists
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme America Firsters

8 8 0 4 0 7 2 0 9 5

Traditional Values Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



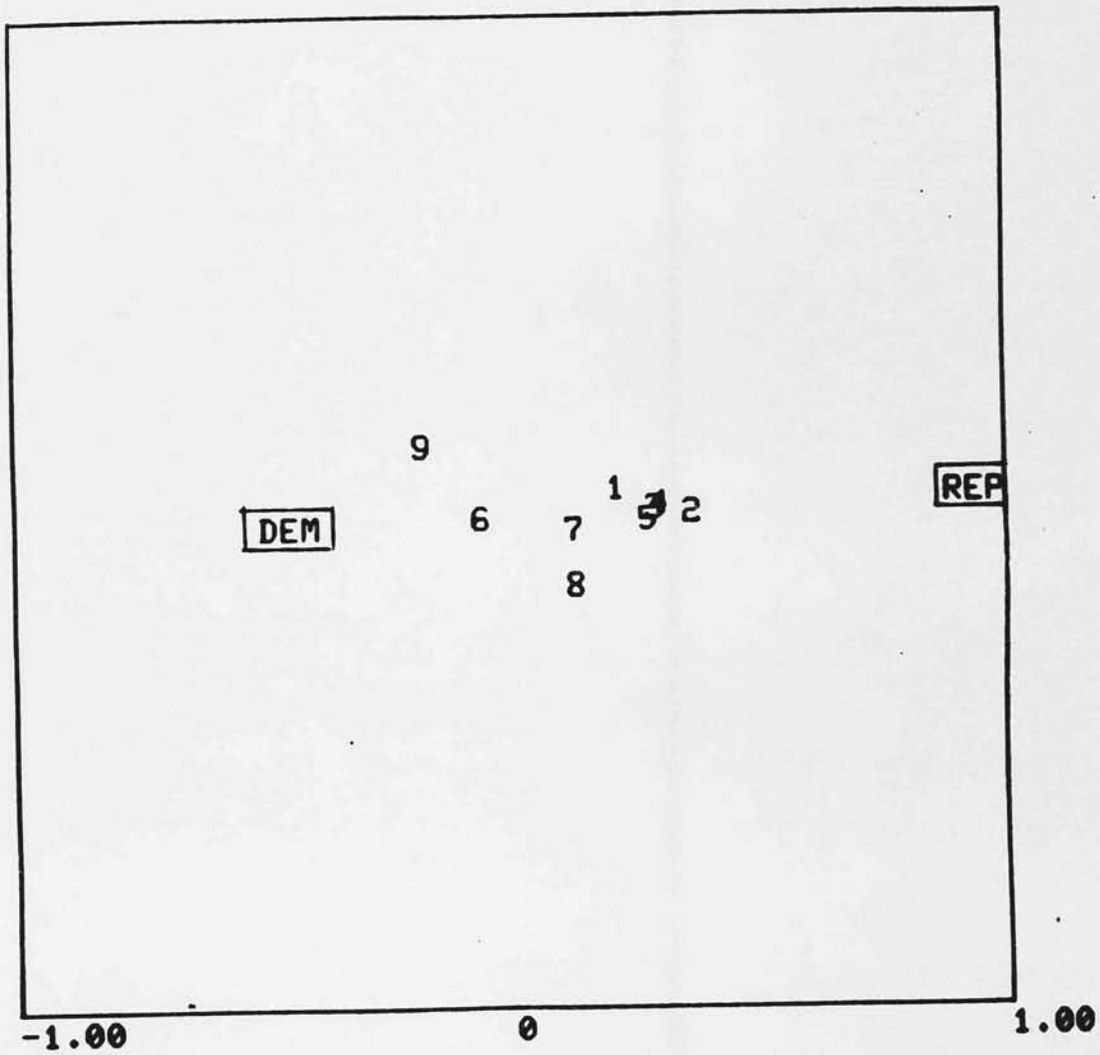
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extreme civil libertarians
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extreme traditionalists

Welfare Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



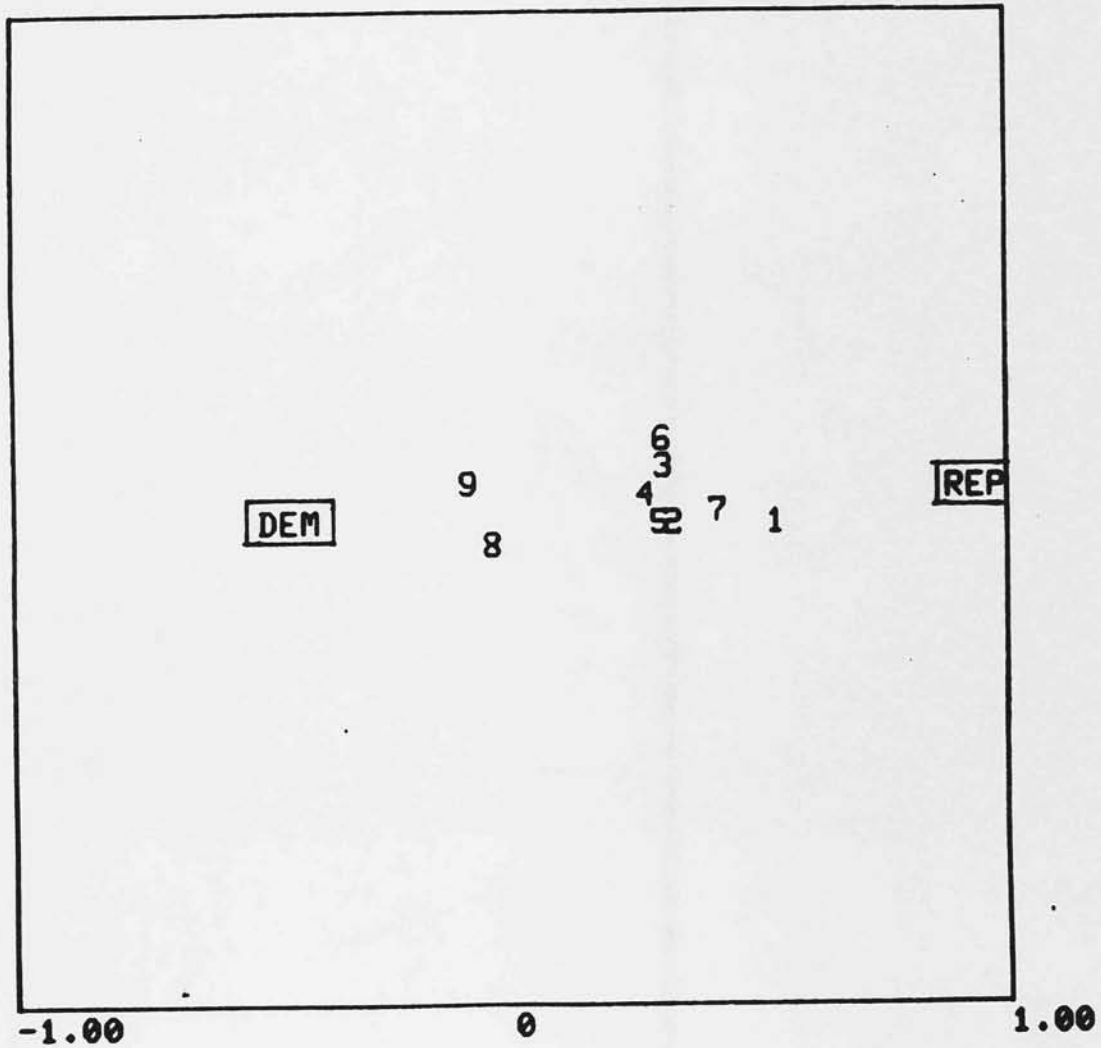
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-welfare
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-welfare

Government Assistance Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



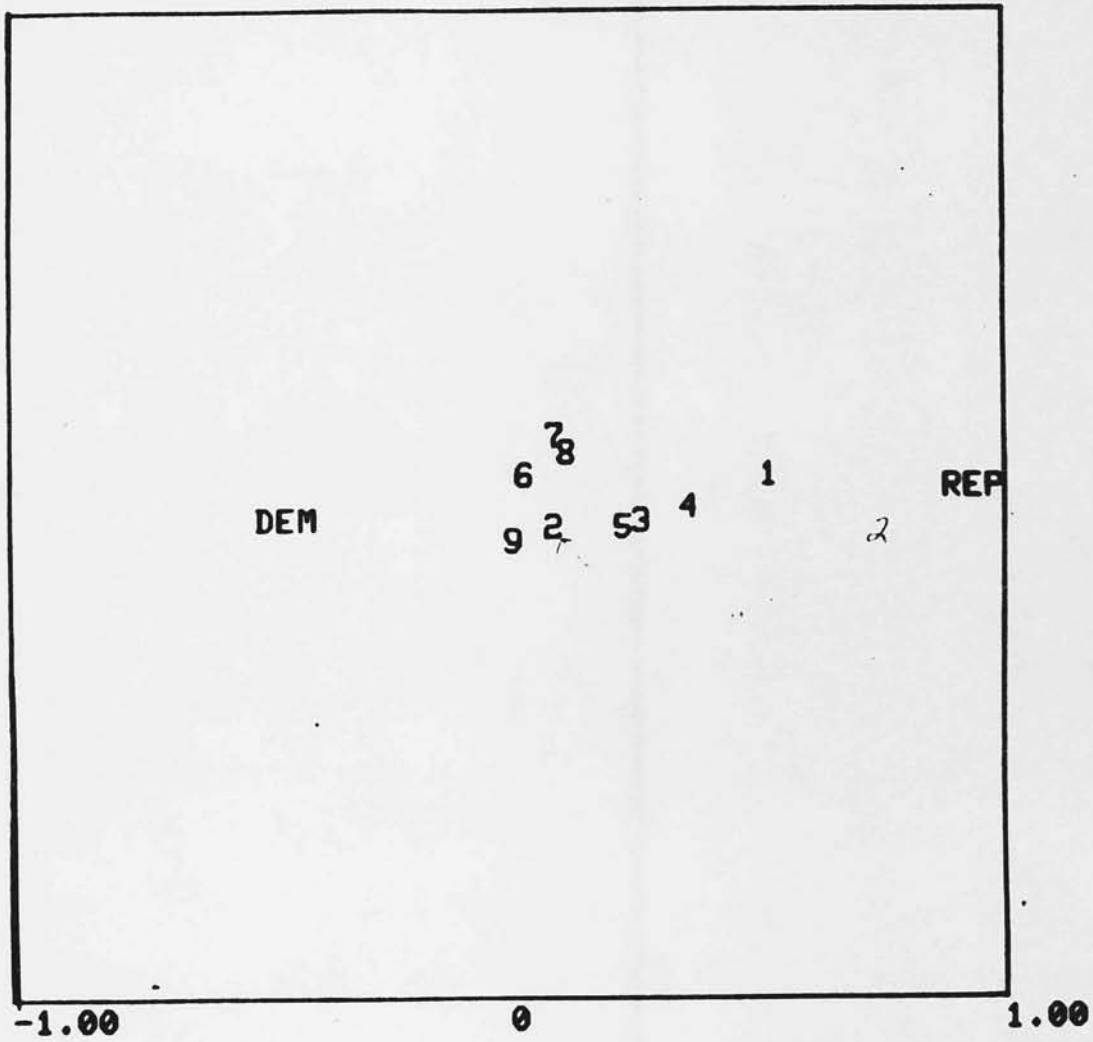
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-assistance
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-assistance

Labor Union Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



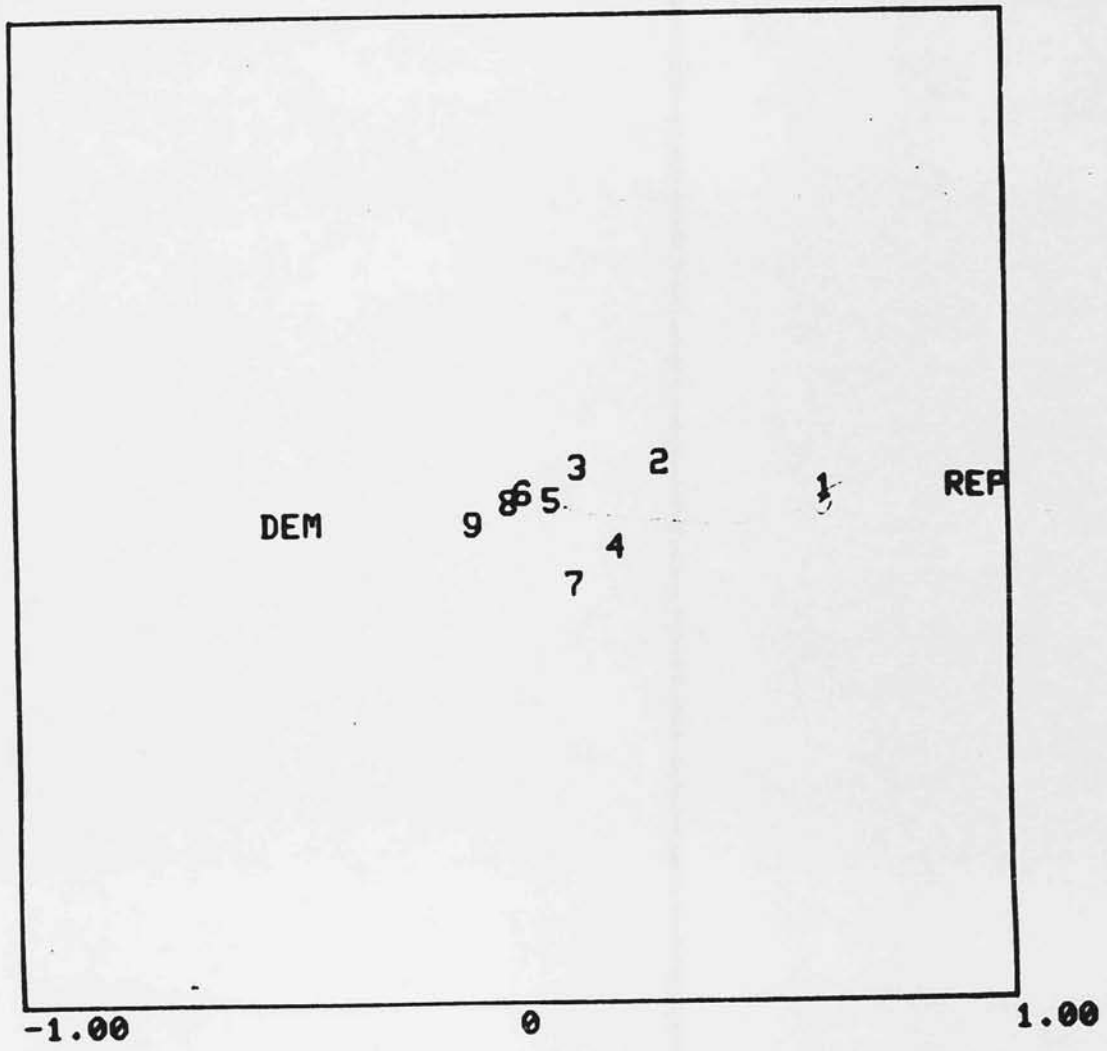
Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-labor unions
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-labor unions

Black Agenda Scale in the 1985 Candidate Space



Key:

REP = Republican Party
DEM = Democratic Party

Group Means

1 = Extremely anti-black agenda
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 = Extremely pro-black agenda

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 2133

DATE FILMED 9/13/88 CAMERA NO. 2

CAMERAMAN K.A.U.

88040072096

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D C 20463

THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL IS BEING ADDED TO THE PUBLIC FILE OF CLOSED MUR 2133 .

3304072224009

Letter

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 31, 1988

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

RE: MUR 2133
George Bush for President, Inc.

Dear Mr. Baran:

On July 18, 1988, the Federal Election Commission accepted the conciliation agreement signed by you on behalf of George Bush for President, Inc. ("the Committee") in settlement of the above-referenced matter. On July 20, 1988, this Office sent you a copy of the fully executed agreement signed by me on that date. Pursuant to paragraphs VI, VIII, and IX of that agreement, the Committee agreed to pay $17,610 to Market Opinion Research ("MOR") within thirty days of the date the agreement became effective, i.e, July 20, 1988, and to so notify the Commission.

To date, however, the Committee has not notified the Commission of any such payment. In addition, a review of the Committee's 1988 August Monthly Report, which covers the first eleven days of the time period for complying with the agreement, discloses no such payment to MOR. This Office requests that, within ten days of your receipt of this letter, the Committee make the required payment in full and notify the Commission of this payment. If the Committee fails to do so, this Office will recommend that the Commission institute a civil action against your client in United States District Court for failure to comply with the terms of the conciliation agreement. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(D).

If you have any questions regarding this matter, please contact Jonathan Levin at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

3804072410

DOC # 346

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

88 SEP -9 PM 3:41

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

JAN W. BARAN
(202) 429-7330

TELECOPIER
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

September 9, 1988

Jonathan Levin, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2133

Dear Mr. Levin:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, please find enclosed a photocopy of a check to Market Opinion Research from George Bush for President dated August 26, 1988 in the amount of $17,610.00. This check was issued and sent to Market Opinion Research pursuant to the conciliation agreement with the Federal Election Commission in the above-referenced matter.

I trust that this concludes all issues pertaining to this matter.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Enclosure
cc: J. Stanley Huckaby

2 0 0 4 0 7 4 2 4 1 1

GEORGE BUSH FOR PRESIDENT
733 - 15TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

SOVRAN BANK DC NATIONAL
MAIN OFFICE
1801 K STREET NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

10013

August 26 1988

15-120/540 D

PAY Seventeen Thousand Six Hundred Ten and 00/100---------- DOLLARS $ 17,610.00

TO THE ORDER OF
Market Opinion Research
Research87-688
Detroit, MI 48267

NOT NEGOTIABLE

⑈010013⑈ ⑆054001204⑆ ⑈712754 5⑈

GEORGE BUSH FOR PRESIDENT

DELUXE - FORM WVO-4 V-2

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
8/25/88	[illegible] POLL	[illegible]

U09

J J

⑆304072241

Inv. # _____
Inv. date: _____
Commitment #: _____
Amount of check: $ [illegible]
Vendor #: 4525
Purpose—FEC _____
_____
_____
Purpose—G/L _____
_____
_____
Manual check ( )

FEC Code	Amount	Acct.
22/22	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOTAL	[illegible]	[redacted]