FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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COMPLAINT

July 29, 1986

Mr. Charles Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

JUL 30 P4:27

Dear Mr. Steele:

INTRODUCTION

The Leahy for Senate Committee files this complaint pursuant to § 437(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 ("the Act"), seeking Commission investigation of the manner in which the Snelling '86 Committee has obtained funding for its polling activities.

The Snelling Committee, the designated principal campaign committee of United States Senate candidate Richard Snelling, has contracted for and received substantial polling services. Somehow, in some way, the Snelling Committee has managed to obtain these services without paying for them--or showing how they were paid. Reports filed by the Snelling Committee with the Federal Election Commission reflect less than $800 in polling costs, an extraordinarily limited sum by the standard of any United States Senate campaign. These reports also show no outstanding indebtedness to the polling firm, Market

Opinion Research (MOR), known to have been retained by that committee. Finally, the reports of national Republican party committees reflect no coordinated expenditures on behalf of the Snelling Committee in the form of paid polling invoices. So there remains the question, which only the Commission has the authority and duty to resolve: when were these polling expenses paid and by whom?

Questions raised in this complaint concern fundamentally the Snelling Committee's and the national Republican party's compliance with contribution and coordinated expenditure limitations and also related disclosure requirements of the Act. Anyone experienced with United States Senate campaigns understands that a substantial portion of any campaign budget is taken up with polling. As shown below, Mr. Snelling has admitted that he has benefitted from polling in his own campaign. And yet, it is impossible to identify how the Snelling Committee financed the polling which its spokesmen concede they have commissioned.

FACTS

The facts supporting this Complaint have been supplied on the public record by the Snelling Committee and its agents within the national Republican party structure. All

of the questions surrounding the payment of the Snelling Committee's polling expenses have arisen out of Mr. Snelling's own statements, his committee's campaign literature, his committee's filings with the Commission, and statements of the staff of the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC). These primary source materials indicate that the Snelling Committee has hired--but not paid-- a polling firm, and that it continues to draw upon the work of that firm without making payments, reporting indebtedness, or accounting in other fashion for how these services have been and will be paid.

The Snelling Committee's Hiring of Market Opinion Research

Early in this election year the Snelling Committee published a brochure describing, inter alia, how Mr. Snelling had organized his campaign for the seat currently held by Senator Patrick J. Leahy. In this brochure, entitled "Get Behind the Snelling Campaign", the last of several sections addressed the mechanics of his campaign organization under the heading "The Snelling Campaign - Plan, Team and Budget". In that section, the Snelling Committee identified Market Opinion Research as the firm "handling polling services for the Snelling campaign." The account appearing in this brochure underscored the

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importance attached to this polling contract by noting that the founder and chief executive of MOR, Mr. Robert Teeter, would assume a direct, "personal involvement" in MOR's services on behalf of Snelling.

This early campaign brochure, attached as Exhibit A, also identifies certain of the early fruits of this contract. It cites a "benchmark survey" which sought to identify voter attitudes toward Mr. Snelling's likely opponent, Senator Leahy. Actual percentages produced by this benchmark survey are reprinted in tabular form in this campaign brochure.

Continuing MOR Polling to Date

By early 1986, therefore, the Snelling Committee had retained a polling firm, and had, in fact, negotiated for the direct and personal involvement of its chief executive officer. The polling firm had already entered the field and conducted the benchmark survey, presumably some period before the publication of the brochure. For some months thereafter the campaign continued to refer to "survey research" performed on its behalf, presumably by MOR. See e.g. Campaign Newsflash (June 17, 1986) (Exhibit B).

Just in the last month, the NRSC referred in a recent

"PAC Gram" (Exhibit C) to an MOR poll released July 3 and purporting to show improvement in Snelling's standing. This same poll has been cited by the Snelling Committee, NRSC or other Snelling Committee agents to the press in Vermont. Stories concerning this poll have appeared in the Rutland Daily Herald, The Brattleboro Reformer, and The Bennington Banner, (Exhibits D, E and F, respectively) all of these accounts appearing on or about July 19, 1986. These news accounts unambiguously refer to polls conducted for the Snelling Committee by MOR; the Rutland Daily Herald, for example, cites specifically "a recent poll conducted by Market Opinion Research" on behalf of the Snelling Committee.

Apparent NRSC Involvement in Financing Snelling Polling

In all of the news accounts and other public record documents, only one clue surfaces about the manner in which these polls were paid. This clue points to the use by NRSC of its own funds to pay these polling costs. On June 4 and June 5, 1986, the Rutland Daily Herald and the Burlington Free Press ran stories about a "focus group" conducted to gauge reactions to a freshly minted Snelling media campaign. (Exhibits G, H, I) The Herald identifies this focus group survey as a project "coordinated for the NRSC by the consulting firm of MOR...". MOR, of course, is the same

firm retained by the Snelling Committee. These June 4 and June 5 news accounts indicated that NRSC paid MOR for this service.

In a revealing comment, however, an NRSC spokesman suggested to the press that NRSC was not legally required to allocate the full costs of this survey for the Snelling Committee to coordinated expenditure or contribution limitations:

> Murphy NRSC's Deputy Political Director said the NRSC conducted the viewer's survey both for its own data base and also for use by the Snelling campaign. (emphasis added)

Thus, NRSC and the Snelling Committee apparently assume that by the ruse of "sharing" the data, NRSC would be required to allocate only a portion, if any, of this polling service to Snelling Committee limits. The Snelling Committee reports appear to confirm this understanding with NRSC on how those expenses would be treated for limitation and reporting purposes. The Snelling Committee specifically reports on its July 15 filing with the Commission a payment to NRSC, on May 26, 1986, for its "share" of survey research costs in the amount of $625. This payment may relate to the focus group survey reported by the press in early June; or it may reflect other polling expenses which the Snelling Committee and NRSC sought to marage on the basis of this specious reading of the law.

The $625.00 payment to NRSC reported by the Snelling Committee, plus a February 9, 1986 in kind contribution of $118.75, constitutes all the polling expenses reported by the Snelling Committee to date. Standing on its own, or as its alleged "share" of the focus group costs, this limited sum of money raises the most serious questions about how the Snelling Committee is concealing the full extent of its financing of campaign polling.

Polling and the Snelling Campaign Budget

As stated, the Snelling Committee has reported less than $800 in direct polling services paid on an in-kind or "coordinated expenditure" basis. While polling is consuming virtually no part of the Snelling Committee budget, that committee has lavished significant sums of money on all of the standard variety campaign communications which, in the modern day, are shaped in part by the analysis of polling information. The Snelling Committee has specifically spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on media production and airing, consulting services, and on print ads; but less than $800 on direct polling expenses. These polling expenses do not appear, either, as indebtedness owed by the Committee properly identified on Schedule D of any of it's reports filed to date.

In summary, from November 15, 1985 (when the Snelling Committee made its first reported expenditures in this campaign) through the present time--a period of fully eight months--there is virtually no money reported for polling--paid by Snelling from his own funds, or by any other source.

APPARENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW

All of the facts available on the public record, taken together, point to any number of possible but serious violations of statute. One of the following scenarios must be true, and each points, in turn, to serious statutory issues which the Commission should investigate immediately.

Snelling's Polling Expenses are Being Paid Without Limitation by NRSC or Some Other Source

The Snelling Committee has a contract with MOR, has received polling services from MOR, but is not paying MOR. Accordingly, among other possibilities, the Snelling Committee has identified a benefactor which is making payments on this polling contract to procure continuing service.

If so, and if the party paying these polling costs is

other than NRSC, a strong possibility exists that contributions exceeding lawful limits have been made on an in-kind basis to the Snelling Committee. Individuals contributing to the Snelling Committee are limited to $1,000 per election; multi-candidate committees, to $5,000 per election. 2 U.S.C. § 441a. Upon information and belief, by reference to standard market charges for polling in United States Senate campaigns, and individual or non-party committee financing these polling costs have almost certainly exceeded lawful limitations. Moreover, the Snelling Committee has violated the law by failing to report the receipt of these in-kind contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 441a; 11 C.F.R. § 104.13.

By the same token, if NRSC had paid these costs, it is required to do so within the limitations of §§ 441a(h) and 441a(d) of the Act. 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(b) and 441a(d). To date, NRSC had conceded publicly that it has financed Snelling polling costs, in the form of the focus group survey cited earlier. NRSC has not reported any sums paid for this purpose as an in-kind contribution or coordinated expenditure. Filings by the Snelling Committee and the NRSC show only extremely limited payments, totalling less that $800, identified as reimbursements by the Snelling Committee to NRSC for its "share" of allegedly joint polling costs. In addition, on the facts presented, the device by which

NRSC seeks to "share" polling data with the Snelling Committee, thereby reducing the reported costs to the Snelling Committee, raises the most serious question about whether a proper allocation of these costs has been accomplished pursuant to the requirements of 11 C.F.R. § 106.1 and 106.4.

MOR In-Kind Contributions to the Snelling Committee

Upon information and belief, MOR is a corporation prohibited from making contributions or expenditures in connection with a federal election. 2, U.S.C. § 441b. If MOR has advanced the costs of these polling services since the beginning of the Snelling campaign, a period of 8 months, it may have made a prohibited corporate in-kind contribution to the Snelling Campaign.

Under the Act, a prohibited corporate contribution includes "loans" or "advances". 11 C.F.R. § 114.1(a)(1). To avoid a prohibited loan or advance, a corporation may extend credit to a political customer only "in the ordinary course of business" and only upon "terms . . . substantially similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors which are of similar risk and size of obligation". A

national polling firm like MOR cannot--and may not--commonly perform services without pay for eight months of a U.S. Senate campaign. Where it does so, significant questions are raised about prohibited corporate contributions in-kind.

The Snelling Committee Has Accrued Significant Unreported Debts to MOR, or Has Failed to Report Payments Made to MOR

Under the statute, any debt owed by a political committee to any source in an amount exceeding $500 must be promptly disclosed by the reporting committee on Schedule D. 11 C.F.R. § 104.11 requires the most comprehensive reporting of debts, including a full "statement explaining the circumstances and conditions under which each debt and obligation was incurred or extinguished." 11 C.F.R. § 110.14(a). No debt to MOR is reported by the Snelling Committee, and if the Snelling Committee has accrued unpaid obligations to MOR, its failure to report this obligation fully violates the debt reporting requirements of the law. Alternatively, the Snelling Committee has violated § 434 of the Act if it paid MOR for services rendered but did not report the payments in its filings with the Commission.

CONCLUSION

The issues raised in this complaint cover the field of core statutory policies: contribution and expenditure limitations, complete and timely financial disclosure, and possibly illegal corporate spending. Until the full facts are known, a result only the Commission can accomplish, the violations requiring remedial action will remain to be clearly identified. The Commission must act now to ferret out the truth and enforce the law.

Respectfully submitted.

William Gray
Campaign Director
Leahy for U.S. Senator
Committee
P.O. Box 53
Burlington, VT 05402
802-658-1986

Sworn to before me this 29th day of July, 1986.

Laurie W. McLean
Notary Public

Of Counsel:
Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
1110 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
202-887-9030

THE SNELLING CAMPAIGN -- PLAN, TEAM AND BUDGET

Plan. The salient political facts that set the context for the Dick Snelling-Pat Leahy race are these:

1. Pat Leahy the person is held in high regard by a substantial majority of Vermonters. They perceive him as likeable, diligent and accessible.

2. Most Vermonters are not aware of Pat Leahy's voting record in the Senate. As a result, they do not identify him as the ideological soul-mate of Ted Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum but as reflecting their own -- Vermonters' -- essentially conservative views. **Here is how, in the campaign's benchmark survey,** they described themselves; and here is how, also, they described their perception of Leahy:

Category	Description of Themselves	Perception of Pat Leahy
Very conservative	10%	5%
Somewhat conservative	42	37
Moderate	6	6
Somewhat liberal	33	35
Very liberal	6	6
Don't know	2	10
Did not answer	0	1

Not surprisingly, therefore, the Winter 1985-86 polls showing Leahy leading Dick Snelling on the "head-to-head" or "ballot-test" question all showed Leahy with clearly unwarranted strength among self-described conservative and middle-of-the-road respondents.

3. The 1980 Senate campaign demonstrated conclusively that, when Vermonters are given the facts about Pat Leahy's record, they will vote for his opponent even while they maintain a high regard for Leahy the person. Witness this data from the 1980 campaign:

Question	June 1980 MOR* Poll	Sept. 1980 MOR Poll	Oct. 12-14 1980 MOR Poll	Oct. 24-25 1980 MOR Poll	Election Results
Leahy favorable/ unfavorable	not asked	63-20	58-23	51-26	--
Leahy job approval/ disapproval	70-16	64-20	59-23	52-27	--
Leahy vs. Ledbetter	68-25	59-34	51-39	44-42	49.8-48.6

*"MOR" denotes Bob Teeter's survey research firm, Market Opinion Research, Inc., which did Stewart Ledbetter's 1980 polling and is also handling polling for the Snelling campaign.

4. Dick Snelling is the most highly regarded Republican in the State of Vermont. Voters rate him as having been an excellent governor and as a leader who understands what needs to be done and does it.

5. On the issues, Dick Snelling agrees with the great majority of Vermonters. Pat Leahy does not.

The Snelling campaign's basic strategy is thus to focus on those issues that separate Pat Leahy from Dick Snelling and Pat Leahy from the electorate and, without denying in the slightest Pat Leahy's qualities as a person, to point out how Pat Leahy is not representing Vermonters' views in the Senate. Related themes will stress Dick Snelling's proven leadership and management skills, and the need for those skills in addressing the problems facing the nation. Getting those messages to the voters of Vermont will take considerable time. As a result, the campaign does not anticipate that it will catch up with Leahy in head-to-head polls until after Labor Day. So long as Dick Snelling's head-to-head numbers are ahead of where Stewart Ledbetter was in his 1980 race against Leahy, the Snelling campaign will be satisfied that it is on track toward victory.

Budget. Because Vermont has a relatively small population and is geographically quite compact, and because nearly 85 percent of its population is within the Burlington television market -- where the estimated 1986 cost-per-gross-rating-point of showing a political commercial is $32 (as compared to $285 in Boston) --, the Snelling campaign budget's net expenditures have been set at $999,000.

That budget is quite realistic. As of February 15, 1986, even before Dick Snelling had formally announced his candidacy or begun to campaign, the Snelling '86 Committee had raised $101,240 toward its budget, had been endorsed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and had received PAC contributions from the PACs sponsored by, among others, Mapco, Inc.; Rockwell International; Tenneco; Olin Corporation; Mobil; Air Products & Chemicals; Amoco; the Printing Industries of America; Shell; the Federation of American Hospitals; United Technologies Corporation; Dallas Energy PAC (the maximum); and Texaco.

Team. The Snelling campaign has engaged the services of an exceptional team so that the refinement and implementation of its strategy will be first-rate.

• The chief consultants are the firm of Black Manafort Stone & Atwater. Their lead partner on the campaign is Charlie Black, who has held similar positions with the Senate campaigns of, among others, Dave Durenberger, Phil Gramm and Bob Dole. Charlie was also a principal strategist for each of Ronald Reagan's Presidential campaigns. Working closely with Charlie will be Greg Stevens, who managed Stewart Ledbetter's 1980 campaign against Leahy and was most recently chief of staff and campaign manager for New Jersey Governor Tom Kean.

• Polling is being handled by Market Opinion Research, with the personal involvement of its founder and chief executive, Bob Teeter. Teeter and MOR are among the very top Republican polling firms and have extensive experience in New England -- including for the 1980 Ledbetter campaign.

• Media production will be directed by Alex Castellanos of Castellanos & Murphy. Alex has considerable political experience, including with the Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms reelection campaigns.

• Managing the campaign is Rey Post. Rey managed Congressman Jim Jeffords' 1978 reelection campaign, in which Jeffords carried every county in the state, and directed Bob Stafford's 1982 campaign. Rey has also served as executive director of the Vermont Republican Party (1980-81) and as staff director of Bob Stafford's Vermont offices (1982-85), and gained Washington experience as a legislative assistant to Jim Jeffords (1978-80).

To sum up, the candidate is the strongest possible Republican. The team is in place. The strategy is set and being put into action. The budget is realistic and clearly attainable. All the ingredients for success are present.

Paid for by The Snelling '86 Committee

SNELLING '86 U.S. SENATE

(802) 985-9471
(800) FOR-VT86

Co-Chairmen
Gov. Deane C. Davis
Mrs. Lola P. Aiken

CAMPAIGN NEWSFLASH

June 17, 1986

**SNELLING MAKES THE CASE;
LEAHY'S ON DEFENSE**

On Tuesday, June 3, right on schedule, the Snelling campaign moved into Phase II of its plan: A thoroughly documented, scrupulously accurate yet devastating unmasking of Pat Leahy's Senate record.

Survey research has demonstrated that Pat Leahy's political popularity, and his lead over Dick Snelling in previous polls, are due in major part to Leahy having misrepresented himself to the Vermont electorate. Vermont's liberals know Leahy to be a liberal, but Vermont's moderates mistakenly believe him to be a moderate, and Vermont's conservatives -- over 40 percent of the electorate -- actually regard Pat Leahy as a conservative! Accordingly, the bottom line of Dick Snelling's information initiative is this:

> "No one, not Pat Leahy nor Dick Snelling nor anyone else is a conservative, a moderate and a liberal. Pat Leahy can be what he wants -- but the facts of life won't let him be all things to all people.
>
> "Examine the record with us. The facts are clear -- Patrick Leahy, with no 'ifs, ands, or buts' is a true liberal -- one of the most consistent liberals in the Senate. So, Vermont's liberals can rejoice, while those who believed he was a conservative or moderate have some thinking to do" (first newspaper adverisement; copy attached).

The Snelling offensive began with a three-quarter-page newspaper advertisement run throughout the state on Tuesday, June 3 (copy attached); followed with a second newspaper advertisement (copy attached) on Thursday, June 5 and an accompanying saturation wave of radio and television commercials; and at the moment features a third newspaper advertisement (copy attached) and another saturation wave of television and radio commercials.

The Snelling '86 Committee
Jelly Mill Common, Route 7
Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

PAID FOR BY SNELLING '86

PAC Gram

from the National Republican Senatorial Committee

Senator John Heinz
Chairman

John Thomas Sheehan
PAC Director

TO: PAC REPRESENTATIVES
FM: JOHN SHEEHAN

July 14, 1986

VERMONT UPDATE

SNELLING TURNS UP THE HEAT

POLL SHOWS THE THAW BEGINS

Former Governor Dick Snelling has devoted the first 90 days of his Senate campaign to re-building the organization that elected him Governor of the Green Mountain state a record 4 times.

During the same period Snelling presented position papers on the major issues of the 1986 campaign.

In June, after re-establishing himself, Snelling took off the gloves and began to challenge some common misconceptions about Leahy's record.

Snelling's media addresses these areas:

* Leahy voted for $977 billion of additional deficits
* Leahy is not a champion of Vermont agriculture - having missed 23 of 23 full committee hearings. He also missed 17 of 19 sub-committee hearings in the 98th Congress.
* Leahy is not the independent Vermonter he claims to be; in fact, he is one of the most partisan members of the Senate.

Did Snelling's plan of action work? We look to the numbers.

In early June, a Rutland Herald poll reported that Snelling trailed by 25 points. A Market Opinion Research (MOR) poll released on July 3rd now shows Snelling only 17 points back, a move of 8 points in under 30 days.

	Rutland Herald	MOR
SNELLING	32%	37%
Leahy	57%	54%

- more -

While 17 points is still a gap, the MOR survey shows that the ads dealing with Leahy's record are very effective.

Don't forget that Leahy started his 1980 re-election campaign with a 40 point lead over Republican Stewart Ledbetter, and that lead melted away steadily during the summer and fall. Leahy barely escaped defeat, with a margin of only 1.2 percent.

The Snelling campaign is on track, and we remain convinced that Dick Snelling's campaign offers one of our best opportunities to capture a Democratic seat.

Snelling for Senate
P.O. Box 1986
Shelburne, Vermont 05482
(802) 985-9471

For additional information on Vermont or any Senate race please call: (202) 224-2351 or (800) 368-5675.

RUTLAND DAILY HERALD, SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1986

Snelling Names Team, Cites Advance in Poll

By PAUL TEETOR

BENNINGTON — Richard Snelling, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, unveiled his Bennington County campaign team Friday and contended a recent poll shows him making gains against Democratic incumbent Sen. Patrick Leahy.

Snelling contended that the 30 days he has spent discussing Leahy's Senate record have paid dividends.

"The polls show that I have about an 8-point improvement from laying out the facts," he said, citing a recent poll conducted by Market Opinion Research.

"I am advised that the gap has narrowed by 8 points, from a 25-point to a 17-point gap" in earlier polls, he said.

Snelling said that poll, after his having addressed Leahy's record, bears a strong message. "It tells me that I should run against a real person, not a myth, and that I'm closer now to running against a real person, not a myth. I can more safely talk about the issues now," he said.

Snelling faces a Republican primary against GOP candidate Anthony Doria of South Royalton.

In announcing his campaign workers, Snelling said, "This will fulfill our plan to run an intensely people-oriented grassroots campaign for the U.S. Senate."

Paul Rohne of Bennington, Edwin Colvin of Shaftsbury and Catherine Dermody of Bennington were named as Bennington county co-chairmen of the Snelling '86 Committee.

Named to a county executive committee for Snelling were Michael Kimack of Wilmington, Barbara Coe of Readsboro, Stewart Ledbetter of Manchester and Anne Webb of Arlington.

Ledbetter lost the 1980 Senate race to Leahy.

Rep. Clifford Harwood, R-Manchester, and Edward Holden of Bennington were named as Bennington County Finance Chairmen.

"These are some of the most active and well-known people in the Bennington area," Snelling said.

"With their help and hard work over the coming months, I am absolutely confident we will win this important election and begin to solve many of the problems facing our nation," Snelling said at a Ramada Inn press conference.

After naming his county campaign team, Snelling gave his overview of the Senate campaign against Leahy so far. "I knew when I started that this race would be as tough as nails, and I have not been disappointed in that respect," Snelling said.

"I spent three months talking about the issues, when I did not mention my opponent. The polls did not move an inch. My position papers got less press coverage than my beard," he said.

"Then I spent 30 days doing something I felt any candidate has the right to do — talking about my opponent's record," he said.

Snelling charged that Leahy has created a myth about himself as an independent politician through the use of the media and Senate mailing privileges.

"I refuse to talk about a myth created by millions of pieces of mail. I have an absolute right to talk about his record," he said.

"Pat Leahy has succeeded in creating an image, and I have challenged the myth he has created. Research shows that people here think he is conservative, but he is liberal.

"He is one of the most consistently anti-business senators, and I think people have a right to know that," Snelling said.

Snelling said Leahy is doing a great job in two areas.

"I think his record of constituent service is great. I'm sure I'll do just as good a job," he said.

"I also think Leahy is great at public relations, through his news releases and his rapport with the press," Snelling said.

Snelling said he didn't understand his sometimes hostile relations with the Vermont press, especially during his four terms as governor.

Exh. D

Tony Sprague

GREETINGS — Richard Snelling, a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, introduces himself to residents of Linden Lodge Friday afternoon, while on the campaign trail in Brattleboro. One of the residents told the former Vermont governor that he hoped Snelling would "beat the pants off the son-of-a-gun."

Snelling working hard at race he knew would be a tough one

By NORMAN RUNNION

The biggest single "negative" against him in his race for the United States Senate, Richard Snelling said Friday, is the very fact that he's running against Patrick Leahy.

When he first decided to enter the Senate contest last fall, Snelling said he realized that opposing a popular incumbent would be a "very tough task."

He added in an interview Friday, "I've not been disappointed."

But visualizing it, and then actually experiencing it, are two different things, the former governor said, noting that at age 59 "it's hard to face some political reality for the first time."

There have been surprises, and disappointments, as a result, particularly when he finds friends who say they are supporting the bid of Vermont's Democratic senator to return to Washington for a third term.

"It has been a very long, difficult, sometimes unpleasant task," Snelling said. He has been working 14-16 hour days. But, "I have no complaints."

The "system" requires that someone oppose Leahy, he said.

"I'm convinced it is worth doing."

Snelling spent four terms as Vermont's governor and, he acknowledged, he picked up baggage along the way that some voters now don't want to carry. In his eight years, "I made thousands and thousands of decisions" that were backed by his belief that the job of a true leader is to solve problems. That means,

See SNELLING, Page 12

Snelling

■ Continued from PAGE 1

"What's right is not always popular," and vice versa.

All of this means that many people — translated into voters — can be offended by the actions of a governor, and hold it against him or her in a subsequent campaign, he noted.

"You can't expect everyone to like you. But on balance, people think I did a good job as governor."

From the start of his campaign against Leahy, Snelling has trailed in the opinion polls. He sees signs of change.

"In March, I was 22 points behind Pat Leahy. After three months of dealing with issues, I lost another three points. In other words, I made no progress. Now, on the basis of what I read yesterday, I've gained eight points. We're now 17 points apart."

Snelling noted that when Republican Stuart Ledbetter ran against Leahy for the Senate in 1980, he was at one time in the campaign 40 points behind. On election day, he was half a point behind.

Snelling attributed much of Leahy's popularity to public relations successes.

"I think that every incumbent, including Dick Snelling when he was governor, tries to present himself in the best possible light. Pat is better at it than anyone I ever heard of in public life. Pat has used the public relations power of his office very well."

Snelling's campaign strategy now is to try to attack what he perceives is the public's favorable image of Leahy. For that reason, he has made issues out of Leahy's attendance record with the Senate Agriculture Committee, and his roll call attendance in the Senate. Leahy has called his attendance at roll calls "superlative." Snelling, in return, says that Leahy's attendance record was only 92 percent, that this put him in the bottom eighth of the Senate, and thus can't be called "superlative."

Snelling also has hit out at Leahy for missing all of the formal committee meetings of the Senate Agriculture Committee, and is skeptical of Leahy's counterclaim that he was present at subcommittee meetings where many decisions were made.

Leahy also serves on the Judiciary, Appropriations and Intelligence Oversight Committees. According to Snelling on Friday, Leahy's attendance at Judiciary and Appropriations was only "average." He said he didn't know about Intelligence because there are no public records of the committee's secret deliberations.

A challenger to an incumbent senator, Snelling said, has several tasks: first, explaining how he would vote on the issues; secondly dealing with the incumbent's record, and thirdly, talking about his own record.

Asked if Leahy's attendance records were actual "issues," or just procedural matters, Snelling said, "That is part of his record."

Snelling challenges Leahy's 'key player' status

By KURT MAYER
Banner staff writer

U.S. Sen. Patrick Leahy's claim that Vermont benefit from his continued seniority position is only one side of a coin the Democrat flips to his advantage, Republican challenger Richard Snelling said in Bennington Friday.

V[illegible] should not be confused by Leahy's "cl[illegible] references to his status as a key player in [illegible]ont's Senate seniority ranking as 13th a[illegible] States, Snelling said. "He brags about being on important subcommittees of appropriations, but then when he's asked why things aren't happening he turns around and says he's in the minority (party in the Senate)," the former four-term Vermont governor charged.

"The notion that no United States senator should be defeated any time he runs is just not something I agree with," Snelling said, adding that "entrenchment is part of the problem" in Congress.

Running against a 'myth'

"I refuse to run against a myth," Snelling [illegible]med. He acknowledged his campaign has focused as tightly on Leahy's performance as on his own platform, adding that he has "an absolute right" to criticize Leahy's "real" record.

"People in this state think he's a (fiscal) conservative and he's not," Snelling retorted, adding that Leahy is "anti-small business."

Leahy's statements that Vermont will lose valuable seniority if he is not returned to office are misleading because "the majority rules in the United States," said Snelling, visibly upset as he pursued the subject.

Snelling, who introduced some members of his Bennington County campaign committee in a press conference at the Ramada Inn, termed his campaign "intensely people-oriented." He noted he has fared well with Bennington voters in gubernatorial elections and plans to carry the area again Nov. 4.

First local briefing

Friday's press conference was Snelling's first in Bennington. Press Secretary Peter Wellish said the briefing, primarily a question-and-answer session, was "sort of an experiment" to gauge interest in communities outside the state's political centers.

Snelling said "We just thought we shouldn't have all of our press conferences in Montpelier and Burlington."

The GOP's front-runner had a few words about unemployment in Bennington County, traditionally among the highest levels in the state.

"On the streets of Bennington last night people asked me 'what are you going to do about jobs'" Snelling recounted. His reply was to erase the nation's deficit.

Leahy's attendance record in congressional committee and subcommittee meetings has long been ammunition for the Snelling camp. He fired away again Friday, stating that a challenger's campaign "cannot and should not" ignore an incumbent's record.

Leahy missed all 23 agriculture committee meetings in the 98th Congress in 1983-84 and missed 17 subcommittee meetings as well, Snelling told reporters. On roll call votes, Leahy's attendance has been in the bottom 50 percent of all senators throughout his career, he noted, and in the bottom eighth for the 99th Congress.

The ripples of controversy that have followed Snelling's disclosure of Leahy's attendance record will be followed by more revelations, Snelling said. He declined to disclose any such information Friday, explaining that the campaign is still young.

On television

Asked where he believes Leahy was during the meetings he missed, Sne"ling said, "I know where he was a lot of times, he was on national TV" in interviews after Senate Intelligence Committee meetings.

Snelling reiterated his positions on several topics, including:

— Agriculture: He would not have voted for the whole-herd buyout because farmers are saddled with 38 percent of the program's cost.

— Foreign Policy: He said he supports President Ronald Reagan's stance of "peace through strength."

See SNELLING on Page 2

Kurt Mayer

Richard Snelling at a press conference in Bennington Friday.

Snelling

Continued from page 1

"The idea that we try to coax the Soviet Union into arms control is not working," Snelling said. He said bipartisan backing of the administration's foreign policies is vital to encouraging arms control. "I don't think our United States senator is doing that," he said.

On a related issue, Snelling said Leahy was the sixth most partisan senator in 1983 and the eighth in 1984.

— "Universal Training": Snelling advocates studying a plan under which "all Americans of a certain age would be asked to perform a service to their country." While the program "might very well be mandatory," it should not be confused with a military draft, he said. Instead, he proposes studying a civil service system to focus on "a lot of chores to be done in urban areas."

"There are serious questions about how you would finance such a program," he allowed.

— Campaign Status: Snelling quoted a recent Market Opinion Research poll that said he has gained eight percentage points and now trails Leahy by about 17 points.

— Debates: He proposes two debates with Leahy after the GOP primary, in which he faces South Royalton teacher Anthony Doria.

Smith Mistaken About 'Confusion' in the Streets

Don't believe every story a political candidate tells in an election year.

Take the yarn spun by Republican gubernatorial candidate Peter Smith last week at a fund-raising breakfast.

Illustrating what he said was political "confusion" in the office of Democratic Gov. Madeleine Kunin, Smith said members of the governor's staff were on the streets of Montpelier and Burlington last Monday — the deadline for filing petitions to get on the primary ballot — collecting signatures "in a frenzy."

"Literally, apparently, they forgot about the petitions until last week," Smith said.

Not so, said spokesman for the governor. Her chief of staff, Liz Bankowski, flatly denied that any member of the governor's staff had been collecting signatures.

And Avram Patt, the Kunin campaign's field coordinator said Kunin had the required 500 signatures three weeks ago, and petitions bearing more than 1,700 signatures were filed with the Secretary of State's office in a leisurely manner at 3 or 3:30 in the afternoon.

A spokesman at the Secretary of State's office confirmed that the Kunin campaign filed 1,711 signatures.

People were on the streets Monday collecting signatures in Barre, Burlington and Montpelier to pad the total a bit, but mostly for publicity, Patt said.

Far from forgetting about the signatures, Kunin had petitions available for signing at her announcement speech June 30, and each county chairman had petitions three weeks before that, Patt said.

"That was my department, and that's crazy," Patt said of Smith's story.

So at least we know this: There was "confusion," as Smith said, in somebody's office last week, but we're not sure which one.

Right on Schedule

The staff of Republican U.S. candidate Richard Snelling insist their campaign against Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., is right on schedule.

But the national press is apparently not convinced.

U.S. News and World Report this week joined the ranks of national observers who say Leahy has a big edge.

In a story suggesting the Democrats will win a majority in the Senate this year, the magazine numbers Leahy among "incumbent Democrats rated safe."

It notes that Republicans insist they still have a good shot at Leahy, but does not include Leahy-Snelling in a summary chart of "10 key races."

Partial Poll Taboo

Republican U.S. Senate candidate Richard Snelling seems to have found a way around the taboo on releasing incomplete poll results.

Snelling recently made public some poll results he said demonstrate he is catching up to Democratic Sen. Patrick Leahy. Release of such partial poll results violates the guidelines of a non-partisan political watchdog group called Common Cause.

Campaign Manager Roy Post said the poll was done by the National Republican Senatorial Committee. He said although Snelling will probably adhere to the Common Cause guidelines, they do not apply to the national Republican poll.

Post said although Snelling helped pay for the poll, it was not done specifically for him.

The national Republican committee also sent a news release to political action committees giving the partial poll results. It said the poll was done by Market Opinion Research and "released" July 3.

James Murphy, deputy political director of the national committee, explained that "released" means given to the committee. He said complete poll results would not be made public.

Turn to CONTRIBUTION, 17A

Contribution to Candidate Has Strings Attached

From Page 15A

Contribution Condition

While candidates for federal and statewide office often accumulate large campaign war chests, people ripping for the Vermont House or Senate usually see only small amounts trickle in.

Unrestricted donations are normally given, but for Sen. J. Dennis Delaney, R-Chittenden, one of his largest contributions came with an unusual restriction from a Shelburne woman.

A $50 donation was received from the obviously staunch Republican, who admitted she was a relative newcomer to Vermont. The woman adamantly stated what she heard about Delaney and she assumed he was a Republican.

"However, if I have been mistaken, please return the enclosed cheque," she wrote.

Burlington Free Press

Wednesday, June 4, 1986 • • •

Snelling to Put Spotlight on Leahy's Record

By SARAH WILSON
Free Press Capital Bureau

MONTPELIER - "Where DOES Pat Leahy stand?" That's the key question in a Tuesday newspaper ad for Republican Richard Snelling that signals a new phase in the high-priced U S Senate race

Snelling's campaign is formally shifting gears this week, leaving behind a series of news conferences on issues and focusing, with advertisements and a news conference today, on Leahy's record.

"We will from now on out be discussing the incumbent's record We believe that when Vermonters see that record ... they will be somewhat surprised," said Ray Post, Snelling's campaign manager. "We are convinced that most Vermonters don't know what Pat Leahy really is"

Snelling ran a half-page newspaper advertisement Tuesday calling Leahy "a clear, unequivocal liberal" and charging the incumbent Democrat has not released any issue papers in the campaign

The ad addresses what it labels "the thinking voter," saying the Senate race will be decided by Vermonters who "insist on knowing the facts before they take sides."

It says Snelling has spelled out his views on six key issues and invites readers to send for his position papers or for "documentation" of claims made in the ad.

Deborah Graham, Leahy's press secretary, claimed the ad "distorts the record and presents an unfair view of how (Leahy) voted"

She called it the work of "the boys from North Carolina" — a reference to the nationally known group advising Snelling She said the ad uses nearly the same tagline as advertisements by the same group for North Carolina Sen Jesse Helms

Graham said Leahy has summaries of his positions on many subjects, but does not need detailed position papers because he has a voting record

"After 11 years, people know where Pat Leahy stands He votes every day and works on legislation every day He makes it clear He doesn't just talk about it," Graham said "While Dick Snelling has been out sailing and contemplating whether to shave or not to shave, Pat Leahy has been down working on issues that are important to Vermonters

"I don't think there's any question in anybody's mind about where he stands"

Graham said the ad contained "distortions and half-truths" and was "a move of desperation by a floundering campaign"

But Post called the ad and the forthcoming comments on Leahy's record "factual, documented and unemotional."

"It is now timely and very appropriate ... to begin looking at" Leahy's record, Post said

Snelling is also expected to resume television advertising this week The Republican National Senatorial Committee recently pulled together a large group of Vermonters to review proposed TV ads

James Murphy, deputy political director for the Republican committee, said such "focus groups" are a common tool used nationwide to judge ads The people are

Turn to SNELLING, 6B

Snelling Puts New Focus on Campaign

From Page 1B

recruited through a poll asking their political opinions. Murphy said he did not know how many were involved.

Snelling has scheduled a news conference in South Burlington today to "discuss Senator Patrick Leahy's voting record on crucial issues affecting Vermont."

Post said the former Republican governor will show Leahy has been a big spender — a charge he has made before.

In a letter to supporters last week, campaign co-chairman Deane Davis said Leahy voted for a total of $977 billion in federal deficits. The letter also said Snelling likes Leahy and readers probably will be surprised when they learn more about Leahy's record — two themes now being stressed by the campaign.

"We will not, at any time, be talking about Patrick Leahy personally," Post said. "But we will be talking about his record and his service to the people of Vermont."

Leahy's staff has prepared a detailed response to the expected attack, including a 33-page list of his spending votes since the 1980 election.

"For every new dollar in federal spending Senator Leahy supported, he voted to cut $1.10 in spending elsewhere," the analysis claims.

Snelling campaign materials also paint Leahy as a liberal out of touch with the views of most Vermonters. They claim he is popular partly because Vermonters are not aware of his record.

The Tuesday ad, for example, says Leahy cannot "be all things to all people" and is, in fact, one of the "most consistent liberals" in the Senate.

A poll done for the Snelling campaign early in the race showed many voters consider Leahy to have a political philosophy close to their own — regardless of whether they are conservative or liberal.

A Snelling booklet designed to raise money from political action committees says Leahy has "clearly unwarranted strength among self-described conservative and middle-of-the-road respondents."

Although Snelling has attacked Leahy on specific votes and issues, today's news conference will be the first to be devoted to the incumbent's voting record.

Post said there probably will not be any more formal position papers. Snelling has released lengthy papers on agriculture, foreign policy, U.S.-Soviet relations, Central America, fiscal policy, defense and the environment.

Post said discussion of Leahy's record is a natural part of the campaign. Graham agreed, but claimed Snelling has thus far relied on "distortions and half-truths."

The advertisement also compares ratings of Leahy by four national groups with ratings of liberal and conservative senators.

Post called the groups reputable, but Graham said they are all ideological organizations that rate senators on a handful of issues.

Burlington Free Press 6/5/86

Leahy Produces 'Insulted' Snelling Ad-Screeners

By SARAH WILSON
Free Press Capital Bureau

Three Chittenden County women who were invited by Republicans to screen television ads attacking the record of Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., said at a press conference Wednesday staged by the Leahy campaign that the ads were negative and insulting.

"The commercials that were being shown for Richard Snelling began to insult my intelligence," said Jean Vecchio of Colchester. "I became annoyed and at a particular point I became extremely annoyed. They were ... in my opinion, very one-sided and very negative." Vecchio called the ads "not too subtle hatchet jobs."

Vecchio, Jeanette Gumienny of Shelburne and Mary Scully of Burlington were among more than 40 people picked by a marketing group for the Republican National Senatorial Committee to view the ads at Mather's Restaurant in Burlington last week.

The survey attempted to pick people without fixed political alliances. According to a copy of the survey, the group was to be evenly divided among men and women and different ages. Survey instructions included the line "participants should all be white."

They were given a free meal at Mather's and a $25 contribution for a local high school or $25 in pay. They said the ads included about six for Snelling, some for businesses and two Leahy ads that have already been on television.

The three women said they have voted for both Leahy and Snelling in the past and have not decided who to vote for in the Senate race. Snelling faces opposition in the Republican primary from Anthony Doria of South Royalton.

Snelling asked about the women's comments questioned their objectivity and suggested that the Leahy campaign staged their news conference to undermine the impact of his comments on Leahy's record.

Rey Post, Snelling's campaign manager, said the "overwhelming majority" of people in the audience were impressed by the information in the ads.

Post said new Snelling ads will begin airing soon. He said the screening was designed to help determine what ads to use.

The ads focus entirely on Leahy and do not mention Snelling, according to the women. Subjects include attendance at committee meetings, spending and the number of bills Leahy has introduced.

Gumienny said one ad implied Leahy was responsible for the entire federal deficit.

"One man could not be responsible for spending trillions of dollars," she said. A press release handed out by Snelling also referred to "Senator Leahy's deficit," but the former governor said in response to a question that was a mistake.

Scully said nothing was said in the ads about what Snelling would do if elected.

06/05/86

RUTLAND DAILY HERALD, THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 5, 1986

Snelling Says Leahy Is One Of the Senate's Big Spenders

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

SOUTH BURLINGTON — Republican Senate challenger Richard A. Snelling issued evidence Wednesday that he said backs up his claim that Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., "is beyond any shadow of a doubt one of the Senate's biggest spenders."

Snelling said at a news conference that his research showed that since Leahy's election in 1974, the Democrat has voted for an aggregate $977 billion in deficit spending. Snelling said that, during his current term, Leahy supported $108 billion in spending increases beyond the Senate Budget Committee's recommendations.

"What we're talking about here is nearly a trillion dollars that Pat Leahy has voted to add to the federal deficit," Snelling said. "The question is: Is that typical of other senators? The answer is: No."

Snelling said "exhaustive research" of Leahy's record raised questions about the incumbent's claim that he had voted for $1.10 in spending cuts for every $1 in spending he had supported.

"I would not make my case on any one of these facts (alone), but I think a ... preponderance of the evidence indicates that Pat Leahy has chosen to be one of the biggest spenders in the U.S. Senate," Snelling said.

Snelling, who faces a primary contest with South Royalton Republican Anthony N. Doria before the November election, cited the Congressional Record and ratings by the nonpartisan National Taxpayers' Union to substantiate his charges. The Leahy campaign contends that the taxpayers' union is a biased pro-Republican conservative

(See Page 10: Snelling)

Richard Snelling

Sen. Patrick Leahy

Three Viewers Say Ads By Snelling 'Hatchet Job'

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

BURLINGTON — New television advertisements by Republican Senate candidate Richard A. Snelling drew sharp criticism from viewers Wednesday as "hatchet jobs" and "an insult to our intelligence."

Three Burlington area residents who viewed the commercials last week objected strongly to them in a press conference organized by the campaign of Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

They were among a number of Vermonters who examined the advertisements as part of a "focus survey" sponsored by the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Participants were paid $25 each plus dinner to view and critique at least 10 ads, including some promoting products, along with political ads for both Snelling and Leahy.

"They were, in my opinion, very one-sided and very negative," said Jean Vecchio of Colchester. "Just the general tenor of them turned me off and annoyed me."

"It was an insult to our intelligence because you could read through them," agreed Jeanette Gumlenny of Shelburne.

A new broadcast blitz will be launched in the next few days by the Snelling campaign as part of "phase two" of the former governor's strategy. In this segment, Snelling plans to focus more critically on Leahy's voting record and achievements during the past 12 years.

Last week's viewing of the new Snelling ads was coordinated for the NRSC by the consulting firm of Market Opinion Research, according to the committee's deputy political director, Jim Murphy. He termed such "focus groups" as a "standard advertising tool" to gauge the public's likely reaction to promotional material.

(See Page 10: Leahy)

Snelling

(Continued from Page One)

group, but Snelling disagreed.

"This is a group that doesn't want to see the nation go broke," he said.

The former governor began his news conference by explaining that, in the future months of the campaign, he would be tackling Leahy's record. Snelling said Vermonters have "a right to know" about information that the incumbent might not choose to present.

"We don't elect senators for life, and we don't elect senators because they're nice people," Snelling said, noting that he considered Leahy a "nice person."

He added: "Even if it's a nice person, (if he) votes a $1 trillion increase in the deficit, I think that's material."

Snelling also charged that Leahy's overall spending record could not be offset simply by his recent support of the Gramm-Rudman federal balanced budget law.

"I think the Congress of the United States has been shameless in failing to face up to this crisis," he said. "And those who voted for big spending and then voted for Gramm-Rudman ought to hang their heads in shame."

Snelling indicated that Vermonters can expect similar discussions about Leahy's performance in the future.

"I am not going to make any wild or personal assaults on Pat Leahy," he said. "I am going to talk about his record."

Although Snelling termed his proof of Leahy's excessive spending "irrefutable," the incumbent's campaign quickly rejected the notion.

Spokesman Deborah Graham said Leahy had voted for $915 billion, rather than $977 billion in spending spanning 12 budgets. She also said the senator had supported $116 billion in extra spending this term above that recommended by the Budget Committee. But, she added, he also backed $203 billion in cuts.

"He has not told the whole story once again," Graham said of Snelling. "They have totally ignored the amounts we voted against. I don't think that's fair."

She termed Leahy a "fiscally responsible conservative on spending issues."

In addition, Graham said areas where Leahy supported extra spending included school lunch programs and veterans' health services, and she questioned whether Snelling would be willing to cut such programs.

"Dick Snelling can't have it both ways," she said. "If he's going to criticize us for these votes, then he has a responsibility to tell us how he would have done it differently."

Snelling made it clear during his press conference that, if elected, he would vote against excessive spending, but he was not specific about programs or services he might vote to cut back.

The former governor began publishing newspaper advertisements this week spotlighting Leahy's record as a liberal, and radio and television advertising is likely to start within a week.

Leahy

(Continued from Page One)

Murphy said the NRSC conducted the viewer survey both for its own data base and also for use by the Snelling campaign.

The three participants who spoke out Wednesday confirmed that they were asked by the Leahy campaign to discuss their experience, but all three stressed that they were political independents who had voted for both Leahy and Snelling in the past.

Vecchio, in fact, called the Snelling ads "not-too-subtle hatchet jobs," but she added: "I was very disappointed because I admire Richard Snelling."

Mary Scully of Burlington urged the former governor to reconsider using such advertising, which she described as, "Attack, attack, attack."

She said, "The overwhelming sentiment expressed after we viewed those commercials was negative."

Snelling reacted to such criticisms later by noting that they were presented in a press conference arranged by the Leahy campaign. "Those were the ones who were chosen to come to the press conference," he said.

"This will be the second time the Leahy people have presented people who were allegedly objective" to highlight the incumbent's position, Snelling said — a reference to a recent Leahy campaign press conference in which a dozen farmers expressed support for the incumbent on the same day Snelling criticized parts of his agriculture record.

Snelling's campaign manager, Rey Post, predicted these would be a "standard tactic" by the Leahy campaign, which he said already "had gone so far as to malign Dick Snelling's character."

Post added, "We're not going down in the gutter like they are and pursue that kind of negative assault on Senator Leahy."

Post said the initial findings of the NSRC survey suggested that the criticism offered Wednesday was atypical of the reaction to Snelling's new ads. Murphy of the NSRC agreed.

"That was not the finding of the group," he said. "We found it (the advertising series) was fair, accurate, credible and believable."

Snelling stressed at his press conference that Vermonters had a "right to know" about Leahy's record, and he added that, for a challenger, it was difficult not to offend some people.

"The public will make the judgment," Snelling concluded.

GCC# 1157
MUR 2212

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, DC

'86 AUG 7 P4:00

IN THE MATTER OF:

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE SNELLING '86
COMMITTEE

Dated July 29, 1986

SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM

This memorandum supplements the complaint filed on July 29, 1986 by including additional information which has come to light. Attached to this memorandum are newspaper articles reflecting statements by Richard Snelling following the complaint herein in which he admits that he has been briefed by the National Republican Senatorial Committee on their poll results but denies "receiving" those results. Also attached to this memorandum are two affidavits by persons who were respondents to an April 1986 poll they believe was conducted on behalf of the Snelling campaign and an affidavit from a participant in a May 1986 focus group testing Snelling TV commercials which were aired in June.

This evidence shows a pattern of acceptance and use by the Snelling Campaign of public opinion research they have neither paid for nor reported.

THE SNELLING CAMPAIGN VIOLATED 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) BY FAILING TO REPORT RECEIPT OF A BENCHMARK POLL.

In a campaign booklet (Ex. A.)*, the Snelling campaign referred to "the campaign's benchmark survey" and quoted the results. Recently, Richard Snelling explained the absence of any reference to the benchmark in his FEC filings by calling if it "old data" gathered before he announced his candidacy. (Exhibit J).

11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) prescribes the manner for treating contributions received and expenses incurred before an individual has become a candidate. That regulation states:

> If the individual subsequently becomes a candidate, the funds received and payments made are contributions and expenditures subject to the limitations, prohibitions and requirements of the Act. Such contributions and expenditures must be reported with the first report filed by the principal campaign committee of the candidate, regardless of the date the funds were received or the payments made. (Emphasis added)

Thus, on the basis of the Snelling campaign's own literature, and the candidate's admission, there is a clear

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* Exhibits A-I are attached to the original complaint.

violation of law. The value of the benchmark survey is not established but $20,000 represents an average cost. The value of the in-kind contribution received should be the value of the poll under § 106.4(g) at the time the candidate or his agents first received the information and not the value when his candidacy was declared or effected for FECA purposes upon the filing of a statement of candidacy.

THE DISCLOSURE OF POLLING DATA TO THE SNELLING CAMPAIGN BY NRSC CONSTITUTES AN "ACCEPTANCE OF THE POLL RESULTS" AMOUNTING TO AN IN-KIND CONTRIBUTION WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN REPORTED.

Although initially claiming that their campaign received its public opinion data from "wilted lettuce," that is, depreciated bargain basement polls, (Exhibits J-L), Richard Snelling himself later admitted that he had been "briefed" by the NRSC on poll results several times and told "Well, Snelling, you're making progress." He continued to claim he didn't receive precise numbers.

Thus, even accepting the Snelling explanation, it is evident that the NRSC is continually monitoring the race and keeping the campaign and the candidate apprised of his position, probably using known results such as the benchmark survey as a reference point. In the plain language of campaigns, the NRSC is paying MOR, the Snelling Campaign's own pollster who conducted that benchmark survey, to conduct tracking polls for the Snelling Campaign at no cost to that campaign. These tracking polls are being "accepted" by Richard Snelling within the meaning of 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) and must be reported as an in-kind contribution in full.

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The time has come for this Commission to condemn this sham as the cynical disregard of the Commission's reporting requirements that it is. There is little doubt that NRSC and the Snelling Campaign have agreed to use MOR to track the race in Vermont at NRSC's expense as a means of channelling valuable services to the Snelling Campaign without accounting for or reporting the contribution under lawful limits.

THERE IS COMPELLING REASON TO DOUBT THE VERACITY OF THE SNELLING CAMPAIGN'S DENIAL THAT IS RECEIVING CURRENT POLLING DATA.

In the preceding section, the Commission is urged to disregard the charade used by the NRSC and the Snelling campaign to hide tracking costs. Unfortunately, there is evidence of even more serious and deceptive activities to secrete the channelling of valuable services to the Snelling campaign.

Between April 5 and April 8, a polling firm from Detroit, probably MOR, conducted a poll in Vermont (See Affidavits of Karen F. Jette and Sally Ritchie, Exhibits M and N, attached hereto). The majority of the poll dealt with the Snelling-Leahy race and it tested several mostly negative campaign themes. Among the themes tested were:

(1) Senator Leahy has not attended any agriculture hearings;

(2) Senator Leahy has not sponsored any significant legislation;

(3) With respect to Senator Leahy's potential Chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee, wouldn't it be better for Vermont if the Republicans retained control of the Senate, Bob Stafford retained Chairmanship of the Committee on the Environment and Public Works and Dick Snelling became Chairman of an important subcommittee.

(4) Senator Leahy is a big spender who has voted for billions of dollars more than Senate Budget Committee recommendations.

The following month (and less than 60 days later - See 11 C.F.R. 106.4(g)), a focus group was convened in Burlington, Vermont and shown a series of negative ads, which included each of the above described themes which had been tested in the April poll. (Scully Affidavit, Exhibit O). A spokesman for NRSC stated that such focus groups are recruited through a poll (Exhibit G). At least three of the themes tested in the poll and the focus group, were aired by the Snelling Campaign during June 1986. Yet none of the costs of the April poll or the May focus groups is reflected in the Snelling Campaign's July 15 FEC filing.

11 C.F.R. § 106.4 states:

> 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.

It is evident that the Snelling Campaign or its agents (the possible agents include its political consultants, Black, Manafort, Atwater and Stone, and its media consultants, Murphy and Castellanos) are working with its pollster MOR to design the polls, using the results, or both. Such "use" constitutes an acceptance under the § 106.4 and requires that the Snelling FEC filings be listed as an in-kind contribution.

There can be no legal justification for this failure to reflect an in-kind contribution. It is painfully apparent that the results of the April poll and the May focus groups were communicated directly or indirectly to Richard Snelling, or his campaign and that those results are being used to produce Snelling TV commercials and inspire press conferences attacking Senator Leahy, and are also being used in campaign literature. (Deane Davis letter, Exhibit P).

It is respectfully requested that this Commission

investigate this blatant violation of its regulations and ensure that the Snelling Campaign abides by the funding limitations imposed on every other campaign in the country.

Respectfully submitted,

William Gray
Campaign Director

Upon information and belief, the facts contained in the foregoing memorandum are true and correct.

William Gray

Sworn to before me this 5th day of August, 1986.

Notary Public

Of Counsel:
Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
1110 Vermont Ave., N.W.
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INSIDE TRACK

By Peter Freyne

■ **Man the Pumps** – Until this week the Good Ship **Patrick J. Leahy** hadn't really fired any of its cannons in the direction of the Good Ship **Richard A. Snelling**. Until this week Leahy had spent his time steering a course that kept him out of range of the Snelling artillery shells. The few rounds that came close passed harmlessly over the bow.

But this week Leahy's forces opened fire and their Exocet missile struck just below the waterline on the Good Ship Snelling.

Leahy Ship Captain **Bill Gray** announced on Tuesday that he had filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). According to Snelling financial reports, the ex-governor claimed to have spent just $800 on political polling so far in the campaign. Gray, a former US attorney, called the $800 figure ridiculous and asked the feds to conduct an investigation the results of which may not be in until after election day.

Captain Billy's timing was perfect. Snelling and his Ship Captain **Rey Post** were on a mission in Washington, DC that day, leaving Ensign **Peter Wellish**, their press secretary, alone on the bridge.

Naturally the crew on the Good Ship Leahy knew this as they planned their first major offensive. They knew King Richard was due back on Wednesday, and if all went according to plan, the Earl of Shelburne would come back to headlines alleging he's been cooking his financial books.

The Leahy missile was fired perfectly. Ensign Wellish did his best under the circumstances. Leahy's call for an investigation of the battleship's records was "outrageous," and a "diversionary tactic," said Wellish. He went on television to tell Vermonters that Snelling had purchased old stale polls at cut rate prices – similar to the way one would save money by buying "wilted lettuce." Eight hundred dollars, he insisted bravely, was the sum total of their polling bills to date.

The Leahy crew had a good laugh at that one. They also got a kick out of seeing Snelling's second choice for press secretary on the tube.

The next day King Richard returned. An afternoon press conference was scheduled. There, Dick Snelling himself manned the pumps as he walked in carrying a German chocolate cake and offered slices to the press. (Given the recent spate of tampering scares, yours truly abstained.)

Snelling launched into a 35-minute lecture on preserving the family farm. His only reference to the damage below decks was his expressed wish that the press would give as much coverage to a candidate who discusses issues as it does to a candidate who just makes headlines.

Inevitably the questions about his miniscule polling charges surfaced and King Richard threw up his defenses. He admitted he had been "briefed" by the National Republican Senatorial Committee on poll results a couple of times but said he hadn't been told any of the numbers. When asked about reports of "a benchmark survey" conducted for his campaign, he challenged the source. When it was brought to his attention the "source" was one of his very own campaign documents, he called it "old data" gathered before he announced his candidacy.

Growing increasingly defensive, Snelling lobbed a few rockets at Leahy, pointing to Saint Patrick's Hollywood financial support and the "obscene" amount of money Leahy has raised. But those shells fell well short of the Good Ship Leahy.

"Pat's very clever," said Snelling. "He's making the charge so I've got to answer the charge and I'm a good guy so I'm gonna answer the charge. But it's BS," said Snelling, "it's absolute nonsense." He insisted federal reporting of his polling services is being handled "totally within the law."

There's the damage report in a nutshell. Regardless of the outcome of the FEC's investigation of Snelling's financial statements, there was the leading challenger on radio, television and in the written press denying he was breaking the law.

Bull's eye.

Exhibit J

RUTLAND DAILY HERALD, THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1980

Snelling Insists Polling So Far Worth Only $800

By DEBBIE BOOKCHIN

SOUTH BURLINGTON — U.S. Senate candidate Richard A. Snelling insisted Wednesday that his campaign had received only $800 worth of polling services despite total campaign expenditures of $661,000.

He said that allegations to the contrary by the campaign of Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., were "absolute nonsense" and were a "diversionary tactic" designed to cover up Leahy's "obscenely expensive campaign."

"I have to be frugal, and I am," said Snelling in response to questions about how a $660,000 campaign could get by with such a small outlay for polling.

Polls and surveys are an integral part of an election cam-

(See Page 8: Snelling)

Richard Snelling

S

Exhibit K

RUTLAND DAILY HERALD, TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1986

Snelling

(Continued from Page One)

paign because they can provide instant access to the mood of the electorate, including information on how voters are responding to a campaign commercial or whether a candidate is gaining on his opponent.

Leahy's campaign director, William Gray, filed a formal complaint with the Federal Election Commission Tuesday charging that Snelling had reported expenditures of only $800 to date, yet has obtained polling information worth at least $25,000 since he announced his candidacy in October.

Federal laws governing campaign financing say that a candidate must pay for polling information even if it is financed by an outside organization.

Leahy has reported $44,300 in polling expenses out of total expenditures of $740,000.

Snelling said that his campaign had commissioned no polls so far and that any polls undertaken in Vermont by the National Republican Senatorial Committee were made available to him for a sharply reduced fee two months after they were conducted.

He said his campaign had allocated a total of $40,000 for polling and that it would contract with Marketing Opinion Research in September to begin those polls.

That same firm is being used by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, he said, and has been mentioned in his campaign literature but has not yet been contracted with as the Snelling pollster.

"There is absolutely no basis whatsoever for the charges he's made," said the former four-term Republican governor. "It's B.S. It's absolute nonsense."

Leahy's press secretary, Deborah Graham, challenged the Snelling campaign to file a formal response with the FEC and to make it public.

"I do not think that any informed person could realistically be expected to believe that a campaign that's spent the kind of money Snelling has — $661,000 — would do so with less than $800 worth of polling," she said.

"I think it's really stretching the boundaries of credibility to say they've made decisions about $200,000 worth of negative advertising without the benefit of polling. If the Snelling campaign insists they have done nothing wrong, then they should have no objection to making an immediate response and making that response public so that the voters of Vermont can know the truth in this matter," she said.

Under federal law, the Snelling campaign has 15 days to file a formal response to the Leahy complaint if it chooses to. The FEC can take up to four months to decide whether to launch an investigation, which means the issue could remain undecided until after the Nov. 4 General Election.

At issue, is a federal law that spells out what constitutes a campaign contribution or expense. According to federal law, if a candidate is told poll results by a national election committee, it must show up in his campaign financial reports as either an in-kind donation by the national committee or as an expenditure by the candidate. If the candidate receives the results after a 60-day period, the amount paid for them is reduced.

The FEC would have to establish what kind of poll results Snelling received, if any, and what their value was.

Snelling said that while he may have been "briefed" on general results from National Republican Senatorial Committee polls, he did not receive numbers from those polls, except in one case where the committee decided to release those results publicly.

"When the national Republican campaign committee has taken polls, they have briefed me in the sense of, 'Well, Snelling, you're making progress,'" Snelling said. "They do not give me numbers, they have not given me any numbers, they may not give me numbers," Snelling said.

Snelling said he had relied most on a pair of polls by the Rutland Herald and the Times Argus newspapers.

He charged that the Leahy campaign had filed the complaint to deflect attention from the fact that 60 percent of its campaign contributions came from outside Vermont and that Leahy has received some $350,000 in donations from political action committees despite claiming support for legislation that would limit PAC contributions to $175,000.

"It follows in a long string of attempts to confuse the issue," Snelling said. "This is a guy who does not want to run on his record and is going to spend close to $2 million" on his re-election campaign, he said. "He's afraid people are going to get so angry at his attempt to buy this election that he starts throwing around totally baseless charges."

Snelling also charged that Leahy was benefiting from polling by the Democratic National Committee. And he charged that Leahy was concealing the amount of support he is getting from a disarmament group called the Council for a Liveable World.

"That's outrageous nonsense," said Graham. She said she was unaware of the group.

Graham also said she was unaware of any polling by any national Democratic committee in Vermont and that the Leahy campaign had not received any polling information from the national party or senatorial election committee.

"We have received over 7,000 contributions from Vermonters, compared to his roughly 85," she said. "I think it's pretty clear where the support is comming from in this race."

In addition to the poll released publicly by the National Republican Senatorial Committee last week, at least two other polls have been conducted by the senatorial committee.

One conducted in late May, surveyed viewers of commercials to gauge responses to Snelling ads.

Snelling Campaign Manager Ray Post said Snelling had not received the results of that survey but would purchase the results after the 60-day period had gone by.

He said the results would be helpful in determining whether to use the commercials later in the fall.

Snelling Says Leahy Filing Is 'Baseless'

By SARAH WILSON
Free Press Capitol Bureau

Republican U.S. Senate candidate Richard Snelling charged his opponent, Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., with trying to draw attention away from the senator's $1.2 million campaign war chest with "totally baseless" accusations.

Leahy filed a complaint Tuesday with the Federal Election Commission claiming Snelling failed to properly disclose polling costs on a financial disclosure statement.

Snelling said at a news conference on farming the attack was typical of Leahy. He said in this and past campaigns, Leahy has attacked opponents to draw attention away from unfavorable aspects of his own record.

"It's predictable Leahy behavior. It follows in a long string of attempts to confuse the issue or to sidetrack attention from something that he wants to hide," Snelling said.

"This is a guy who is the exact opposite, the 180-degree opposite, of George Aiken," Snelling said. "Instead of running on his record and $34, this is a guy who does not want to run on his record and is going to spend pretty close to $2 million, complaining all the time about his opponent."

He said Leahy has raised more than 80 percent of his money outside Vermont.

"That's embarrassing so he launches some kind of diversion tactic," he said. Snelling said that although Leahy supports a bill that would limit his PAC contributions to $175,000, he has raised twice that much from

Turn to SNELLING, 8B

Snelling Says FEC Filing Is Leahy Political Tactic

From Page 1B

special interest groups.

"What he wants to do is to have nobody pay attention to the fact that he is raising immense amounts of money to run for re-election ... something really that has never been done in Vermont," he said.

Deborah Graham, Leahy's press secretary, denied Snelling's charge.

"No, this is not a political tactic. We want to remove this from the political arena," she said. "We have serious concerns."

Graham said the FEC has up to 120 days to respond to the charge.

Leahy's staff argued that Snelling has received extensive polling services from the National Republican Senatorial Committee that have not been reported on his financial disclosure statements.

Snelling said anyone can file an FEC complaint. He said about 300 complaints a year are filed and most are dismissed. He said there was no basis for the charge.

"It's absolute nonsense," he said.

Snelling said he received results from the NRSC poll along with political action committees. Rey Post, his campaign manager, said favorable poll results encourage the special interest groups to contribute money.

Snelling said his campaign has done no polls. He said about $40,000 will be spent on polling after the primary.

On other matters, Snelling said the United States needs a long-term solution to its farm problems that will take them out of the political realm.

He said family farms are in great danger, partly because government policies have encouraged overproduction. He said small struggling family farms do not get the federal help they need, while large farms with incomes of more than $100,000 are getting two-thirds of federal payments.

Snelling said efforts to deal with the problems are doomed to failure, because "the climate in which decisions are made is entirely too political."

Snelling said he supports:

- Restructuring of the milk price support program to offset regional differences in production.
- More aggressive marketing abroad.
- Fairer import and export policies.
- Debt restructuring to help farmers crippled by huge interest payments.

Exhibit L

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, DC

IN THE MATTER OF:

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE SNELLING '86
COMMITTEE

Dated July 29, 1986

AFFIDAVIT

Karen F. Jette, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a resident of Essex, Vermont;

2. On Saturday April 5, 1986 I received a telephone call at my home from a political pollster. The caller sounded like a professional calling long distance. The poll was very long.

3. I was asked for my reaction to several politicians, both Democratic and Republican. The Republican names I remember are Senator Stafford, Former President Gerald Ford, Lieutenant Governor Peter Smith, Treasurer Emory Hebard, Former Governor Deane Davis, Senator Jesse Helms and Former Governor Richard Snelling. The only Democrats I recall being asked about are Senator Leahy and Governor Kunin. There was a section of the poll regarding the administration of Governor Kunin and also on the Kunin-Smith Governor's race.

4. I was also asked about my age group, heritage, religion, income level and name and address.

5. As I recall it, the remainder of the lengthy poll dealt with the Leahy-Snelling senate contest in one way or another. I was asked throughout the poll on several occasions whether I would vote for Leahy and Snelling and I responded that I would vote for Leahy. I was also asked, if I knew that certain assertions were true, would I change my opinion about Leahy and Snelling. Among the assertions mentioned, I can recall the following:

a. Leahy has not attended any agriculture hearing in two years.

b. Leahy has not offered any significant legislation.

EXHIBIT M

c. Traditionally members of the Intelligence Committee do not hold press conferences because of the nature of their responsibilities. Leahy, however, regularly talks to the press on matters sensitive to the security of the country.

6. I was also asked questions about Richard Snelling which I do not recall in detail. They did deal in part, with the Vermont economy much like the campaign ads I have seen.

7. The caller also asked what qualities are most important in a U.S. Senator. The questions centered on items like,

"Should a Senator push as hard as he can on an issue important to him or should he negotiate a compromise?

Should a Senator represent the beliefs of his constituents, or should he push his own ideas."

8. I was asked if I had seen any ads from the Senate campaigns and if my reaction was favorable or unfavorable.

9. There was a long series of questions on Gramm-Rudman. I was asked if I had heard about the legislation and had read about it. I was then asked items on reducing specific agency budgets and raising taxes.

10. I was asked what specific qualities Leahy and Snelling have that would make each good Senators. The caller wanted to know why Leahy deserved to be returned to the Senate. My answer was taken down verbatim and read back to me.

11. I was also asked a series of questions on which would be better. The two questions I recall are:

a. The Democrats take control of the Senate, Stafford loses the chairmanship of the Environment Committee, and Leahy takes the chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee.

b. The Republicans keep control, Stafford keeps his position and seniority and Snelling becomes the chairman of a major subcommittee.

12. Reference was made, at least twice, to an assertion that if the democrats take control of the Senate they will be lead by liberals like Ted Kennedy.

13. I was asked if I considered Leahy and Snelling to be liberal, somewhat liberal, conservative, or somewhat conservative and I was also asked the same question about myself.

14. I was also asked the most important issues facing the country. The items I remember are Arms Control, Contra Aid, and the Deficit.

15. I was how I voted in the last election and whether I voted for more Democrats or Republicans.

16. I do not recall whether the caller identified the organization that was conducting the poll. I was left with the impression that the poll was conducted on behalf of the Snelling campaign.

Karen F. Jette

Karen F. Jette

Sworn to before me this 4th day of August, 1986.

Laurie A. McKean

Notary Public

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, DC

IN THE MATTER OF:

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE SNELLING '86
COMMITTEE

Dated July 29, 1986

AFFIDAVIT

Sally Ritchie, being duly sworn, deposes and says;

1. I am a resident of Middletown Springs, Vermont. On Tuesday April 8, 1986, I received a telephone call at my home from a political pollster calling from Detroit, Michigan. The interview consumed approximately one-half hour.

2. I recall being asked how I felt about President Reagan and the way he was handling the risk of nuclear war and disarmament issues and also how he was handling the economy.

3. I was asked whether I preferred the cutting of social programs to the raising of taxes.

4. I was asked if I would still support Senator Leahy if it meant a Kennedy dominated Senate involving big spending.

5. I was asked if I had heard of Gramm-Rudman and what did I think of it.

6. I was asked what I thought of Jesse Helms.

7. I was asked how I would rate Senator Leahy: conservative, liberal or very liberal. I was also asked how I rated myself.

8. I was asked if I prefer a candidate who votes his own mind or votes with his constituency.

9. I was asked if I could name any specific Leahy accomplishments.

10. I was asked if I realized that there was no law bearing his name and whether that would change my support for Senator Leahy.

Exhibit N

11. I was asked if I realized that he had voted for 56 billion dollars in spending in excess of Budget Committee recommendations and whether that would change my support for Senator Leahy.

12. I was asked if I knew whether Senator Leahy had attended no Agriculture Committee hearings for two years and whether that would change my support.

13. I was asked if I knew that he talked to the press concerning intelligence committee information to which he is privy and whether that would change my support of him.

14. It was obvious to me that this poll was being conducted for the benefit of the Snelling campaign. It is now clear that they were testing my reaction to proposed Snelling TV commercials because I have seen much of the material I was asked about show up verbatim in Snelling TV commercials.

Sally Ritchie

Sally Ritchie

Sworn to before me this 6th day of August, 1986.

Laurie W. McFran

Notary Public

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, DC

IN THE MATTER OF:

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE SNELLING '86
COMMITTEE

Dated July 29, 1986

AFFIDAVIT

Mary Scully, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a resident of Burlington, Vermont;

2. During the week of May 26, 1986 I and approximately 40 other people participated in a viewing of TV commercials prepared for the Snelling Campaign. Payment of $25 was made to each person or to a local high school designated by such person. In addition, some participants received a free meal at the restaurant where the viewing occurred.

3. Attached to this affidavit are scripts which I have examined. These scripts appear to be transcripts of commercials we were shown. I recall the themes but not every word.

4. Since the May viewing by our group, most of these Television commercials have been shown on TV by the Snelling Campaign.

Mary Scully
Mary Scully

Sworn to before me this 5th day of August, 1986.

Kimberly L. Johnson
Notary Public

Exhibit O

Focus Group Scripts

If someone makes big claims for themselves, should others expect a lot from them? Senator Patrick Leahy makes big claim about his concerns for Vermont farmers. That's why it's so surprising to discover that during the entire 98th Congress, Pat Leahy didn't show up for a single meeting of the Senate Agriculture Committee. It's a fact documented by the library of Congress.

In two years the full committee met 23 times. Pat Leahy didn't come once. That's a surprise and a disappointment.

****

Pat Leahy says he's built a mountain of seniority in the Senate. But leadership gets things done in Washington -- not just being there a long time. What's Pat Leahy accomplished for Vermont his second term? Well he's the principal sponsor of 39 bills. But only five have become law. Those five just establish commemorative days of the year. Nothing to help Vermont prepare for the future. Nothing to help us solve Vermont's problems.

****

Pat Leahy says that if he's re-elected he might be chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. But under the Senate Rules, that can't be, unless liberal Democrats gain a majority in the Senate, and then Ted Kennedy could be majority leader. It also means Senator Bob Stafford would be stripped of his powerful position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works. And that's bound to be bad for Vermont.

If Dick Snelling is elected to the Senate, the Republicans will most likely stay in the majority. Bob Stafford will continue to be the Environmental Chairman and Dick Snelling will be Chairman of an important sub-committee of the Senate. And President Reagan will continue to have support from the Republican majority.

So think carefully before you vote. Which team is best for Vermont? Reagan, Stafford and Snelling? or Kennedy and Leahy?

Outspoken Honesty
Independent Leadership
Dick Snelling of United States Senator

3 7 7 4 0 7 6 5 4 7

****

This is the Congressional Record! It documents that Vermont's Pat Leahy may have spent more than we think he has -- almost one trillion dollars more. Since 1975, Pat Leahy has voted to add 977 billion dollars to the federal deficit... In fact, in just the past five years, Leahy voted to increase Budget Committee budgets by $108 Billion dollars.

Maybe that's why the National Taxpayers Unions voted Pat Leahy one of the Senate's biggest spenders.

SNELLING '86 U.S. SENATE

(802) 985-9471
(800) FOR-VT86

Co-Chairmen
Gov. Deane C. Davis
Mrs. Lola P. Aiken

May 27, 1986

[redacted]

As you know, I retired from politics about 13 years ago, except for a brief period during the first Reagan primary.

When Dick Snelling asked me to come out of retirement and be a "working" co-chairman, along with Lola Aiken, for his U.S. Senate campaign, I decided to do it for two important reasons.

Dick Snelling was one of the best governors ever to serve in any statehouse in this country. I've talked to you before about his accomplishments in holding the line on state spending, reducing taxes and generating unprecedented economic growth.

And Dick is tough enough as a leader to be able to make a difference in Washington. He has the guts to stand up and say "No" to the special interest and say "No" to spending proposals that fuel the federal deficit.

So, the first reason I decided to join the Snelling campaign was that I felt so strongly that Dick would make a great Senator.

The second reason has to do with Pat Leahy's political beliefs so clearly disclosed by his record in Washington. Let me make it abundantly clear: I like Pat Leahy. Always have. He is an awfully likeable guy. Warm, friendly, extremely able and a man of sincerity.

But my decisions as to support for political candidates have to be based upon something more than friendship. I was brought up to believe that the American system of representative democracy can only work when voters express their own political beliefs at the ballot box. That's the only way our leaders can be truly representative of the majority which is what politics is all about.

The Snelling '86 Committee
Jelly Mill Common, Route 7
Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

Exhibit P

And my study of Pat Leahy's record in Washington makes it clear that his political beliefs are miles away from mine. I suspect they are from yours also. And I'm quite sure they do not agree with the majority of Vermonters.

For example, take the matter of federal spending. A careful study made in Washington shows that Pat Leahy voted to increase the federal budgets proposed by the Senate Budget Committee by over $108 billion during the last five years. $108 billion more than the budgets proposed, which already included deficits.

And from that study I learned that if you totalled up all the budget votes that Pat has cast on the Senate floor since he has been in the Senate, he has voted for a total of $977 billion in federal deficits. And that's true even though he votes against many military programs proposed by President Reagan.

No wonder the National Taxpayer's Union rated Pat a "big-spender" in three of the last five years of the Senate term.

And big spending didn't start just lately. When President Ford was in Vermont this year, he said that he had vetoed big spending bills that increased domestic spending 8 times while he was President and that 8 times Pat Leahy voted with the big spenders to override President Ford's veto.

That voting record was the second reason that convinced me that I should work for Dick Snelling.

I have urged Dick Snelling to make the facts of Senator Leahy's record clear during the next few weeks. These facts will be not only pertinent and important but completely documented.

Much of it will no doubt surprise you, as it has me. But please listen to what these facts disclose and to what those supporting Dick Snelling have to say. All information will be totally factual and will only be discussion of the issues, not personalities. Most of us like Pat Leahy, so that's not the issue.

Dick Snelling has spent the whole campaign so far presenting his own record and taking detailed positions on a whole range of federal issues.

Now it is time to present the Leahy record and have a wholesome, honest, issue-oriented debate in the Vermont tradition.

Please watch and listen carefully to the commercials you will see next week on the Leahy record.

And please join me in supporting Dick Snelling for the U.S. Senate.

Thanks for listening to me.

Sincerely,

Deane C. Davis

Deane C. Davis
Co-Chairman
Snelling '86 Committee

P.S. If you have not already done so, would you please sign, circulate and return the enclosed petition by July 1.

GCC#1231

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2212

NAME OF COUNSEL: James Kevin Wholey

ADDRESS: National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, NW Suite 600
Washington, DC 20001

TELEPHONE: 202-347-0202

'86 AUG 15 P3:13

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.

8/14/86
Date

Rodney A. Smith
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Rodney A. Smith

ADDRESS: National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

HOME PHONE:

BUSINESS PHONE: 202-347-0202

8204076552

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Market Opinion Research, Inc.
Robert Teeter, Chief Executive
550 Washington, Blvd.
Detroit, MI 48226

Re: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Teeter:

On August 6, 1986, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from William Gray, of the Leahy for U.S. Senator Committee, alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. You were also given a copy of the complaint and informed that your response to the complaint should be submitted within fifteen days of your receipt of the notification.

On August 7, 1986, the Commission received a memorandum from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. We are enclosing a copy of this memorandum. As this memorandum is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days form your receipt of this letter in which to respond to these new allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

Enclosure

pern

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

National Republican Senatorial Committee
Rodney A. Smith, Treasurer
404 C Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Re: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Smith:

On August 6, 1986, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from William Gray, of the Leahy for U.S. Senator Committee, alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. You were also given a copy of the complaint and informed that your response to the complaint should be submitted within fifteen days of your receipt of the notification.

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If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

Enclosure

pern

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 19, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Snelling '86
Duncan F. Brown, Treasurer
P. O. Box 1986, Jelly Mill Common
Shelburne, VT 05482

Re: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Brown:

On August 6, 1986, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from William Gray, of the Leahy for U.S. Senator Committee, alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. You were also given a copy of the complaint and informed that your response to the complaint should be submitted within fifteen days of your receipt of the notification.

On August 7, 1986, the Commission received a memorandum from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. We are enclosing a copy of this memorandum. As this memorandum is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days form your receipt of this letter in which to respond to these new allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

Enclosure

cc: Richard A. Snelling

Pelm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 19, 1986

Mr. Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
1110 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

RE: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Bauer:

This letter will acknowledge receipt of an amendment to the complaint filed by your client, Mr. William Gray, which we received on August 7, 1986, alleging possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Commission's Regulations by Robert Teeter, Market Opinion Research, Inc., Snelling '86, and National Republican Senatorial Committee. The respondents will be notified of the amendment to the complaint within five days.

You will be notified as soon as the Commission takes final action on Mr. Gray's 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 the original complaint. If you have any questions, please contact Lorraine F. Ramos at (202) 376-3110.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

August 19, 1986

Mr. William Gray, Campaign Director
Leahy for U.S. Senator Committee
P. O. Box 53
Burlington, VT 05402

RE: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Gray:

This letter will acknowledge receipt of an amendment to the complaint filed by you which we received on August 7, 1986, alleging possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and the Commission's Regulations by Robert Teeter, Market Opinion Research, Inc., Snelling '86, and National Republican Senatorial Committee. The respondents will be notified of the amendment to the complaint within five days.

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 the original complaint. If you have any questions, please contact Retha L. Dixon at (202) 376-3110.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

OCC #1396

RECEIVED BY THE FEC
86 AUG 22 AM 11:39

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
DENNIS G. DRISCOLL
DAVID D. SHOUP

MARK R. SOLOMON
OF COUNSEL IN TAX MATTERS

DETROIT OFFICE
835 PENOBSCOT BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1261

86 AUG 22 P4:00

August 20, 1986

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

Re: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Levin:

This is to confirm our conversation of August 15, 1986, in which you advised me that an Amended Complaint has been filed in the above-entitled matter and that, therefore, the deadline for a response by either Market Opinion Research or Robert Teeter will be extended for at least fifteen days from their receipt of the Amended Complaint.

Yours very truly,

George H. Meyer

George H. Meyer

GHM/rg

cc: Mr. Robert M. Teeter

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

GCC#1421

5 September 1986

John Levin
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C.

RE: MUR - 2212.

Dear John:

In accordance with our conversation of today I am hereby requesting an extension of time within which to submit the National Republican Senatorial Committee's response in the above captioned matter. An additional period of one week should be more than sufficient.

As we discussed, this extension is requested in view of the need to review additional materials which the Committee has not yet been able to obtain. Obviously, we wish to provide the Commission with the fullest and most accurate response possible.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

James Kevin Wholey

James Kevin Wholey
Legal Counsel
National Republican Senatorial Committee

P5 P6:06

440 FIRST STREET, N.W. ■ SUITE 600 ■ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 ■ (202) 347-0202 ■ (202) 224-2351

PAID FOR AND AUTHORIZED BY THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

GCC 1415

HAND DELIVERED

86 SEP 5 AM : 35

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

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

September 3, 1986

RE: MUR 2212

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

Dear Mr. Levin:

Market Opinion Research (MOR) and I received a letter from the Federal Election Commission on August 8, 1986 advising us of the filing of a Complaint against us and enclosing a copy of the Complaint. We received another letter on August 22, 1986, advising us of the filing of a Supplemental Memorandum and further advising us that a response to the Complaint is needed within fifteen days from August 22, 1986. Since I have been out of town for several days during this period, I would request that MOR and I be granted an extension of the time for our response until September 15, 1986, so that our counsel will have adequate time to meet with me and otherwise prepare a response.

As requested, I am enclosing a Statement of Designation of Counsel.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Teeter
President

Enclosure

CC: George H. Meyer

86 SEP 5 P2:55

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2212

NAME OF COUNSEL: Mr. George H. Meyer

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

5/15/86
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Market Opinion Research & Robert M. Teeter, individually

ADDRESS: 243 W. Congress, Suite 1000
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Attn: Robert M. Teeter

HOME PHONE: 313-769-5677

BUSINESS PHONE: 313-963-2414

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GCC#1447

HAND DELIVERED

ROBERT D. RACHLIN
ALLEN MARTIN
JAMES C. GALLAGHER
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GARY H. BARNES
JAMES G. WHEELER, JR.
WILLIAM W. PEARSON
JOHN H. MARSHALL
LEO A. BISSON, JR.
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MARC B. HEATH
WILLIAM W. SCHROEDER

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KATHLEEN H. DAVIS
GREGORY S. CLAYTON
JILL LANMAN BRODERICK
DENNIS W. WELLS
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September 8, 1986

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street NW
Washington, DC 20463

VIA
FEDERAL EXPRESS

Re: DR&M File # B2831-001
Snelling '86 Committee
Complaint of Leahy for Senate
Federal Election Commission # MUR 2212

WE ENCLOSE:

10 Copies of Designation of Counsel (you should have received the original on Monday, September 8, 1986);

Original and 10 copies of Response of Snelling '86 Committee; and

Original and 10 copies of Affidavit of Rey Post.

DOWNS RACHLIN & MARTIN

By: Gary H. Barnes

cc: Richard A. Snelling
Rey Post
Duncan F. Brown

SEP 9 P4:17

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In Re: Complaint of Leahy
for Senate Committee

MUR #2212

SEP 9 P4:49

RESPONSE OF SNELLING '86 COMMITTEE

This memorandum sets forth the Snelling '86 Committee's responses to each of the charges made by the Leahy for Senate Committee ("Leahy") in its complaint dated 29 July 1986, and in a Supplemental Memorandum dated 5 August 1985. The charges are based upon conjecture and are without merit.

Leahy charges, first, that the Snelling polling expenses are being paid by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") or some other source in order to evade the funding limitations of federal election law. Complaint, pp. 8-9. Leahy incorrectly infers that the Snelling Committee hired Market Opinion Research ("MOR") or Mr. Teeter, its principal, from its reading of Snelling campaign material. But the Snelling Committee does not have a contract with MOR, nor with Mr. Teeter. As explained by Mr. Rey Post, Snelling Campaign Manager, in the attached Affidavit, the campaign literature was intended to convey that the Snelling campaign planned, at a later stage in the campaign, to have polls taken for it by MOR. Affidavit of Rey Post ("Post Affidavit") ¶ 3.

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Consequently, the NRSC is not paying Snelling campaign polling bills. The NRSC is paying its own polling bills, for its own polling costs.[1] The Snelling Committee has received MOR polling data, after sixty days, and has reported the receipt of the data and the allocated amounts in accordance with the regulations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 ("FECA"). Post Affidavit ¶ 7.

Leahy next alleges that MOR has made in-kind contributions to the Snelling Committee. Complaint, p. 10. This allegation is simply not true. MOR has made no contribution to the Snelling campaign. MOR has performed polling services --on a fee basis-- for the NRSC. Post Affidavit ¶ 5.

Leahy also claims that the Snelling Committee has accrued significant unreported debts to MOR, or has failed to report payments made to MOR. Complaint, p. 11. The Snelling Committee owes nothing to MOR and has not paid MOR because the NRSC hired MOR. MOR sells its polling services to the NRSC. Post Affidavit ¶ 6. When the Snelling Committee received NRSC polling data

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[1] It is important to note that the NRSC, a political committee whose goal is to retain Republican control of the U.S. Senate, has its own independent needs for polling data. NRSC's hiring of MOR is not a "ruse" as Leahy claims, but an important part of its central function.

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derived from MOR surveys, that Committee then reported the allocated amount. Post Affidavit ¶ 7.

The Leahy Committee charges that MOR conducted a "benchmark survey" on behalf of the Snelling Committee and that the Snelling campaign violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) by failing to report receipt of the benchmark poll. Complaint, p. 4; Leahy Supplemental Memorandum, p. 2.

Leahy fails to consider that the "benchmark survey" was conducted by the NRSC before there was a Snelling campaign, and was done in pursuit of NRSC's efforts to find and recruit a candidate to run against Senator Leahy. Accordingly, it was an "independent expenditure" of the NRSC, to defeat Senator Leahy. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 100.16. Under current regulations, such an independent expenditure is to be reported by the person making it. 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(a)(3). And only expenditures which fail to qualify as independent expenditures are deemed contributions in kind to the candidate who benefits from the independent expenditure. 11 C.F.R. § 109.2(c). Hence, this pre-campaign poll was an independent expenditure of the NRSC, and is not a campaign contribution to the Snelling Committee.

Leahy argues that the benchmark poll should have been reported, retroactively, under 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1). But that regulation by its terms refers to funds received and spent by a

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prospective candidate for specified, "testing-the-water" purposes. It is not applicable where, as here, an independent expenditure is made and the prospective candidate has no control over the expenditure.

Leahy further charges that polling data was disclosed to the Snelling campaign by the NRSC, with the result that the poll "must be reported as an in-kind contribution in full." Leahy Supplemental Memorandum, pp. 1, 4. True, the acceptance of polling data constitutes "acceptance of poll results" and triggers reporting of a contribution in kind. But the value of such an in-kind contribution is not "in full" as Leahy says. Under 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(g), the value depends upon when the polling data is disclosed. Here, the detailed polling data was not disclosed until after 60 days following NRSC's receipt of the data. Post Affidavit ¶ 8. Therefore, the amount reportable is only five percent of the otherwise allocable share. Here, that amounted to $625.00, according to the NRSC allocation. The Snelling Committee reported this amount in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 441a and 11 C.F.R. § 104.13.

Leahy confuses the delivery of detailed polling data (poll results) with "briefings" in which no such data is conveyed, but in which opinions and advice are given. The briefing participants deliberately tailored their remarks to avoid conveying poll

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results to the Snelling Committee. Post Affidavit ¶ 8.[2] The NRSC provided only general advice to the Snelling Committee. Since it withheld the polling data for 60 days, the NRSC was entitled under 11 C.F.R. §§ 106.4(e),(g) to allocate only a very small portion of the polling expense to the Snelling Committee.

Finally, Leahy alleges that the Snelling Committee failed to report the costs of the May "focus group" in its July 15 FECA filing. But Leahy is too quick to complain. As Mr. Post attests, the cost for this survey had not been paid by the NRSC in the ordinary course of business in the reporting period for the July 15 report. At the close of that reporting period, the Snelling Committee had not received an allocation from the NRSC. Post Affidavit ¶ 9. The Snelling Committee does not have independent access to the cost of this study, and relies on the NRSC to furnish it with the appropriate cost allocation. Post Affidavit ¶ 11. When NRSC informs the Snelling Committee of an allocation, the Snelling Committee will report it, as has been done in the past.

As detailed above, Leahy's charges fail to withstand scrutiny. Regrettably, the charges have provoked not only adverse publicity but also have been recognized in the press as

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[2] It has long been recognized that national political committees like the NRSC may offer advice to state candidates without that advice being considered a campaign contribution. See FEC Advisory Opinion 1975-87.

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damaging the Snelling campaign. See Leahy Supplemental Memorandum, Appendix I. Given the extreme impact of such charges upon the electoral process, and the Congressional intention for expeditious handling of such complaints [2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(9); Rose v. Federal Election Comm'n., 608 F.Supp. 1 (D.C.D.C. 1984)], the Snelling Committee requests that the Federal Election Commission promptly find no reason to believe that the complaint sets forth a violation.

Burlington, Vermont. 8 September 1986

DOWNS RACHLIN & MARTIN

By: _____

Gary H. Barnes
P.O. Box 190
Burlington, VT 05402-0190
(802)863-2375
Counsel for Snelling
'86 Committee

B31G.9

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AND
BURLINGTON, VT.

RECEIVED
SEC'Y & GENERAL COUNSEL
'86 SEP 9 P4:49

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN RE:
Complaint of Leahy for Senate Committee

MUR #2212

AFFIDAVIT OF REY POST

The undersigned states under oath:

1. I am the General Campaign Manager of the Snelling '86 Committee, the authorized campaign committee for the election of Richard Snelling to the United States Senate.

2. This Committee has not retained Market Opinion Research ("MOR"), nor has it retained MOR's principal, Mr. Robert Teeter. The Snelling '86 Committee has no contract with that organization, nor does it have any contract with Mr. Teeter.

3. The campaign literature to which the Leahy for Senate Committee ("Leahy") refers was intended to advise potential campaign contributors that the Snelling '86 Committee would have high-quality polling work performed by Mr. Teeter and his company, MOR, during a certain period of time later in the campaign.

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4. The National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") has not paid MOR any amounts owed MOR by the Snelling '86 Committee. The Snelling '86 Committee has never been indebted to MOR. Upon information and belief, NRSC has paid MOR at various times for polling services requested by NRSC under the contract or arrangement between NRSC and MOR.

5. MOR has not contributed to the Snelling '86 Committee by performing polling services for no charge, as Leahy alleges. MOR has not performed polling services under contract with the Snelling '86 Committee, but, to the best of my information and belief, has performed polling services under contract with NRSC and has been paid for those services or has billed NRSC for those services.

6. The Snelling '86 Committee is not indebted to MOR, as claimed by Leahy. MOR has rendered no bills to the Snelling '86 Committee. The Snelling '86 Committee has not engaged MOR to perform work for it. Upon information and belief, NRSC has so engaged MOR, and MOR has performed work for NRSC.

7. Contrary to Leahy's allegations, the Snelling '86 Committee did not engage MOR to perform the April, 1986 survey. NRSC engaged MOR. The Snelling '86 Committee did not receive the data tabulations which resulted from this survey until after 60 days had elapsed from the date on which NRSC received that data. Consequently, the Snelling '86 Committee reported this under the cost allocations made by NRSC and the cost allocation regulations of the Federal Election Commission. The amount allocated by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee was $625.

8. The Snelling '86 Committee did receive general advice and recommendations from persons who had access to the MOR data. However, upon information and belief, no one provided the Snelling '86 Committee with specific data from the survey until the 60-day

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period had elapsed, because the Snelling '86 Committee wished to comply with the regulation which allows for reduced allocations for data delivered after that 60-day period. To my information and belief, the individuals who so counseled the Snelling '86 Committee were careful not to divulge data from the polling, so as to ensure compliance with this regulation.

9. As of June 30, 1986, the end of a campaign reporting period for the Federal Election Commission, the Snelling '86 Committee had not received any allocation from NRSC for the results of the "focus group" study performed in May of 1986. Upon information and belief, no amount was allocated, because NRSC had not paid MOR in the ordinary course of business by June 30, 1986, but made payment on July 8, 1986, after the close of the reporting period for the July 15 report.

10. NRSC had not given the Snelling '86 Committee any allocation for the focus group expenditure by the close of the reporting period for the pre-primary report (August 20, 1986). Upon information and belief, the Snelling '86 Committee will receive an allocation from NRSC in the current reporting period, and the Snelling '86 Committee will report this allocation in accordance with Federal Election Commission regulations. Upon information and belief, and for causes unknown to the Snelling '86 Committee, NRSC erred in not allocating this expense earlier. The Snelling '86 Committee was not aware of this error when it filed its pre-primary financial report with the Federal Election Commission.

11. Because NRSC, and not the Snelling '86 Committee, has hired MOR, the Snelling '86 Committee does not receive bills from MOR, and relies entirely upon NRSC to allocate properly the cost of polling data from MOR. Upon information and belief, NRSC has done so, except as noted in paragraph 10 above.

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AND
BURLINGTON, VT

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Burlington, Vermont. September 8, 1986

Rey Post

State of Vermont.
Chittenden County.

On this 8th day of September, 1986 personally appeared Rey Post, known to me, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing.

Lori A. Pellerin
Notary Public

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& MARTIN
ST. JOHNSBURY
AND
BURLINGTON, VT.

GCC#1428

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2212

NAME OF COUNSEL: Robert D. Rachlin, Gary H. Barnes and Richard N. Bland

ADDRESS: Downs Rachlin & Martin
100 Dorset Street
P.O. Box 190

Burlington, VT 05402-0190

TELEPHONE: 802-863-2375

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

Snelling '86 Committee

9-6-86
Date

Duncan F. Brown
Signature
Duncan F. Brown,
Treasurer

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Snelling '86 Committee, Duncan F. Brown, Treasurer

ADDRESS: P.O. Box 1986, Jelly Mill Common

Shelburne, VT 05482

HOME PHONE: 802-862-9489

BUSINESS PHONE: 802-658-2930 (office)

802-985-9471 (Committee office)

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 11, 1986

George H. Meyer, Esquire
Meyer, Kirk, Snyder & Safford
100 West Long Lake Road
Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

Re: MUR 2212
Market Opinion Research
Robert M. Teeter

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Pursuant to a letter dated September 3, 1986, from your clients, Robert M. Teeter and Market Opinion Research, the Office of the General Counsel is granting a request for an extension of time in which to file a response to the complaint in the above-captioned matter. The response, therefore, is due on September 15, 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: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 11, 1986

James Kevin Wholey
Legal Counsel
National Republican Senatorial
Committee
440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

Re: MUR 2212
National Republican Senatorial
Committee
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Wholey:

Pursuant to your letter dated September 5, 1986, the Office of the General Counsel is granting you an extension of time of one week in which to response to the complaint in the above-captioned matter. Your response, therefore, is due on September 15, 1986.

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

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

GCCH 1527

86 SEP 15 P6:10

September 15, 1986

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

RE: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is submitted on behalf of the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C.437g(a)(1) in response to a complaint filed by the Leahy for Senate Committee ("Leahy"), denominated Matter Under Review 2212. For the reasons set forth below, the Federal Election Commission should find no reason to believe that the NRSC or any other respondent in this matter has violated the Federal Election Campaign Act ("Act") or the regulations promulgated thereunder ("Regulations").

FACTS

1. NRSC

The NRSC is a Committee comprised of Republican members of the United States Senate. Like its Democratic counterpart, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, it is the arm of the national party charged with promoting the party's interests in the biennial battle for seats in the Senate. Its special status is expressly recognized in the Commission's regulations and well-established in law. See 11 C.F.R.110.1(b)(2)(ii); Federal Election Commission, et al v. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 454 U.S. 27 (1981).

NRSC endeavors to strengthen the party by recruiting and assisting the strongest prospective candidates for the Senate. In addition, NRSC seeks to "promote overall party goals" (see Advisory Opinion 1975-87) by developing a national strategy for present and future election cycles; by attempting to determine themes usable by present and future Republican candidates for the Senate; and by refining and enhancing its ability to advise campaigns on the most effective methods to communicate such themes.

440 FIRST STREET, N.W. ■ SUITE 600 ■ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 ■ (202) 347-0202 ■ (202) 224-2351

PAID FOR AND AUTHORIZED BY THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

To this end, NRSC sponsors conferences and seminars for Senate candidates and incumbents, provides informational packages and publications to campaigns, and furnishes political and legal advice regarding fundraising, campaign strategy and organization. It also commissions and uses for its own purposes various forms of reseach, including but not limited to polling and other survey testing.

In the latter instance, if survey data is made available to a candidate, the appropriate allocation is made pursuant to the Commission's Regulations at 11 C.F.R.106.4, and the candidate's committee charged accordingly. Depending on the circumstances, such charges are paid either by direct reimbursement to NRSC, or by apportionment against (and subtraction from) NRSC's available contribution or expenditure limits to the campaign.

2. Market Opinion Research

Market Opinion Research ("MOR") provides research services in the areas of political surveys, market surveys, market testing, and communications testing and development. MOR provides these services to a wide array of clients, including NRSC.

During the period at issue MOR has performed research services pertaining to Vermont on four occasions: June, 1985, well before any Republican Senate candidacy there; as well as in April, May, and late June 1986.*

Leahy's repeated contentions that the Snelling '86 Committee ("Snelling Committee") "contracted" with MOR are erroneous. At no time during this campaign has there been any contractual relationship between MOR and the Snelling committee.

3. The Snelling '86 Committee

The Snelling committee is the principal authorized campaign committee of Richard A. Snelling, a Republican candidate for the Senate from Vermont. Snelling committee officials, including the candidate, have participated in (and, we hope, benefitted from) various conferences and other programs sponsored by NRSC. In addition, Mr. Snelling and his campaign officials have participated in organizational and campaign strategy sessions with NRSC political advisors. At some of these meetings, NRSC staff have been aware of

*Since the filing of the Leahy complaint, MOR has performed (on August 22-25) another survey for the NRSC pertaining to Vermont. When and if the data from that survey is given to the Snelling Committee, the appropriate allocation will be made and fully reported.

polling data relating to the Vermont Senate race. At no time, however, has such data been turned over to the campaign without an appropriate allocation being made.

ARGUMENT

Taken together, the Leahy complaints allege:

(a) that the amounts paid by Snelling for survey information are too low, and thus (somehow) violative of the Act;

(b) that the expenditures have not been properly reported by NRSC;

(c) that the Snelling committee has accepted survey data from NRSC without paying for it;

(d) that the survey taken almost seven months before Snelling became a candidate should be retroactively charged to his campaign; and

(e) that costs of the NRSC's advertising "focus group" should be allocated to the Snelling campaign.

Four of these contentions are in error, and the fifth premature. They represent an attempt to characterize the use of NRSC resources as inherently sinister, even where made in the fullest compliance with the law. The allegations are for the most part premised purely on speculation, replete with presumptions unsupported by evidence. Moreover, the assertions indicate an inadequate familiarity with FEC Regulations.

I. The Amounts Allocated Are Appropriate Under Applicable Regulations And Are Fully Disclosed.

The Leahy committee takes considerable umbrage (without any specific knowledge) at what it deems inadequate expenditures by the Snelling committee for polling. Leahy also accuses NRSC of failing properly to report the expenditures.

The Commission's Regulations precisely prescribe the formula for valuing polling data. 11 C.F.R.106.4(g) provides that, if a second recipient receives poll results within fifteen days of the first, the data must be valued at the full amount paid for its initial acquisition. If, however, the results are given after fifteen days, the information is valued at 50% of its initial cost;

and after 60 days, at 5%. The Regulations recognize that such information has no assessable value beyond 180 days.

The Regulations further provide that, in attributing the allocable cost of a poll among those receiving the results, the amount may be computed "by any... method which reasonably reflects the benefit derived," 11 C.F.R.106.4(e)(4).

In this case, the Snelling Committee has been assessed by the NRSC for the Snelling Committee's allocable share of the polls for which it has actual data (excluding the June, 1985 pre-candidacy poll discussed in part 3, below). One of these surveys was an April, 1986 poll conducted by MOR. That poll included questions seeking information for NRSC's own theme and issue testing purposes, dealing with voters' opinions about Administration policies, concerns about national issues, and their national party preferences. Other questions related to the gubernatorial contest in the state. Several pertained to the 1986 Senate race, testing voters' impressions regarding Mr. Snelling, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the incumbent Senator Leahy, and likely voting preference.

Adopting the formula prescribed in 106.4(e), the NRSC attributed part of the cost of the poll to its own research and testing, some to the state race, and the rest for the benefit of the Snelling Committee. The tabulated results of the poll pertaining to the Senate race were given to the Snelling Committee after 60 days had elapsed from NRSC's receipt of the data. Employing the "depreciation" formula set forth in the Regulations at 106.4(g), 5% of the cost of the Senate-related share of the poll was charged against contribution limits to the campaign.

Similarly, costs were appropriately allocated for the NRSC's share of a poll conducted in December, 1985 by Decision Making Information, Inc. ("DMI"), commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("RNC"). NRSC requested certain results of that survey and asked that certain additional questions be included. NRSC paid its share of the costs and paid for the questions it added to the survey.

As with the later MOR survey, when NRSC shared some of this data with the Snelling committee, it allocated Snelling's "depreciated" allocable share of NRSC's share of the DMI survey costs as an in-kind contribution against NRSC's 441a(h) limit.

In each of these instances, results were received by the Snelling committee after 60 or more days had elapsed . Obviously, the Snelling Committee would have preferred fresher data. The law requires, however, that a campaign pay full price for fresh data; faced with a choice between fresh data and budgetary priorities, the Snelling commmittee had to content itself with (in its spokesman's apt phrase) "wilted lettuce".

The poll depreciation provisions attest that such a compromise is contemplated in the Regulations, but evidently has not been considered by the Leahy Committee.

Leahy has also apparently overlooked the disclosure of the charges for this de-valued data as in-kind contributions on NRSC's regularly filed FEC reports (See Attachment A). These charges were allocated against NRSC's 441a(h) limits.

II. There Has Been No Unallocated Acceptance of Poll Results.

The Leahy Committee alleges that the results of "tracking polls" are somehow being given to the Snelling campaign without appropriate allocation being made. Continuing its sheer speculation, it contends that "there is little doubt " that NRSC and the Snelling Committee conspired (in effect) to evade the reporting requirements of the Act.

To date there have been no such "tracking polls" (a term of art in survey research here misapplied by the Leahy committee).

Essential to the sound interpretation of the mass of material generated in modern survey research is the knowledge of the structure of the database, and possession of the sample breakdowns and cross referencing of samples - the so-called "crosstabs". It is this "hard" data, open to subjective interpretation, for which substantial sums of money are paid to survey research firms.

The Leahy Committee is, or should be, well aware of this fact of modern political life. To contend (as it does) that being told, "Well, Snelling, you're making progress" constitutes "acceptance" of the poll results under 106.4 so as to incur liability for the thousands of dollars involved is deliberate disingenuousness.

The NRSC commissioned survey research projects pertaining to Vermont for its own purposes. NRSC political advisors reviewed the results in order to inform and refine their own strategic thinking, as well as to enable them to make a better allocation of NRSC's own resources within its contribution and expenditure limitations. As NRSC had paid in full for this information, its use for such purposes is eminently permissible promotion of "overall party goals".

NRSC political advisors have met with Snelling campaign officials to discuss strategy and organization. At meetings in December, 1985, and in April, 1986, NRSC personnel were aware of the results of the polling commissioned by the NRSC. However, NRSC's political staff and deputies are under strict instructions scrupulously to refrain from communicating actual polling results to campaign officials, unless the campaign is prepared to pay or be assessed its allocable share of the cost. At no time during any of the above meetings with the Snelling committee were any survey research materials transferred, including any quantitative polling results or other work product.

Clearly, NRSC is entitled to give its candidates the best advice it can, so long as the workproduct of a vendor's services is not transferred without appropriate allocation. To find otherwise would be to declare in essence, that national party committees cannot give advice to that party's candidates, or, in the alternative, that the candidates must pay - at some presumed market rate - for such advice. Such a premise would negate the proper role of national committees as promoters of the parties' interests and reduce them to commercial consulting firms. Such was not Congress' intent.

Leahy notes that Mr. Snelling discussed in the press the results of the most recent MOR survey pertaining to Vermont, performed in late June. That survey, received by the NRSC on July 3, contained a number of questions pertaining to party affiliation, gubernatorial preference and Senatorial preference ("head-to-head"). No data from that survey has been given to the Snelling committee. However, NRSC released to the public the survey results of the "head-to-head" Senate preference question, via a "PAC GRAM" newsletter issued July 14, 1986. NRSC "PAC GRAMS" are mailed

out to over 3000 addressees in the political fundraising community nationwide. The information contained in this "PAC GRAM" appeared in news accounts on the 15th and 16th of July both in Washington and in Vermont. Mr. Snelling's public comments about these results began on July 18.

The Regulations provide that :

"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 recipient or political committee recipient, shall not be treated as a contribution in kind and expenditure under... this Section." 11 C.F.R.106.4(c).

There is no evidence suggesting that Snelling was aware of the "head-to-head" results prior to publication in the PAC GRAM or that he has learned of any other results from this survey. Leahy's sinister speculations notwithstanding, the only necessary conclusion that may be drawn from Mr. Snelling's statements is that he reads the newspapers and party publications - which is the least that can be expected.

III. The July 1985 Survey Was Not Retroactively Allocable As A Testing The Waters Expenditure.

In the summer of 1985, NRSC was engaged in a quest. That quest, consistent with its mission to strengthen the party and its party's prospects for continued control of the United States Senate, was to find a viable candidate to run for the Senate from Vermont in 1986. In so doing, NRSC was engaged in one of its basic functions. See FEC v. DSCC, 454 U.S.27 (1981). To assist in this effort, NRSC commissioned survey research by MOR regarding the viability of a number of prospective candidates to oppose the incumbent Democratic Senator. This information was to be used by the NRSC to determine the sort of candidate having the best chance for success in Vermont in 1986, and who that candidate might be. If such a person was found, the information was to be used to help recruit that person to run for office by demonstrating that there was a reasonable chance for success.

During the months of July and August of 1985, NRSC officials and political staff met with various national and state Republican officials and with a number of prospective Senate candidates. One of these was Richard Snelling. The MOR data was made available to all of these officials and individuals in an effort to generate support for the effort to unseat Senator Leahy.

Despite NRSC's recruiting efforts, Snelling did not become a candidate for the Senate until almost seven months later in February of 1986. His nascent campaign did not begin to engage in testing-the-waters activity of its own until sometime in November, 1985.

Nevertheless, the Leahy committee claims that the cost of this survey should be retroactively allocable to the Snelling campaign as a "testing-the-waters" expense. However, 11 C.F.R. 100.7(b)(1)(i) applies only to funds received by the prospective candidate himself. However, the NRSC's expenditures for its own purposes in attempting to locate a candidate is in no way encompassed within this provision.

It thus was not Mr.Snelling but the NRSC that was testing the waters, searching for a party candidate to run for the Senate from Vermont in 1986. The survey was not commissioned by Snelling; he did not authorize, prearrange, or coordinate the expenditure for polling results; the information was not for his use but the NRSC's. The fact that he later learned of the results of this survey is a legal irrelevance.

For the Commission to assign to a person expenditures that were incurred not on his behalf but for a national party committee's own purposes would only hamstring both the Republican and Democratic national party committees in recruiting candidates. Fewer individuals would be willing to meet with party officials to discuss running for office if it became clear that the expenses incurred by the party for any information presented to them would be assessable against their candidacy should they run. Congress' intent was to foster the role of the parties in the political process, not to discourage individuals from seeking office.

The poll was thus a non-allocable operating expenditure of the NRSC doing what it was created to do: find, recruit and promote Republican candidates for the Senate.

IV. The Advertising Test ("Focus Group")

The Leahy supplemental complaint sets forth at some length "evidence", including affidavits, indicating that (1) MOR conducted a telephone survey of Vermont voters in April, 1986 and (2) a "focus group" was convened in May, 1986 testing the reactions of a panel of viewers to proposed advertising themes connected with the Vermont Senate race.

In keeping with its attempt to portray every form of Republican activity as sinister, the Leahy Committee urges that the existence of this research, without more, indicates an unreported and illegal provision of services to the Snelling campaign.

The April MOR poll and its proper allocation have already been discussed in this Response. See 1 above.

On May 27, 1986, at the behest of NRSC, MOR convened a "focus group" to review the reactions of a group of panelists to certain advertising themes. A focus group is a novel research tool, the validity of which has not been thoroughly established nor completely accepted. The NRSC sponsored this group for several reasons: (1) to increase its knowledge regarding this untried but expensive technique, in order to determine whether to recommend that Republican Senate campaigns expend their more limited resources in sponsoring such groups for their own purposes - in other words, to "test the test"; (2) to continue its own research regarding the effectiveness of different types of advertising, (for example, "positive" vs. "negative" ads, and other such thematic aspects); and (3) test viewers' responses to specific themes related to the Snelling - Leahy contest.

Summary conclusions based on the test and certain selected test results were made available to the Snelling campaign. NRSC and the Snelling campaign recognized that, whatever the validity of the testing technique, a benefit has been conferred upon the Snelling campaign and that an appropriate allocation of the cost must be made.

This allocation has not been reflected on reports filed to date because the MOR invoice was not paid, and the final cost determined, until July 8, 1986, after the end of the quarterly period and too late for the July 15 report. The Snelling Committee's allocable share of the costs of this test will be reflected on both committees' next quarterly reports.

Leahy's presuppositions in connection with this activity are thus premature, and its "evidence" irrelevant.

CONCLUSION

The complaint is groundless. The National Republican Senatorial Committee and the Snelling '86 Committee have at all times complied fully with the Act and Regulations relating to the use, allocation and reporting of survey research services. The Commission should find no reason to believe the Act has been violated, and promptly dismiss the complaint.

Respectfully submitted,

Thomas Griscom,
Executive Director
National Republican
Senatorial Committee

Of Counsel: James Kevin Wholey, Esq.
440 First Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 347 - 0202

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Page 1 of 1 for LINE NUMBER 21
(Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page)

Attachment A

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

Name of Committee (in Full)

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - EXPENDITURES

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
HUTCHINSON FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 1750 KALAHANA, BOX 3737 HONOLULU, HI 96826	Cash Sec. 441 US Senate 1986 CASH CONTRIBUTIONS Hawaii Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	5/29/86	$ 15,000.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
BROYHILL FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 1400 BATTLEGROUND AVENUE #100 GREENSBORO, NC 27408	Cash Sec. 441 US Senate 1986 CONTRIBUTIONS N. Carolina Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	5/07/86	$ 15,000.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Jackson Andrews for Senate Committee 530 Starks Building Louisville, KY 40202	Sec 441 Cash, US Senate 1986 Kentucky Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	05/30/86	$15,000.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
National Republican Senatorial Committee 440 First Street NW #600 WashingtonD.C. 20001	1986 Sec/ 441 in-kind survey Kindness US Senate Ohio Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	05/31/86	$750.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
National Republican Senatorial Committee 440 First Street NW #600 Washington D.C. 20001	1986 Sec. 441 in-kind survey Koehler Illinois US Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	05/31/86	$72.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
National Republican Senatorial Committee 440 First Street NW #600 Washington D.C. 20001	1986 Sec. 441 in-kind survey Abdnor US Senate S. Dakota Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	05/31/86	$91.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
National Republican Senatorial Committee 440 First Street NW #600 Washington D.C. 20001	1986 Sec. 441 in-kind survey Kraemer Colorado US Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	05/31/86	$319.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
National Republican Senatorial Committee 440 First Street NW #600 Washington D.C. 20001	1986 Sec. 441 in-kind survey Snelling Vermont US Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	05/31/86	$625.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
	Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):		
SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)			
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)			$46,857.00

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Page 1 of 1 for
LINE NUMBER 21
(Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page)

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

Name of Committee (in Full)

National Republican Senatorial Committee- Expenditures

	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Eddy for Senate Committee PO Box 172 Newington, CT 06111	Sec. 441 Cash 1986 CT Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	02/07/86	$15,000.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Snelling for Senate Committee PO Box 1986 Shelburne, Vermont 05482	Sec/ 441 in-kind survey VT 1986 Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	02/09/86	$118.75
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Andrews for Senate Committee PO Box 1773 Fargo, North Dakota 58107	Purpose of Disbursement Sec. 441 in-kind survey 1986 ND Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 02/12/86	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period $372.50
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Packwood for Senate Committee 4200 Wisconsin Avenue Washington D.C. 20016	Purpose of Disbursement Sec. 441 in-kind survey 1986 OR Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 02/15/86	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period $507.50
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bond for Senate Committee PO Box 1672 St. Louis Missouri 63105	Purpose of Disbursement Sec. 441 in-kind survey 1986 MO Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 02/19/86	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period $637.50
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Rudman for Senate Committee PO Box 858 Concord, New Hampshire 03301	Purpose of Disbursement Sec. 441 in-kind computer service 1986 NH Senate Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 02/25/86	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period $437.50
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)			
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)			17,073.75

GCC#1528

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 961-1261

September 16, 1986

SEP 16 AM 11:22

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

Re: MUR 2212

Dear Sir:

This is a Response on behalf of Market Opinion Research Company (MOR) and Robert M. Teeter to a Complaint, as supplemented, against them, the Snelling '86 Committee, and the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) by the Leahy for Senate Committee.

The enclosed Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter, the President of MOR, establishes the following:

The NRSC retained MOR to conduct three public opinion surveys and two advertising tests in Vermont. The NRSC has paid MOR in full for these projects. MOR has not entered into any contracts with or been retained by the Snelling '86 Committee to conduct any surveys or provide any other services. Accordingly, MOR has not made a contribution to either the NRSC or the Snelling '86 Committee under the Federal Election Campaign Act.

The Complaint against Market Opinion Research Company and Robert M. Teeter has no merit and should be dismissed without further investigation.

Very truly yours,

George H. Meyer

George H. Meyer

GHM:kr
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Robert M. Teeter

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

1155 15TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 810, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 | (202) 293-7570

MUR 2212

'88 SEP 16 AM 11:24

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT M. TEETER

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA) SS.

Robert M. Teeter, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am the President of Market Opinion Research Company (MOR). I have acted in this matter only in such capacity.

2. MOR is a corporation with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, and it is in the business of conducting political and commercial public opinion surveys and related research services.

3. MOR has conducted public opinion surveys and other research projects for the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) for a number of years.

4. From January 1, 1985 to the date of the Complaint MOR was retained by NRSC to conduct three public opinion surveys and two advertising tests (focus groups) in Vermont as follows:

- Statewide survey, June 14-17, 1985.
- Statewide survey, April 5-9, 1986.
- Advertising tests (2 focus groups), May 27, 1986.
- Statewide survey, June 26-29, 1986.

5. The results of each of these NRSC research projects were delivered to the NRSC in the normal course of business, and the NRSC paid MOR in full for each research project.

6. MOR at the request of the NRSC attended two meetings with the NRSC, one in the summer of 1985, at which Governor Snelling was present and the other in April, 1986 at which Governor Snelling and representatives of his campaign committee were present. MOR also at the request of the NRSC were involved in a few telephone conferences with the NRSC in which Governor Snelling and representatives of his campaign committee participated. Survey results were not disclosed in any of these meetings and telephone discussions. MOR's charges for its involvement in these meetings and discussions were included in the charges for the research projects themselves. The inclusion of these incidental services as part of a charge for a survey is in accordance with MOR's normal business practice.

SENSITIVE

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

7. MOR has not conducted political research projects during the last two years nor has it entered into retained by the Snelling '86 Committee to conduct other services, although MOR anticipates it may be re ing '86 Committee for surveys or other services.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24 day of September 1989

Notary Public of the District of Columbia
My commission expires

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
99 E STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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OFFICE OF THE SEC
COMMISSION SECRETARY
86 SEP 17 A10:43

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

MUR 2212
Date Complaint Received by OGC: July 30, 1986
Date of Notification to Respondent: August 6, 1986
Staff Member: Jonathan Levin

COMPLAINANT'S NAME: Wm Gray, Campaign Director
for Senate Committee

RESPONDENTS NAMES: Sng '86
D.F. Brown, as treasurer

Nal Republican
Sial Committee
B.A. Smith, as treasurer

MOpinion Research Company, Inc.

R.M. Teeter

RELEVANT STATUTES AND REGULATIONS:
2 § 434(b)
2 § 441a(a)
2 § 441a(d)
2 § 441a(h)
2 § 441b(a)
11 § 100.7(b)(1)(i)
11 § 104.11(b)
11 § 104.13(a)
11 § 106.1
11 § 114.10

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: Billard

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

The complaint alleges violations in connection with polling services provided by Market Opinion Research Company (MOR) to Dr. R.M. Teeter, for Snelling

SENSITIVE

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FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

MUR 2212
Date Complaint Received by OGC: July 30, 1986
Date of Notification to Respondent: August 6, 1986
Staff Member: Jonathan Levin

COMPLAINANT'S NAME: William Gray, Campaign Director
Leahy for Senate Committee

RESPONDENTS' NAMES: Snelling '86
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer

National Republican
Senatorial Committee
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer

Market Opinion Research Company, Inc.

Robert M. Teeter

RELEVANT STATUTES AND REGULATIONS:
2 U.S.C. § 434(b)
2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)
2 U.S.C. § 441a(d)
2 U.S.C. § 441a(h)
2 U.S.C. § 441b(a)
11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1)(i)
11 C.F.R. § 104.11(b)
11 C.F.R. § 104.13(a)
11 C.F.R. § 106.1
11 C.F.R. § 114.10

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: Public Records

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

The complainant makes allegations in connection with polling services that may have been provided by Market Opinion Research Company ("MOR") and its president, Robert M. Teeter, for Snelling

7. MOR has not conducted political research projects in Vermont for anyone else during the last two years nor has it entered into any contracts with or been retained by the Snelling '86 Committee to conduct any surveys or provide any other services, although MOR anticipates it may be retained this Fall by the Snelling '86 Committee for surveys or other services.

Robert M. Teeter

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 15th day of September, 1986

Notary Public
District of Columbia
My commission expires: Feb 28, 1989

SEP 16 AM 11:24

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'86, the principal campaign committee of Richard Snelling for election to the United States Senate from Vermont. The complaint also refers to an involvement by the National Republican Senatorial Committee in the provision of polling services. The complainant alleges that, as a result of the provision and acceptance of polling services, the NRSC and Snelling '86 may have violated certain sections of the Act and Commission Regulations pertaining to the making and receipt of contributions, to coordinated expenditures, and to the reporting of these contributions and expenditures.

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

On July 30, 1986, this Office received a complaint filed by William Gray, Campaign Director of the Leahy for U.S. Senator Committee, against the above-named respondents. Enclosed with the complaint are a number of newspaper articles and documents from Snelling '86 which are referred to by the complainant. On August 7, this Office received a "Supplemental Memorandum" amending the complaint.[1/] Enclosed with this amendment are other documents including newspaper articles and affidavits submitted by persons who were polled.

The complaint states that Snelling '86 has contracted for and received substantial polling services but that Snelling '86 either has not paid for these services or has not reported them.

1/ Because the supplemental memorandum constituted an amendment, respondents were afforded an additional 15 day response period.

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The reports of the Committee show only a $118.75 in-kind contribution of polling expenses from the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and a $625 payment to the NRSC for Snelling '86's "share" of polling costs. In addition, the reports show no outstanding indebtedness to MOR. Furthermore, the reports of national Republican party committees reflect no coordinated expenditures on behalf of Snelling '86 "in the form of paid polling invoices."

The complainant cites a brochure published by the Snelling campaign which states that MOR was the campaign's pollster and that MOR had already conducted a "benchmark survey." He also cites an NRSC "PAC Gram" which referred to a MOR poll released on July 3 showing an improvement in Governor Snelling's standing. This poll was referred to in other articles, each of which made specific mention of MOR.

The complainant states that, according to newspaper articles, it appears that NRSC is paying MOR for polling services but that NRSC does not plan to allocate the full cost of the polling to Snelling '86, claiming that the polls were also for the NRSC"s "own data base."

In the amendment, the complainant refers to newspaper articles indicating that Governor Snelling was briefed by the NRSC on its poll results. The articles also include an assertion by Governor Snelling that he was told that he "was making progress" but that he was not given precise numbers. Governor Snelling also claims that he was given old information, i.e.,

information made available to him two months after the polls were conducted. The complainant also encloses affidavits from persons "who were respondents to an April 1986 poll they believe was conducted on behalf of the Snelling campaign" and an affidavit from a participant in a May, 1986, focus group testing Snelling advertisements.

In making reference to the April, 1986, poll and the May 1986, focus group, the complainant cites four campaign themes that were tested and used and states that at least three of them were aired by the Snelling campaign in June, 1986. The complainant proceeds to point out that "none of the costs of the April poll or the May focus groups is reflected" in Snelling '86's July Quarterly. He refers to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) which states that poll results are accepted by the candidate or his committee if the committee or agent "uses the poll results."

The complainant also states that, even accepting Governor Snelling's explanation that he was not given precise numbers, "it is evident that the NRSC is continually monitoring the race and keeping the campaign and the candidate apprised of his position, probably using known results such as the benchmark survey as a reference point." The complainant maintains that it appears that the NRSC is paying MOR to conduct tracking polls for the Snelling campaign at no cost to that campaign, and that these tracking polls are being "'accepted' by Richard Snelling within the meaning of 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) and must be reported as an in-kind contribution in full." Complainants summarize the alleged

facts by stating that "[t]his evidence shows a pattern of acceptance and use by the Snelling campaign of public opinion research they have neither paid for nor reported."

The complainant presents a number of possible violations based on the alleged facts presented:

(1) The NRSC is paying for the polling costs as a coordinated expenditure pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d) or as an in-kind contribution pursuant to § 441a(h). It appears from the evidence presented that the polling expenditures or contributions provided may have exceeded the limitations of these sections. In addition, the NRSC may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) and (5) by failing to report the contributions or expenditures and Snelling '86 may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(2), (3), and (4) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.13(a)(1) and (2) by failing to report such contributions or expenditures. Furthermore, based on the articles stating that the NRSC seeks to share polling data with Snelling '86, there appear to be questions as to whether there has been a proper allocation of polling costs pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §§ 106.1 and 106.4.2/

2/ In the amendment to the complaint, the complainant re-emphasizes the alleged violations as they pertain to the "benchmark survey." He refers to Governor Snelling's statement that he did receive information from the benchmark survey but that it was old data gathered before he announced his candidacy. The complainant states that $20,000 represents the average cost of a benchmark survey. He cites the testing the water regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), stating that such funds become contributions when the individual becomes a candidate and that such a contribution must be reported on the first report of the (Footnote continue on next page)

(2) If MOR has advanced the costs of polling services since the beginning of the Snelling campaign, i.e., for eight months, it may have made a corporate in-kind contribution to Snelling '86 in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). MOR may be extending credit on terms not "in the ordinary course of business" and not "similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors which are of similar risk and size of obligation." See C.F.R. § 114.10.

(3) If Snelling '86 owes a debt exceeding $500 to MOR but has not reported this debt on Schedule D within sixty days, then it has violated 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(b), as well as 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). In addition, if Snelling '86 did make payment to MOR and did not report such payment, then the committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4).3/

2/ candidate's committee. The complainant states:

> The value of the in-kind contribution received should be the value of the poll under § 106.4(a) at the time the candidate or his agents first received the information and not the value when his candidacy was declared or effected for FECA purposes upon the filing of a statement of candidacy.

3/ Complainants originally presented possible violations based on the theory that a party other than NRSC and Snelling '86 is paying for the polls. This would involve excessive contributions in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a and failure to report the receipt of such in-kind contributions in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.13. The "supplemental memorandum" to the complaint indicates that the complainants are more certain that the entities paying for the polling services or obligated to pay for such services are the NRSC and Snelling '86.

This Office received a response from Snelling '86 on September 10. Counsel for MOR and Mr. Teeter and counsel for NRSC requested extensions of time in which to file responses to the complaint. Extensions were granted until September 15. Upon completion of our review of the responses, this Office will report to the Commission with appropriate recommendations.

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Date 9/16/86

By: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES N. STEELE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MWE MARJORIE W. EMMONS/CHERYL A. FLEMING CAF

DATE: SEPTEMBER 18, 1986

SUBJECT: MUR 2212 - FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT SIGNED SEPTEMBER 16, 1986

The above-captioned matter was received in the Commission Secretary's Office Wednesday, September 17, 1986 at 10:43 A.M. and circulated to the Commission on a 24-hour no-objection basis Wednesday, September 17, 1986 at 4:00 P.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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SENSITIVE

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 2212
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial	)	
Committee	)	
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer	)	
Market Opinion Research, Inc.	)	
Robert M. Teeter	)	

RECEIVED BY THE FEC COMMISSION SECRETARY
86 NOV 19 A10:19

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

William Gray, Campaign Director of the Leahy for Senate Committee, filed a complaint received on July 30, 1986, alleging a number of violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), pertaining to polling services assertedly provided by Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR") and its president, Robert M. Teeter, to the Snelling '86 Committee ("Snelling '86"), the authorized campaign committee of Richard Snelling. On August 7, this Office received a memorandum supplementing the complaint.

The original complaint states that Snelling '86 has contracted for and received substantial polling services but that the committee has not paid for these services or reported how they were financed. According to the complaint, reports filed by the Snelling committee related to survey costs show only a $118.75 in-kind contribution from the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and a $625 payment to NRSC, the latter for Snelling '86's "share" of polling costs. The reports of Snelling '86 show no outstanding indebtedness to MOR. Furthermore, the complainant states that "the reports of national Republican Committees reflect no coordinated expenditures on

behalf of the Snelling Committee in the form of paid polling invoices."

The complaint cites a brochure published early in the campaign by Snelling '86 which stated that MOR is the campaign's pollster and that MOR had already conducted a "benchmark survey." It also cites a later NRSC "PAC Gram" which refered to a MOR poll released on July 3, 1986, showing an improvement in Snelling's standing. This poll is cited in newspaper articles submitted with the complaint, several of which specifically mention MOR. The complainant argues that, according to the newspaper articles, NRSC apparently paid MOR for polling services on behalf of Snelling '86, but that NRSC does not believe it is required to allocate the full cost of these services to Snelling '86, because the polls were also for the NRSC's "own data base."

In the supplemental memorandum, the complainant refers to "the campaign's benchmark survey" cited in Snelling '86's literature and to additional newspaper articles indicating that Mr. Snelling was briefed by the NRSC on those poll results. In one of the articles attached to the supplemental memorandum, Mr. Snelling claims with regard to the "benchmark survey" that he was given old data gathered before he became a candidate. The complainant argues that the costs of that survey constituted "testing-the-waters" expenditures reportable by the candidate.[1/] The articles also

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1/ The complainant states that $20,000 represents the average cost of a benchmark survey. He cites the testing-the-waters regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1), which states that such funds become contributions when the individual becomes a candidate and (Footnote continue of next page)

include more general claims by Mr. Snelling that he was "briefed" on results of NRSC polls and told he "was making progress", but that he was not given "numbers." (Supplemental Memorandum, Exhibit K).

The complainant enclosed with the supplemental memorandum affidavits from two persons "who were respondents to an April 1986 poll they believe was conducted on behalf of the Snelling campaign" and an affidavit from a participant in a May, 1986, focus group testing of Snelling advertisements. With reference to the April, 1986, poll and the May, 1986, focus group, the complainant cites four campaign themes that were tested and states that at least three of these were aired by the Snelling campaign in June, 1986. The complainant notes that "none of the costs of the April poll or the May focus groups is reflected" in the July Quarterly Report filed by Snelling '86. The complainant refers to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) which states that poll results are accepted by the candidate or his committee if the committee or agent "uses the poll results," and summarizes the alleged facts by stating that "[t]his evidence shows a pattern of acceptance and use by the Snelling campaign of public opinion research they have neither paid for nor reported."

1/ (continued) that such a contribution must be reported on the first report of the candidate's committee. The complainant states:

> The value of the in-kind contribution received should be the value of the poll under § 106.4(g) at the time the candidate or his agents first received the information and not the value when his candidacy was declared or effected for FECA purposes upon the filing of a statement of candidacy.

A number of possible violations are suggested in the complaint based on the facts presented:

(1) The complainant alleges that NRSC is paying for the polling costs either as a coordinated expenditure pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d) or as an in-kind contribution pursuant to § 441a(h), and that it appears from the evidence presented that the polling expenditure or contribution may have exceeded the limitations of these sections. In addition, the complainant cites possible violations of the Act by NRSC for failing to report the contributions or expenditures, plus violations by Snelling '86 for failing to report the receipt of such contributions or expenditures. Furthermore, pursuant to the articles stating that the NRSC sought to share polling data with Snelling '86, the complainant questions whether there has been a proper allocation of polling costs as required by 11 C.F.R. §§ 106.1 and 106.4.

(2) The complainant alleges that, if MOR has advanced the costs of polling services since the beginning of the Snelling campaign, i.e., for eight months, it may have made a corporate in-kind contribution to Snelling '86 in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). It is also alleged that MOR may be extending credit on terms not "in the ordinary course of business" and not "similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors which are of similar risk and size of obligation." See 11 C.F.R. § 114.10.

(3) The complainant alleges that, if Snelling '86 owes a debt exceeding $500 to MOR but has not reported this debt on

Schedule D, it has violated 11 C.F.R. § 104.11. In addition, if Snelling '86 did make payment to MOR and did not report it, then the Committee has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).[2/]

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

1. MOR and Snelling '86

In their responses to the complaint counsel for the three respondents each assert that it is NRSC which contracted with MOR for public opinion survey and advertising tests in Vermont in 1985 and 1986 and that it is NRSC which has paid MOR for these services. According to the affidavit submitted by Rey Post, Snelling Campaign Manager, "MOR has not contributed to the Snelling '86 Committee" by performing polling services for no charge, nor is the Snelling '86 Committee indebted to MOR. "The Snelling '86 Committee has not engaged MOR to perform work for it. Upon information and belief, NRSC has so engaged MOR, and MOR has performed work for NRSC." (Post affidavit, page 2.) The affidavit of Robert M. Teeter, enclosed with the response from counsel for MOR, affirms that that corporation conducted three statewide surveys and two advertising tests in Vermont for NRSC between January 1, 1985 and the date of the complaint,

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2/ The complainant originally presented possible violations based on the theory that a party other than NRSC and Snelling '86 has paid for the polls. This would have involved excessive contributions in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a and failure to report the receipt of such in-kind contributions in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.13. The "supplemental memorandum" to the complaint indicates that the complainant is more certain that the entities paying for the polls, or obligated to pay for such polls, are NRSC and Snelling '86.

including a survey on June 14-17 1985, a second survey on April 5-9, 1986, two focus group advertising tests on May 27, 1986, and a third survey on June 26-29, 1986. Mr. Teeter states, "The results of each of these NRSC research projects were delivered to the NRSC in the normal course of business, and the NRSC paid MOR in full for each research project." (Teeter affidavit, pages 1-2.)

On the basis of the above assertions by counsel that the surveys and tests undertaken the MOR in Vermont were contracted by NRSC and paid for by that committee, this Office recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that MOR and Robert M. Teeter have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b either by making a corporate in-kind contribution to Snelling '86 or by extending credit to that committee outside the ordinary course of business. This Office also recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that Snelling '86 has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.11 by failing to report debts owed MOR and no reason to believe that Snelling '86 has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report expenditures made to MOR.

2. <u>NRSC and Snelling '86</u>

Mr. Teeter states that MOR conducted three surveys and two advertising tests in Vermont for the NRSC in 1985 and 1986. Counsel for NRSC acknowledges the same three surveys and two tests and also cites a fourth poll which was commissioned by the Republican National Committee from another firm, Decision Making Information, Inc., but which was shared by NRSC, with a portion

of the NRSC costs having been allocated to Snelling '86 as an in-kind contribution.

The following discussion addresses the separable, albeit related, issues raised as to the three MOR surveys, the DMI survey and the pair of MOR advertising tests.

a) June, 1985 Survey

As stated above, MOR conducted a statewide survey for NRSC in Vermont on June 14-17, 1985, prior to Richard Snelling's registration with the Commission on November 4, 1985. Counsel for NRSC, in response to the complaint, argues that during that summer his client was "engaged in a quest" for "a viable candidate to run for the Senate from Vermont in 1986." The MOR public opinion poll assertedly was commissioned by NRSC to help "determine the sort of candidate having the best chance for success in Vermont in 1986, and who that candidate might be." According to counsel, the survey addressed "the viability of a number of prospective candidates." (NRSC response, page 7).

In his affidavit, Mr. Teeter states that during the summer of 1985 NRSC requested MOR to attend a meeting at which Mr. Snelling was present. The NRSC response states:

> During the months of July and August of 1985, NRSC officials and political staff met with various national and state Republican officials and with a number of prospective Senate candidates. One of these was Richard Snelling. The MOR data was made available to all of these officials and individuals in an effort to generate support for the effort to unseat Senator Leahy. (NRSC response, page 8).

Counsel for Snelling '86 argues that the June, 1985 survey was undertaken "before there was a Snelling campaign, and was

done in pursuit of NRSC's efforts to find and recruit a candidate to run against Senator Leahy." .Thus counsel finds this survey to have been an "'independent expenditure' of the NRSC to defeat Senator Leahy" pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 431(17) and 11 C.F.R. § 100.16. Counsel further argues that expenditures for this poll cannot be deemed "testing-the-waters" expenditures pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) because this regulation "is not applicable where, as here, an independent expenditure is made and the prospective candidate has no control over the expenditure." (Snelling response, pages 3-4).

2 U.S.C. § 431(17) defines "independent expenditure" as "an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate . . . and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate . . . ." There is, however, nothing in the information presently before the Commission to indicate that the June 1985 poll expressly advocated the defeat of Senator Leahy.

Indeed, NRSC itself does not claim independent status for this poll. Rather, it argues that it was "a non-allocable operating expenditure of the NRSC doing what it was created to do: find, recruit and promote Republican candidates for the Senate." (NRSC response, page 8.).

11 C.F.R. § 106.1(a) provides generally for the allocation among candidates of expenditures made on behalf of more than one candidate. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(c) establishes certain exceptions

to the general rule, with expenditures for rent, personnel, overhead, general administrative, fund-raising, and other day-to-day costs not requiring allocation to individual candidates, unless they are made on behalf of a clearly identified candidate and directly attributable to that candidate.

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b), however, provides that the combination of the purchase of an opinion poll by an unauthorized politicial committee and "the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate . . . is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser to the candidate . . . ." 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) also cites 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(i) as regards "the purchase of opinion poll results for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate." Section 100.7(b)(i) includes polls among "testing-the-waters" activities exempted from the definition of "contribution," but provides that funds received for such an activity are reportable as contributions if the individual involved becomes a candidate. This section also requires that funds used for testing-the-waters be permissible under the Act, i.e., not in excess of statutory limitations.

"Funds received" include in-kind contributions. See AO 1985-40 and AO 1981-32. Therefore, it follows that if an individual accepts the results of an opinion poll and subsequently becomes a candidate, expenditures made by an unauthorized committee for that poll become in-kind contributions reportable by both donor and recipient.

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b), a determination of whether an eventual candidate has "accepted" poll results depends upon whether one of three criteria has been met. These are (1) the candidate requested the poll results before receiving them (2) the candidate used the poll results; or (3) the candidate did not notify the contributor that he or she was refusing the results. In the present situation the respondents agree that there was a poll undertaken in June, 1985 and that the data was made available to Mr. Snelling at a meeting attended by representatives of MOR and NRSC in the summer of 1985. It thus appears that Mr. Snelling did not refuse the results, but, in fact, used them in determining whether to become a candidate. Therefore, once he became a candidate the costs of the poll allocable to him should have been reported by Snelling '86 an an in-kind contribution received from NRSC and as an expenditure, while NRSC should have reported the costs as an in-kind contribution to the Snelling campaign.

This Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that Snelling '86 violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report as a receipt and an expenditure the cost of an appropriately allocable portion of the June, 1985, poll conducted by MOR and paid for by NRSC. This Office also recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that NRSC violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report a portion of the

expenditure made to MOR for the June, 1985, poll as an in-kind contribution to Snelling '86. 3/

b. **December, 1985 and April, 1986 Surveys**

The complaint cites a $118.75 in-kind contribution from NRSC for a survey which was reported by NRSC as made on February 9, 1986, and by Snelling '86 as received on March 12, 1986. Counsel for Snelling '86 does not address this survey in his response to the complaint. Counsel for NRSC states that in December, 1985, his client shared in a poll conducted by Decision Making Information, Inc., pursuant to a commission by the Republican National Committee; that NRSC "shared some of this data with the Snelling committee"; and that NRSC "allocated Snelling's 'depreciated' allocable share of NRSC's share to the DMI survey costs as an in-kind contribution against NRSC's 441a(h) limit." (NRSC response,

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3/ 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d) establishes limitations for expeditures made by national committees in connection with general election campaigns and thus is not applicable to the NRSC expenditures here at issue. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) provides that the Republican and Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committees may contribute amounts totaling no more than $17,500 to candidates for nomination for election, or for election, to the United States Senate during an election year. 11 C.F.R. § 110.2(c) provides that "the Republican and Democratic Senatorial Committees . . . may contribute not more than a combined total of $17,500 to a candidate for nomination or election to the Senate during the calendar year of the election for which he or she is a candidate. Any contribution made by the committees to a Senate candidate in a year other than that election year shall be considered to be part of the $17,500 total contribution limit for that election year."

Both committees have reported a $15,000 contribution from NRSC to Snelling '86 in November, 1985, for the primary campaign. In addition, $743 in expenditures on behalf of Mr. Snelling have been reported as made by NRSC for the primary campaign. (See below) Any allocable costs of the June, 1985, survey would be added to these figures. Although the complaint states that $20,000 represents an average cost of a benchmark survey, no valuation of the specific survey here at issue has been established. Therefore, this Office makes no recommendation at this time regarding possible violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) by NRSC and of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by Snelling '86 by exceeding the $17,500 limitation.

page 4). This allocated portion is represented by the $118.75 in-kind contribution reported by NRSC and by Snelling '86. NRSC argues that the results of this survey were received by the Snelling committee after 60 or more days had elapsed following NRSC's receipt of those results. Therefore NRSC valued the in-kind contribution at 5% of Snelling '86's allocable share of the survey. (NRSC response, pages 4-5).

Counsel for NRSC also discusses a statewide survey conducted for his client by MOR in Vermont on April 5-9, 1986. Counsel asserts that this April poll included questions related to NRSC's own research and testing of themes and issues, to the Vermont gubernatorial contest, and to the 1986 Senatorial race. The supplemental memorandum supplied by the complainant included affidavits furnished by two persons who had been contacted as part of the April survey. These affidavits are in agreement with counsel for the NRSC as to the range of topics covered in the survey, although the affidavits seem to give more weight to the Senate race.

According to the Post affidavit and to counsel for NRSC, the latter allocated $625 of the cost of this poll to Snelling '86 pursuant to the cost allocation regulations of the Commission. The Snelling committee reported a $625 receipt from and a $625 payment to the NRSC on May 26, 1986, while the NRSC reported an expenditure of $625 on May 31, 1986, as an in-kind contribution to the Snelling committee for a survey. In his affidavit Mr. Post states that the Snelling committee "did not receive the data tabulation which resulted from this [April] survey until after 60 days had elapsed

from the date on which NRSC received that data." (Post affidavit, page 2).

11 C.F.R. § 106.4 provides a formula for determining how much of the original costs of a poll the ultimate beneficiary should report as a contribution received, with that amount being dependent upon the percentage of benefit allocated to the later beneficiary and upon the timing of receipt of the poll results. If the results related to a particular candidate or committee are received by that candidate or committee within 15 days of their receipt by the initial purchaser, the later recipient must report 100% of the share of the costs allocable to that ultimate recipient. If the results are received between 16 and 60 days after receipt by the purchaser, the ultimate beneficiary's share is 50% of the share of the costs attributable to that recipient. If the ultimate beneficiary receives the results between 61 and 180 days after the initial recipient, the former's share is 5% of the allocated amount. If the results are received after 180 days, no amount must be allocated to the ultimate recipient.

Mr. Teeter states that in April, 1986, MOR representatives again attended a meeting at the request of NRSC at which Mr. Snelling and representatives of his campaign committee were present. He asserts that "(s)urvey results were not disclosed." (Teeter affidavit).[4/]

4/ Mr. Teeter also states that survey results were not disclosed in telephone conferences with Mr. Snelling and representatives of his committee held on unspecified dates.

Regarding the April poll, Mr. Post admits that Snelling '86 received "general advice and recommendations from persons who had access to the MOR data." (Post affidavit, page 2). Counsel for Snelling '86 terms this process "briefings." (Snelling response, page 4). Mr. Post asserts, however, that "upon information and belief, no one provided the Snelling '86 Committee with specific data from the survey until the 60-day period had elapsed, because the Snelling '86 Committee wished to comply with the regulation which allows for reduced allocations for data received after the 60-day period." (Post affidavit, pages 2-3.) Counsel states that "(t)he briefing participants deliberately tailored their remarks to avoid conveying poll results . . . ." (Snelling response, page 4).

Counsel for NRSC agrees that in April that committee's political advisors "met with Snelling campaign officials to discuss strategy and organization." (NRSC response, page 6).

> At [these] meetings . . . NRSC personnel were aware of the results of the polling commissioned by the NRSC. However, NRSC's political staff and deputies are under strict instructions scrupulously to refrain from communicating actual polling results to campaign officials, unless the campaign is prepared to pay or be assessed its allocable share of the costs. At no time during any of the . . . meetings with the Snelling committee were any survey research materials transferred, including any quantitative polling results or other work product." (NRSC response, page 6).

This Office believes that the NRSC and Snelling '86 argument that actual transmission of data is required in order for poll "results" to have been "received" is too narrow an interpretation of the Commission's regulations because it ignores a significant aspect of what constitutes value to the beneficiary of a survey.

The conclusions drawn from an analysis of numbers or from other information gleaned from a poll would certainly benefit a campaign in and of themselves, and thus advice and opinions received from those who have had access to polling data and who have analyzed that data are as much "results" of a poll as are the raw numbers. Because Snelling '86 apparently received information based on the numbers gleaned from the December and April polls paid for by NRSC within 60 days of receipt of the results by the NRSC, the former committee received in-kind contributions from NRSC in December and April, not just later in March and May. The value of these contributions could be 50% and possibly 100% of the cost of the portions of the polls appropriately allocable to Snelling '86 rather than the 5% allocated by NRSC, depending upon exactly when the briefing of the Snelling committee took place.

This Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that Snelling '86 has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3) and (6) by undervaluing the in-kind contribution of poll results reported as received from NRSC on March 12, 1986, and May 26, 1986, and that the NRSC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by undervaluing the in-kind contributions which it reported making to Snelling '86 on February 9 and May 31, 1986.

d. <u>June 26-29, 1986 survey</u>

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(c) provides that if poll results have been made public prior to their receipt by a final recipient "without any request, authorization, prearrangement or coordination," no

in-kind contribution and expenditure results. The last statewide survey in Vermont cited by Mr. Teeter as undertaken by MOR for NRSC is one dated June 26-29, 1986. This particular poll is not addressed in the response received from counsel for Snelling '86, although one of the newspaper articles attached to the complaint attributes to Mr. Post a statement that "Snelling helped pay for the poll. . . ." (Complaint, Exhibit F, page 3).

Counsel for the NRSC states that this survey, which was received by his client on July 3, 1986, "contained a number of questions pertaining to party affliation, gubernatorial preference, and Senatorial preference ('head-to-head')." Counsel further states that no data was given to the Snelling committee and that the results of the 'head-to-head' Senate preference question were made public by means of an NRSC newsletter dated July 14, 1986. News accounts based on this newsletter appeared on July 15 and 16 and Mr. Snelling began public comments on the results on July 18. Counsel asserts that "(t)here is no evidence suggesting that Snelling was aware of the . . . results prior to publication . . . ." (NRSC response, page 7).

Given the acknowledged communications between the NRSC and the Snelling committee regarding earlier surveys, and given the narrow definition of "results" employed by counsel for NRSC, this Office proposes to pursue in its investigation the possibility of discussions between the two committees regarding this survey prior to publication of the "survey results" (presumably data) on July 14, 1986.

d. May 27, 1986, Focus Group Advertising Test

The complaint also alleges that in May, 1986, a focus group was gathered in Vermont to view a series of advertisments which assertedly employed themes tested in the April poll discussed above. In his affidavit Robert Teeter of MOR states that two focus group advertising tests paid for by NRSC were conducted by MOR in Vermont on May 27, 1986. The results were "delivered to the NRSC." (Teeter affidavit).

Attached to the supplemental complaint is an affidavit signed by Mary Scully of Burlington, Vermont, one of approximately 40 people who participated in the viewing of television commercials during the week of May 26, 1986. According to Ms. Scully, these commercials "were prepared for the Snelling Campaign." Each of the persons, or a designated high school, received $25 for participating; some received a free meal. Ms. Scully states that the transcripts attached to her affidavit appear to be transcripts of the commercials she was shown, and that "most of these television commercials have been shown on TV by the Snelling Campaign." (Scully affidavit).

Counsel for NRSC states that the NRSC sponsored this test (or tests) for three reasons, "(1) to increase its knowledge regarding this untried but expensive technique . . .; (2) to continue its own research regarding the effectiveness of different types of advertising . . .; (3) and to test viewers' responses to specific themes related to the Snelling-Leahy contest." (NRSC response, page 9). Counsel agrees that a portion of the costs of this test are allocable to the Snelling campaign, but asserts that

payment to MOR was not made until July 8, 1986, and thus after the close of the quarterly reporting period ending June 30. Counsel states that "(t)he Snelling committee's share will be reported by both committees on their next quarterly reports." No itemization of such an in-kind contribution has been reported by either committee in reports filed since receipt of counsel's response.

This Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that Snelling '86 has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3) and (6) by failing to report NRSC's payment for the Snelling campaign's allocated portion of the advertising tests as an in-kind contribution and expenditure, and that NRSC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report an in-kind contribution to Snelling '86 in this regard.

This Office also recommends that the Commission approve the attached subpoenas for documents and orders to submit written answers to be served upon NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find no reason to believe that Market Opinion Research, Inc., and Robert M. Teeter have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by making an in-kind contribution to the Snelling '86 Committee or by extending credit to the Snelling '86 Committee outside the ordinary course of business.

2. Find no reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by accepting an in-kind contribution from Market Opinion Research, Inc.

3. Find no reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.11 by failing to report a debt owed Market Opinion Research, Inc., or 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report expenditures made to Market Opinion Research, Inc.

4. Find reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report the costs of surveys paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") as in-kind contributions from NRSC, and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as received from NRSC.

5. Find reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report costs of surveys and advertising tests paid for by NRSC as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling '86 Committee.

6. Approve and send attached letters, plus subpoenas to produce documents and orders to submit written answers.

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

11/18/86
Date

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

Attachments

1) Affidavit of Rey Post
2) Affidavit of Robert M. Teeter
3) Response of NRSC
4) Response of Snelling '86 Committee
5) Letters (3) and Subpoenas and Orders (2)

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES N. STEELE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS /CHERYL A. FLEMING

DATE: NOVEMBER 21, 1986

SUBJECT: OBJECTION TO MUR 2212 - GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT SIGNED NOVEMBER 18, 1986

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Wednesday, November 19, 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	
Commissioner McDonald	
Commissioner McGarry	
Commissioner Thomas	X

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for Tuesday, December 2, 1986.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial	)	MUR 2212
Committee	)	
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer	)	
Market Opinion Research, Inc.	)	
Robert M. Teeter	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of December 2, 1986, do hereby certify that the Commission took the following actions in MUR 2212:

1. Decided by a vote of 6-0 to

   a) Find no reason to believe that Market Opinion Research, Inc., and Robert M. Teeter have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by making an in-kind contribution to the Snelling '86 Committee or by extending credit to the Snelling '86 Committee outside the ordinary course of business.

   b) Find no reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by accepting an in-kind contribution from Market Opinion Research, Inc.

(continued)

c) Find no reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.11 by failing to report a debt owed Market Opinion Research, Inc., or 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report expenditures made to Market Opinion Research, Inc.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision.

2. Decided by a vote of 4-2 to find reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report the costs of surveys paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") as in-kind contributions from NRSC, and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as received from NRSC.

Commissioners Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioners Aikens and Elliott dissented.

3. Decided by a vote of 4-2 to

a) Find reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report costs of surveys and advertising tests paid for by NRSC as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling'86 Committee.

(continued)

b) Approve and send letters, plus subpoenas to produce documents and order to submit written answers, as recommended in the General Counsel's reports dated November 18, 1986 and November 24, 1986.

Commissioners Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioners Aikens and Elliott dissented.

Attest:

12-4-86
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Plm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 9, 1986

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Kevin Wholey
Counsel
National Republican Senatorial Committee
Suite 600
440 First Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

RE: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Wholey:

On December 2 , 1986, the Federal Election Commission determined that there is reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC"), and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report costs of surveys and advertising tests paid for by NRSC as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling '86 Commmittee.

Under the Act, the NRSC and Mr. Smith have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against them. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials along with your response to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents and Order to Submit Written Answers. It is required that the latter information be submitted under oath and that this be done within the time frames established in the Subpoena and Order.

If pre-probable cause conciliation is requested, the Commission may decide not to propose a conciliation agreement until it has completed its review and analysis of the submitted materials. In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the respondents, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and then proceed with conciliation. You should be advised that the Commission is not required to enter into any negotiations directed towards reaching a conciliation agreement unless and until it makes a finding of

probable cause to believe. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Further, requests for pre-probable cause conciliation will not be entertained after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondents.

The investigation now being conducted will be 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 investigation to be made public.

For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling possible violations of the Act. If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena and Order
Procedures

pln

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 9, 1986

Gary H. Barnes, Esquire
Downs Rachlin and Martin
100 Dorset Street
P.O. Box 190
Burlington, Vermont 05402-0190

RE: MUR 2212
Snelling '86 Committee
Duncan F. Brown, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Barnes:

On December 2, 1986, the Federal Election Commission determined that there is reason to believe that your clients, the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report the costs of surveys and advertising tests paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") as in-kind contributions from NRSC, and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as received from NRSC. The Commission found no reason to believe that the Committee and Mr. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by accepting an in-kind contribution from Market Opinion Research, Inc., 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.11 by failing to report a debt owed Market Opinion Research, Inc., or 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report expenditures made to Market Opinion Research, Inc.

Under the Act, your clients have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against them. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials along with your clients' responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents and Order to Submit Written Answers. It is required that the latter information be submitted under oath and that this be done within the time frames established in the Subpoena and Order.

If pre-probable cause conciliation is requested, the Commission may decide not to propose a conciliation agreement until it has completed its review and analysis of the submitted materials. In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the respondents, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and then proceed with conciliation. You should be advised that the Commission is not required

to enter into any negotiations directed toward reaching a conciliation agreement unless and until it makes a finding of probable cause to believe. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Further, requests for pre-probable cause conciliation will not be entertained after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondents.

The investigation now being conducted will be 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 investigation to be made public.

For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling possible violations of the Act. If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Joan D. Aikens

Joan D. Aikens
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena and Order
Procedures

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plm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 9, 1986

George H. Meyer, Esquire
Meyer, Kirk, Snyder and Safford
100 West Long Lake Road, Suite 100
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

RE: MUR 2212
Market Opinion Research, Inc.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

On August 6, 1986, the Commission notified your clients, Market Opinion Research, Inc., and Robert M. Teeter, of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

The Commission, on December 2, 1986, determined that on the basis of the information in the complaint, and the information which you provided , there is no reason to believe that your clients have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by making an in-kind contribution to the Snelling '86 Committee or by extending credit to the Snelling '86 Committee outside the ordinary course of business. Accordingly, the Commission has closed its file in this matter as it pertains to your clients.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days after the file has been closed with respect to all respondents. The Commission reminds you that 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.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

2 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 7

GCC# 2345

RECEIVED AT THE FEC

HAND DELIVERED

DEC 23 P12:58

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1140 19TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-6601*
(202) 861-0900
TELEX 756-260

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(212) 370-9800
TELEX 5101008171

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(415) 398-5565

1875 CENTURY PARK EAST
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067-2501
(213) 556-8861

515 EAST PARK AVENUE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301-2524
(904) 681-0596

*P.C. NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND VIRGINIA ONLY

December 23, 1986

HAND-DELIVERED

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esquire
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Room 615A
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: MUR 2212; Respondents National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, and Respondents Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

This shall serve to follow-up on your conversation of December 19, 1986 with Leslie J. Kerman, an attorney with our firm. Specifically, as you were informed by Ms. Kerman, our firm has been retained to take over the representation of Respondents National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, ("NRSC"), as well as Respondents Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, ("Snelling Committee"), in the above-captioned matter. Executed Statements of Designation of Counsel will be forwarded to your office shortly, as soon as the respective Respondents return from their holiday vacations.

As you also discussed with Ms. Kerman, on behalf of both the NRSC and the Snelling Committee we hereby request an extension of time in which to respond to the Commission's reason-to-believe determinations in MUR 2212, as well as the Subpoenas to Produce Documents and Orders to Submit Written Answers issued to both of our clients in this matter. The referenced response, production of documents and submission of written answers presently are scheduled to be filed and/or produced on or before January 6, 1986. Due to the change of

counsel in this matter as well as the fact that those individuals who possess the information required to respond to the Commission's inquiries currently are on holiday vacations, we request that the production of documents for both the NRSC and Snelling Committee be rescheduled until Tuesday, January 20, 1987 at 10:00 a.m. at your office. Further, we request that the submission of written answers for both the NRSC and the Snelling Committee, as well as their responses to the Commission's findings, also be due to be filed with your office on or before Tuesday, January 20, 1987 at 10:00 a.m.

The requested extensions of time are absolutely mandatory for us to be able to adequately respond to the Commission's allegations and requests for documents and written answers in this matter. Therefore, we would appreciate your assistance in obtaining approval of our requested extensions of time.

If you have any questions regarding this matter, please do not hesitate to call either Leslie J. Kerman or myself at (202) 861-0900. Best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson

LJK/mbe

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pl/m

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 29, 1986

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein, Becker, Borsody and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

MUR 2212
National Republican
Senatorial Committee
Snelling '86 Committee

Dear Mr. Gerson:

This is in reference to your letter dated December 23, 1986, requesting extensions of time until January 20, 1986, to respond to the Commission's reason to believe determinations in the above-cited matter, as well as to respond to the Subpoena to Produce Documents and Order to Submit Written Answers issued to each of your clients. After consideration of the circumstances presented in your letter, your requested extensions have been granted. Thus your responses will be due no later than January 20.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorney assigend to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

8 7 0 4 0 7 6 2 5 3 0

GCC#2378

ROBERT D. RACHLIN
ALLEN MARTIN
JAMES C. GALLAGHER
WILLIAM A. GILBERT
GARY H. BARNES
JAMES G. WHEELER, JR.
WILLIAM W. PEARSON
JOHN H. MARSHALL
LEO A. BISSON, JR.
PRISCILLA K. REIDINGER
MARC B. HEATH
WILLIAM W. SCHROEDER

PAUL H. ODE, JR.
KATHLEEN H. DAVIS
GREGORY S. CLAYTON
JILL LANMAN BRODERICK
DENNIS W. WELLS
ROBERT B. LUCE
MICHAEL J. GANNON
CHARLES N. HURT, JR.
RICHARD N. BLAND
ELIZABETH B. MULLIKIN
JOHN H. TARLOW

LAW OFFICE OF
DOWNS RACHLIN & MARTIN
PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
100 DORSET STREET
POST OFFICE BOX 190
BURLINGTON, VERMONT 05402-0190

TELEPHONE (802) 863-2375
TELECOPIER (802) 862-7512
TELEX 92-1857

JOHN H. DOWNS
CHRISTOPHER G. STONEMAN
COUNSEL

ST. JOHNSBURY OFFICE
9 PROSPECT STREET
ST. JOHNSBURY, VT 05819-0699

TELEPHONE (802) 748-8324
TELECOPIER (802) 748-4394
TELEX 888659

December 15, 1986

Joan D. Aikens, Chairman
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2212 Snelling '86 Committee;
Duncan F. Brown as Treasurer

Dear Chairman Aikens:

The description of the commission's procedures was omitted from your letter to me dated December 9.

Kindly send me a copy. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Gary H. Barnes

GHB:dg

RECEIVED AT THE FEC
GCC#2398
87 JAN 5 A9:50

ROBERT D. RACHLIN
ALLEN MARTIN
JAMES C. GALLAGHER*
WILLIAM A. GILBERT
GARY H. BARNES
JAMES G. WHEELER, JR.
WILLIAM W. PEARSON
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CHRISTINA M. BYROM
DALE A. ROCHELEAU
ANITA R. TUTTLE

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TELECOPIER (802) 748-4394
TELEX 888659

December 29, 1986

Attorney Anne A. Weissenborn
Staff Attorney
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

1 JAN 5 A10:42

Re: DR&M #2831-001; MUR#2212
Snelling '86 Committee

Dear Attorney Weissenborn:

We today spoke with Duncan Brown, Treasurer of the Snelling '86 Committee. We understand he has responded to The Commission's information requests of December 9.

We will not be representing the Snelling '86 Committee, at least for the present. We will advise the Commission in the future if we again wish to enter an appearance. In the meanwhile, kindly withdraw our appearance and correspond directly with Mr. Duncan Brown. He can be reached at:

Simson, Brown & Company
100 Dorset Street
South Burlington, VT 05401 phone:(802) 658 2930

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Gary H. Barnes

cc: Duncan Brown

GCG# 2400
RECEIVED AT THE FEC
87 JAN 5 A9:54

SNELLING '86 U.S. SENATE

(802) 658-5341

Co-Chairmen
Gov. Deane C. Davis
Mrs. Lola P. Aiken

January 2, 1987

RECEIVED
GENERAL COUNSEL
87 JAN 5 A10:42

Anne A. Weissenborn
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

DR&M #2831-001; MUR#2212
Snelling '86 Committee

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

This will correct a communication addressed to you by Gary H. Barnes dated December 29, 1986.

We have assembled the material requested by the Commission on December 9, 1986, but it has not yet been transmitted to the Commission.

Sincerely,

Duncan F. Brown

Duncan F. Brown,
Treasurer

0102AWFE

cc: Gary H. Barnes

The Snelling '86 Committee
100 Dorset Street
South Burlington, VT 05401

ROBERT D. RACHLIN
ALLEN MARTIN
JAMES C. GALLAGHER*
WILLIAM A. GILBERT
GARY H. BARNES
JAMES G. WHEELER, JR.
WILLIAM W. PEARSON
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*ALSO WASHINGTON, DC

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ST. JOHNSBURY, VT 05819-0999

TELEPHONE (802) 748-8324
TELECOPIER (802) 748-4394
TELEX 888659

December 29, 1986

Attorney Anne A. Weissenborn
Staff Attorney
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

Re: DR&M #2831-001; MUR#2212
Snelling '86 Committee

I called Barbara today. They will have info (12/29/86) but has said it will send to NRC. BB, 1/02/87

Dear Attorney Weissenborn:

We today spoke with Duncan Brown, Treasurer of the Snelling '86 Committee. We understand he has responded to The Commission's information requests of December 9.

We will not be representing the Snelling '86 Committee, at least for the present. We will advise the Commission in the future if we again wish to enter an appearance. In the meanwhile, kindly withdraw our appearance and correspond directly with Mr. Duncan Brown. He can be reached at:

Simson, Brown & Company
100 Dorset Street
South Burlington, VT 05401 phone:(802) 658 2930

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Gary H. Barnes

cc: Duncan Brown

bcc: Robert D. Rachlin

9 1 1 9 0 7 0 6 3 3 4

CCC# 2533

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1140 19TH STREET, N.W.
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TELEX 5101008171

108 NORTH ST. ASAPH STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314*
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201 MAIN STREET
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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111-5954
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515 EAST PARK AVENUE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301-2524
(904) 681-0596

*P.C. NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND VIRGINIA ONLY

January 20, 1987

'87 JAN 21 A10:15

HAND DELIVERED

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esquire
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Room 615A
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2212;
Respondents Snelling '86 Committee
and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed please find response of the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, (collectively "the Respondents") to the Federal Election Comission's ("Commission") reason-to-believe determination in the above-captioned matter and the Commission's subpoena for documents and order to submit written answers to a list of questions.

As discussed, the Snelling '86 Committee reviewed all pertinent available documents in preparing its response to the Commission's document request. However, in case additional responsive documents are discovered, the Snelling '86 Committee expressly reserves the right to supplement its document submission.

In addition, as we also discussed, Respondents desire to resolve this matter as expeditiously as possible. Therefore, Respondents hereby request to enter into pre-probable cause negotiations with your office, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(a), directed towards reaching a conciliation agreement in this MUR.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions regarding the enclosed documents. I look forward to working with you to resolve this matter.

Very truly yours,

Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson
Counsel
Snelling '86 Committee and
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer

SMG:mbe
Enclosure

9 0 7 6 2 6 3 0

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF	X	
	X	
SNELLING '86 COMMITTEE	X	
	X	
and	X	MUR 2212
	X	
DUNCAN F. BROWN, AS TREASURER	X	
	X	

RESPONSE OF SNELLING '86 COMMITTEE
TO COMMISSION REASON TO BELIEVE DETERMINATION
AND TO SUBPOENA AND ORDER

By letter dated December 9, 1986, the Federal Election Commission ("Commission" or "FEC") notified the respondents, the Snelling '86 Committee and its Treasurer, Duncan F. Brown, that the Commission had found reason to believe that the respondents had violated the Federal Election Campaign Act ("The Act") in regard to the reporting and valuation of certain surveys and advertising tests paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC"). The Commission's letter invited a response to this finding and also included a subpoena for documents and an order to submit answers to a list of questions.

While the respondents are happy to submit the documents and answers that the Commission had requested, and do so in the next two succeeding sections of this response, they also maintain that they have not violated the Act and, for the reasons stated herein, that the Commission should so find.

Response to Subpoena to Produce Documents

Introduction

In an attempt to assure their good-faith compliance with the Commission's documentary request, the respondents caused a complete search to be made of the office and files of the Snelling '86 campaign. As a result of that search, all documents and materials which were found that are responsive to the request are being provided. Where respondents know of the existence of a document, but do not have it in their possession -- either because they never had it or because they did not retain it --they have sought to assure that it would be provided by the NRSC. This is particularly so as to the questions and data relating to the four polls that are the Commission's apparent focus.

Finally, the respondents assert a personal confidentiality and proprietary interest in all of the documents provided and formally request that their confidentiality be maintained by the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, returned at the conclusion of this investigation. In the event that the Commission were to receive a request pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act, or otherwise, for the disclosure of any document provided herewith, or were to consider such disclosure on its own, the respondents request 10 days' advance notice of any release contemplated by the Commission so that they might assert their rights under law. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.21.

Responses

1. All questions included in the following opinion surveys conducted wholly or in part for NRSC by either Market Opinion Research, Inc., ("MOR"), or Decision Making Information, Inc., ("DMI") in the State of Vermont in 1985 and 1986.

a. Survey conducted by MOR on June 14-17, 1986.

b. Survey conducted by DMI in December, 1985, pursuant to commission by the Republican National Committee and shared in by NRSC.

c. Survey conducted by MOR on April 5-9, 1986.

d. Survey conducted by MOR on June 26-29, 1986.

RESPONSE:

a. The respondents believe that there is a typographical error in the request and that the Commission, in fact, is seeking a copy of the MOR "benchmark" survey done in June of 1985. However, the respondents are not in possession of this document, which was prepared at the direction and for the benefit of the NRSC before Governor Richard A. Snelling had decided to become a candidate for the Senate. On information and belief, the "benchmark" survey was undertaken as part of the NRSC's own recruitment efforts, and the NRSC, which is in possession of the questions sought by the Commission, will provide them as part of its response in this MUR.

b-c. The respondents were unable to locate copies of the complete survey questions, or the surveys themselves, but

have been assured that the NRSC will be providing them in its response in this MUR.

d. Although they cannot determine when the document was received, respondents are in possession of a draft of the questions of the MOR June 26, 1986 poll. A copy of this document is attached at Tab A.

2. All documents and materials concerning written or oral communications between NRSC and Richard Snelling, and between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee in 1985 and 1986 on the subject of the surveys cited in Item #1 above, including, but not limited to, all documents and materials concerning surveys being planned, surveys carried out, and analysis of data collected in such surveys.

RESPONSE:

The documents responsive to subpoena request No. 2 are included in the attachments hereto at Tab B. We note, however, that the request is a broad one, calling for documents and materials relating in any way to the four surveys described in subpoena request No. 1. The fact that the documents provided may "concern" the planning or results of a survey should not be taken by the Commission to mean that everything on a document, e.g., various handwritten notes, relates to or derives from one of the surveys that is the subject of this MUR. Many of the notes and documents also relate to publicly-available surveys and non-survey-based information. Moreover, unless a date is specifi-

cally shown on a document, the respondents are not aware of when they received the document or when the document was annotated.

3. All documents and materials concerning written and oral communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of portions of the expenditures made by NRSC to MOR and DMI for the surveys cited in Item #1 above, and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

All such "documents and materials" are provided in the attachments hereto at Tab C.

4. Copies of all advertisements involved in all focus group advertising tests conducted in Vermont for NRSC by MOR on May 27, 1986.

RESPONSE:

The focus-group advertising was, on information and belief, provided solely in videotape form, and respondents are not, and never have been in possession of a copy of the tape that was used by MOR on behalf of the NRSC. We are aware that the NRSC has obtained a copy of the tape and provided it to counsel in connection with its own response in this MUR. It will, therefore, be provided for the Commission's examination.

5. All documents and materials concerning the advertising tests cited in Item #4 above, including, but not

limited to, plans for such tests, the carrying out of such tests, and analysis of the data obtained, both general and specific.

RESPONSE:

Respondents had received one document responsive to this request and originated another. Both are provided at Tab D of the attachments hereto.

6. All documents and materials concerning communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of a portion of the expenditures made by NRSC to MOR for the advertising tests cited in Item #4 above, and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

The requested documents and materials are attached hereto at Tab E.

Responses to Interrogatories

1. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in July or August, 1985, attended by Richard Snelling and representatives of NRSC and MOR.

RESPONSE:

A comprehensive review of the records both of the Snelling '86 campaign and of Governor Snelling himself reveals that there was no meeting that took place in July or August of

1985 at which Governor Richard A. Snelling and representatives of both NRSC and MOR attended.

2. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

There was no such meeting. See response to Interrogatory No. 1, supra.

3. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in April, 1986, attended by representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, NRSC, and MOR.

RESPONSE:

There was one such meeting, and the attendees were Governor Richard A. Snelling; James E. Murphy, Jr., a NRSC Deputy Political Director; Alex Gage, a representative of MOR; Charles Black, of Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, a consultant to the campaign; and Jan van Lohuizen, the NRSC's Director of Survey Research.

4. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

April 14, 1986

5. Please identify all persons involved in every telephone conference call in 1985 and 1986 in which Richard Snelling and/or representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, plus representatives of MOR and NRSC, took part.

6. Please provide the exact dates of these telephone conference calls.

RESPONSE:

5-6. The respondents do not have complete records of telephone conference calls for the referenced period. However, upon consultation with various parties to such conversations, the respondents list the following telephone conference calls which took place in 1986 in which they believe that either Governor Richard Snelling or a representative of Snelling '86 and both representatives of MOR and NRSC took part. They know of no such conference call involving each of these categories of parties which took place in 1985.

Date	Participants
July 2, 1986	Governor Snelling, James E. Murphy, Jr., Alex Gage, Greg Stevens, a media consultant employed by Snelling '86, and Jan van Lohuizen.
August 29, 1986	Messers. Snelling, Murphy, Gage, van Lohuizen and Charles Black and Rey Post, the Campaign Manager of Snelling '86.
September 25, 1986	Messrs. Snelling, Murphy, van Lohuizen, Black, Post and Robert Teeter, an official of MOR.
October 2, 1986	Same participants as previous call.

In addition, the records of Snelling '86 show that a call was scheduled for July 17, 1986, among Messrs. Snelling, Black, Post, Murphy and van Lohuizen. An inquiry among the prospective parties to that call suggests that it did not take place.

ARGUMENT

The Commission Should Find That Snelling '86 and its Treasurer Have Not Violated the Act.

In their initial response memorandum, the respondents set forth their basic legal position, which is unchanged with this filing. Pending the Commission's review of the documents submitted by these and the other respondents in this MUR, Snelling '86 and its treasurer reserve the right to submit an additional brief on the merits. Several matters, however, are worthy of present discussion.

In determining that the respondents failed adequately to account for and report the cost of certain surveys and advertising tests paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the Commission (as evidenced by its subpoena and document request, has centered upon five items:

1. A survey conducted by MOR in mid-June 1985, which the NRSC has called its "benchmark" survey;

2. A survey conducted by DMI in December 1985 at the initiation of the NRSC;

3. A survey conducted by MOR in early April 1986, again at the initiation of the NRSC;

4. A survey conducted by MOR in late June 1986, also at the behest of the NRSC; and

5. A "focus group" advertising test conducted by the MOR and the NRSC in May 1986.

In assigning value to information resulting from these polls when data derived from them eventually were provided to the

Snelling campaign, and consequently in reporting contributions and expenditures to the Commission, (or in deciding that a contribution had not been received and therefore that no reporting was required), the respondents relied completely upon the advice and instructions of the NRSC. The respondents believed, and still believe, that the NRSC's advice was accurate and, as we shall discuss, that the decisions made on the basis of it were correct.

A. The June 1985 "Benchmark Survey"

The June 1985 "benchmark survey," was undertaken entirely at the insistence of the NRSC. Governor Snelling had nothing to do with the formulation of the inquiries or in the approach taken in conducting the poll, which was carried on as part of the NRSC's recruitment function.

There was no Snelling campaign when the benchmark survey was conducted because Governor Snelling not only had not formed it, but because he had not even decided that he wanted to be a candidate for the Senate. Nor was the survey a "testing-the-waters" activity of Governor Snelling; he wasn't testing anything. Compare 11 C.F.R. S 100.7(b)(1).

The NRSC has a legitimate role as a national party committee in identifying and recruiting candidates. The nature of the benchmark poll and the way that it was used are indicative of that recruitment role. As the Commission should be able to determine from a review of the documents provided at Tab B, the benchmark poll was derivative of the NRSC's function, but was

largely irrelevant to the subsequent Snelling campaign, which did not accept the poll but instead formulated a lengthy campaign plan (see attachments) that was not essentially based upon data, other than certain other information which by the time of the plan's formulation was available from newspaper polls and other public sources.

B. Surveys During the Campaign

Of the three mid-campaign surveys with which the Commission is concerned, appropriate allocations were made against the direct or coordinated expenditures that the NRSC is entitled to make on behalf of the campaign committee as to two of them (the DMI poll of December 1985, and the MOR poll of April 1986). These were based upon the 60-day depreciation level set forth in the Commission's regulations. The third survey (the MOR poll which respondents understand was conducted in June 1986) was not presented to the campaign and so, we are informed, no allocation was made or bill presented by the NRSC.

As the documents attached at Tab B illustrate, the campaign was well aware that polling data would not be given to it, if at all, for 60 days. This rule was honored. At the same time, however, it was entirely proper (and did not create an allocable event) for various persons, including representatives of the NRSC, to discuss different campaign issues with the candidate and his staff, even if those issues peripherally involved polling trends.

As the attachments also show, there were many informational sources available to the campaign including public newspaper polls which were quite consistent in detail and result to the MOR and DMI polls with which we are here concerned. Through these sources, the campaign was able to put together a fairly detailed, though often erroneous, statistical profile of its position, without obtaining polling data that would have resulted in a contribution in kind by the NRSC.

The Commission's regulations are not particularly detailed in describing what constitutes receipt of polls, and perhaps this would be an appropriate topic for a future rulemaking provision. For the present, the respondents submit that their conduct was not inconsistent with the few governing precedents and that the discounted allocations that were made were accurate and proper.

C. The "Focus Group" Test

As the documents included at Tab D show, at least some of the information derived from the "focus group" advertising test conducted in May 1986 was shared with the Snelling campaign soon after the information was received. And, as the documents included at Tab E demonstrate, the campaign paid the sum of $3,600 to the NRSC on the day that the bill was received. Respondents, who paid what the NRSC informed them was due, without prior consultation on the amount, believe that the payment was appropriate, reasonable and entirely consonant with Commission regulations.

It is the respondents' understanding that the focus group studies had a dual purpose. Plainly, they were intended to be of benefit to the Snelling campaign which used some of the data in selecting television advertising spots. However, we understand that the survey, which was initiated by the NRSC and was conducted through MOR, but with the participation of an NRSC expert in advertising, had a far more extensive purpose. That purpose had nothing to do with the Snelling campaign or with Vermont. Instead, the NRSC has been studying the effect of television advertising, particularly so-called "negative" political advertising. That study is broad and ongoing, and the information derived in the focus group testing is central to its conduct.

As to the $3,600 actually paid by respondents for the survey, we respectfully submit that this amount is a significant one and that it fairly reflects the cost of the information provided and its fair-market value in terms of the use made of it in the Vermont campaign.

Conclusion

For all of the foregoing reasons, as well as those that respondents have reserved the right to present at a later time, the respondents respectfully submit that the Commission should determine that they have not violated the Act and have fairly and accurately reported the disbursements made for the information received as the result of polling conducted by the NRSC.

Respectfully submitted,

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.

By: Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson

1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 861-0900

Attorneys for the Respondents

January 20, 1987

A

Vermont Statewide #2
Draft Questionnaire
Quota, n=400
June 26, 1986
*** = Trend Question**

*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. 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)?

*3. Of the following seven issues, which one do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

(RANDOMIZE)

a. Nuclear arms control
b. International terrorism
c. Foreign affairs
d. Unemployment
e. Environment
f. Federal budget deficit
g. Agriculture and farm issues

*4. Which one would you choose next? (REPEAT REMAINING ITEMS)

As you know, there will be elections this fall . . .

*5. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

*6. Again thinking about the upcoming elections, which one of the following is most important for the parties and candidates to discuss and debate this fall?

Economic policies such as the federal deficit, taxes and government spending, OR

Foreign policies such as relations with the Soviet Union, international terrorism and nuclear arms control

*7. Thinking about the U.S. Senate race in Vermont, is there a particular candidate you are interested in and plan to vote for? (ASK AS OPEN END)

Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him/her favorable or unfavorable?

*8. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)

*9. Robert Stafford

*10. Richard Snelling

*11. Peter Smith

*12. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections . . .

*13. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

*13a. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat)?

*14. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

*14a. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Snelling, the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

*15. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

*16. What are some of the most important reasons you are planning to vote for (NAME) instead of (NAME)? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

(ROTATE SERIES OF Q.17 TO Q.20)

17. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Patrick Leahy during the past several weeks? (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

18. (IF EXPOSED TO INFORMATION, ASK:) Has what you've read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

19. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Richard Snelling during the past several weeks? (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

20. (IF EXPOSED TO INFORMATION, ASK:) Has what you read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

(ROTATE Q.21 AND Q.22)

21. Have you read, seen or heard any political advertising on behalf of the Snelling Campaign? (IF YES, ASK:) Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

22. Have you read, seen or heard any political advertising on behalf of the Leahy Campaign? (IF YES, ASK:) Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

Here are some things other people have said about the U.S. Senate race. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?

(RANDOMIZE Q.23 TO Q.31)

23. Since 1975, Patrick Leahy has voted for spending increases that have added nearly a trillion dollars to the federal deficit

24. Richard Snelling is running a negative campaign against Patrick Leahy

25. The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy is one of the U.S. Senate's biggest spenders

26. Richard Snelling's TV ads are distorting Leahy's record

27. The National Taypayer's Union has rated Patrick Leahy as one of the Senate's biggest spenders

28. Patrick Leahy is running a negative campaign against Richard Snelling

29. Patrick Leahy is unfairly criticizing Richard Snelling for running

30. The things Richard Snelling has been saying about Patrick Leahy are supported by facts in the Congressional Record

31. Patrick Leahy has a poor attendance record at meetings of the full Senate Agriculture Committee

Political and Demographic Characteristics

Party Identification
Past Voting Behavior
Past Turnout
Ideology
Age
Education
Income
Religion
Gender

B

MEMORANDUM TO POLLING FILE

January 6, 1986

On December 12 or 13 in Charlie Black's office, I got some insight into some polling data gathered by the RNC. Under the law, no data can be provided to me for 60 days, but I did gather some conclusions from some very vague statements.

I think I have lost some ground since the poll in June -- 6 months. I am only guessing, but I think I probably lost 7 points and he has gained something more than 10.

Clearly, support for me declines as people get older and the significance of this is that we should use older voices in our ads and older representations in television.

A very large number of people, perhaps two thirds, want a candidate to voluntarily limit spending in a campaign.

A very large number of people don't believe (know) that Vermont's overall deficit has declined. Perhaps 40% don't believe it is true that I left a plan for solving the deficit problem.

Perhaps more than two thirds feel there really does need to be some qualifications in disarmament plans, such as verifiability and equality. It turns out that specifics are important.

Seniority is considered very important for perhaps one third or more of the people.

Leahy's chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee is considered very important by perhaps more than one third of the people.

The biggest change in my strength seems to be among Republicans, rather than among Independents or Democrats. I was getting about 86% and now probably am getting only about two thirds.

RAS/mmm

Poll

Discussion of 4/1/86

Need to find out if there is any gain for me in
strong defense
negotiate from strength
use caution in negotiating
accept burdens of freedom
give Pres. a chance to represent us in foreign policy

Is there any interest in candidate preparation for the job - legislator, governor, private citizen

Substance vs polling?

P.S. 41% question 33
deficit question 35

Probe - difference between long-term debt and ~~yearly~~ one or more years shortfall

---

How important is publicity for treaty?

(See p. 3)

Probable over 50

33 — 10
66 +10
38
66 — flip-flop
little change
little change
39
53 approp
66
33 * * *
35
61 +
13
84

Change among Republicans
— but why (?)

He has been on the attack among Republicans

Security

40
60

age as people
for Bad Decisions
use older
voices
Drink

Types of Candi
Bain in A 16%
Close to life 16%

Deliberately hurt many 60%
10%

Tax Suits True Imp.

Debt Dealing 25%
Not True 40%

Left 35% death 50%
10%
Not True 25%

Spendin Plan 30%
25%
Not true 40%

Not. Assurance
Strongly half
Somewhat 1/3

total 2/3

Nec. requirement
Certainty 90%
Equality 90%
Assurance Clause
Subject No important specifics

Security (very important issues)
40% extremely
25% very

Burn out	10%	Willing Security low	40%
Chem & Agric	15%	Disarmed	25%
Budget	25%		40%

4/14/86 — Alex

10 pages

Subject, vague references to poll — not available to us Tell yes

Polling

voting head-to-head, no significant change since Dec Reagan high 50's
US mid 30's
up ward 14 to 15% change — 25/30 M vote

driving data — high popularity, reputation leading 8-1 favorably
wide view of him as patriot

PAS negatives increased — high 20's
June 73-18 Dec ~~Dec~~ 73-20 now 30 out of 10

Shift comes from Dems, Ticket
big wins 87-5, now 8 out of 10 about 80-15
Ticket-split 71-33 about 1/3rd
59-29 61-33 now nearly 50% ticket

Geographically — across the board
No sex differences
income — substantially higher negative pick-ups among
high or low income
also — high-education
Thinking Democrats are leaving Dem ticket.

Bad news — our negatives are up, he remains strong.
Now we are about 59-36 US

Pell

no probs of seniority as majority

if Patrick Leahy is elected he will have more seniority than would Richard Shelby, but if he is a member of the minority party in the Senate he cannot serve as the Chairman of any comm. or sub-comm

if R.S is elected he will likely be a member of the majority, ~~who will be~~ and as such be the Chairman of a number of sub-committees and enjoy an excellent relationship with Senate leaders and the White House?

P.8 why (Question 23) is the $2 Billion and - Sight that "settled" case against Leahy?

p.14 - Significant not substitute
~~has Act (authorized) as passed into law~~
"has not authorized any sig. leg. passed into law"

Patrick Leahy is a member of the Intelligence Comm. which was set up to educate members of Congress about sensitive matters involving the CIA and ~~the~~ defense department. Security matters is frequently on TV talking the [illegible]

3

Congress belief should be held in control

Subsequent polling

May 15th (Brushfire survey)

June 15th " "

August 1 " "

Sept 2 " "

What is learned

How do we find out probable reaction to negative before the "Contrast" ads of July 8-29th

Can we really wait that late?

2)

when resp. learned about his ways and mine.

After 28 years. - close it back to 5 point race.
Lt, less than 50, Mt, 40's

We must reassemble our coalition - gradually.

Those who have the impression of me - but vote heavily - middle + upper income, higher education, "stt dems"

Who dislikes me (nuts) low education, teacher, hard dems, farmers.

Ticket splitters - over-represented in poll - independent - independents are among my unfavorables

~~Hate~~
My strongest favorables - middle income, independent - independent

3

Right direction — half & half
Reagan — less than Dec.
they Republican — Rep. 4 of 10 Dem almost 5 of 10

Senate majority — Rep 4 of 10 brings down Dems but only a little.

Stuffed position

healthy as can, stated out — Dems mid 30's
stated, sneak — Rep. mid-40's

women more not than men.

ISSUES — Deficit Tax — mid 50's
Foreign Policy — 40's — 20's
1. Terrorism
2. Foreign Affairs
3. Deficit
4. Farm
Trail — Unemp.
Environment

Not important — economic issues above healthy — but no relationship between candidates

Reagan decline is affecting this — people don't like Reagan extremism on abortion, religion, etc.

#16

Strong opinions 33
reflects voter's opinion 66 } complete reversal of prior

not to say question

negative, complaining mid 40's
strong-willed 50's

~~not~~ getting along 25
want changes - back system 75 } ***

E.D.S

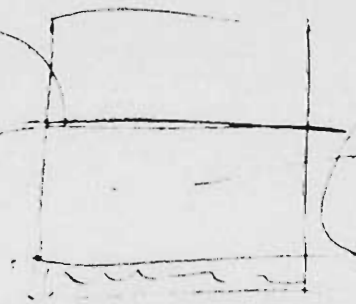
weak un-aided recall - very high - top 5
stalled 6 of 16

Smith Fav mid 30's, Un-fav high-teens | DK 20's
Kunin Fav 6 of 16, un-fav 3-10
McDonald Fav 25% un-fav 5% DK 60%
Ford Fav 50's un-fav 30%
Helms Fav 1 in 6 un-fav 2 in 6 DK 50% 1 in
D. Davis Fav 50% un-fav mid-teens DK mid to high 30's
9 of 16 Dem - Non-Dem 66% Fav. 10% un-fav

Smith mid 30's
Kunin mid 50's } about same as me.

made up mind
possible

50%
50%



equal numbers of
MS as mind

5.

Taxes & spending

att. 1 | cut taxes nec. 25%
2 | whatever increases nec. 11% decrease
3 | some of both - avid 40's
4 | growth only 13%

tax increase as part 4 of 10, oppose mid 50's

if impossible by cuts only → 60% +, balance not that imp'd 25%.

protect by pass half, further cuts 40%

Gram-Rudman 75% have heard of it
Favor 10%, somewhat 42% somewhat oppose 16%
strongly oppose 16%

Vermont - right direction 75% wrong direction 2%
Kennedy approv. strong 30% disapprove 16
somewhat 40% strongly dis 12%

Spending in office	Strongly	40%	46
	Somewhat	33	28
	Somewhat diss	10%	8
	Strongly dis	10%	9

Financial Condition of State	Excellent	5%	55%
	Good	50 ?	
	Fair	33%	
	Poor	9%	

Credit for Spending
Approve 60%
Disapp 30%

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Now

True/wrong	25%	33%
True/wrong	4	4
Not true	43	25%

Spoils

Still an open question as to cause to leading

Dick S. left 35 million deficit

True/wrong	39%	35%
True/wrong	11	9%
Not true	28	25%

Dick Small

Spending plan to pay off

True	30	30
True/Nation	4	4
Not true	42	32% (154)

But — what people really care about is war + peace

Leahy deserves re-election 64% time better
Time for new person 28% time better time

Leahy — very Cons 5%
— Somewhat Cons 37%
Somewhat liberal 40%
very liberal 10%

Swallow
10%
48%
25%
5%
73%

But that isn't true

7) Open-end questions

~~Smith why gives~~

what ways Smith better

what are coming no reply 50% - don't know

bus. background

good job as gov.

experience

bal. budget

strong indiv.

Economic issues

individual

Leading 33% can't answer

experience

seniority 25%

longevity

environment

Stands on Committees

Cares about St.

keeps in touch

his big advantage

Cares about people

Clean

qualifications

accomplishments

Smith (half answered)

Good job on details

5 yrs. as gov

Leading (half answered)

Stands behind farmers 10%

environment 10%

views on Foreign pol 5%

Intl. comm 5%

Central America 3%

arms control

on old questions

	Smith	Leading	Both
Solid record of accom.	33	37%	25
Works to reduce spend	5	25	
Cares about avg. citizen	25	5	
Clean in political ads	3	46	11%
gets results	37	37	13%

	Small	Leading	BT	Nepl
can be trusted as Pres	33 1/3	40	16	
Shares views of US on tax/spend	40	36		
US opinions foreign pol./defense	25	52		
makes tough decisions	37	37	16	
Exp. qualified	25	45	23	
Exciting	33	20	12	12
agrees with Reagan/other	42	16		
" " " Texas Spain	45	16		

	Much more like	Somewhat more	Somewhat less	Much less
Budget — deficit top priority	35	33	10	10
Aff. other 35 mn deficit	5	5	35	25
Others aid to Contra	17	17	20	35
raise taxes ***	12	35 (47)	25	17 (42)
Strong defense	22	25	22	20
spent on taxes	25	35	12	10
BA (intelligent people)	17	17	17	20
US — Sov. yr. time	10	20	25	20
Balanced budget, SS + Billion	5	10 (Fam)	33	33 (3)
Six yrs — no legislation	5	5	40	20 (N)
nuclear control prop	35	30	12	8
don't detest agg. com	5	4	33	45 (4)
record like Reagan	10	16	20	25 (5)
big spender NTU	5	5 (Fam)	30	35 (2)
Abh. endorsed	5	10	12	12
org. [illegible] lots to [illegible]	5	2 (Fam)	33	[illegible] (1)

(4)

Seen RAS ads 7 of 10
Positive (of 7 in 10) 50%
Negative 25%

Healing ads 52%
positive 55%
negatives 5%

No gain from ads

***

Pat is Dole's comm. sensitive info.,
healing, grants interest
Right 46%
wrong 40%

It it was clear he was using it
against 66%
not imp 25%

****

Hens would make us winners

Cares about people — important

Info about third parties or Sides,
expertise Domenici — DLC or
Al Greenspan, Arthur Burns, Bill Simon

0 0 0 0 7 0 6 5 7 0

tied on tough decisions
on objectives
on accomplishment

our problems
- caring
- qualifications
- cost — third parties

Negatives
- when
- who
- how

product a fact/tests them

Sooner, rather than later,
attendance — new issue

Radio — two others talking —

Item #2

3-21-86 R. A. Snelling letter to Charles Black re:

(Planning) Discussion of poll questions 1 Page

3-15-85 C. Black memorandum to R.A. Snelling re:
Draft Vermont Campaign Plan 54 Pages

11-4-85 R. A. Snelling memorandum to James
Murphy NRSC re:
Poll planning 1 Page

March 21, 1986

Mr. Charles P. Black, Jr.
Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater
324 North Fairfax
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Charlie:

Among the things I would like to test in a poll are the following:

Separate from the question of whether people approve or disapprove of Ronald Reagan's performance in office, how do they feel about the importance of having a Republican majority in the Congress. I can conceive of there being a substantial number of people who like Ronald Reagan who will not be at all motivated, even in the light of that approval, by an argument that the Senate should be kept Republican so he has at least one branch which will be hospitable to his ideas. The question must be worded so we have a good chance of figuring out whether or not there is any way we can word arguments about retaining the Republican majority, which will find a responsive cord with those Republicans (or others) who do not now appear inclined to vote for me.

Sincerely,

Governor Richard A. Snelling

RAS/mmm

cc: Jim Murphy
Rey Post

8 0 0 4 0 7 6 2 6 7 6

Briefing

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Snelling Group

FROM: Alex Gage

DATE: April 28, 1986

RE: Thoughts And Observations On Message And Timing

Governor Richard Snelling has embarked upon the toughest political fight of his career. The prefight period **and the early rounds have gone to Leahy.** A major strategic goal is to remain competitive in the early and middle rounds and to be prepared and fully conditioned for some heavy Leahy slugging in the late rounds.

There are several important features and factors about the arena of the contest which worked to Snelling's advantage and should be kept in mind:

- The basic allegiance of the Vermont Electorate, leans Republican rather than Democratic. The vote deficit which Snelling faces can be made up by attracting Republican votes and Republican leaning votes.

- Nearly half of the Vermont Electorate has deferred final judgment and admit they could change their minds between now and November.

- Snelling does have a significant arsenal of punches to throw at the incumbent. Indeed, a campaign simulation, during a twenty-five minute interview, produces a significantly narrower result.

- It is important to remember that this is a fifteen-round championship fight which requires well conditioned combatants and stamina.

Governor Snelling remains a very formidable challenger, but he has lost some **luster in the prefight hype and posturing**. Snelling's positives are down and his negatives are up. Increased negative perceptions of Snelling appear to be a function of an expanding of previous negative perceptions of him rather than an emergence of new negatives. While Governor Snelling has built a very positive image revolving around perceptions of strength and dynamism, the byproduct has been residual negatives of arrogance, exaggeration and uncaring. **The Snelling challenge of Leahy has appeared to reenergize Snelling's negatives among core Democrats** and Leahy loyalists.

3 3 1 4 0 7 6 2 6 7 7

Although this race is obviously not a personality contest, but a contest of ideas and substance, Snelling must maintain at least a two to one ratio of positive to negative perceptions. Any further erosion in overall perceptions of the Governor will certainly take their toll and take some zip off of our punches in the middle and late rounds and possibly make it impossible to deliver a knock-out punch.

Snelling is not ready to go toe-to-toe with Leahy. He needs further conditioning.

- Snelling does have an advantage over Leahy on economic issues, but it is far from an overwhelming advantage and it needs strengthening.

- In contrast, Leahy has a solid advantage on the full complex of foreign policy issues, ranging from nuclear arms control to international terrorism.

The Snelling campaign must take steps to expand the Governor's advantage on economic issues but, perhaps more important, is the task of neutralizing Leahy's significant advantage on several key personal perceptions:

- Cares about the problems of the average citizen.

- Wields a lot of clout and political influence in political circles.

- Has the qualifications and experience to be a good U.S. Senator.

The advantage which Leahy has on these perceptions must be narrowed and brought into line with those perceptions on which the two men are currently more competitive:

- Is willing to make tough decisions on controversial issues.

- Has a solid record of accomplishments.

- Is effective in getting results on difficult problems.

- Can be trusted to do the right thing when making a decision rather than doing what seems to be popular.

Although Leahy does continue to have an edge over Snelling on many of the above items, and we obviously need to capture some of the above, we are at least in a competitive position at the present time. It is my view that we need further conditioning before getting down to a slugfest with Leahy. My concern is that Leahy's overall popularity, large advantage on key issues, and his advantage on personal perceptions means he will behave like a punching bag filled with sand. We can land a punch and put a dent in his overall image, but as we pull back, his overall image will return to its original contours with no lasting political damage. When we get down to it, Snelling must be very well conditioned and able to land significant blows to the Leahy image.

My other major concern is that without some additional perceptual conditioning, we could be hurt and knocked off our stride in the middle rounds. Again, any further erosion in Snelling's positives or increases in his negatives will severely diminish our punching power and stamina. Also, it is important to remember that not only do we have to be in a position to deliver a punch but also to be able to take one.

We do have a considerable arsenal to deliver. Vermonters are quite disturbed when they learn a few details about the Leahy record. All of the following represent wedges for us to use in prying apart Leahy's coalition and they are rank ordered from the most to least powerful:

- The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy, as a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, did not attend a single hearing for two years.

- Patrick Leahy is rated as a big spender by the National Taxpayers Union year after year.

- The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy has voted to increase government spending by $52 billion over levels recommended by the Senate Budget Committee.

- The Congressional Record shows that since 1975, Patrick Leahy consistently voted for deficit budgets altogether totalling $937 billion.

- The Congressional Record shows that during the last six years, Patrick Leahy has not authorized any significant legislation passed into law.

- The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy's voting record closely resembles that of the liberal record of Ted Kennedy.

- Patrick Leahy has the endorsement of Abigail VanBuren, better known as Dear Abbey.

Let us not forget that Leahy also has a few punches to throw of his own and that our perceptual conditioning is aimed not only at enhancing our ability to deliver the message, but also our ability to absorb a punch from him. The following pieces of information did not strike a very responsive cord with Vermonters:

- When Richard Snelling left the Governor's Office, Vermont had a $35 million budget deficit.

- Richard Snelling believes the U.S. should provide financial assistance to the rebels fighting communist governments in Central America.

- Richard Snelling believes a U.S. Senator should serve only one six-year term.

- Richard Snelling has the endorsement of the National Rifle Association.

In summary, we should have no illusions that a winning strategy can avoid engaging Leahy in a flurry of punches and counterpunches. I **also** believe we **cannot allow Leahy to continue strutting around the ring too much longer without laying a glove on him.** I am simply counseling against expending too much energy in the summer months which would deplete our message and theme resources and our ability to deliver them in the fall.

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AUG 1985

MEMORANDUM

TO: GOVERNOR RICHARD SNELLING, JIM MURPHY

FROM: CHARLIE BLACK Chas.

RE: DRAFT OF VERMONT CAMPAIGN PLAN

DATE: AUGUST 15, 1985

Attached is the draft plan for the prospective Vermont Senate race. This was written with assistance from the NRSC staff, Bob Teeter, and my partners, Roger Stone and Paul Manafort. We talked to no one in Vermont. Any gaps in local knowledge reflect that.

I look forward to meeting with you week after next, when you have had time to review this draft. We will then refine or embellish any part of the plan in which you want more information.

Here is quick summary of 6 conclusions I reached in the plan, for your consideration.

(1) Vermont is a true swing state, with a large number of voters who actively split their tickets, and is largely insulated from national political trends, i.e., a "bad" Republican year in 1986.

(2) You and Leahy are the two political giants of Vermont politics. If you run, the race is guaranteed to be close.

(3) The general perceptions of the voters about you and your record are more accurate than their perceptions about Leahy are. There is room to improve their perception of your record and a lot of room to diminish the esteem in which they hold Leahy.

(4) You can run the kind of campaign you want--outspoken, talking about unpopular problems, taking some unpopular positions--and still win, if you do it carefully. In fact, that approach to your candidacy gives it a distinction which is a necessary element of a winning plan.

(5) To win you must keep the fight on your turf, making your vision of how a Senator should handle his role and your issues the focus of the voters. That will take discipline.

(6) It will take an expensive, broadcast media--oriented campaign, using top quality commercials, to win, but the funds can be raised to finance a winning plan.

You asked me to comment on what would make this race different from any other Senate races we have seen.

They are all different, but the most obvious thing about this race is that an incumbent this popular is usually vulnerable to no one. Leahy is clearly vulnerable to you.

Your controversial approach to the campaign is a difference. Most candidates couldn't pull it off, but you have the popularity and credibility to give you a good chance to pull it off.

From a tactical standpoint, we propose making heavier use of direct mail than any Senate campaign I have seen. While many Senate campaigns use as much TV and radio as we propose, the number of different commercials that can be used here is a rare opportunity to present a fairly complex theme to the voters.

A final major difference is that very few Senate races promise to be so obviously close this far ahead of the election. Any way you massage these numbers, it comes out a close race. I will be surprised if anyone wins by more than 5,000 votes, if you run. That puts the highest possible premium on execution and quality in the campaign. No one has ever been involved in a Senate race that they knew would be that close from the beginning.

I look forward to discussing this with you.

Thank you for your attention.

Enclosure

HOW GOVERNOR RICHARD SNELLING

CAN BE ELECTED TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

FROM VERMONT IN 1986

Vermont Political Environment

The state of Vermont has evolved into a true "swing" state in American politics in 1985. June, 1985, survey research, provided by Market Opinion Research, classifies the Vermont electorate as 28% behavioral Republicans, 25% behavioral Democrats, and 47% Ticket-Splitters. On another MOR measure, party identification, 47% of Vermont voters identify with the Republican Party, 40% with the Democratic Party, and 12% call themselves independents who identify with neither party.

This survey illustrates that Vermont voters are closely divided in their loyalty to the two major parties and their candidates and that the Ticket-Splitters or Independent voters hold the balance of power in most Vermont elections.

This trend toward being a true swing state is confirmed by the results of major statewide elections in Vermont in the 1970s and 1980s. Both Democrats and Republicans have been elected Governor and U.S. Senator and many of these contests have been very close.

And Vermonters judge their elected officials on their own merits, without much regard to their party affiliation. At present a Democratic Governor (Madeline Kunin), a Democratic Senator (Patrick Leahy), a former Republican Governor (Richard Snelling), and a Republican Senator (Robert Stafford) all enjoy very high favorable ratings from the Vermont electorate. These four all have net favorable ratings from Democrats, Republicans, and Ticket-Splitters. Obviously many voters are willing to

cross party lines in supporting this bipartisan group of leaders.

The two most popular public figures in Vermont are Pat Leahy and Richard Snelling. They are both popular with almost all demographic categories of voters. If they run against each other for the United States Senate in 1986, thousands of Vermont voters will be cross-pressured between two leaders whom they like. And the election will be decided by a relatively small number of Ticket-Splitters, most of whom will go into the voting booth liking both candidates.

The demographic make-up of Vermont will not be examined in detail in this paper. It is worth noting, however, that the state has experienced a 20% growth in population since 1970. Most of this growth comes from younger, working people moving into the state.

These new Vermonters tend to be independent in their political views, but with an overall tilt toward the Democratic Party. This in-migration has helped bring Vermont from a traditionally Republican state to its swing state status. This new group also contributes substantially to the overall issue outlook and political attitude of the state.

The conventional wisdom about Vermont is that its people have a strong interest in preserving the environment of their state. Recent governors and other elected officials have given priority to the environment. Perhaps Vermonters have come to take their environment for granted, due to state government protection, but the MOR survey shows that the environment is low

among the priority issues that the voters want the federal government to address. This indicates that environmental issues would be important in a federal campaign in 1986 only if one of the candidates raised an issue which was perceived as a threat to the environment.

Another piece of conventional wisdom about Vermont political attitudes is emphatically confirmed by MOR--that Vermonters have a strong interest in nuclear arms control and world peace. Grassroots peace activism has been at a high level in Vermont in recent years. This interest in war and peace issues extends to a large segment of the electorate, with 26% of the voters saying that nuclear arms control should be the top priority of the federal government and 41% listing arms control as first or second priority.

Another 24% of the electorate lists foreign affairs generally as a first or second priority. Taken together these two interests, nuclear arms control and foreign affairs, constitute a much higher priority to Vermont voters than to voters in most states. It is unusual for such global issues to be as important as economic or pocketbook issues.

Running a very close second to nuclear arms control as the priority deserving the most attention from the federal government is the federal budget deficit. 40% of Vermont voters list the deficit as first or second priority. So, this issue is in a virtual tie with nuclear arms control as the matter of concern to the largest number of Vermonters.

Agriculture, tax reform, unemployment, and the environment receive significant mention as priorities for the federal government to address, but these issues are not nearly as salient to the Vermont electorate as arms control and the deficit.

A state's economy and the trends associated with it are an important part of the state's political environment. The Vermont economy has experienced relatively steady growth over the past fifteen years. In only two years of the last fifteen has the number of jobs in Vermont decreased. The economic growth has been more than enough to assimilate the immigrants to Vermont into the work force.

Vermont has experienced the same trends up and down as the national economy during these years, but has not been hit as hard as the average state during most of the recessions and downturns. The fact that the Vermont economy is not based on heavy manufacturing has cushioned it from heavy blows in times of national recession.

The fact that the Vermont economy has not fluctuated dramatically in the past leads to the conclusion that national economic circumstances in 1986 might have some impact on the Vermont election, but not a decisive impact.

The problems of American agriculture in 1985 are certain to be extant in 1986 and do affect the Vermont environment. Dairy farmers are in dire straits. The federal dairy subsidy program is under severe attack in Washington and is likely to

bring less, rather than more, relief to the dairy farmers in 1986. This could be a significant political issue in 1986.

An essential ingredient of the political environment in any state in a general election year is the perception of the party in power in Washington and the level of approval of that party's President. Voter reaction in favor of or against an Administration's policies is always a factor in a midterm election. The impact of the President's approval is not as significant as in a presidential election year, if the President is on the ballot, but his approval is inevitably a factor.

The extent to which the national trends generated by Presidential and "party in power" approval affects federal mid-term elections varies from state to state. Economic circumstances in a state are usually the leading indicator of a political trend for or against the party in the White House.

Recent political history indicates that Vermont is relatively unaffected by national political trends. Although the national tide in a given election must have some effect on Vermont voters, their independent traits have frequently led the state against the tide. For example, Senator Leahy was reelected in 1980 against a strong national Republican trend. Governor Snelling and Senator Stafford were reelected in 1982 against an equally strong national Democratic trend. Governor Kunin was elected in 1984 against a national Republican tide and a Reagan landslide of 58% in Vermont.

So, Vermont's Ticket-Splitters do indeed split their tickets and judge each individual race on its merits. Very few of them

are stampeded by national trends into straight ticket voting.

As of June, 1985, MOR reports that President Reagan has a job approval of 59%, with 32% disapproval. On the question about the direction of the country, often considered a measure of approval of the President and his party, 56% of Vermonters say the country is generally going in the right direction, 30% say the country is off on the wrong track.

This is a very impressive level of popularity for Reagan. It seems likely that most of the 58% of the Vermont electorate who supported him in 1984 are still in his corner. Among the Ticket-Splitter group, which decides Vermont elections, Reagan enjoys a 61% approval rating.

So, on the surface it appears that Reagan's popularity might provide some benefit to Governor Senlling in a 1986 Senate race. But, Reagan's popularity must be considered within the context of the issue priorities of Vermont voters. Nuclear arms control is not an issue strength of the President's. It is also likely that those voters who rate the federal budget deficit top priority would give Reagan mixed reviews on his handling of the deficit. Even more important in determing whether Reagan's popularity would dictate a trend in a Snelling-Leahy race is the fact that both Snelling and Leahy enjoy far higher approval ratings than Reagan among Vermont voters.

Leahy has a 79% job approval rating, with 83% approval among Ticket-Splitters. Snelling has a 74% job approval rating, with 69% approval among Ticket-Splitters. Computations based on

the survey tells us that almost all voters who like Reagan already like Snelling. Almost all voters who dislike Reagan already like Leahy and some of them like Snelling too.

Regardless of whether Reagan's popularity in Vermont holds up until the time of the 1986 election, his perception among the voters is unlikely to influence many votes in a Snelling-Leahy contest. The state is not very subject to national trends, the swing voters are fiercely independent and truly do split their ballots, and Snelling and Leahy are the two giants of Vermont politics. They will be judged on their own merits, based on the wealth of knowledge Vermont voters have about both men.

But, even if President Reagan's popularity and the trend for or against his party in 1986 will not be decisive in determining the outcome of the Vermont U.S. Senate race, it is true that the race will be waged against a backdrop of Reagan policies and Reagan's handling of priority national issues. The framework of a Snelling-Leahy race would include many points of reference involving Reagan and his policies and the opposition of Leahy and the Democrats in the Senate to those policies. The images of the two candidates are likely to be fashioned using their support or opposition to Reagan positions as key elements.

So, the fortunes of Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party nationally and in Vermont will be important to the Senate race in 1986 because both candidates must address the record and proposals of the Reagan Administration.

Other factors in the Vermont political environment must be addressed in a detailed campaign plan, if Governor Snelling runs for the Senate. These highlights present the factors most

important for consideration in making that decision. To reiterate the most important point, Snelling and Leahy are the two giants of Vermont politics and both are capable of winning in this state's 1986 political environment.

Profile of the Candidates

Senator Patrick Leahy

Pat Leahy enters this election with one of the strongest political images of any incumbent United States Senator. 75% of Vermont voters can name Leahy as one of their Senators on an unaided question. The voters give Leahy a personal rating of 79% Favorable, 10% Unfavorable. In rating the job he has done as a Senator, 43% strongly approve, 36% somewhat approve, and only 11% disapprove.

Vermont voters know a lot about Leahy and they like most of what they see. When asked, open-ended, what they like about Leahy, these characteristics receive the most mention:

Keeps in touch/Communications/Listens	9%
Honesty/Integrity	9%
Doing a Good Job	8%
Straightforward/Outspoken	7%
For the People	6%
Works for Vermont	4%

Only 36% of the voters did not volunteer a positive comment about Leahy.

Leahy also has very few negative perceptions in his image. 80% of the voters volunteered nothing when asked what they don't

like about Leahy. Among those who did have negative comments, they were essentially that he was too liberal (4%), or were disagreements with him on specific issues (4%). There is no negative element in Leahy's image which is widely perceived.

Leahy's popularity and job approval is spread across all political and demographic groups categorized in the survey. He is slightly less popular with Republicans than with Democrats and slightly more popular with women than with men, but he is highly popular with every group in the electorate. There is little difference in other demographic categories.

Leahy is given high marks for the way he handles his job as a Senator. 70% say that he has represented Vermont well, as opposed to being interested in national leadership. 66% say that he puts the interests of the people of Vermont above his own political future.

Leahy has worked hard to cultivate his image of expertise on foreign policy and national defense issues, using his position as Vice Chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence as a forum. He has successfully associated himself with these issues in the voters' minds.

When the voters were asked who they preferred to have making decisions, Leahy or Snelling, on U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union, nuclear arms control, and national defense spending priorities, Leahy garnered impressive margins of preference on those issues. He did not fare nearly as well against Snelling on domestic or economic issues.

There is one area of significant misperception by the voters in Leahy's image, an area that could pose great political danger to him. When asked to place Leahy on an ideological scale, liberal, moderate, or conservative, the voters placed Leahy right in the middle of the road. He tends to be perceived in the same ideological light as voters view themselves, but the net answers to this question put him in the moderate category.

That characterization is the result of masterful public relations on Leahy's part. The fact is that he has one of the most liberal voting records in the U.S. Senate over the past eleven years, receiving very high ratings from liberal and labor organizations and very low ratings from conservative and business groups. While Vermonters perceive him as accurately reflecting their views in Washington, in fact he does not. The specific method of capitalizing on this vulnerability will be discussed below.

Governor Richard Snelling

The second strongest political profile of any Vermont public figure belongs to former Governor Richard Snelling. Snelling is almost as popular as Senator Leahy and joins him in the elite category of Vermont political giants.

Although out of office for almost six months when the survey was taken, Governor Snelling maintains the highest hard name identification of any official tested. His personal rating is 73% Favorable, 18% Unfavorable. 46% of the voters strongly approve the job he did as Governor, 28% somewhat approve, and

only 17% disapprove. These are remarkable numbers for any Governor leaving office after eight years and reflect his success in winning four elections to the governorship.

Vermont voters know as much about Snelling as they do about Leahy and, again, most of the comments are positive. When asked what they like most about Snelling, these characteristics receive the most mention:

Businesslike Approach	9%
Good Governor/Good Leader	9%
Honesty/Integrity	7%
Good Job	5%
Straightforward/Outspoken	4%
Intelligent	3%
Association with Balanced Budget	4%

44% of the voters had no positive comments about Snelling. Many comments describing Snelling as decisive showed up in the survey. This quality is attributed to Snelling in a comparison question with Leahy also.

Governor Snelling attracts a few more negative comments than Leahy when voters are asked what they don't like about him. However, 69% of the voters volunteer no negative comment on Snelling. The only significant negative comment offered about Snelling relates to the perception of his arrogance, sometimes described by voters as a superior attitude or being obnoxious. 6% of the total electorate volunteered this negative. Though not a fatal negative in the Snelling image, this perception needs some amelioration in order to avoid political damage in a Senate race.

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No other Snelling negative was mentioned by more than 2% of the voters, with Big Business and Big Spender the next most frequent mentions. That level of mention indicates no particular political problem.

Snelling's popularity is consistent among all demographic groups of voters. He is slightly more popular with Republicans and slightly less popular among Democrats, but there are few differences among other demographic breaks. For example, he appears equally popular among the age groups broken down in the survey and equally popular among men and women.

As with Leahy, the voters say, by a strong majority, that Snelling puts the interests of the people of Vermont ahead of his own political interests.

While the voters strongly approve of the job that Snelling did as Governor as a general proposition, the survey shows that most voters are not aware of his specific accomplishments in holding down taxes and spending and reducing the state debt. When acquainted with the facts and figures on these matters, the voters' approval of Snelling's stewardship should solidify and maybe even increase.

It is clear from the poll that issues of government spending, management, and economic issues are Snelling's strength with Vermont voters. Even though they like the job Leahy is doing in Washington, the voters would trust Snelling more to handle federal tax and spending problems and domestic and social spending priorities.

Another significant finding in the Snelling image is that

voters would trust Snelling more than Leahy to take care of the individual problems of Vermont's citizens. This brings out a feeling that Snelling is sensitive to individual people and their problems, even while he was running a tight, business-like ship at the state government. This finding will be useful in ameliorating the "arrogance" problem in Snelling's image.

It was noted above that voters have a misperception of Senator Leahy's ideological stands. The voters have a basically correct impression of Governor Snelling's ideological position and it is very close to the position in which voters perceive themselves. 10% of voters see themselves as very conservative, 42% somewhat conservative, for a total of 52% placing themselves right of center. Snelling is seen by 10% as very conservative and by 55% as somewhat conservative, for a total of 65% placing him right of center.

Although specific federal issues will be addressed in the campaign and these perceptions could change, it is clear that Snelling is unlikely to lose any support he currently enjoys because of a shift in the perception of his ideological position. On the other hand, an effective campaign effort to illustrate Leahy's true record and place him well left of center on the ideological spectrum should produce votes for Snelling. The ideological analysis reveals little downside for Snelling and significant potential downside for Leahy.

A general analysis of the survey suggests that Governor Snelling has a more polarized position among Vermont voters than does Leahy. Eight years in the high-profile forum of the

governorship has given Snelling and his strong personality tremendous exposure to Vermonters. Both those who like him and those who don't like him are firm in their opinions. It will be harder to change their minds about Snelling than it would be about other politicians. Opinions about Leahy are softer and less polarized and, thus, more changeable. This again provides potential downside for Leahy when more information about him is provided, a downside to which Snelling is much less exposed.

The 1986 Election

If Governor Snelling decides to run for the Senate in 1986 Vermonters will be treated to a titanic struggle between the state's two political giants. Two highly popular politicians running in a swing state with a recent history of close elections. As might be expected, the MOR poll shows the ballot test statistically too close to call--Leahy 49, Snelling 47.

Very few voters are undecided and very few lack fixed opinions of both candidates. Although some minds will be changed in the campaign, if it happens, a relatively small number of voters will move in their choice during the course of the campaign.

This is guaranteed to be a close election, barring a disastrous scandal or gaffe being inflicted on one of the candidates. The election will be close enough that no analyst could confidently predict the outcome in 1985. Leahy must be favored due to

the fact of his incumbency and the strength of his numbers. But, Snelling will give him a close race, even with a mediocre campaign. Snelling has an excellent chance to beat him with a highly creative, well-executed campaign.

If Governor Snelling runs, his approach to this campaign will be unusual, controversial, and very challenging to the voters. If presented properly, the Snelling approach will constitute the creative, innovative candidacy needed to beat Leahy.

Richard Snelling has strong convictions about the state of the nation and a clear vision of the kind of leadership needed to solve the nation's problems. He believes that long term planning and international strategies are necessary if America is to maintain its position of strength in the world and its prosperity at home. He feels that the voters are not being told the depth and seriousness of our national problems and that they need to be told. He proposes to raise problems and suggest solutions which will not always be politically beneficial to the messenger.

Above all else, Snelling insists that he, if he runs, be himself in the campaign and in the Senate. That he speak out on issues and provide leadership on problems without regard to the political consequences. He proposes to use his strong personality to dramatize long-term American problems and generate leadership to get the problems solved. He is unwilling to run the convertional political campaign where he discusses only

those issues which are popular with the voters and takes only those positions which will win him votes.

The dangers of such an approach in a political campaign are obvious. But, Snelling has the popularity and credibility with Vermont voters to challenge their imagination. He will propose that they send a different kind of Senator to Washington, different than all the other Senators there. His approach will provide a clear contrast with Leahy and offer Vermonters a unique opportunity to provide leadership to the nation.

The Snelling approach will require careful planning in terms of selection and emphasis of messages. He can speak out on the things he wants to talk about and still win the election, if he is careful in his rhetoric and emphasizes issues that are salient to the voters.

For example, Governor Snelling feels very strongly that the financial circumstances of the federal government and the size of the federal deficit are a huge threat to the future of the nation, both internationally and politically. He wants to educate the voters to this threat and propose a specific program to solve the deficit crisis.

The survey indicates that this is a highly salient issue. It also indicates that Snelling has great credibility on this type of issue with Vermont voters. This theme is tailor-made to be the centerpiece of the Snelling candidacy. The only thing needed to make this theme politically successful is fashioning the message in such a way as not to scare voters away from the

Snelling solution.

Another example of a strong Snelling view is that America still faces a long-term energy crisis and must develope a safe nuclear power industry to meet the crisis. This position is fraught with political peril, if not properly presented. Even if the rhetoric is properly developed, building up the nuclear power industry in America should never be a major theme of the Snelling campaign, if he is to win. The campaign will require the discipline to emphasize the message on the deficit and stay away from the message on nuclear power. Give the answer if asked, but don't cram it down the voters' throats.

There are other examples of controversial positions and issues which Governor Snelling wants to talk about, but he knows them. The purpose of this plan is to identify what <u>will</u> work politically, within the context of the way he wants to approach the race.

The good news on that score is that the people of Vermont prefer a Senator who speaks his mind and votes his conscience to a Senator who always reflects his constituents' views, regardless of his own opinion. By a margin of 59% to 38%, the voters prefer "Someone with strong opinions on issues who will vote his own mind even if he sometimes disagrees with his constituents on an issue".

Snelling's political profile puts him in a very strong position to fit this role of a Senator in the voters' minds.

Leahy can try to fit the same role, but probably cannot win the race if Snelling effectively projects the image he intends to bring to the campaign.

Leahy could claim that he too fits the role by using the model to explain away his liberal votes, which are often out of step with Vermont voters. Therefore, Snelling must not only fit the role model, but must offer the voters an opportunity for leadership on issues they care about, which Leahy cannot offer.

If the role is reduced in the voters' minds to one of leadership for the country, not just Vermont, Snelling has a clear advantage. When asked which man fits the description "Leader", voters choose Snelling over Leahy, 46% to 31%. The Ticket-Splitters, who will decide the race, choose Snelling on this measure, 43% to 33%.

So, Snelling can take the unconventional approach he proposes to take in this race and still win. But, the key to victory is defining the voters' image of what they want in a Senator to Snelling's advantage and raising the priority of Snelling's issues (budget, taxing, spending, economics) higher than the priority of Leahy's issues (arms control, foreign affairs, national defense).

Theme and Message of the Snelling Campaign

The Snelling approach, described above, will set the tone of the Snelling candidacy as no-nonsense, outspoken, and courageous. Within this context, there are seven specific

messages which the Snelling cmapaign must drive home to the voters of Vermont:

(1) Vermont should send a Senator to Washington who will shake up the system and get things done on important national issues. He should be an activist for what he thinks is right, regardless of political consequences.

(2) Richard Snelling is a tough, independent, decisive leader. He will not join the Club or follow the pack in the U.S. Senate, but will speak out and lead on behalf of sound solutions to major national problems.

(3) Snelling is effective and compiled a remarkable record in managing state government. He knows how to control taxes, spending, government debt, and budgets.

(4) The federal budget deficit is the biggest problem facing the U.S. and threatens the future of the whole nation. Snelling knows how to help solve the deficit problem and is tough enough to make a difference in getting it done.

(5) Pat Leahy is a sincere, honest, hard-working guy, but is part of the problem in Washington. He has helped build the deficit, instead of helping to solve the problem.

(6) Pat Leahy does not show leadership in Washington, but goes along with the Club and votes for the popular thing, i.e., a lot of domestic and social spending.

(7) Pat Leahy has gotten too close to Big Labor. He votes with them, instead of with the people of Vermont, too many times.

The Snelling campaign must address many issues and will present subsidiary themes, but these must be the principal messages. Anything else the campaign does must be consistent with these messages and reinforce them.

It is possible to project what the theme and messages of the Leahy campaign will be. With some variation, he will present eight messages:

(1) Pat Leahy works hard for the people of Vermont and faithfully represents their views in Washington.

(2) Pat Leahy, like Vermonters, has compassion for the disadvantaged in our society and votes to help them (Snelling wouldn't).

(3) Nuclear arms control is the most important issue facing the U.S. and the world.

(4) Leahy is a national leader in working for arms control and in leading the Intelligence Committee to keep the U.S. out of a war in Central America.

(5) Leahy fights the deficit by keeping a sharp eye on the excesses of the Pentagon.

(6) Richard Snelling would give the Pentagon a blank check, support a war in Central America, and doesn't care about arms control.

(7) Richard Snelling would cut Social Security and Medicare and increase your taxes just to balance the budget on the backs of the disadvantaged and average Americans.

(8) Snelling would be ineffective in Washington because he is a one-man band and can't work with people.

If both sets of messages are equally and effectively presented, the race could end up in a dead heat, just as it started.

But, the Snelling message is more distinctive. It presents a unique challenge to Vermont. And Snelling has the force of personality and drive to pull it off. He has the credibility to back up the challenge. The Leahy message just challenges them to send back another run-of-the-mill Senator.

And if Snelling runs a creative, efficient, effective campaign, he will succeed in getting his message across better than his opponent. A near perfect campaign is what it will take, but Snelling has the ability to assemble the talent, raise the money, and discipline his team to put forth that kind of effort.

The purpose of the messages will be explained below in the strategy section.

Strategy

Richard Snelling will defeat Patrick Leahy and win election to the U.S. Senate by obtaining the votes of 85% of behavioral Republicans, 20% of behavioral Democrats, and 50% of Ticket-Splitters.

MOR asked Vermont voters to classify themselves on vote behavior and found that the electorate was composed of 26% Republicans, 24% Democrats, and 45% Ticket-Splitters. 5% would not classify themselves. By factoring this 5% into the total in the same proportion as the 95% who were identified, the estimated composition of the electorate is 28% Republican, 25% Democrat, and 47% Ticket-Splitters. The chart below illustrates how this strategy produces victory for Snelling.

Category	% of total electorate	Snelling %	Snelling % of total electorate
Republicans	28	85	23.8
Democrats	25	20	5.0
Ticket-Splitters	47	50	23.5
Total	100		52.3%

Two ballot questions from the MOR poll were used in reaching these vote goals. The ballot text early in the questionniare produced the Leahy 49%, Snelling 47% result, a dead heat. A ballot test was asked late in the questionnaire and resulted in Leahy 53%, Snelling 42%.

Many theories have been presented as to why this shift to Leahy took place on the second ballot. The best explanation

is that the questionnaire introduced many substantive issues and personality characteristics into the interview between the two ballot questions and that the net emphasis of this material was to highlight issues and characteristics more favorable to Leahy. This shift reflects the predictable result of a campaign which only raises the issues and characteristics tested in the poll in a totally neutral manner.

A premise of this plan is that to win Snelling must shift the issue focus to his strengths and must present the voters with a fresh, exciting model of what a Senator from Vermont should be. The poll did not reflect the specific messages of the Snelling campaign, nor did it reflect superior execution of the Snelling plan.

The second ballot is useful in developing the specific strategy statement because it should represent the base Snelling support in each voter category. It helps define how much Snelling must capture in each category that he does not have now.

Snelling receives 86% of the Republican vote on the first ballot and 78% on the second ballot. He is very popular among Republicans and has only a 5% Unfavorable rating among behavioral Republicans. However, the campaign will polarize the candidates somewhat on an ideological basis. It will establish the deficit and related issues as Snelling's issues and arms control and related issues as Leahy's issues.

23% of Republicans are self-described liberals. 16% of

Republicans list arms control as the issue deserving the greatest attention from the federal government. Snelling's campaign will likely alienate some portion of these Republicans, but he should be able to hold 85% of the total with selected tactics aimed at consolidating the Republican vote.

Snelling receives 17% of the behavioral Democratic vote on the first ballot and 12% on the second ballot. The same polarization on ideology and issues that will cost Snelling a few Republican votes will cost Leahy a few Democratic votes. 28% of Democrats call themselves conservatives. 14% of them list the budget deficit as the number one priority for the federal government and 32% list it as either first or second priority.

Target 20%

Democratic households who are closer to Snelling than Leahy on these matters will be identified and worked through the mail. In addition, there are culturally conservative, French Catholic Democratic households which can be worked with a goal of attracting a few of them to Snelling.

These Republican and Democratic goals for Snelling are relatively easy to achieve. The big battleground of this race--and the major challenge to the Snelling campaign--will be the Ticket-Splitters. This strategy, and any strategy designed to put Snelling safely over 50% of the vote, requires that Snelling receive 50% of Vermont's Ticket-Splitters. In the MOR poll, Snelling receives 39% of the Ticket-Splitters on the first ballot and 37% on the second ballot. Leahy gets 55% and 56% respectively of the Ticket-Splitter vote.

Despite this confortable lead for Leahy among Ticket-Splitters, many key elements in their political profile favor Snelling over Leahy by a slight margin. As noted above, both Snelling and Leahy are very popular among Ticket-Splitters. However, Ticket-Splitters identify more with the Republican Party than the Democratic Party by a margin of 46% to 36%, with 17% saying they are true Independents who identify with neither party.

Ticket-Splitters identify themselves as conservative versus liberal by a significant margin of 55% to 35%. Association with President Reagan presents no significant danger in this group, since he enjoys a 61% approval rating among Ticket-Splitters.

The survey provides clear evidence that the reason for Leahy's lead over Snelling on the ballot among this Republican-leaning and conservative-leaning group is misperceptions about Leahy and his record. Also, their issue positions do not fit Snelling's profile as well as Leahy's, as of June, 1985. But, a good campaign which drives home the Snelling message to this group gives him a chance to reach his goal of obtaining 50% of their votes.

Ticket-Splitters perceive Leahy as conservative, rather than liberal, by a margin of 44% to 37%. 61% of them say that Leahy is not a "big spender".

When the choice between Snelling and Leahy is presented in a manner more consistent with the Snelling theme, Snelling wins by a slight margin. When asked if they agree more with Snelling, a conservative on most issues, or with Leahy, a liberal on most issues, Ticket-Splitters agree with Snelling by a 43% to 40%

margin. When asked if they agree more with Snelling, who is supported by the business community, or Leahy, who is supported by labor unions, they choose Snelling by a margin of 43% to 37%.

Ticket-Splitters give Leahy and his positions a big edge over Snelling on nuclear arms control, relations with the Soviet Union, and defense spending. They strongly agree with Leahy on Central America. Snelling does not enjoy a lead over Leahy on spending, taxing, and budget issues, as he does with the total electorate.

However, Ticket-Splitters currently give the federal budget deficit almost as high a priority for federal attention as nuclear arms control (arms 41%, deficit 38%). Although Snelling would clearly lose this group of voters if the campaign were fought out on arms, defense, and foreign affairs, he can carry this group if more salience is given to the deficit and spending and taxing issues.

On the personal characteristics tested, Snelling loses to Leahy among Ticket-Splitters on most of them. However, he leads Leahy 43% to 33% on being a Leader, 43% to 30% on being Decisive, and 40% to 37% on being Independent. On the profile of a Senator (someone who will vote his strong opinions even if he sometimes disagrees with his constituents, versus someone who will always reflect his constituents' views) the first profile (the Snelling profile) wins 57% to 39%.

So, Ticket-Splitters will buy the argument that Snelling is a tough, independent, decisive leader much more so than Leahy. That is the kind of Senator they want. They just need to be convinced that Snelling can fill the bill and Leahy can't through

a campaign which dramatizes the contrast.

As the key, swing group in the election Ticket-Splitters must be the target of the bulk of the campaign's tactical initiatives. Because of the size of this group (47% of the electorate) and their distribution in geographical and demographic terms, most of the tactics must be aimed for general consumption of the state.

Ticket-Splitters basically reflect the total electorate in almost all the classifications made by MOR. They are geographically distributed throughout Vermont in the same proportion as the total electorate, with slightly more Ticket-Splitters in the Northeast and Northwest political regions.

They fit into the age categories used in almost the same proportions as the total electorate. There are a few more Ticket-Splitters in the 40-49 age group and a few less in the 50+ age group.

The Ticket-Splitters are distributed through the socio-economic categories in almost the same proportions as the electorate, with the exception that the low end category has a few extra Ticket-Splitters. The distribution among ethnic groups basically reflects the electorate.

The Ticket-Splitter group contains a few more Catholics and a few more females than the percentages found in the total electorate.

So, reaching the Ticket-Splitters with the Snelling message will require a campaign aimed at all voters. The theme described above for the total electorate is a theme designed for Ticket-Splitters. It must be conveyed through a heavy broadcast

advertising campaign.

In targeting the campaign's message another group of voters presents Snelling with a ripe opportunity to gain votes over Leahy. This group, those voters over the age of 50, is easily targetable with most of the campaign tactics to be proposed.

This group of older voters is closer to the Snelling profile on most measures than any other age group, but presently gives Snelling fewer votes than their profile indicates he should receive. 37% of Vermont voters fall in the 50 years plus age category. If Snelling can increase his support among this group by only 10 or 15%, that might well be enough to win the race.

The 50+ age group is the most Republican age group in the electorate. 52% of this group identify with the Republican Party, 35% with the Democratic Party, and 12% are true Independents. On the vote behavior measure, 34% of the 50+ group are behavioral Republicans, 18% behavioral Democrats, and 42% Ticket-Splitters--another clear edge for a Republican candidate.

Despite these Republican tendencies, the first ballot has Snelling 47%, Leahy 48% among this group. The second ballot gives Leahy a 49% to 42% lead over Snelling.

As is the case with the Ticket-Splitter group, this ballot strength for Leahy appears to be based on misperceptions about Leahy and his record. Leahy has apparently worked this constituency very hard and is very popular among them, 80% Favorable, 13% Unfavorable. Snelling is also popular, 73% Favorable, 17% Unfavorable. 39% of this group perceive Leahy as conservative, only 43% consider him a liberal.

But, this group is closer to Snelling on philosophy, issues, and profile than any other group in the electorate. 60% of the 50+ group consider themselves conservative, only 30% consider themselves liberals. 60% approve President Reagan's job performance, only 29% disapprove. 46% of this group give priority to the federal budget deficit, only 30% give priority to arms control. The Snelling theme about the importance of the deficit will work better here than with any other group.

61% of this group prefers a Senator who has strong opinions and will vote his convictions. 34% prefer a Senator who always reflects his constituents' views. And Snelling achieves big margins over Leahy among this group on the questions of who is best described as a Leader, Decisive, and Independent.

When the choice is described as Snelling, a conservative, versus Leahy, a liberal, Snelling wins 45% to 36%. These contrasts must be driven home to this group with an effective campaign, but it is clear that the Snelling message can produce votes in this age group.

Snelling's weakness on the ballot with the 50+ group at the present time is due to misperception about Leahy and his ability on specific issues, as well as his general philosophy. This group prefers Snelling on handling domestic and social spending priorities by a small margin. Snelling and Leahy are rated very close on taxing and spending issues, but Leahy wins big on every other issue cluster tested. At present 69% of this group disagree with the assertion that Leahy is a "big spender". The campaign can cure that misperception.

When Leahy is properly placed on the ideological scale in the voters' perception and when Snelling drives home his message that a strong, decisive leader who tells it like it is must be sent to the Senate to help solve the budget deficit, the 50+ group will yield votes for Snelling.

The Snelling campaign will pursue a goal of obtaining the votes of at least 55% of the 50+ age group. This goal is achievable due to the dynamics described above. However, there is one important element in the Snelling message to this group that must be present to win their votes. This age group will obviously have a strong interest in Social Secruity and maintenance of its benefits. When Snelling talks about his plan to eliminate the budget deficit, he must reassure this group that he will not cut Social Security benefits. There are several innovative ways to do this, i.e., taking Social Security off budget now, instead of waiting until 1992. Whatever plan Governor Snelling can accept which will provide reassurance on Social Security is an essential part of his message to this group.

From a demographic standpoint, this 50+ group has a larger precentage of its members in the low end socioeconomic category than another other age group. That reinforces the notion that Social Security and the government safety net are critically important in any appeal to this group.

The 50+ group contains fewer Catholics than the electorate at large and contains a few more females than the total electorate. Geographically the group is distributed throughout the state. However, there tend to be fewer 50+ voters in Chittenden County

than statewide and more 50+ voters than the statewide average in the Northeast and Northwest political regions.

Because of its size and distribution, this group must be addressed through broadcast advertising. The same messages designed for the Ticket-Splitters are the right messages to win votes in this group.

One final note on strategy: this plan assumes that Snelling will have no primary opposition, or that if he does, it will be minor opposition. The plan aims all the campaign's actions at the general election. If significant primary opposition developed, the entire race would have to be reexamined. It would be very difficult to beat Leahy if any resources at all had to be diverted to a primary campaign.

Tactics

This is a preliminary sketch of a tactical plan. It is based on limited research of Vermont's political resources and very limited local political knowledge. If Governor Snelling runs, a more detailed plan must be developed based on solid information.

It is understood in developing this tactical plan that it must include two limiting factors insisted upon by Governor Snelling. (1) Governor Snelling wants to speak out candidly on the issues and talk about issues he cares about, whether or not these issues or his positions on them are popular with the voters. (2) Governor Snelling will not attack Senator Leahy in the campaign.

These two rules of the Snelling campaign do not significantly restrain the construction of a winning tactical plan. The rules are workable because Governor Snelling agrees that some political consideration can enter into his decisions on what issues to emphasize and what rhetoric to use in presenting positions which might be controversial with the voters.

He also agrees that campaign presentations contrasting his record with Leahy's record and his positions with Leahy's positions on substantive issues are appropriate at the right time. It is understood that these comparisons would be presented in advertising or through surrogate speakers and that Snelling will keep his public presentations positive. He does understand that he must participate in a limited number of debates with Leahy and that these debates will provide forums for the comparisons which must be driven home to the voters.

The profile of a Senator which Snelling will present has been discussed above. His current image with the voters fits the profile of an independent leader who will go to Washington to shake up the system. Speaking out on controversial issues and "telling it like it is" in the campaign will enhance that image and enhance the contrast with Leahy in style of leadership.

Speaking out candidly will only cost Snelling the election if he takes positions which are anathema to the voters and unacceptable to them in their Senators. He can even take unpopular positions if he presents them in a creative way that challenges the imagination of voters, rather than scaring them. Many Senators who sit in Washington got elected despite taking positions on some issues which were not the majority view of the voters.

It is necessary that the major substantive theme of the Snelling campaign relate to a matter of salience and priority to the voters. In other words, he can't win if he never talks about things the voters care about. But, the federal budget deficit and solutions to the problem are a major emphasis of Governor Snelling and a major priority to the voters. Making the deficit the principal substantive theme adheres to Snelling Rule #1 and to the rules governing the construction of a winning campaign.

On the question of negative campaigning, it would not be appropriate to frontally attack Leahy, even if Governor Snelling wanted to attack him. Leahy has too much popularity and credibility with the voters to hit hard. That would backfire. The negative messages on Leahy must come late in the campaign, after the Snelling positive messages are driven home. The bad news on Leahy must be presented to the voters in a very soft, objective

manner and amidst praise for some of his personal characteristics. At the end of the campaign the voters will still like Leahy. They will simply prefer a different kind of Senator for the next six years. And although they like Leahy, they will be disappointed to learn about some of his votes, his drift toward liberalism, and his coziness with Big Labor.

Another limiting factor in presenting bad news on Leahy is the fact that the Snelling campaign will not in any way criticize Senator Robert Stafford. Senator Stafford has voted with Leahy a majority of the time. The Snelling campaign will criticize no specific Leahy vote on which Stafford voted with Leahy. The message on Leahy will focus on the pattern of his votes and the cumulative effect of the spending he has voted for on the deficit. This can be done within the context that Stafford supports Snelling and does a fine job for Vermont. Stafford too thinks the Senate could use a tough leader who pulls no punches. That just isn't his own style.

The Snelling campaign can succeed with these limitations on attacking Leahy because Leahy's image does not have to be moved dramatically in the voters' minds. The contest begins as a dead heat, despite the voters' misperceptions about Leahy. A close race is guaranteed. A game of margins, in which only a small number of voters need to be moved from the Leahy to the Snelling column. The surgery on Leahy's image can be done delicately and tastefully. A blunder buss might be needed to move the race 15 or 20 points, but we only need to move it 4 or 5 points.

The strategic imperatives of the campaign are outlined above and the voters who are available to Governor Snelling are identified.

The messages of both campaigns are defined. Tactical delivery of the Snelling messages in a superior manner will require the most comprehensive, professional--and expensive--campaign ever run in Vermont.

Public information indicates that Leahy will run the most professional, best-funded campaign that any candidate has run before in Vermont. Snelling's must be better.

Leahy is currently amassing the funds necessary to run a thorough campaign, taking advantage of all tactical media available to him. The most Leahy has ever spent on a campaign was $434,000 in 1980. As of June 30, 1985, he already has on hand $241,000. Leahy's people are telling the news media that they expect to spend over $1 million in the campaign.

Obviously Leahy will undertake a large volume of television and radio advertising, as do all modern Senate campaigns. He and the Democratic Party already have underway, however, the most comprehensive voter contact effort in the history of Vermont and maybe of any other state.

Matt Reese and Associates, the premier voter contact and organizational experts in the Democratic Party, are coordinating a telephone survey of every voter household in Vermont for which they can get a telephone number. The survey asks voters their party identification, their opinion of Leahy and Snelling, their preference on a hypothetical contest between those two and about six issues positions. Apparently the script of the call also includes advocacy information on Leahy. Reese uses paid professional interviewers.

When this survey is completed Leahy will have the capability to contact a large number of Vermont voters by direct mail and telephone and seek their support by appealing to them on targeted issues on which he knows their positions. The information provided by this survey is a powerful tactical tool.

Republican Voter Contact Operations

The Republican Party has the technological expertise and probably has the funding available to undertake a similar survey of all Vermont voter households which can be reached. Conducting such a survey is an essential element of the Snelling campaign plan.

There is currently no accurate, up-to-date voter list available to the Republican Party in Vermont. Development of that list is underway, with assistance from the RNC and NRSC. These two national committees should cooperate with the Vermont Republican Party to design and finance the kind of telephone voter canvass described above. If Governor Snelling runs for the Senate, the party committees are very likely to undertake this project. The expense of the project, something in the range of $150,000, cannot and should not be absorbed by the Snelling campaign. This canvass should be conducted during the second three months of 1986, so the Snelling campaign will have access to the information by July.*

*Leahy is running his canvass now so he can use franked Senate mail to these households during 1985 and 1986. Snelling can't do that, so the GOP canvass should wait.

As a follow-up to the comprehensive voter canvass, the party organizations should conduct a telephone canvass during the last four weeks of the election. This canvass is designed to identify where voters stand on the Senate race (the Governor's race can be included too) and to turn Snelling voters out to the polls on Election Day. Some of the cost of both these operations will be allocable to the Snelling campaign as a party contribution, but Snelling can receive the benefit of both operations for an allocation of a fraction of the total cost of the projects.

Direct Mail

The Snelling campaign will make heavy use of direct mail for voter appeal purposes. The information provided by the Republican voter canvass will allow Snelling about 100,000 voter households (this assumes that half the state's 200,000 voter households can be contacted in the canvass) based on their issue priorities and positions and their candidate preference. These 100,000 households will receive three mailings each, one in September and two in October.[186]

An additional series of mailings targeted to geography and demographics will be undertaken by the Snelling campaign. This series of mailings will include about 200,000 pieces. It will include, for example, two mailings to voter households with voters over 50 years of age. This series of mailings will be done in September and October. The direct mail plan will be refined based on survey information available at the time.

Direct Mail is an important medium in a campaign for several reasons. Most voters read their mail, so the message is delivered in a more efficient manner than with broadcast advertising. A direct mail letter can provide a more detailed, complex message than a commercial (Snelling wants to deliver such messages). The message can be targeted specifically to the recipient.

Direct mail is an excellent medium for negative messages or comparisons of the candidates. Bad news can be delivered in the mail with less shock effect than on television. And documentation of records is easily provided for the voter to study as long as he wants. High quality, creatively written direct mail can personalize and drive home the Snelling message. It will have more impact than franked Senate mail.

Broadcast Advertising

The most influential medium in modern political campaigns is television advertising, complemented by radio advertising. In most races broadcast advertising is even more important than free media information provided about the candidates through news coverage. It must be assumed that Leahy will do heavy radio and television advertising. Snelling will do the same, but with a more interesting and compelling story to tell. TV will be the key medium for delivery of the Snelling message.

A television advertising campaign is simple and cheap to conduct in Vermont. The Burlington ADI covers almost 85% of the state. So, 85% of the voters can be reached by placing spots on

this one market. The cost of advertising on the markets covering the remaining 15% of the state by TV is prohibitively high for the number of Vermont voters the commercial reaches.

While advertising heavily on television in the Burlington ADI, the Snelling campaign will run heavy radio advertising in the Burlington market, but will run very heavy radio on stations covering the 15% of Vermont outside the Burlington ADI. Concentrated radio and direct mail to this 15% of the voters will make up for the absence of TV commercials on the stations watched by these voters (unless he has money to waste Leahy is unlikely to run advertising on TV in these fringe markets).

The Snelling campaign will run three major waves of TV advertising. The first wave will run in March and April and will consist of 1000 Gross Rating Points of 60-second commercials. One of these commercials will set out, in documentary style, the Snelling record as Governor. Taxes decreased by $400 million, total debt down by $200 million, reduction in number of state employees, holding the line on spending, and improving services. This spot must somehow preempt the issue of the deficit in the last Snelling state budget, so it must be very carefully crafted.

The second 60-second commercial in the first wave will feature Governor Snelling talking about the way he sees the role of a Senator. Someone is needed to go down and shake up the Club, etc. He will tell the people like it is, even if the news is bad, etc. This spot can refer to tough issues he will address like the deficit, arms control, the energy crisis, but will not address issues in detail. It is possible that two spots on this

same subject, the role of a Senator, will be produced and rotated during the first wave. The GRP level is high enough to support three spots during this wave.

The second Snelling advertising wave will consist of four or five 30-second commercials to be run for a total of 2000 GRP over the summer, mostly in June and July. Not all the commercials will be rotated at once, so this will probably evolve into two summer waves. The most important spot of this wave will feature Governor Senlling talking about the danger presented by the federal budget deficit and how eliminating it is his top priority.

A second spot will feature Snelling talking about his specific solution to solving the budget deficit. A 30-second version of the "Role of a Senator" spot from the first wave should be included in this wave, if it is adaptable. Two other spots for this wave will be designed to neutralize the "arrogance" element in Snelling's image and inject compassion into his image. These should show Snelling in shots with children and senior citizens, showing concern and helping solve the problems of individual Vermonters. "Casework" spots using real people whom he has helped would be excellent. These spots will "warm him up" image wise.

The third advertising wave will keep Snelling on air during the last eight weeks of the campaign, starting right after Labor Day. This wave provides for 5000 GRP of 30-second commercials. So, over the eight-week period ten to twelve different commercials can be used. It is not possible to define all the commercials in this wave at this early date. The campaign will need to make decisions based on the research and circumstances at the time, maintaining tactical flexibility on the content of the spots as

long as possible.

However, the bulk of these commercials must present and reinforce the basic Snelling messages: the Snelling role of a Senator; the Snelling record in taxing, spending, and budgets; and the importance of the deficit and how Snelling would handle it. Other spots will show Snelling taking strong stands on other salient issues. Some will show average voters defending Snelling's outspoken, controversial style. It is likely that one or two commercials comparing Snelling and Leahy's positions on issues will be needed during October. It is possible that endorsement spots, i.e., Senator Stafford, will be used. This high level of GRP during the last eight weeks gives Snelling maximum tactical flexibility to handle problems or opportunities which arise, while guaranteeing plenty of air time to drive home the basic Snelling theme.

Radio advertising will be used heavily by Snelling to supplement the TV advertising. This plan calls for eight weeks of heavy radio advertising (36 spots per week) on all appropriate Vermont stations, four weeks in the summer and four weeks in the fall. It calls for sixteen weeks of advertising on those Vermont radio stations outside the Burlington ADI. Since voters in these markets will not see Snelling TV commercials, radio will be run for four weeks in the spring and four additional weeks in the fall, when other voters are seeing TV spots.

The Snelling radio campaign will address the same subjects at the same time as the TV commercials in order to reinforce the messages. Enough radio time is provided, however, to be able to

run radio spots addressing matters not covered on TV. It is not possible to tell this early what those subjects might be. Radio is the best medium for defending against attacks which are scoring with the voters. It is also the best medium (along with direct mail) for raising criticism of Leahy's record and positions.

Creating commercials which will drive home to the voters the seven-part Snelling campaign message is critical. That message is tailored to win marginal votes from the campaign's two principal target groups--Ticket-Splitters and voters over 50 years of age. These must be creative, first-class spots.

Just as important will be the placement of the commercials on TV and radio to insure that these target groups receive the messages in the most cost-efficient possible manner. A sophisticated, politically-oriented placement strategy and plan must be developed. The attachments identify the TV and radio stations which must be used by the campaign to reach these target groups, as well as the more general audience.

Print Advertising

This plan calls for a very limited amount of print advertising. Newspaper ads are not ordinarily very influential on voters' decisions in the age of television. Print is certainly not as cost-effective as broadcast advertising or direct mail. Newspaper ads do not lend themselves to the kind of sophisticated message the Snelling campaign is presenting.

However, in most states or areas which are heavily rural it is traditional for candidates to advertise in weekly newspapers. A major candidate who doesn't do at least some advertising in the

weeklies will probably catch intense heat from his political organization in the rural areas. The plan calls for a few weekly newspaper ads, during the last month of the campaign, to boost morale organizationally and give a minor boost to the Snelling message.

Local Political Organization

The Snelling campaign will build a grassroots political organization in the towns and communities of Vermont. This organization will not be as important to the voter contact and vote delivery functions as the Republican phone operation. It will be totally volunteer and low-budget. Only one paid campaign staff member will be available to supervise this organizational effort. Towns must be targeted based on their importance to the Snelling vote goal because this type of organizational effort will not succeed in achieving comprehensive organization in every town.

Though not a top priority of the Snelling campaign, the local political organizations will perform four important functions:

(1) Generate local publicity by the endorsements of prominent local leaders;

(2) Assist in crowd building and logistical detail when Governor Snelling campaigns in the town;

(3) Assist on fundraising events and other fundraising projects; and

(4) Election Day activities, including getting out the vote and covering the polls.

The local political organization plan must be developed in detail by those having local knowledge of Vermont and knowledge

of the players and structure of the organization in Governor Snelling's past campaigns.

The Candidate

It is obvious that the candidate and his performance are the most important variables in any campaign. The candidate and his time are the campaign's most important resource. How the candidate approaches the campaign, how much time he devotes to it, and how he spends his time are very personal decisions. That part of the plan must be carefully considered and defined by the candidate. With that requirement in mind, this section will propose the ideal scenario for how Governor Snelling will handle the campaign.

It is assumed that Governor Snelling will make a decision on whether to run for the Senate in early September. If he decides to run he must immediately devote a large segment of his time to preparing for the campaign. Picking the professional players, talking to key political leaders in Vermont, organizing a fund-raising effort, refining a campaign plan, and coordinating with the national committees are all time-consuming tasks.

The most important investment of time by Governor Snelling between September and January, however, must be in preparing the entire range of things he will say in the campaign. The Governor has already decided that, if he runs, his campaign will be issue-oriented, will address a broad range of issues, will address long-term, complex problems, and will present views not always popular with the voters. To undertake that kind of campaign and still get the necessary messages across to win will take meticulous preparation of the themes and issues.

Governor Snelling should spend a lot of time during the months before his formal announcement carefully developing the inventory of issues he wants to address, those he will have to address, and what he will say on all of them. The development of creative rhetoric on the controversial positions he plans to take is critical. He should use his political advisors and those professionals available to him as sounding boards for the things he wants to say and take their input as to the political impact of this message. Only after all the Snelling comments on all the potential issues have been polished and rehearsed should he formally announce and hit the campaign trail.

The best time for a formal announcement of candidacy is probably January. That allows plenty of time for polishing the substantive issue matters. While organizing the campaign and developing the issues from September to January, Snelling should make a few selected public appearances and speeches in Vermont. His subject in all these should be the federal deficit and the need to balance the budget. This will simply be a continuation of the message he has been carrying on a national basis and will set the tone for the campaign theme. He should not get into discussion about the role of a Senator until announcement time.

It will be very important during the remainder of 1985 for Governor Snelling to devote some time to establishing a fundraising organization in Vermont. His most expensive campaign to date was the 1982 gubernatorial race, in which his campaign spent $190,000. This will be a million dollar campaign and approximately half a million must be raised in Vermont, so this effort will require his attention throughout the campaign.

The formal announcement in January must be carefully planned and orchestrated to maximize press coverage. A tour of the state for several days should be planned. The announcement statement must emphasize the campaign's bread-and-butter themes: his perception of the role of a Senator, his record in Vermont, and the need for national leadership in solving the deficit problem. The announcement statement should have an upbeat note and a message of hope.

It is anticipated that Snelling will campaign almost full-time, or at least several days each week for the duration of the campaign after the announcement. In a close race in which less than 200,000 votes will be cast, there is some value in "retail" campaigning. The specific plan for the schedule must be developed with the assistance of those knowledgable about the state and its news media.

A great advantage which Snelling has over Leahy in the campaign is that he can devote full-time to the campaign. Leahy will be tied up in Washington on Senate business for a majority of his time until August. During the last three months of the campaign, the Senate should be in recess and Leahy is likely to be in the state full-time.

Before Snelling announces a specific plan must be developed for how he will handle requests for debates and joint appearances with Leahy. He properly wants to limit the number of debates and to avoid appearing with Leahy in forums friendly to Leahy and hostile to Snelling. Some debates or joint appearances are necessary, but they can be limited, timed to benefit Snelling, and some of them held on Snelling's turf.

It is not possible in this plan to go into greater detail on the use of the candidate's time as the campaign progresses, but that is a critical element of the full campaign plan. Any plan must include using the candidate to generate initiatives in the free media on almost a daily basis during the last eight weeks of the campaign. These free media initiatives must be designed to keep the Snelling message before the voters, reinforce the advertising, and keep Leahy from putting Snelling on the defensive in the free media. Any debates or joint appearances will be an integral part of this free media plan.

Surrogate Speakers

This plan does not recommend heavy use of surrogate speakers from inside or outside Vermont. As the most popular Republican in the world to Vermont voters, Snelling can benefit his campaign more than any other spokesman. There will be some prominent leaders in Vermont whose endorsement is valuable to Snelling and these folks should be lined up and used for press coverage. An occasional event to which Governor Snelling cannot go will require a surrogate speaker from inside the state. Obviously Mrs. Snelling will be very valuable to the campaign and should campaign around the state as much as her schedule permits.

Senator Stafford should be used on a limited basis. His political base is slightly different from Snelling's, so he can be beneficial with some voters. Also, he can vouch for Snelling's case about the kind of Senator Vermont needs to send to Washington. The best plan for Stafford would be to have him campaign with Governor Snelling for several days during the summer and several days in the fall.

A difficult issue to decide is whether to use prominent Republicans from outside Vermont to speak on behalf of Snelling. One important service performed by outside "stars" is to serve as the draw for fundraising events. Many nationally known Republican leaders will be available to come to Vermont for Governor Snelling, if he wants them. It is likely that Vice President Bush will be willing to come and possibly that President Reagan will be willing to come to Vermont for Snelling. The best course to take on those decisions is to put them off as long as possible. The Snelling campaign will not know until late summer of 1986 whether the President and his Administration will be a political plus or minus in the campaign. As established earlier, the President's level of popularity is not likely to make or break the Snelling campaign if he stays out, but he could become a major factor, if he comes to the state.

This plan recommends that outside surrogates be used on a limited basis, if needed for fundraising purposes, in the early stages of the campaign and that decisions on the President and Vice President be delayed until next summer. Except for fundraising, surrogates are of limited value in a race between the two most popular political figures in a state.

Campaign Staff

To implement this plan, a staff of eight full-time people will be needed, with four people coming on board in January and four coming on board in June. A limited team of professional consultants will be needed to supplement the staff.

Campaign Manager--the Campaign Manager will be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the campaign, will be responsible for the implementation of the campaign plan, the management of the budget and finance plan, and the supervision of the other staff and consultants. The Manager will report to the candidate on a daily basis and will confer with the General Consultant on a daily basis. He or she should be the first staff person on board in January.

Finance Director--the Finance Director is in charge of all fund-raising for the campaign. He or she will develop and fine-tune the finance plan, and supervise the implementation of all fund-raising programs, while working closely with the volunteer Finance Chairman and Committee. This position should be filled as early as possible, after the Manager is selected.

Comptroller--this person is responsible for keeping the books, writing the checks, reporting to the Manager on cashflow on a daily basis, processing contributions, and maintaining records for and filing reports with the Federal Election Commission. This is a very important position and must be filled as early as possible. It is possible in a campaign of this size that this could begin as a part-time position, but it will develop into a full-time job by the spring.

Clerical--one clerical employee should come on board when the Manager begins in January. This person will assist the Manager, Finance Director, and Comptroller and will assist with the candidate's schedule until the Scheduler comes on board in June.

3 9 0 4 0 7 6 4 7 3 2

Political Director--this person is responsible for supervising the recruitment and operation of the grassroots political organization. The Political Director must also coordinate with the Republican Party and represent the Snelling campaign's interests in the operation of the Republican voter contact program. Formal grassroots activity does not need to begin until the summer, so this person comes on board June 1.

Press Secretary--this person fills the traditional role of answering press inquiries, preparing statements and releases, arranging press conferences, and generating coverage for the candidate. Although there will be a need for this role before June, it does not demand a full-time person until June. The Manager or a volunteer can cover the press role until June.

Scheduler--the Scheduler arranges the details of the candidate's schedule and advances the schedule by telephone to see that arrangements are in place on the day of the event in question. He or she also handles all inquiries and invitations for the candidate and presents the Manager with options for the schedule. When necessary the Scheduler generates invitations to arrange a schedule which meets the political goals of the campaign. This position should start on June 1.

Clerical--a second clerical position should be created on June 1. This person will assist the Political Director, Press Secretary, and Scheduler.

This is a very small staff for a statewide campaign, even in a small state. Many other positions could be created and having more paid staff might benefit the campaign in some ways. For example, there is no researcher or speechwriter on the staff.

But, this plan calls for heavy emphasis on advertising, so all funds which can be conserved for advertising by limiting the payroll and overhead to the minimum are being conserved.

In addition to the full-time staff the campaign must have two key professional consultants.

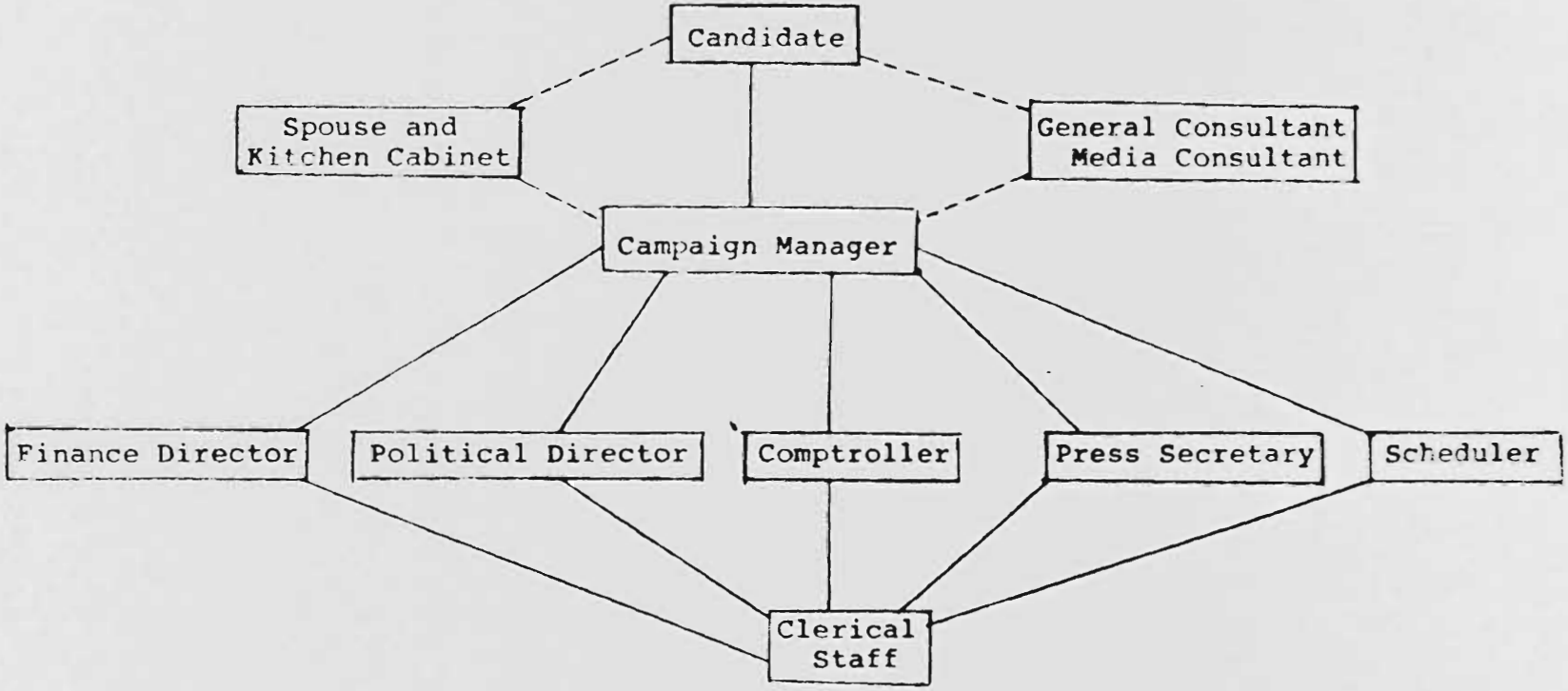
General Consultant--the General Consultant takes the lead in developing the campaign plan and supervises its implementation by the Manager. The General Consultant specializes in strategy and communications and is involved on a regular basis in those aspects of the campaign. The General Consultant also confers with the Campaign Manager on a daily basis to help solve whatever problems the campaign encounters. He confers with the candidate on a regular basis to provide advice and perspective on major campaign decisions.

Media Consultant--the Media Consultant coordinates the campaign's advertising and writes and produces the television and radio ads. Having a top professional who is experienced in political advertising is critical to the success of the candidate in a race as close as this will be.

These two professional consultants are supplemented by the advice and counsel of the survey research consultants.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

SNELLING FOR U.S. SENATE



MEMORANDUM

TO: JIM MURPHY

FROM: GOVERNOR SNELLING

DATE: NOVEMBER 4, 1985

I am afraid that a more comprehensive poll than we have been thinking about has become necessary as the result of external events.

Over the weekend, the Rutland Herald apparently printed a story saying that a UVM/Rutland Herald-Times Argus poll shows Leahy now 50%, me at 39% and 11% undecided.

This would indicate more favorable movement for him and unfavorable movement for me - about 3 points for each - than we had thought. Furthermore, there isn't as big an increase in the undecided as we had thought -- actually perhaps a reduction in the undecideds.

Although it isn't a professional poll, you will recall I had told you a week or so ago that I suspected the same factors which caused a shift in his favor from January to June could reasonably be expected to have continued from June to November.

In any event, I think we need to find out something about the demographics of those who have shifted - not between June and now, but between January and now. By a close examination of the Becker poll, this might be possible, or we might have to get CRC to do it, since the data for their June poll is more under our control.

In any event, I am wondering if we can learn what we need to learn about direction by just trailoring on someone else's poll.

Another thing, the damn media poll got into the beard thing and, apparently, that was an unfavorable. In order to have any kind of a real "base" poll, we need to find out whether the beard is responsible for any significant negative shift since we already plan to remove it - and always have.

Received 8/22/86

*Q1. How interested are you in the election this fall -- are you very interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested?

3 Very interested
2 Somewhat interested
1 Not very interested

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused NA

---

*Q2. 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)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Somewhat approve
2 Somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused NA

As you know, there will be an election this fall...

*Q3. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican
1 Democrat

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused NA

Regarding the issue of negotiating arms limitation agreements with the Russians...

Q4. Of the following two positions, which one do you agree with the most?

1 We should abide by the terms of the arms limitation agreement we have already negotiated with the Russians, even though they have never been ratified by the Senate

OR

2 We should not be concerned with treaties we've never agreed to so far, but negotiate a brand new agreement on limiting nuclear arms

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused NA

Q5. People disagr[redacted] what position they want their Se[redacted] to take on the negotiations to limit nuclear weapons. Some people feel that their Senator should actively speak out and pass legislation to determine what and how President Reagan should negotiate with the Russians. Others feel that their Senators should support President Reagan and let him negotiate the best deal he can get with the Russians. Which view is closest to your own?

(ROTATE ITEM 1 AND 2)

1 Senators speak out and pass legislation to determine how President Reagan should negotiate with Russians

2 Senators should support President Reagan and let him negotiate with the Russians

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

On another topic . . .

Q6. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement: The U.S. Senate is not as efficient as it should be because Senators stay in office too long and worry too much about getting reelected rather than getting things done.

4 Strongly agree
3 Somewhat agree
2 Somewhat disagree
1 Strongly disagree

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Here are the [redacted] of some people. For each one, [redacted] tell me if you are aware or not aware of that [redacted]n. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your [redacted]al impression of him/her favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE Q7 THRU Q10)

*Q7. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)	79-10	82-11	72-22	75-17
3 Aware favorable	very good	[illegible]	[illegible]	
2 Aware unfavorable				
1 Not aware				
F8 Don't know				
F9 Refused/NA				
*Q8. Richard Snelling	73-	60-30		68-28
3 Aware favorable				
2 Aware unfavorable				
1 Not aware				
F8 Don't know				
F9 Refused/NA				
*Q9. Peter Smith	40-20			
3 Aware favorable				
2 Aware unfavorable				
1 Not aware				
F8 Don't know				
F9 Refused/NA				
*Q10. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)	62-28			
3 Aware favorable				
2 Aware unfavorable				
1 Not aware				
F8 Don't know				
F9 Refused/NA				

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections...

*Q11. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate, Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate and Bernard Sanders was the Independent candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith, Kunin or Sanders)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat or Sanders, the Independent)?

2 Pete Smith 3
1 Madeleine Kunin 5
3 Bernard Sanders 18

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

---

*Q12. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Snelling, the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q13)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q13)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q14)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q14)

*Q13. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

1 Made up mind
2 Might change between now & election day

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

(ROTATE Q[redacted] Q16 SERIES WITH Q17 TO Q[redacted]IES)

Q14. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Patrick Leahy during the past several weeks?

Flat - Flat - wide

2 Yes (GO TO Q15) 75
1 No (GO TO Q17) 25

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q17)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q17)

Q15. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Ads on TV, etc.
Attendance at meetings
Gets at Mart — Therapist

Q16. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you've read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely 40
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED) 35
1 Less likely 16

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

3 3 4 0 7 6 2 7 4 1

Q17. Have you r[redacted]en or heard anything about Ric[redacted]helling during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q18)
1 No (GO TO Q20)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q20)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q20)

62
38

Gen 75
Cntl 62
NW-NE 62
West-East 55

Q18. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Ads 70
(Internal leaflet)
Negative (negative)
(Not helpful to farmers)

168, mention
Neg - most
Neg - Dams,

Q19. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

33
33

Do not
decisions
Voted
made

For each one of the following statements, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones you feel are not true. (IF TRUE, ASK:) Is that important or not important?

(ROTATE Q20 TO Q21)

Q20. Since 1975, Patrick Leahy has voted for spending increases that have added 977 (nine hundred and seventy-seven) billion dollars to the federal deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Gen
Yes
Dem
Vic

Q21. Patrick Leahy has a poor attendance record at meetings of the full Senate Agriculture Committee.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q22. The campai[illegible] U.S. Senate have each offered [illegible]nt reasons for supporting their candidate. [illegible]ahy's campaign has argued that [illegible] deserves reelection because, with his seniority and clout, Vermont can't afford to start all over. Dick Snelling's campaign has argued that Pat Leahy is a member of the minority and has no committee chairmanship and that because Dick Snelling will be working with the Republican majority and will get an important subcommittee chairmanship, he will get more don[illegible] for Vermont. Which argument do you most agree with?

(ROTATE ITEM 1 AND 2)

1 Pat Leahy's deserves reelection because of seniority and clout 40

2 Dick Snelling will work with Republican majority 40

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Now, I'd like to read several statements. Please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Dick Snelling or Pat Leahy (LAY-HE)?

(RANDOMIZE Q.23-Q.26)

Q23. Has a solid record of accomplishments.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q24. Cares about the problems of the average citizen.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q25. Has the qualifications to be a good U.S. Senator.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q26. Exaggerates [illegible]omplishments.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make decisions about. I am going to mention several issues and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Dick Snelling or Pat Leahy making decisions on that issue.

(RANDOMIZE Q27-Q29)

Q27. Federal tax and spending policies.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q28. Environmental issues and policies.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q29. Nuclear arms control negotiations.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

The following [redacted] some things you might learn abo[redacted]rick Leahy. Please tell me whether it w[redacted]ake you more likely or less likely [redacted] vote for him. Would that be much (more/less) likely or just somewhat (more/less) likely?

(ROTATE Q30 AND Q31)

Q30. Pat Leahy's voting record in the Senate shows that he consistently votes the Democratic Party line and does not stake out an independent position on legislation.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference/Not important (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q31. As a state's attorney in Vermont, Pat Leahy spoke out against tougher sentences for drug dealers.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference/Not important (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q32. Patrick Leahy is a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee and is briefed by the Central Intelligence Agency on top secret information. Because of the sensitive nature of the information, members of this special committee traditionally turn down press interviews. Leahy, unlike others, grants press interviews on a regular basis. Do you think it is right or wrong for Leahy to do press interviews on sensitive intelligence topics?

2 Right
1 Wrong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q33. If it became clear that Patrick Leahy was simply using his position on the Senate Intelligence Committee to get more press coverage during an election year, would you vote against him or isn't that issue important?

2 Vote against him
1 Issue isn't important

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Now, a few qu[illegible] for statistical purposes. . . [illegible]

QD1. **(PARTYID)** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

1 Republican (GO TO Qa)
2 Democrat (GO TO Qa)
3 Independent (GO TO Qb)
4 No preference (GO TO Qb)
5 Other (GO TO Qb)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Qb)
F9 Refused (GO TO Qb)

Qa. **(INTENSE)** Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

Qb. **(LEAN)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

1 Republican
2 Democratic
3 Neither

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD2. **(VOTETYPE)** 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)

01 Straight Democratic
02 Mostly Democratic
03 A few more Democrats than Republicans
04 About equally for both parties
05 A few more Republicans than Democrats
06 Mostly Republican
07 Straight Republican

08 Other (SPECIFY)_____
09 Never voted

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA

QD6. **(GVOTER)** [redacted]ing about all elections including [redacted], local and primary elections, how many of them have you voted in over the past few years -- none of them, less than half of them, about half of them, most of them or all of them?

1 None of them
2 Less than half of them
3 About half of them
4 Most of them
5 All of them

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD7A. **(LIBCON1)** On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

1 Very liberal
2 Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative
3 Neither/Middle-of-the-road/Moderate (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal
5 Very conservative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD8B. **(AGE)** What is your approximate age?

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

99 Refused

QD9. **(EDOFR)** What is the last grade of school you completed?

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

F9 Refused

QD10. **(IF FEMAL[redacted]K:)** Are you currently . . . (REA[redacted] ONE ANSWER ONLY)

1 Employed and working full-time
2 Employed and working part-time
3 Unemployed
4 Retired
5 Housewife

6 Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)

7 Other (SPECIFY)_____

8 Don't know
9 Refused/NA

QD11. **(IF FEMALE, ASK:)** What is your present marital status?

1 Single
2 Married
3 Divorced
4 Separated
5 Widow/Widower

8 Don't know
9 Refused/NA

QD21. **(RELIGION)** Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

1 Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)
2 Roman Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other Christian
5 Other non-Christian/Unspecified
6 Agnostic/Atheist
7 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD25. **(INCOME)** Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1985 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

0 Under $10,000
1 $10,000-$15,000 (14,999)
2 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999)
3 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999)
4 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999)
5 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999)
6 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999)
7 $50,000 and over

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD28. (SEX) Sex: (P[redacted]SERVATION) [redacted]

1 Male
2 Female

---

3 7 1 4 1 7 0 7 4 9

C

SENATOR JOHN H. HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

March 12, 1986

Treasurer
Snelling in '86
100 Dorset Street
South Burlington, VT 05401

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter provides you with formal notice that the National Republican Senatorial Committee has made an in-kind contribution of $118.75 with regard to a survey which was conducted for the NRSC and allocated in part to you on February 9, 1986.

Pursuant to Federal Election law, we will report this amount which is 2 1/2 percent of the total cost of the survey.

If there are any problems or questions, please give me a call at (202) 347-0202. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maryanne E. Preztunik
Comptroller

DII - 12/85

440 FIRST STREET, N.W. • SUITE 600 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • [illegible]

3 0 1 4 0 7 6 7 5 1

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

June 19, 1986

Treasurer
Snelling in '86 Committee
P.O. Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter provides you with formal notice that the National Republican Senatorial Committee has made an in-kind contribution of $625.00 with regard to a survey which was conducted for the NRSC and allocated in part to Snelling in '86 Committee on May 26, 1986.

Pursuant to Federal Election law, we will report this amount which is 2 1/2 percent of the total cost of the survey.

If there are any problems or questions, please give me a call at (202) 347-0202. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maryanne E. Preztunik
Comptroller

April Steinberg

D

TO: Tom Griscom
Scott Cottington

FROM: Paul Curcio

RE: Vermont Advertising Test Analysis

This provides the Committee's analysis of the MOR test of Governor Dick Snelling's advertising.

BACKGROUND

As part of the NRSC's national advertising testing program, MOR tested Gov. Snelling's commercials ("Effectiveness #4," "Team," "Big Claims," "Effectiveness #1," "Mountain," "Cartoon," and "Congressional Record") and two Pat Leahy ads ("Sons and Daughters" and "Environment"). As with last cycle's testing, the respondents filled out a questionnaire after viewing each commercial, and then participated in a focus-group discussion. MOR will call the respondents several days hence to measure their recall of the [illegible]. All advertising is measured for its believability, how informative it is, how well it's liked, and how influential it is judged to be. We also measured how much voters agreed or disagreed with copy statements made in each commercial. A 0-to-100 scale is used to measure voter reaction in each of these areas. A score of 50 is the neutral point; below 50 is a negative score, above is positive.

The testing was conducted on May 27 in Burlington among a group of approximately 80 voters who are not strongly committed to either candidate and are not strong partisans.

CONCLUSIONS

1. When the time comes to attack Pat Leahy as a big spender, "Congressional Record" should be used. "Cartoon" should not. "Congressional Record" has a more serious tone, and hence is more credible than "Cartoon."

2. Of the two agriculture/attendance commercials, "Big Claims" is clearly worthy of airing. "Effectiveness #1" can air, but only in tandem with "Big Claims." "Big Claims," the strongest of all Snelling's ads, is significantly more believable than "Effectiveness #1," and thus should be the "anchor" of the attack on Leahy's attendance record. "Effectiveness #1" has videotape footage that can be useful as a way to underscore and dramatize Leahy's absence. It probably should not air alone, because voters are a bit skeptical of the authenticity of that footage (is it really the Agriculture Committee? Is that really Leahy's chair?)

3. "Effectiveness #4" can air, but probably only after Leahy's negatives have been driven up by the attendance and big spending issues. "Effectiveness #4" questions Leahy's integrity. Given Leahy's positives, it is probably not surprising that voters resist this message. This "Effectiveness #4" should not air until Leahy's negatives have been increased, and voters are more receptive to an ad which questions his motives and his integrity.

   Separately, the NRSC should continue to press the 4-A's to resurrect their political-ad program. They are a credible third-party source which could corroborate and strengthen the Snelling campaign's attack on Leahy's advertising claims.

4. "Mountain" should also not air until Leahy's negatives have been driven up. This ad questions Leahy's effectiveness, and these voters had difficulty believing that. After Leahy's negatives are increased, presumably this attack will be more likely to "stick."

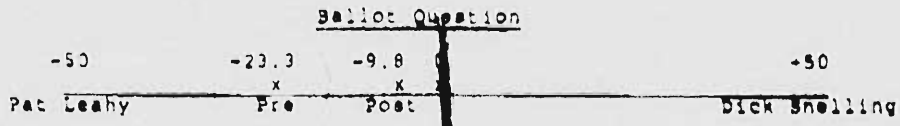
5. The Snelling campaign should be prepared to answer questions about how Leahy compares with other senators on these issues. For virtually every attack, these voters asked how Leahy performed versus other senators. It's likely that if these voters asked for comparisons, surely the press will. The comparisons could include attendance records (e.g., did any other senator miss all the meetings?) and interest-group ratings.

KEY FINDINGS

1. Overall, these commercials were able to put a dent in Pat Leahy's popularity, without doing damage to Dick Snelling. On several measurements taken before and after the Snelling ads were shown, Leahy suffered noticeable and statistically significant declines. This is particularly significant because the sample was leaning to Leahy. See below:

	Pre	Post
Sen. Pat Leahy	71*	61*
Pat Leahy deserves re-election	62	52

*Note: Score on 0-to-100 scale; above 50 is positive; below 50 is negative; 50 is neutral



In addition, while these voters knew that the attack ads were Dick Snelling's, nonetheless his thermometer score remained

unchanged pre to post. This suggests that there will be little backlash against him for airing these attack ads.

	Pre	Post
Dick Snelling	58	57

2. Governor Snelling's ads appear to have achieved the specific objectives of increasing Leahy's negatives in several key areas: attendance, accomplishments, and federal spending. Leahy's negatives increased significantly in all of these areas, though some were more dramatic than others. Details follow:

	Pre (Agree/Disagree)	Post (Agree/Disagree)	Change
Pat Leahy is one of the biggest spenders in Washington	44	55	+11
Pat Leahy has not been able to accomplish much in the U.S. Senate	41	52	+11
Pat Leahy has missed too many important committee meetings in Washington	41	57	+16
Pat Leahy has seniority in the U.S. Senate, and that is important to Vermont	72	59	-13

Note that the statement about Leahy's lack of effectiveness is barely over the neutral point (50), while "big spender" and "poor attendance" are higher. This is probably because effectiveness is more nebulous and difficult to gauge than spending (which is based on votes) and attendance (which is based on records). In addition, there seems to be a fairly strong impression that Leahy is indeed effective.

3. These voters accepted the specific negatives about Sen. Leahy, but were unwilling to conclude that he's been a bad senator. This is probably because his favorables are strong enough to withstand one exposure to a negative ad. See below:

	Agree/Disagree Mean Score
Vermont voters are disappointed by Pat Leahy's record on the Agriculture Committee	51
Pat Leahy is not effectively representing Vermont	45
Pat Leahy hasn't accomplished much for Vermont during his second term	47
Pat Leahy lacks the leadership necessary to be an effective senator for Vermont	38

This suggest that these commercials are only the first step in building the case that Vermont can do better than Patrick Leahy in the Senate.

4. While these ads do begin to create doubts about Leahy, they don't make the case for Dick Snelling as the alternative. This is certainly not surprising, because only one ad ("Team") mentioned Snelling as a potential replacement for Leahy. Specifically:

	Pre (Agree/Disagree)	Post (Agree/Disagree)
Pat Leahy can get more done in Washington than Dick Snelling can	61	57
Dick Snelling's ideas worked in Vermont and would work in Washington	55	52

5. "Big Claims" is the strongest of the Snelling ads. It is strong on all key measurements except "like/dislike," which is predictably weak for all the ads. (Voters usually don't like the tone of negative political advertising.) Details follow:

	Mean Score	Rank among 6 Snelling ads
Believability	70	1
Information	59	1
Like/Dislike	43	2
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	61	1

For an attack ad, "Big Claims" has a particularly high believability score. This is probably due to the use of the Library of Congress as the information source. This high believability also contributed to strong agreement on key copy points:

	Agree/Disagree Mean Score
Senator Pat Leahy didn't attend any of the 23 meetings of the Agriculture Committee	63
It is a surprise and a disappointment that Leahy didn't attend the meetings	64
The Library of Congress is a believable source of information on senate committee attendance	67

6. The other agriculture commercial, "Effectiveness #1," had good scores, but "Big Claims" were better. The key difference is in believability. This is probably because the Library of Congress is a more credible source than a videotape showing Leahy not doing something. (Some voters questioned whether the empty chair was indeed Leahy's.) Despite this, however, "Effectiveness #1" is not a weak commercial: it communicated Leahy's poor attendance record just as well as "Big Claim" does.

	Mean Score	Rank among 6 Snelling ads
Believability	58	2
Information	54	3
Like/Dislike	41	5
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	57	4

	"Effectiveness #1" Mean Score (Agree/Disagree)	"Big Claims" Mean Score (Agree/Disagree)
Pat Leahy did not show up once for Agriculture Committee hearings	62	63

7. Of the two "big spender" commercials, "Congressional Record" is stronger than "Cartoon." Both commercials cover the same issue (Leahy is a big spender) and use the same sources. The difference between them is their tone: "Cartoon" is less serious than "Congressional Record," and as a result, has slightly lower information and believability scores.

	"Congressional Record" Mean Score	Rank	"Cartoon" Mean Score	Rank
Believability	54	3	51	4
Information	56	2	48	6
Like/Dislike	43	2	44	1
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	58	2	58	2

8. "Effectiveness #4" has some notable weaknesses, especially its believability. The probable reason for this is that "Effectiveness #4" in effect questions Leahy's motives and his integrity. Voters apparently have high regard for Leahy's integrity, and they have a difficult time believing he'd deliberately distort his record that way. This is dramatized by comparing the believability scores for "Effectiveness #4" and the Leahy ad that originally made the claims:

	Leahy Ad ("Sons & Daughters")	Snelling Response ("Effectiveness #4")
Believability	62	49

The other key measurements for "Effectiveness #4" are below.

	"Effectiveness #4" Mean Score	Rank among 6 Snelling ads
Information	52	4
Like/Dislike	38	6
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	54	6

Despite its believability problem, this commercial does create some modest doubt about Leahy's claims.

	Agree/Disagree Score after Seeing Leahy Ad	Agree/Disagree Score after Seeing "Effectiveness #4"*
Leahy wrote an arms-control law	52	50
Leahy helped President Reagan prepare for Geneva	57	48

In short, Leahy's credibility can withstand a rebuttal from the Congressional Record (on the arms-control law), but not from Ronald Reagan's White House. In addition, it is more believable that a senator would write a law than prepare the president for Geneva.

*Note: In the copy test, "Effectiveness #4" immediately followed Leahy's ad.

9. "Mountain's" scores were comparatively weak, mainly because these voters had a difficult time believing the claims that Pat Leahy has accomplished little for Vermont in his second term. Most of its scores on the four standard scales were around 50, the neutral point, suggesting that voters neither accepted nor rejected the commercial overall. See below:

	"Mountain" Mean Score	Rank Among 6 Snelling Ads
Believability	51	4
Information	51	5
Like/Dislike	40	3
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	56	4

What voters did reject were the commerical's specific claims:

	Agree/Disagree Mean Score
Though he holds seniority in the U.S. Senate, Pat Leahy has not accomplished much for Vermont during his second term	47
Pat Leahy lacks the leadership necessary to be an effective senator for Vermont	38
Pat Leahy has not sponsored any significant legislation to solve Vermont's problems	49

5/30/86

Pan Circle

45 - 20 Lady [illegible] (pro/10)
40 - 25 Lady [illegible]
10% of Lady people [illegible] converted

1. Spending — Tax [illegible] Congressional [illegible]
Carter -
Rob Too bad [illegible] Reagan [illegible]
Some people can't [illegible]
[illegible] Mother - Leading [illegible]
Billion

2. Clean up [illegible]
Plan to [illegible] with [illegible]
and that [illegible]

3. Only 5 [illegible] tax [illegible]

Need letter to PAC
re Ads

Poll - June 17th

Studi. time - re fig ads
Big Claus
A. wing
Cong. Leg

16

E

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

September 26, 1986

13,600
Income Tax

Treasurer
Snelling '86 Committee
Post Office Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

To Whom It May Concern:

Per my conversation with Jim Murphy, the following should be considered as an invoice for the ad test conducted by MOR for the Snelling '86 Committee. A check in the amount of $3,600 is your portion of the cost and should be sent to the National Republican Senatorial Committee to my attention at the earliest convenience.

If there should be any problems or questions, please contact me at (202) 347-0202.

Sincerely,

Maryanne E. Preztunik
Comptroller

440 First Street N.W. • Suite 800 • Washington, D.C. 20001 • (202) 347-0202 • (202) 224-2751

VERIFICATION OF PURCHASE

From: Blake Axtell

To: Rey Date 9/24/86

We have received the attached invoice. It can not be paid until this form is returned to me. Please give it prompt attention.

Indicate into which category the purchase falls:

[ ] Political Advertising
[ ] Personnel
[ ] Fund Raising
[X] Other

Please describe nature and purpose of purchase NRSC Focus Group (Selling 86 Share)

$ 3,600

I confirm that the items described on the invoice have been received and are acceptable except as noted _____

9/26/86 (date) X [signature]

****

CODE: 506 DATE PAID: 9/26 CHECK # 1341

ENTERED ON DATAEASE ✓ INVOICE

✓ PAYMENT

SNELLING '86 U.S. SENATE

(802) 985-9471
(800) FOR-VT86

Co-Chairmen
Gov. Deane C. Davis
Mrs. Lola P. Aiken

September 26, 1986

Miss Maryanne E. Preztunik
National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Maryanne:

Thank you for sending me the invoice corresponding to the MOR focus group share owed by the Snelling '86 Committee.

Enclosed is a check for $3,600 made payable to the National Republican Senatorial Committee for this share.

Sincerely,

Rey Post
General Campaign Manager

RP/jdf
enclosure

The Snelling '86 Committee
Jelly Mill Common, Route 7
Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

VERMONT NATIONAL BANK
SOUTH BURLINGTON, VERMONT 05403

SNELLING 86
JERICHO MILL COMMON
PH. 802-985-9471
SHELBURNE, VERMONT 05482

1341

Sept 26 19 86

58-48
116

PAY TO THE ORDER OF National Republican Senatorial Committee $ 3,600.00

Three Thousand Six Hundred and 00/100 DOLLARS

Neyfat

⑈001341⑈ ⑆011600486⑆ 3001169⑈

GCC#2532
MUR 2212

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1140 19TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-6601*
(202) 861-0900
TELEX 756-260

250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10177-0077*
(212) 370-9800
TELEX 510100817

108 NORTH ST. ASAPH STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314*
(703) 684-1204

201 MAIN STREET
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76102-3105
(817) 334-0701

FOUR EMBARCADERO
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111-5954
(415) 398-5565

1875 CENTURY PARK EAST
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067-2501
(213) 556-8861

515 EAST PARK AVENUE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301-2524
(904) 681-0596

*P.C. NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND VIRGINIA ONLY

January 20, 1987

1987 JAN 21 A10:15

HAND DELIVERED

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esquire
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Room 615A
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed please find Executed Statements of Designation of Counsel in the above-captioned matter.

Very truly yours,

Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson

SMG:kb

Enclosure

2 0 0 4 0 7 0 2 7 5 3

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2212

NAME OF COUNSEL: Stuart M. Gerson

ADDRESS: Epstein Becker Borsody & Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20036

TELEPHONE: (202) 861-0900

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.

January 2, 1987
Date

Rodney A. Smith
Signature
Rodney A. Smith, Treasurer

RESPONDENT'S NAME: National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as Treasurer

ADDRESS: 440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

HOME PHONE:

BUSINESS PHONE: (202) 347-0202

9 9 0 4 0 7 6 2 7 5 9

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 2212

NAME OF COUNSEL: Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire

ADDRESS: Epstein Becker Borsody & Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20036

TELEPHONE: (202) 861-0900

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.

1/14/87
Date

Signature
Governor Richard Snelling

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Snelling '86 Committee and
Duncan F. Brown, as Treasurer

ADDRESS: c/o 100 Dorset Street, Suite 11
South Burlington, Vermont 05403

HOME PHONE:

BUSINESS PHONE: (802) 658-5341

3 7 0 4 0 7 6 2 7 7 0

QCC# 2531

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.

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515 EAST PARK AVENUE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301-2524
(904) 681-0596

*P.C. NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND VIRGINIA ONLY

January 20, 1987

HAND DELIVERED

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esquire
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Room 615A
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2212;
Respondents National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer.

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed please find response of the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, (collectively "the Respondents") to the Federal Election Comission's ("Commission") reason-to-believe determination in the above-captioned matter and the Commission's subpoena for documents and order to submit written answers to a list of questions.

As discussed, in preparing its response to the Commission's subpoena for documents, the NRSC engaged in a thorough review of all pertinent documents in its possession. The NRSC's response to the Commission's document request, therefore, is complete with respect to all documents currently available to the NRSC. However, the NRSC expressly reserves the right to supplement its document submission if additional responsive documents come into its possession in the future.

In addition, as we also discussed, Respondents hereby request to enter into pre-probable cause conciliation negotiations with your office, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(a).

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions regarding the enclosed documents. I look forward to working with you to resolve this matter in an expeditious fashion.

Very truly yours,

Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson
Counsel
National Republican Senatorial
Committee and Rodney A. Smith,
as treasurer

SMG:kb

Enclosure

4 0 3 4 0 7 5 2 7 7 2

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE and RODNEY A. SMITH, AS TREASURER	X X X X X X X X X X	MUR 2212

RESPONSE OF NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL
COMMITTEE TO COMMISSION REASON
TO BELIEVE DETERMINATION AND TO SUBPOENA AND ORDER

By letter dated December 9, 1986, the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission" or "FEC") notified the respondents, the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and its Treasurer, Rodney A. Smith, that the Commission had found reason to believe that the respondents had violated the Federal Election Campaign Act ("The Act") regarding the reporting and valuation of certain surveys and advertising tests paid for by the NRSC and relevant, at least in part, to the recently-concluded Senatorial campaign in Vermont. The Commission invited a response to this finding and also subpoenaed various documents and ordered the respondents to answer a list of questions.

In the two sections of this Response that immediately follow, the respondents provide their answers to the documentary request and interrogatories. They then set forth their legal position that the Commission should find that the respondents have not violated the Act.

Response to Subpoena to Produce Documents

Introduction

The respondents are providing herewith all material documents in its possession that their employees were able to obtain after a complete and good faith search of the NRSC's files. The respondents wish the Commission to note that they assert a proprietary interest in all of the documents provided and formally request that their confidentiality be maintained by the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, returned at the conclusion of this investigation. In the event that the Commission were to receive a request pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act or, otherwise, for the release of any document provided herewith, the respondents request 10 days' advance notice of any release contemplated by the Commission so that they might assert their rights under law. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.21.

Responses

1. All questions included in the following opinion surveys conducted wholly or in part for NRSC by either Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR"), or Decision Marketing Information, Inc., ("DMI") in the state of Vermont in 1985 and 1986.

   a. Survey conducted by MOR on June 14-17, 1986.

   b. Survey conducted by DMI in December, 1985, pursuant to commission by the Republican National Committee and shared in by NRSC.

   c. Survey conducted by MOR on April 5-9, 1986.

d. Survey conducted by MOR on June 26-29, 1986.

RESPONSE:

a. The respondents believe that there is a typographical error in the request and that the Commission, in fact, is seeking a copy of the MOR "benchmark" survey done in June of 1985. The questions sought are part of the survey itself, a copy of which is provided as an attachment hereto at Tab A. Although only the questions are requested in this section of the subpoena, the remainder of the document comes within the broad compass of subpoena request No. 2, inasmuch as they "concern" the referenced communications. The survey is, therefore, provided.

b. For the reasons stated as to Section a, a copy of the DMI survey of December 1985 is provided at Tab B.

c. For the reasons stated as to Section a, a copy of the MOR survey of April 1986 is provided at Tab C.

d. For the reasons stated as to Section a, a copy of the MOR survey of June 1986 is provided at Tab D.

2. All documents and materials concerning written or oral communications between NRSC and Richard Snelling, and between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee in 1985 and 1986 on the subject of surveys conducted in Vermont in 1985 and 1986 wholly or in part for NRSC by MOR and DMI, including, but not limited to, all documents and materials concerning surveys being planned, surveys carried out, and analysis of data collected in such surveys.

RESPONSE:

Additional documents responsive to subpoena request No. 2 are included in the attachments hereto at Tab E. Respondents note that the request, calling for documents and materials relating in any way to the four surveys described in subpoena request No. 1. The fact that the documents provided may "concern" the planning or results of a survey should not be taken by the Commission to mean that everything in or on a document is derived from or relates to one of the surveys that is the subject of this MUR. Indeed, some of these documents are, or relate to, publicly-available surveys and non-survey based information. Moreover, unless a date is specifically shown on a document, the respondents are not aware of when they received, prepared or transmitted the document or any portion thereof.

Additionally, the NRSC notes that it does not view materials prepared by, or at the direction of its staff counsel relating to the NRSC's answer to the complaint in this MUR as coming within the bounds of this request, inasmuch as such documents are inherently privileged and the Commission is already in possession of the answer itself.

3. All documents and materials concerning expenditures made to MOR and DMI by NRSC for surveys conducted in Vermont in 1985 and 1986 wholly or in part for NRSC, including, but not limited to, account statements, invoices, billing forms, checks, and other negotiable paper, and receipts.

RESPONSE:

All such "documents and materials" are provided in the attachments hereto at Tab F.

4. All documents and materials concerning the process of determining the allocable portion of the expenditures cited in Item #3 above to be reported by NRSC as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee.

RESPONSE:

The NRSC relied upon the Commission's regulations in determining the allocable portions of the expenditures referenced in request No. 3. The respondents know of no other document or material which concerns the allocation determinations except for the August 5, 1986 memo appended at Tab G, which was prepared in anticipation of the NRSC's response to the filing of the complaint in this MUR, but which is unprivileged, and a memorandum dated August 11, 1986, from Maryanne Preztunik, an NRSC employee, to James K. Wholey, Esquire, the NRSC's in-house attorney concerning the allocations that are the subject of this MUR. The document was prepared at Mr. Wholey's instruction to assist him in responding to the complaint, and the NRSC asserts its attorney-client and attorney work-product privileges as to it.

5. All documents and materials concerning written and oral communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of portions of the expenditures cited in Item #3 above

and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

Copies of all such documents that were retained by the NRSC are appended at Tab H.

6. Copies of all advertisements involved in all focus group advertising tests conducted in Vermont for NRSC by MOR on May 27, 1986.

RESPONSE:

The requested advertisements are in videotape form, and a copy of the tape (in the VHS mode) containing all of these advertisements is appended hereto as a separate attachment.

7. All documents and materials concerning the advertising tests cited in Item #6 above, including, but not limited to, plans for such tests, the carrying out of such tests, and analysis of the data obtained, both general and specific.

RESPONSE:

Those documents and materials that relate to the referenced advertising tests are appended hereto at Tab I. Respondents note, however, that, in terms of its ongoing use of these materials, they cannot be viewed in isolation in the context of Vermont and the 1986 campaign. For example, beginning in December 1986, the staff of the NRSC has begun a comprehensive study of the nature and effect of so-called "negative advertising." The Vermont materials are an integral part of that study, along with a variety of materials from many additional sources.

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8. All documents and materials concerning expenditures made to MOR for the focus group advertising tests cited in Item #6 above, including, but not limited to, account statements, invoices, billing forms, checks and other negotiable paper, and receipts.

RESPONSE:

Those materials in the possession of the NRSC are attached at Tab J.

9. All documents and materials concerning the process of determining the portion of the expenditures cited in Item #8 above to be allocable to the Snelling '86 Committee.

RESPONSE:

See response to subpoena request No. 4, supra.

10. All documents and materials concerning communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of a portion of the expenditures cited at Item #8 above, and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

Those materials called for which are in the possession of the NRSC are attached at Tab K.

Responses to Interrogatories

1. Please identify the representative(s) of the NRSC responsible for authorizing and coordinating the conducting of opinion surveys in Vermont in 1985 and 1986.

RESPONSE:

Jan van Lohuizen, the NRSC's Director of Survey Research.

2. Please identify the representative(s) of the NRSC responsible for determining when and in what form results of opinion surveys conducted in Vermont on behalf of NRSC would be shared with Richard Snelling and/or the Snelling '86 Committee.

RESPONSE:

James E. Murphy, Jr., who is an NRSC Deputy Political Director, and Mr. van Lohuizen.

3. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in July or August, 1985, attended by Richard Snelling and representatives of NRSC and MOR.

RESPONSE:

Respondents are unaware of any meeting that took place in July or August of 1985 at which Governor Richard A. Snelling and representatives of both NRSC and MOR attended.

4. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

There was no such meeting. See response to Interrogatory No. 3, supra.

5. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in April, 1986, attended by representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, NRSC and MOR.

RESPONSE:

There was one such meeting and the attendees were Governor Snelling, Mr. Murphy, Mr. van Lohuizen, Alex Gage, a representative of MOR and Charles Black of Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, a consultant to the campaign.

6. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

April 14, 1986.

7. Please identify all persons involved in every telephone conference call in 1985 and 1986 in which Richard Snelling and/or representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, plus representatives of MOR and NRSC, took part.

8. Please provide the exact dates of these telephone conference calls.

RESPONSE:

7-8. The respondents do not have complete records of telephone conference calls for the referenced period. However, upon consultation with various parties to such conversations, the respondents list the following telephone conference calls which took place in 1986 in which they believe that either Governor Richard Snelling or a representative of Snelling '86 and both representatives of MOR and NRSC took part. They know of no such

conference call involving each of these categories of parties which took place in 1985.

Date	Participants
July 2, 1986	Governor Snelling, James E. Murphy, Jr., Alex Gage, Greg Stevens, a media consultant employed by Snelling '86, and Jan van Lohuizen.
August 29, 1986	Messers. Snelling, Murphy, Gage, van Lohuizen and Charles Black and Rey Post, the Campaign Manager of Snelling '86.
September 25, 1986	Messrs. Snelling, Murphy, van Lohuizen, Black, Post and Robert Teeter, an official of MOR.
October 2, 1986	Same participants as previous call.

In addition, the respondents are aware that the records of Snelling '86 show that a call was scheduled for July 17, 1986, among Messrs. Snelling, Black, Post, Murphy and van Lohuizen. An inquiry among the prospective NRSC parties to that call suggests that it did not take place.

ARGUMENT

The Commission Should Find That the NRSC and its Treasurer Have Not Violated the Act.

The NRSC's response letter of September 15, 1986 sets forth a lengthy and detailed explanation of the allocations and billings made concerning the receipt by the Snelling '86 campaign committee of the certain of the results of various polls conducted under the auspices of the NRSC during the 1986 senatorial campaign. There is no need to repeat those arguments here, although the respondents expressly reserve the right to offer

additional legal analysis to the Commission at a later time. For present purposes, respondents merely wish to call the Commission's attention to certain matters that are amplified by the accompanying subpoena responses.

Given the fact that the undersigned counsel is representing all of the parties who are respondents in this MUR, it is obvious that the NRSC and the Snelling campaign are cognizant of each other's positions here and that there is no conflict of interest between them. In view of the foregoing, the Commission should be aware that the NRSC subscribes to the statement of the Snelling campaign that, in terms of the surveys and studies that are at issue in this case, all of the allocation and billing decisions were made by the NRSC, and the Snelling '86 committee merely relied upon them, paying bills as they were submitted. We submit, however, that all of the allocations and billings were correctly made by the NRSC, and that the Commission should find that none of the parties has violated the Act.

A review of the Commission's subpoena and interrogatories demonstrates that there are five matters with which it is concerned: 1) a June 1985 survey conducted by MOR for the NRSC; 2) a December 1985 survey conducted by DMI for the NRSC; 3) an April 1986 survey conducted by MOR for the NRSC; 4) a June 1986 survey conducted by MOR for the NRSC; and 5) an advertising test conducted jointly by the NRSC and MOR in May 1986. As we shall show, no allocations or billings were made by NRSC to the Snelling campaign as to the June 1985 survey, which was conducted

for internal NRSC purposes, and as to the June 1986 survey, which was not shared with the Snelling campaign.

As to the December 1985 and April 1986 surveys, appropriate allocations were made in view of the fact that the results of the polls were not transmitted until after 60 days had elapsed from the acquisition of the information. And, as to the May 1986 test, which has become known as the "focus group" study, the Snelling campaign was billed (and paid) a substantial sum, accurately reflective of the fair market value of what it received.

A. The June 1985 Survey

National party committees, such as the NRSC, have well-recognized responsibilities in promoting the interests, policies and persons identified with their parties. See FEC v. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 454 U.S. 27 (1981); 11 C.F.R. 110.1(b)(2)(ii). Among the most important of these responsibilities is the identification of issues and the recruitment of effective candidates. The June 1985 "benchmark survey" was undertaken by the NRSC solely in conjunction with and in support of its national duties and goals.

When the benchmark poll was conceived and conducted, Governor Richard Snelling was not a candidate (announced or unannounced) for the United States Senate. Indeed, there was no candidate who had emerged as a likely contender to the Democratic incumbent in Vermont. The benchmark poll was developed by the NRSC to ascertain issues upon which the incumbent might prove

vulnerable and to identify a candidate who might be able to exploit that vulnerability while carrying the Republican banner.

We believe that the poll itself, which is an attachment hereto, amply demonstrates that party purpose. So does the internal NRSC memorandum of June 25, 1986, which is included within the attachments at Tab E. The poll was not a testing-the-waters effort by Governor Snelling; it was a recruitment tool by which the NRSC ultimately sought to persuade Governor Snelling to run.

Respondents believe that the documents submitted by the Snelling campaign also show that the benchmark poll was not the foundation for the ultimate campaign plan, which was formulated from other sources, most of them publicly available, and few of them data-centered.

For these reasons, the respondents submit that the entire expense of this poll properly was the NRSC's, whose internal purposes the poll served, and that no contribution in kind resulted to the Snelling campaign.

B. The Campaign Polls

The documents submitted by the various respondents amply demonstrate that although there was frequent discussion between the national party committee and the campaign, there was very little discussion involving representatives of pollsters (and none at all involving DMI). Additionally, the range of discussions that were held covered a broad variety of issues, among which polling was only one.

Included in the immense array of issues were discussions concerning the nature of advertising, advocacy research, focus upon women and interest groups, fundraising, media and scripts, relations with political action committees, state party matters, advocacy research on issues, campaign and staff organization, FEC report compliance, scheduling and appearances by public figures. Within these discussions, as the submitted documents make clear, the parties took particular care in not disclosing actual polling data until after 60 days had expired so that, pursuant to Commission rules, their value could be depreciated substantially.

Plainly, there was some discussion of certain broad-based matters raised by various NRSC-conducted surveys, but those communications had to do with ranges and broad-based developments, not specific data themselves. Moreover, those discussions took place within the context of the public availability of a number of newspaper polls (copies of which have been supplied to the Commission in the attachments) which are surprisingly consistent with the commercial polls that are the subject of this MUR.

Through these discussions, coupled with the substantial political experience of the participants in the State of Vermont, it was entirely possible for the campaign to construct statistical ranges of information without having access to the results of the polls themselves, and therefore without occasioning a contribution or campaign committee expenditure until the poll

data actually were released. It should be noted, however, that while the campaign's officials often were correct in their documented estimations, they also were in error on a great many occasions. They also made a number of suggestions as to future polling and campaign needs that never were adopted by the NRSC. However, the survey results themselves certainly had ultimate operative value to the campaign which desired the actual data. Thus, on the two occasions where the data ultimately were given to the Snelling campaign by the NRSC (both after 60 days had elapsed), the regulation scrupulously and literally was followed and the depreciated cost of the polls were billed against coordinated campaign expenditures.

1. The December 1985 DMI poll: pursuant to 11 C.F.R. 106.4(g), the proper percentage of the initial cost of the poll was allocated to the Snelling campaign upon the release of the polling data after 60 days.

2. The April 1986 MOR poll: a similar percentage allocation was made upon release of the data from this poll after 60 days.

3. The June 1986 MOR poll: the data from this poll were never given to the Snelling campaign or otherwise disclosed to it. No allocation therefore was made.

C. The "Focus Group" Advertising Study

In May of 1986, MOR, at the NRSC's behest, and with the active participation of an NRSC analyst, conducted an advertising test with a Vermont "focus group" of selected individuals. The

purpose of this study was twofold: to assist the Snelling campaign in the selection of television advertising spots to be broadcast; and, of broader, long term importance, to serve as the basis for a detailed, ongoing study by the NRSC of the nature and effectiveness of what has become known as "negative" campaign advertising. This study is presently underway, and the NRSC believes that it will be both definitive and of vast nationwide importance in determining its advice to future campaigns.

Data from the focus group survey were made available to the Snelling campaign almost immediately upon their receipt by the NRSC. This fact is reflected in the allocation and billing by the NRSC to the campaign of $3,600, an amount which fairly reflects the market value of what the Snelling committee received and the relative value of that distribution compared to its even greater utility to the NRSC study. This delineation is entirely consistent with Commission regulations which do not impose any valuation method other than reasonableness.

Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, as well as those that respondents may present in the future to the Commission, the respondents respectfully submit that the Commission should determine that they have not violated the Act in connection with the surveys that are the subject of the Matter Under Review.

Respectfully submitted,

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Vermont Statewide Study

Data

Prepared For:

National Republican Senatorial Committee

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National Republican Senatorial Committee

June, 1985
Job #P85056

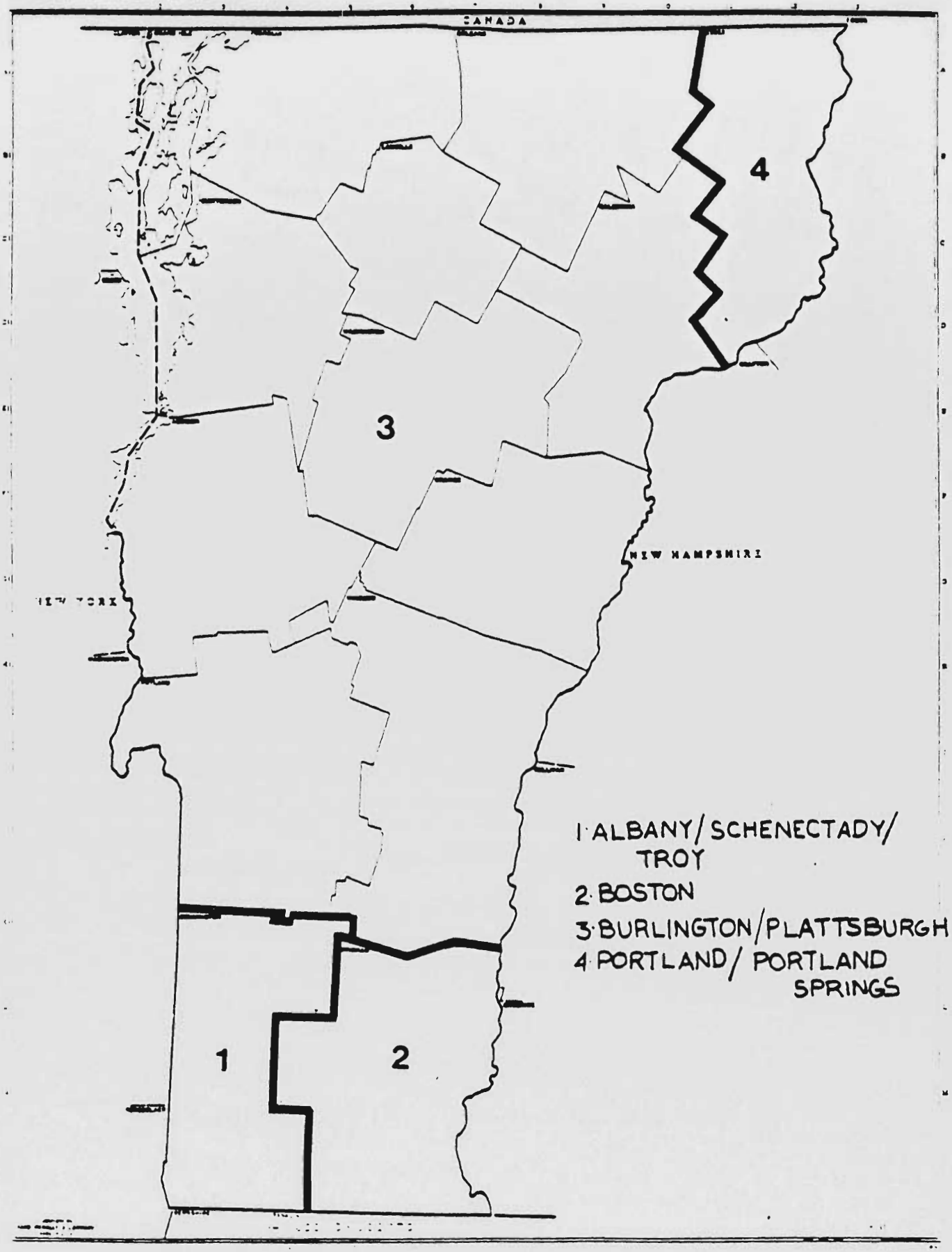
RAND McNALLY

STATE COUNTY OUTLINE MAP

A. D. I.

VERMONT

SIZE 8½ x 11



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Vermont Statewide Study #P85056

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 Q1
Refused/NA. 9

PP 43-45

2. 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 Q2
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PP 43-45

3. If the election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROATATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) from Vermont?

Republican. 2
Democratic. 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

PP 25-27 Q3

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

Republican. 2
Democratic. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PP 25-27

4. Of the following seven issues, which one do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

5. Which one would you choose next? (REPEAT REMAINING ITEMS)

(RANDOMIZE)	(Q.4) Greatest Attention	(Q.5) Next Greatest Attention
a. Foreign affairs	01	01
b. Tax reform	02	02
c. Unemployment	03	03
d. Nuclear arms control	04	04
e. Environment	05	05
f. Federal budget deficit	06	06
g. Agriculture and farm issues	07	07
None of them	08	
No second mention		09
Don't know	98	98
Refused/NA	99	99

PP 46-51

6. There are four basic alternatives for the federal government in reducing the size of the federal budget deficit. Which one of the following do you think is the best course of action. . .

(RANDOMIZE)	(Q.6) Best Course of Action
a. Make whatever spending cuts are needed so taxes don't have to be increased.	1
b. Make whatever tax increases are needed so spending on important programs doesn't have to be cut.	2
c. Reduce some spending and moderately increase taxes.	3
d. Rely on growth in the economy to generate more revenue from current taxes.	4
None of the above (VOLUNTEERED)	5
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	9

PP.52-54

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7. From what you now know about President Reagan's tax reform plan, do you generally favor or oppose the President's plan?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8 Q7
Refused/NA. 9

PP.55-57

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8. President Reagan's tax reform proposal would eliminate most tax deductions which would allow lowering the income tax rates for everyone. Do you generally favor or oppose eliminating most deductions and lowering tax rates?

Favor 2
Oppose. 1
Don't know. 8 Q8
Refused/NA. 9

PP.55-57

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9. Which do you think is the most important thing for the government to do this year — (ROTATE: reduce the budget deficit or reform the federal tax laws)?

Reduce budget deficit 1
Reform federal tax laws 2
Both equally important (VOLUNTEERED) 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 4 Q9
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PP.52-54

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10. Which of the following types of people would you rather have as your U.S. Senator —

(ROTATE)

a. Someone with strong opinions on issues who will vote his own mind even if he sometimes disagrees with his constituents on an issue. . . .1

OR

b. Someone who will always reflect his constituents' views regardless of his own opinion on an issue. 2

Neither/Depends (VOLUNTEERED). 3 Q10
Don't know 8
Refused/NA 9

PP. 58-60

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11. Can you tell me the names of the two U.S. Senators from Vermont?

First Mention

Named Robert Stafford 1
Named Patrick Leahy 2 Q11M1
Named other 3
Couldn't name any 4

Second Mention

Named Robert Stafford 1
Named Patrick Leahy 2
Named other 3 Q12M1
No second mention 5

PP. 61-63

Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of (him/her) favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE)	Aware	Not Aware	Favorable	Un-favorable	Don't Know	Ref./NA	
12. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q12
13. Robert Stafford	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q13
14. Jim Jeffords	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q14
15. John Easton	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q15
16. Richard Snelling	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q16
17. Peter Smith	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q17
18. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q18
19. Bernard Sanders	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q19
20. Stephan (STEVEN) Morse	N	1	2	3	8	9	Q20

PP. 64-72

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about things in Vermont. . .

People disagree on the best way of dealing with budget deficits in Vermont.

21. Some people say that the budget should be balanced each and every year by cutting spending and raising taxes annually. Others say that the budget should be balanced over a number of years without making any major changes in taxes and spending every year. Which comes closest to your opinion?

	Balanced budget every year.	1
	Balanced budget over number of years.	2
	Both equally close (VOLUNTEERED). .	3
	Neither/Depends . .(VOLUNTEERED). .	4
	Don't know.	8
	Refused/NA.	9
	PP. 76-78	

Q21

Your U.S. Senators in Washington are Patrick Leahy, Democrat and Robert Stafford, Republican. . .

22. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Robert Stafford is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (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
	PP. 79-81	

Q22

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23. Do you think Robert Stafford has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?	Reelect	2
	New person.	1
	Don't know.	8
	Refused/NA.	9
	PP. 79-81	

Q23

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24. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Patrick Leahy is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (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
	PP. 82-84	

Q24

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25. Do you think Patrick Leahy has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?	Reelect	2
	New person.	1
	Don't know.	8
	Refused/NA.	9
	PP. 82-84	

Q25

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections. . .

26. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: John Easton was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Easton or Kunin)?

Easton. 2
Kunin 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q26

PR 31-36

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Easton the Republican or Kunin the Democrat)?

Easton. 2
Kunin 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PR 31-36

27. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

Smith 2
Kunin 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q27

PR 31-36

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Smith the Republican or Kunin the Democrat)?

Smith 2
Kunin 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PR 31-36

28. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: John Easton was the Republican candidate, Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate and Bernard Sanders was the Independent candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Easton, Kunin or Sanders)?

Easton. 3
Kunin 2
Sanders 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q28

PR 37-42

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Easton the Republican, Kunin the Democrat or Sanders the Independent)?

Easton. 3
Kunin 2
Sanders 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PR 37-42

29. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate, Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate and Bernard Sanders was the Independent candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith, Kunin or Sanders)?

Smith 3
Kunin 2
Sanders 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q29

PR 37-42

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (ROTATE: Smith the Republican, Kunin the Democrat or Sanders the Independent)?

Smith 3
Kunin 2
Sanders 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PP 37-42

Thinking ahead to the 1986 election for a moment. . .

Here are some races for U.S. Senator that could be on the ballot in 1986. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mentioned were the candidates.

(IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT NAMES AND PARTIES)

(ROTATE NAMES AND QUESTIONS)

30. Richard Snelling, Republican — OR — Patrick Leahy, Democrat
2 — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q30

31. Jim Jeffords, Republican — OR — Patrick Leahy, Democrat
2 — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q31

32. John Easton, Republican — OR — Patrick Leahy, Democrat
2 — 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
Q32

PP 1-6

33. In primary elections to select the candidates for the November elections, do you usually vote in the Republican primary or the Democratic primary?

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

Q33

PP. 22-24

34. If the 1986 Republican primary for the U.S. Senate were being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Jim Jeffords)?

Snelling. (GO TO Q.35). 2
Jeffords. (GO TO Q.35). 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q34

PP 22-24

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (ROTATE: Snelling or Jeffords)?

Snelling. 2
Jeffords. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PP 22-24

Now I'd like to ask you some more questions about Patrick Leahy. . .

35. Is there anything in particular that you like about Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q35M1
Q35M2
Q35M3
Q35M4
Q35M5

36. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q36M1
Q36M2
Q36M3
Q36M4
Q36M5

37. On political issues, do you consider Patrick Leahy to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal or very liberal?

Very conservative 5
Somewhat conservative 4
Moderate/Middle-of-the-road (VOLUNTEERED) 3
Somewhat liberal. 2
Very liberal. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q37

PP. 85-87

38. Do you think Senator Leahy has supported President Reagan too much of the time, about the right amount or not enough of the time?

Too much. 3
About right amount. 2
Not enough. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q38

PP. 85-87

39. Some people say that Senator Leahy is too concerned about national issues and being a leader in the U.S. Senate and is not concerned enough about the people in Vermont. Others say Senator Leahy does a good job for the people in Vermont and as a national leader. What is your opinion, is Senator Leahy too concerned with being a national leader or does he do a good job representing the people in Vermont?

Too concerned w/being nat'l leader. 1
Good job representing people. . . . 2
Both. . (VOLUNTEERED) 3
Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 4 Q39
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
PP 88-90

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40. Of the following two statements, which comes closest to your opinion. . .

(ROTATE)

a. Senator Leahy cares more about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation than he does about his <u>own</u> political future. 1

<u>OR</u>

b. Senator Leahy cares more about his <u>own</u> political future than he does about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation. 2

Q40

Both equally close (VOLUNTEERED). 3
Neither . . . . . .(VOLUNTEERED). 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
PP 88-90

Now I'd like to ask you a few more questions about Richard Snelling. . .

41. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Snelling handled his job as Governor? (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 Q41
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9
PP. 91-93

42. Is there anything in particular that you like about Richard Snelling? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q42M1
Q42M2
Q42M3
Q42M4
Q42M5

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43. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about Richard Snelling? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q43M1
Q43M2
Q43M3
Q43M4
Q43M5

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44. On political issues, do you consider Richard Snelling to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal, or very liberal?

Very conservative 5
Somewhat conservative 4
Moderate/Middle-of-the-road (VOLUNTEERED) 3
Somewhat liberal. 2
Very liberal. 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q44

PP. 94-96

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45. Of the following two statements, which comes closest to your opinion. . .

(ROTATE)

a. Richard Snelling cares more about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation than he does about his <u>own</u> political future. 1

<u>OR</u>

b. Richard Snelling cares more about his <u>own</u> political future than he does about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation. 2

Q45

Both equally close (VOLUNTEERED). 3
Neither . . . . . .(VOLUNTEERED). 4
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

PP. 97-99

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46. Who do you think should be held responsible for the deficit in the state budget (READ AND RANDOMIZE a THRU c)?

a. The state legislature 1
b. Governor Kunin (CUE-NIN). 2
c. Governor Snelling 3
All equally . . . (VOLUNTEERED) . . 4
None of the above (VOLUNTEERED) . . 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q46

PP. 103-105

47. Would you say state taxes in Vermont under Governor Snelling increased more than in other states, less than in other states or about the same as in other states?

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

Q47

PP. 106-108

48. What about state spending under Governor Snelling, would you say spending increased more than in other states, less than in other states or about the same as in other states?

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

Q48

PP. 106-108

49. Finally, would you say the overall debt in Vermont under Governor Snelling increased more than in other states, less than in other states or about the same as in other states?

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

Q49

PP. 109-111

Now I'd like to ask you to think about both Richard Snelling and Pat Leahy for a moment. . .

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make decisions about. I'm going to mention several issues and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy making decisions on that issue.

(RANDOMIZE)	Richard Snelling	Patrick Leahy	(VOLUNTEERED) Both	Neither	Don't Know	Ref./ NA	
50. Federal tax and spending policies	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q50
51. Environmental issues and policies	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q51
52. U.S. relations with the Soviet Union	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q52
53. National defense spending priorities	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q53
54. Nuclear arms control negotiations	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q54
55. Domestic and social spending priorities	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q55
56. Taking care of the problems of Vermont's citizens	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q56
57. Making sure Vermont gets its fair share of federal programs and projects	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q57
58. Representing the Vermont perspective in Washington	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q58

PP. 112-126

Now I'd like to do something a little different. I'm going to read you a list of words and for each one, please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy)?

(RANDOMIZE)	Richard Snelling	Patrick Leahy	(VOLUNTEERED) Both	Neither	Don't Know	Ref./NA	
59. Effective	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q59
60. Too ambitious	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q60
61. Intelligent	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q61
62. Friendly	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q62
63. Leader	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q63
64. Arrogant	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q64
65. Honest	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q65
66. Decisive	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q66
67. Independent	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q67
68. Compassionate	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q68
69. Typical politician	2	1	3	4	8	9	Q69

PP-130-147

During the course of a campaign, voters learn more about the candidates and their positions on important issues. I'm going to mention some of the differences between Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy on issues and please tell me whether you tend to agree more with Snelling's position or Leahy's position on the issue.

(RANDOMIZE QUESTIONS AND ROTATE ITEMS)

70.	Richard Snelling supports further research and development of new military weapons systems (2)	AND	Patrick Leahy opposes further research and development of new military weapons systems (1)	Both. . (VOL.). 3 Neither (VOL.). 4 DK. . . . . 8 Ref./NA 9 Q7
71.	Richard Snelling believes the U.S. must take a tough attitude in negotiating with the Soviet Union (2)	AND	Patrick Leahy believes the U.S. should take a flexible attitude and be more willing to compromise with the Soviets (1)	Both. . (VOL.).3 Neither (VOL.).4 DK. . . . . .8 Ref./NA 9 Q7
72.	Richard Snelling supports President Reagan's plan to send military and economic aid to the anti-communist forces in Central America (2)	AND	Patrick Leahy opposes President Reagan's plan for military and economic aid to anti-communist forces in Central America (1)	Both. . (VOL.).3 Neither (VOL.).4 DK. . . . . .8 Ref./NA 9 Q7
73.	Richard Snelling is a conservative on most issues (2)	AND	Patrick Leahy is a liberal on most issues (1)	Both. . (VOL.).3 Neither (VOL.).4 DK. . . . . .8 Ref./NA 9 Q7
74.	Richard Snelling is supported by the business community (2)	AND	Patrick Leahy is supported by labor unions (1)	Both. . (VOL.).3 Neither (VOL.).4 DK. . . . . .8 Ref./NA 9 Q7

PP. 151-159

Now I'm going to read you some other things you might learn about a candidate during the course of a campaign. Please tell me if learning that about a candidate would make you more likely or less likely to vote for that person. (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be much (more/less) likely or somewhat (more/less) likely?

(RANDOMIZE)	Much More Likely	Somewhat More Likely	No Difference/ Not Important (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Less Likely	Much Less Likely	DK	Ref./ NA	
75. Is opposed by the Moral Majority	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q7[illegible]
76. Is opposed by labor unions	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q7[illegible]
77. Is opposed by the Vermont Public Interest Research Group	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q7[illegible]
78. Is opposed by the Sierra Club.	5	4	3	2	1	8	9	Q7[illegible]

PP. 160-171

Now I'm going to read you some things other people have said about Patrick Leahy. For each one, please tell me whether you think that statement does or does not accurately describe Patrick Leahy.

(RANDOMIZE)	Does	Does Not	Don't Know	Refused/ NA	
79. Is a big spender	2	1	8	9	Q79
80. Would rather work on issues that interest him instead of issues that are important to Vermont	2	1	8	9	Q80
81. Will do anything to get elected	2	1	8	9	Q81

PP. 172-174

Now that you've had an opportunity to think a little more about Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy. . .

82. If the 1986 election for the U.S. Senate were being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

Snelling. . (GO TO Q.83). 2
Leahy . . . (GO TO Q.83). 1
Don't know. . . . . N
Refused/NA. . . . . N

Q82

PP. 7-9, 13-15

a. Which way do you lean as of today — toward (ROTATE: Snelling the Republican or Leahy the Democrat)?

Snelling. 2
Leahy 1
Don't know. .(GO TO Q.84) 8
Refused/NA. .(GO TO Q.84) 9

PP. 7-9, 13-15

83. Would you say your decision between Snelling and Leahy was a difficult decision to make or a fairly easy decision?

Difficult 2
Fairly easy 1
Neither easy nor difficult (VOLUNTEERED) 3
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q83

PP. 10-15

84. Regardless of who you support today, if Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy were running against each other for the U.S. Senate in 1986, who do you think would win?

Snelling. 2
Leahy 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q84

PP. 19-21

85. Would you like to see Richard Snelling challenge Patrick Leahy for the U.S. Senate, or would you prefer that Richard Snelling not run for the U.S. Senate?

Challenge 2
Not run 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q85

PP. 19-21

Next November, there will also be an issue on the ballot which, if passed, would establish an Equal Rights Amendment to the Vermont State Constitution.

86. If the election were being held today, would you vote YES in favor of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Vermont constitution or NO against an Equal Rights Amendment?

Yes, in favor 2
No, against 1
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. 9

Q86

PP. 175-177

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

PP. 178-183

PARTYID 51

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

PP. 178-183

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

PP. 178-183

STRENGT 73

LEAN 52

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

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	.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	

PP. 184-186

D7A. On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

Very liberal	1	LIBCON1 63
Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative	2	
Neither/Middle-of-the-road/ Moderate (VOLUNTEERED)	3	
Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal	4	
Very conservative	5	
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

PP 187-189

SPECIAL VARIABLE -- TURNOUT WEIGHTS 65-68

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	.10	
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	

PP.190-192

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	

PP.193-195

D20. In addition to being an American, is your main ethnic group or ancestry British, Irish, Italian, or what? (ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY EMPHASIZE MAIN NATIONALITY IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER IS GIVEN)

(V14)

British/English/Scots	.01	
German	.02	ETHNIC
Irish	.03	108-109
Italian	.04	
Polish	.05	
French	.06	
Scandinavian/Swedish/ Norwegian/Finnish	.07	
Spanish American/Hispanic (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban)	.08	
Afro-American/Black	.09	
East European/Russian	.10	
Portuguese	.11	
Asian/Oriental (Japanese, Chinese, Philipino, etc)	.12	
American Indian	.13	
Dutch	.14	
Other	.97	
Don't know	.98	
Refused	.99	

PP.196-198, 202-207

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

PP.199-207

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

PP.208-210

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

PP. 211-213

D28. Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male 1
Female 2

SEX 126

PP.211-213

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

Special Variable: Early - Late Ballot Summary PP. 16-18

Special Variable: Teahy Support Index PP. 28-30

Variable Name: Candidate Favorability Differential PP. 73-75

Variable Name: Candidate Approval Differential PP. 100-102

Variable Name: Issue Comparison Score PP. 127-129

Variable Name: Personality Comparison Score PP. 148-150

Special Table: Combined Demographics PP. 214-216

Special Demographic Variables: Historical Trace Group PP. 217-219

Date of Interview PP. 220-222

B

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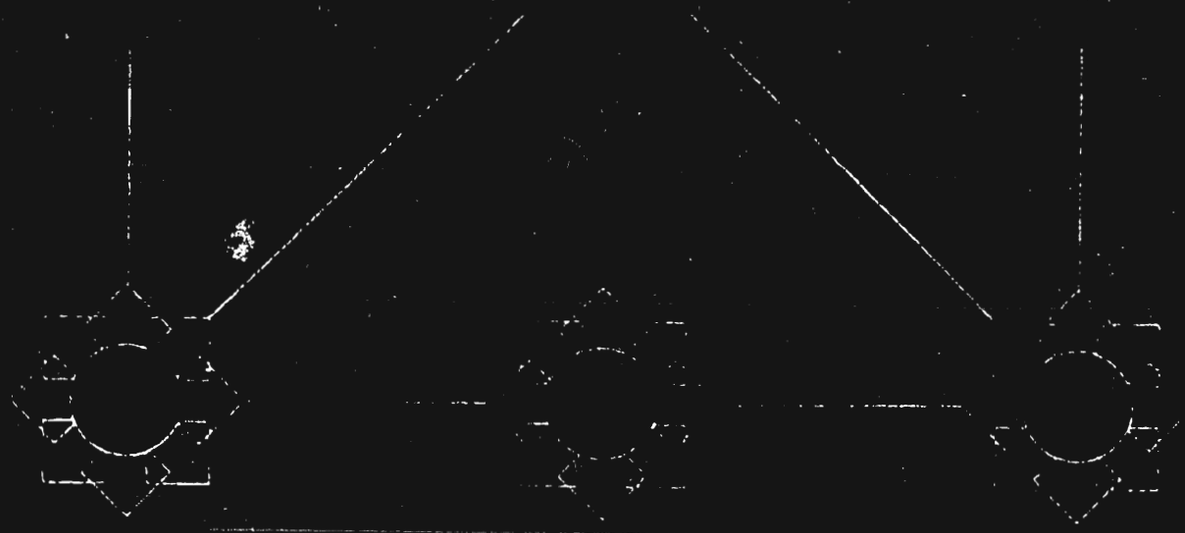

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1363 Beverly Road, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

A TELEPHONE SURVEY OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN THE STATE OF VERMONT

Prepared for the

National Republican Senatorial Committee

December 1985

#646-03-01
#3359-14

Table of Contents

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SURVEY OVERVIEW

Decision/Making/Information is pleased to present the results of this survey to the National Republican Senatorial Committee. This section provides a brief introduction to the specifications of the study and a guide to the organization of this report.

Although the most sophisticated procedures have been used to collect and analyze the information presented here, it must be remembered that surveys are not predictions. They are designed to measure public opinion within identifiable statistical limits of accuracy at specific points in time. This survey is in no way a prediction of opinion or action at any future point in time.

Account Executive and principal investigator for this study was Neil Newhouse; assisting in all phases of research and analysis was Glen Bolger, who served as project director.

Research Design

This study contains the results of a telephone survey of five hundred registered voters in the state of Vermont.

Survey responses were gathered between December 3-5, 1985.

All respondents interviewed in this study were registered voters in the state of Vermont. A detailed explanation of this sample selection method appears in Appendix A, page 9 . In general, random samples such as this yield results projectable to the entire universe of registered voters within ± 4.38 percentage points in 95 out of 100 cases.

Interviews were conducted by Decision/Making/Information-trained personnel from telephone banks at Provo, Utah phone center.

The interviews lasted approximately 14 minutes and contained a total of 50 questions, of which the National Republican Senatorial Committee has purchased shared or exclusive access to 26.

Approximately 15% of all interviews were independently validated for procedure and content by a Decision/Making/Information professional. Completed interviews were edited and coded at the firm's headquarters in McLean, Virginia. Statistical analysis and cross-tabulations were produced by the firm's own software and computer system.

Organization of the Study

The results of this survey are presented in the following order:

The Interview Schedule reproduces the survey instrument, or questionnaire, as it was used in the interviewing. It is enlarged here to include listings of verbatim responses to open-ended questions from a subsample of those interviewed, as well as overall percentages of response to each question (shown in parentheses).

The Appendices contain the sample selection methodology and sample validation (Appendix A), and a description of terms commonly used in survey research (Appendix B).

Last is the Computer Output, the components of which are described and explained at the front of that section.

Any questions the reader may have about this survey that are not answered in this report should be referred to the D/M/I project director previously named.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hello, I'm _____ of Decision/Making/Information, a national research firm. We're talking with people in Vermont today and would like to ask you a few questions (OPTIONAL) on a confidential basis. (DO NOT PAUSE)

A. Are you registered to vote in Vermont?

YES (CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW).1
NO (ASK Q.B).....2

IF "NO" IN Q.A, ASK:

B. Is there anyone else in your household who is registered to vote?

(IF "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE)

(IF "YES," ASK:) May I speak with that person, please?

(IF "YES," REPEAT Q.A WITH NEW PERSON)

---

1. Do you feel that things in Vermont are generally going in the right direction, or that things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION.....(82%)
WRONG TRACK.....(14%)

---

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

STRONGLY APPROVE.....(34%)
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....(38%)
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....(10%)
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....(17%)

Now, I would like to read you a list of names and have you tell me, for each one, first whether you've heard of the person; then, if so, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person.

(ROTATE NAMES)	HEARD OF/ FAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ UNFAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ NO OPINION	NEVER HEARD OF
8. Pat Leahy (Lay-he)	(79%)	(11%)	(7%)	(3%)

Now, I would like to read you another list of names and have you tell me, for each one, first whether you've heard of the person; then, if so, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person.

(ROTATE NAMES)	HEARD OF/ FAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ UNFAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ NO OPINION	NEVER HEARD OF
13. Dick Snelling	(73%)	(20%)	(6%)	(1%)

Now, let's talk about foreign affairs for a moment.

25. Thinking about the issue of nuclear disarmament for a moment, generally speaking, do you support or oppose nuclear disarmament? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) Is that strongly (support/oppose) or just somewhat (support/oppose)?

SUPPORT STRONGLY.....(48%)
SUPPORT SOMEWHAT.....(20%)
OPPOSE SOMEWHAT (SKIP TO Q.29).....(14%)
OPPOSE STRONGLY (SKIP TO Q.29).....(17%)

IF "SUPPORT" IN Q.25, ASK:

People disagree on the different conditions that should be met before nuclear disarmament should be agreed to. For each of the following, please tell me whether in your opinion it should or should not be a necessary requirement of a nuclear arms agreement with the Russians.

	SHOULD	SHOULD NOT
26. An agreement be verifiable, in other words, that each side allow the other side to inspect its nuclear arsenal.	(88%)	(11%)
27. That an agreement leave the Russians and the United States with about equal military power.	(90%)	(8%)
28. That an agreement not just reduct the nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union but also of their allies.	(92%)	(6%)

33. And, if the 1986 general election for U.S. Senate wer being held today, and the candidates were (ROTATE) Pay Leahy, Democrat, and Dick Snelling, Republican, for whom would you vote?

LEAHY.....58 (38%)
SNELLING.....38 (58%)

Now I am going to read you a list of things people might take into consideration in their decision how to vote for U.S. Senator. For each one, please tell me whether that is extremely important, very important, just important, not that important, or not at all important to you, personally, in deciding whether to elect a candidate as U.S. Senator from Vermont.

(RANDOMIZE)	Extrmly Imprtnt	Very Imprtnt	Just Imprtnt	Nt Tht Imprtnt	Nt Al Imprtnt
34. The candidate is an incumbent who has built up seniority in the Senate.	(9%)	(25%)	(29%)	(23%)	(13%)
35. The candidate was born in Vermont.	(11%)	(20%)	(16%)	(28%)	(24%)
36. The candidate is in line to become Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee.	(10%)	(30%)	(23%)	(22%)	(14%)
37. The candidate is experienced in helping reduce deficits.	(22%)	(51%)	(23%)	(3%)	(1%)
38. The candidate is willing to limit the amount of money he will spend in his campaign.	(19%)	(39%)	(24%)	(12%)	(6%)
39. The candidate is strongly committed to working for nuclear disarmament.	(23%)	(40%)	(20%)	(8%)	(8%)

---

40. Of the following two types of candidates, which one would you be more likely to vote for -- if it makes no difference to you, just say so. (ROTATE)

Someone who was born in Vermont.....(16%)

OR Someone who chose to live in Vermont, and has lived there for more than 25 years.....(15%)

NO DIFFERENCE (DO NOT READ).....(70%)

---

41. And, of these two types, which would you be more likely to vote for? Again, if it makes no difference, just say so. (ROTATE)

Someone who would voluntarily limit the amount of campaign spending to a certain amount, even if he could raise more....(65%)

OR Someone who feels it's okay to spend on his campaign the total amount he feels he can ethically raise.....(10%)

NO DIFFERENCE (DO NOT READ).....(25%)

As you may know, Dick Snelling was Governor of Vermont for eight years prior to stepping down after last year's election. For each of the following statement, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones are not true. (IF "TRUE", ASK:) Is that important or not important?

	True/ Imprtnt	True/ Not Imprtnt	Not True
42. Under Dick Snelling the total state debt declined by 31%.	(25%)	(4%)	(43%)
43. When Dick Snelling left office, he left a 35 million dollar deficit.	(39%)	(11%)	(28%)
44. Dick Snelling created the spending plan that will pay off the entire deficit of the State of Vermont by 1986.	(30%)	(4%)	(42%)

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes ...

45. What is your age please?

18 - 24.....(6%)
25 - 34.....(22%)
35 - 44.....(24%)
45 - 54.....(14%)
55 - 64.....(19%)
65 AND OLDER.....(16%)

46. What is the last year of school you have completed?

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL.....(12%)
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE.....(38%)
SOME COLLEGE/VOCATIONAL...(19%)
COLLEGE GRADUATE.....(20%)
POST-GRADUATE.....(11%)

47. Which of these phrases best describes how you usually vote? (ROTATE READING CHOICES TOP TO BOTTOM OR VICE VERSA.)

MOSTLY REPUBLICAN.....(21%)
SLIGHTLY REPUBLICAN.....(9%)
EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES..(43%)
SLIGHTLY DEMOCRATIC.....(9%)
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC.....(18%)

48. Which of these statements best describes how conservative or liberal you are? (ROTATE READING CHOICES TOP-TO-BOTTOM OR VICE VERSA.)

QUITE CONSERVATIVE.....(18%)
SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE.....(30%)
NEITHER CONSERVATIVE NOR LIBERAL.....(23%)
SLIGHTLY LIBERAL.....(17%)
QUITE LIBERAL.....(11%)

49. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Repubican/Democrat) or a not-so strong (Republican/Democrat)?

(IF INDEPENDENT/OTHER/NO PREFERENCE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

STRONG REPUBLICAN.....(13%)
NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN..(15%)
NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT....(13%)
STRONG DEMOCRAT.....(8%)

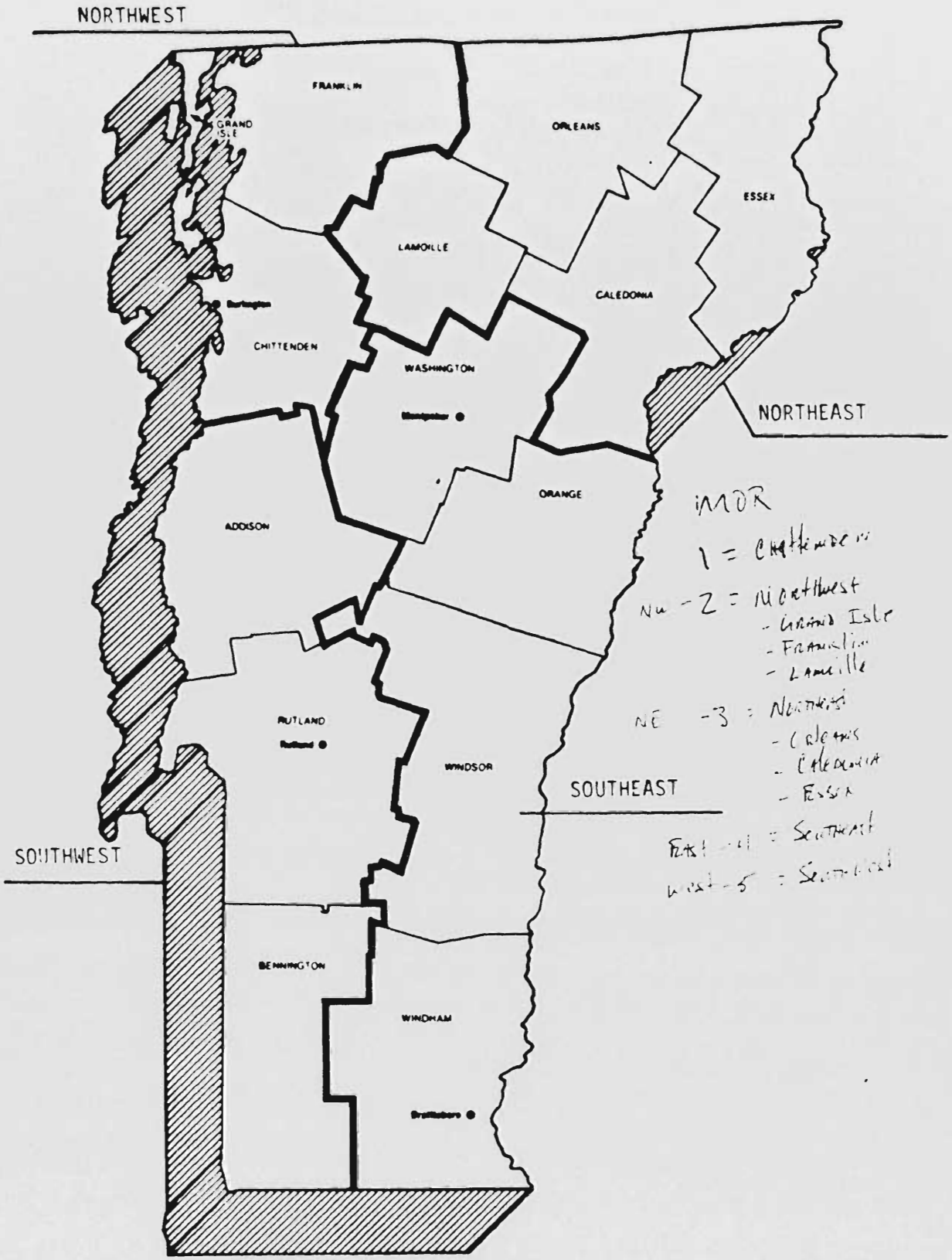
LEAN TO REPUBLICANS.....(12%)
INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE.(21%)
LEAN TO DEMOCRATS.....(16%)

---

50. Sex (BY OBSERVATION)

MALE.....(50%)
FEMALE.....(50%)

VERMONT


NORTHWEST
FRANKLIN
GRAND ISLE
ORLEANS
ESSEX
LAMOILLE
CALEDONIA
CHITTENDEN
WASHINGTON
NORTHEAST
ORANGE
ADDISON
RUTLAND
WINDSOR
SOUTHEAST
SOUTHWEST
BENNINGTON
WINDHAM
MDR
1 = Chittenden
NW - 2 = Northwest
- Grand Isle
- Franklin
- Lamoille
NE - 3 = Northeast
- Orleans
- Caledonia
- Essex
East - 4 = Southeast
West - 5 = Southwest

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE SELECTION

Effective survey research must be based on a sample truly representative of the universe of interest.

The sample for this survey was stratified by county on the basis of 1980 U.S. Census figures.

The random-digit methodology employed in this telephone study closely approximates a simple random sample of households with telephones. To create the random telephone numbers used, known working numbers falling within the area being sampled were obtained from telephone directories. Using the computer, randomly generated two-digit numbers were coupled with the first five digits of known working numbers.

Sheets of telephone numbers were developed for specific localities with the numbers on each sheet divided into a primary sample of numbers, a secondary sample of numbers, and a reserve sample of numbers.

Interviewers were instructed to dial each of the numbers in the primary sample at least twice, or until a number proved to be inoperable, before dialing any of the numbers in the secondary sample, and to dial each of the numbers in the primary sample at least three times, and those in the secondary at least twice, before dialing any numbers in the reserve sample.

When contact was established, the interviewer screened for the appropriate type of person (e.g., an adult over 18 years-old, registered voter, etc.) and randomly selected an eligible respondent from the household.

The application of these procedures produced a calculable probability of being included in the survey sample for each member of the potential universe.

Any further questions the reader has about sampling methodology should be referred to the project director.

SAMPLE VALIDATION

	MOR Survey June, 1985 (%)	DMI Survey December, 1985 (%)
Past Vote		
Republican	26	30
Ticketsplitter	45	43
Democrat	24	27
No response	5	-

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF TERMS

1. Aggregate Data/Total Column -- Information based on the entire sample of respondents, as opposed to that from any given subgroup, such as male/female. Aggregate data are displayed in the first column of the banner set to show how each question was answered by all those interviewed.

2. Banner -- A table with up to 18 columns of cross-tabulations.

3. Base -- The description of which respondents were asked a particular question. In most cases it will be the "total sample". For questions in a skip pattern arrangement it may be "Women Who Work Outside the Home" or some other subgroup.

4. Bias -- A systematic error in research design, sample selection, or questionnaire wording that produces a result not representative of the population under study.

5. Chi-Square -- A statistical measure of the degree of relationship between two or more categorical variables in the cross-tabulation.

6. Collapsed Variable -- A new variable for use in the analysis created by the analyst by combining two or more categories of response to a given question. A typical example of a collapsed variable is age. Often in the original measurement of age, six or seven different categories of response are used (e.g., under 25, 25 to 34, 35 to 44). For analytic purposes, only three categories -- the young, the middle-aged, and the elderly -- are needed. By collapsing the more detailed set of categories, the analyst can generate the desired three-way split by age.

7. Correlation Coefficient -- A measure of the linear relationship between two variables. It may be adapted for categorical variables, continuous variables, or a combination of the two. Its value may range between +1.0 (perfect positive correlation) and -1.0 (perfect negative correlation). A zero represents no linear relationship. The correlation of a variable with itself is always 1.0.

8. Correlation Table -- A display of two or more variables and the correlation coefficients between each set of two.

9. Cleaning -- A process of computer cross-checking survey data after it has been keypunched to uncover any mechanical or logical errors.

10. Closed-Ended Question -- A question in which the respondent must choose between certain pre-specified answers, such as yes or no, agree or disagree, candidate X or Y, etc.

11. Confidence Interval -- A measure of the accuracy of using survey data to estimate values for the entire population from which the survey sample was selected. The smaller the confidence interval, the more accurate the survey findings. In general, as size of a sample increases, the width of the confidence interval decreases, and the accuracy of the estimate improves.

12. Cross-Tabulation -- A table used to combine and compare the results of two or more questions.

13. Demographic Questions -- Questions that determine the composition of the population under study, especially with reference to size and density, distribution, and vital statistics. They are included in every survey to determine relevant physical and social characteristics of the responding sample, such as age, income, sex, marital status, home ownership, etc.

14. Editing -- The process of reviewing completed interviews to assure that all the questions have been asked and that the skip patterns have been properly followed by the interviewers.

15. Filter Questions -- A question used to determine whether a respondent is qualified to answer a succeeding question. For example: "Do you consider yourself to be a Republican or a Democrat?" Those responding "Republican" would be asked the succeeding questions about candidates in the Republican primary, while those who responded "Democrat" would be asked questions about candidates in the Democratic primary.

16. Interview Schedule -- The questionnaire, or survey instrument. The interview schedule is made up of questions designed to measure the topic of interest. All questions are properly sequenced and tested for bias before use in the field.

17. Mean -- The arithmetic average, or midpoint, of a distribution of numbers.

18. N -- The number of persons interviewed in a sample. A "survey with the N of 500" simply means a sample of 500 interviews.

19. Open-Ended Questions -- Questions for which there are no predetermined answers; the respondent may give any answer that comes to his mind. A typical open-ended question is, "What would you say is the number one problem in our country today; the one that you, yourself, are most concerned about?"

20. Pretest -- The test of a questionnaire, before it is sent into the field, on a small group of respondents to determine possible weaknesses in it. Any adjustments that seem necessary may then be made before the interview schedule is administered to the larger sample population.

21. Probe -- A technique used by the interviewer to elicit from the respondent a more detailed answer to an open-ended question. A probe involves the use of non-biasing suggestions, such as, "What do you mean by that," "Anything else?", or "Can you be more specific?"

22. Regression Analysis -- A statistical techinque used to analyze the relationship between a variable and one or more others. The amount of variation in the dependent variable may be explained or predicted from the impact that the independent variables have.

23. Relative Error -- A measure of the proportion of error in an estimate. Relative error is calculated as the standard deviation of an estimate divided by the estimate.

24. Sample Validation -- A comparison of sample characteristics (e.g., age, education, political registration) with those of the whole universe from which the sample was drawn. Sample validation determines how accurately the sample reflects the population under study.

25. Sampling Error -- The measure of the proportion of error that may occur in a survey as a result of the procedures used to select the sample. If those procedures are based on the principles of random selection, the proportion of that error can be estimated statistically. When all procedures are rigidly controlled and well designed, the sample bias is minimal, and the estimate of sampling error may be used to calculate population estimates.

26. Scaled Variable -- A summary variable that simplifies or makes more meaningful the analysis of survey data. It is created by combining the answers to two or more questions, thereby reflecting the answers to each component question.

27. Semantic Differential -- A bipolar scale consisting of pairs descriptive antonyms (either adjectives or adjective phrases) with cues spaced in between. These cues may be numeric, verbal, or graphic. The differential is designed to indicate subtle differences in the public's perceptions of persons, institutions, corporations, etc.

28. Skip Pattern -- The design in a questionnaire that designates those questions an interviewer should leave out in specific interviews because they don't apply to all respondents.

29. Standard Deviation -- A measure of dispersion in a set of data. Specifically, it is the square root of the arithmetic mean of the squared deviations of individual scores from the group mean. In a normal distribution, approximately 68.3% of the scores will fall between ± 1 S.D. from the group mean, 95.5% between ± 2 S.D., and 99.7% between ± 3 S.D.

30. Standard Error -- A measure of the statistical confidence interval about the average; 90% of the time the average response if one could ask everyone in the universe of interest the question would be within ± (1.64 x standard error) of the reported sample mean; 95% of the time the actual average for the whole universe would be within ± (1.96 x standard error) of the reported sample mean; 99% of the time the actual average for the whole universe would be within ± (2.56 x standard error) of the reported sample mean.

31. T-Test -- A statistical test to see whether there is a significant difference between two means or two proportions. These means or proportions may represent different groups under study or a sample and its population.

32. Universe or Population -- The entire set of persons from which a sample is to be drawn. The definition of the universe for a particular study is determined by clients and their needs. It may be as general as "all those living within the boundaries of the continental United States that are registered to vote," or as specific as "residents of Los Angeles County aged 35 and over that have savings accounts of $5,000 or more at such-and-such savings and loan."

33. Validation -- The process of insuring that interviews were actually completed and that correct information was received from each respondent. Usually 10 to 20% of the completed interviews from each interview are called back by a supervisor to determine whether an interview was actually administered and whether the information collected is correct.

34. WATS Line -- An acronym for the telephone company's Wide Area Telecommunications Service, which provides unlimited long-distance dialing for a set fee.

35. Weighting -- An adjustment to bring survey demographics into closer agreement with those of the population under study. For example, should a survey sample contain too many elderly respondents when compared to the actual population, their number may be reduced by weighting while simultaneously increasing the number of younger respondents to bring the sample precisely in line with the population.

Computer Output

COMPUTER OUTPUT

The Computer Output contains three subsections: the Table of Contents, the Index, and the Banners.

The banners are cross-tabulations, designed to compare the responses to two or more questions in a tabular form. For example, knowing how the total group interviewed feels about a particular question may not be as helpful as knowing the specific reactions of the young, the middle-aged, or the elderly. Cross-tabulations produce the answers to who holds what opinion. The following page presents a sample cross-tabulation in banner format.

At the top of each page is the question number and wording along with a description of the banner. Listed vertically down the left-hand side of the page are the description of the base (those people who were asked the question) and the response categories.

Each banner may have up to 18 columns of data. The first column, "Total", shows the results of the question for the total sample of respondents who were asked that question. The remaining columns show the results of the question among particular subgroups described in the column headings.

In these tables, the data are to be read in columns.

	TOTAL	SEX	
		MEN	WOMEN
BASE = Total Sample	600	288	312
(1)	201 34%	107 37%	94 30%
(2)	145 24%	83 29%	62 20%
(3)	254 42%	98 34%	156 50%

The above example says, for instance, that 37% of men gave answer (1), not that 37% of those giving answer (1) were men. Both the actual number of respondents and the percent of a given type holding an opinion are shown.

Whenever the mean is a relevant measure, it is computed and reported for each category of the independent variable(s), along with the standard deviation and standard error of the mean.

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C

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Vermont Statewide

Data

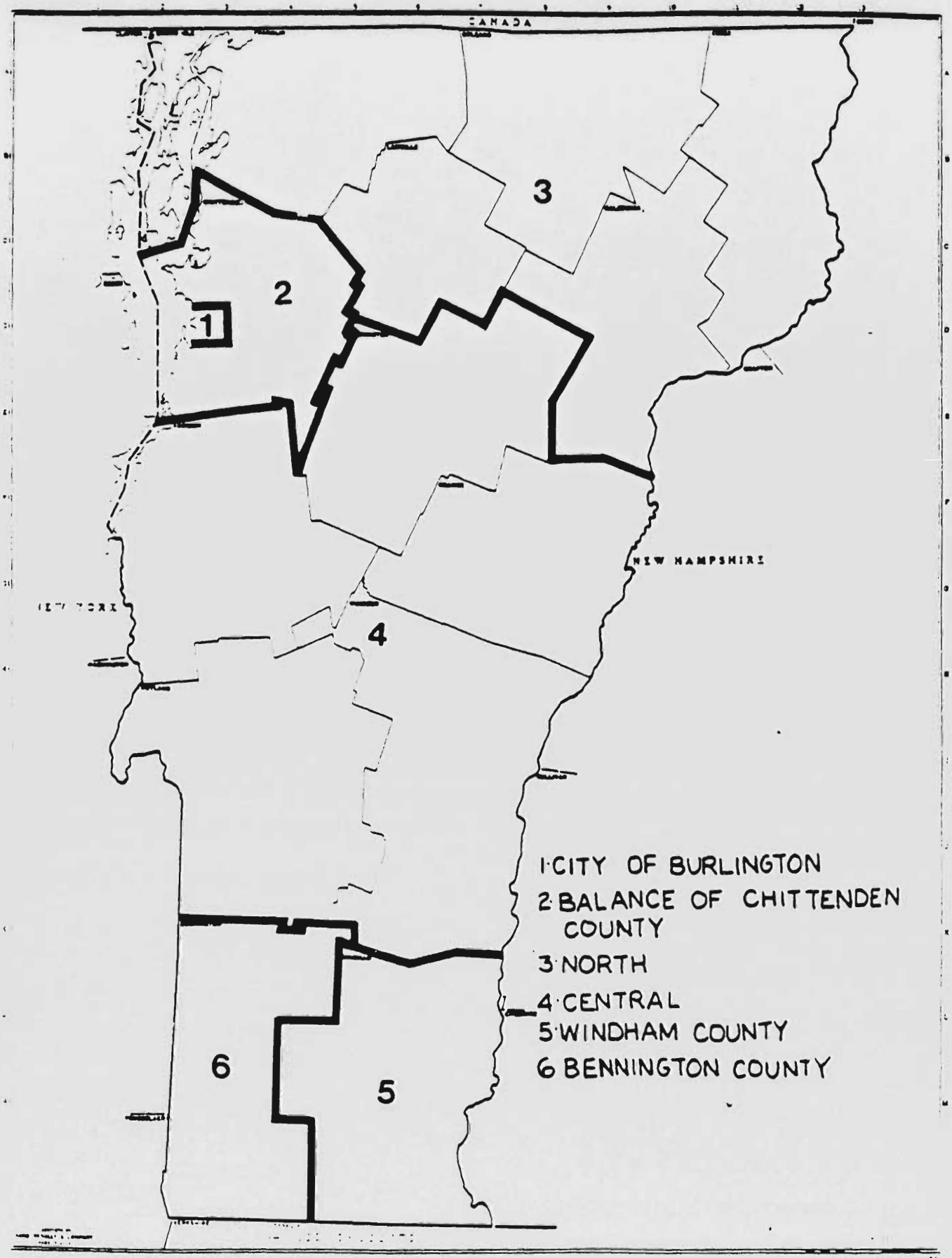
Prepared for:

The National Republican Senatorial Committee

Not to be released without the joint permission
of Market Opinion Research and
The National Republican Senatorial Committee

April 1986
Job #P86052

RAND McNALLY
STATE COUNTY OUTLINE MAP POLITICAL VERMONT
SIZE 8½ x 11



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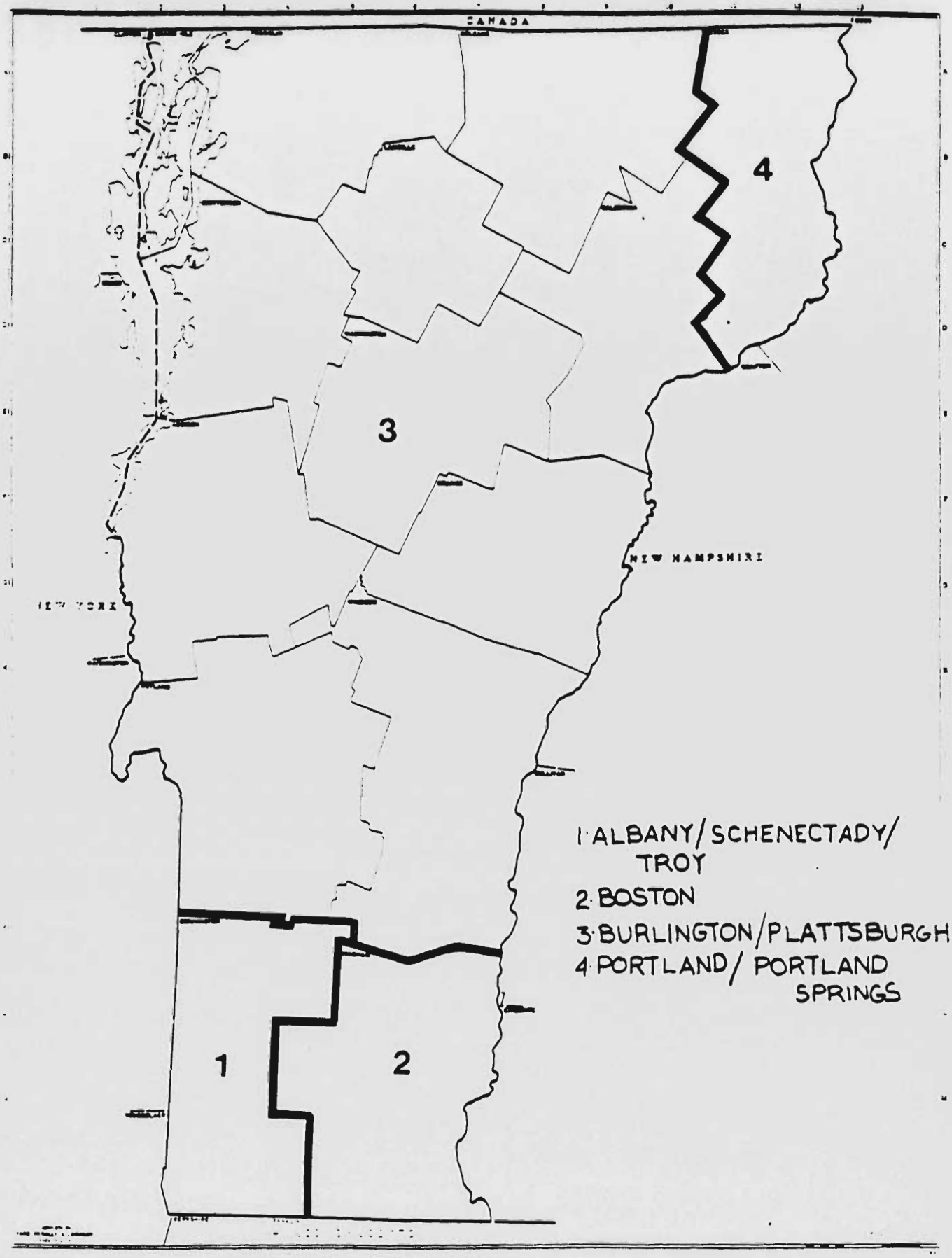
RAND McNALLY
STATE COUNTY OUTLINE MAP

A. D. 1.

VERMONT
SIZE 6½ x 11



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Vermont Statewide #2

P86052

*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 Right direction
1 Wrong track

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP-46-48

*2. 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)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Just somewhat approve
2 Just somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP-49-51

*3. Of the following seven issues, which one do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

(RANDOMIZE)

01 Foreign affairs
02 Environment
03 Unemployment
04 Nuclear arms control
05 International terrorism
06 Federal budget deficit
07 Agriculture and farm issues

F98 Don't know
F99 Refused/NA

PP-52-57

*4. Which one would you choose next? (REPEAT REMAINING ITEMS)

01 Foreign affairs
02 Environment
03 Unemployment
04 Nuclear arms control
05 International terrorism
06 Federal budget deficit
07 Agriculture and farm issues
08 No second mention

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA

PP. 52-57

As you know, there will be elections this fall...

*5. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican (GO TO Q.6)
1 Democratic (GO TO Q.6)

FN Don't know (GO TO Q.5a)
FN Refused/NA (GO TO Q.5a)

PP. 34-36

---

*5a. Which way do you lean as of today, toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican
1 Democratic

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 34-36

---

6. Again thinking about the upcoming elections, which one of the following is most important for the parties and candidates to discuss and debate this fall?

(ROTATE)

1 Economic policies such as the federal deficit, taxes and government spending

OR

2 Foreign policies such as relations with the Soviet Union, international terrorism and nuclear arms control?

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 58-60

---

7. **Thinking about nuclear arms control and defense buildup, which one of the following best represents your view?**

(ROTATE)

1 **President Reagan's defense buildup has escalated the arms race and made it less likely for the U.S. and the Soviets to reach an nuclear arms agreement.**

OR

2 **President Reagan's defense buildup has forced the Soviets into serious negotiations and made it more likely for the U.S. and the Soviets to reach a nuclear arms agreement.**

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 61-63

---

8. As you probably know, Republicans have a majority of votes in the U.S. Senate. If after the 1986 elections the Democrats, led by Ted Kennedy, were to win control of the Senate, they would gain a lot of power and control over important committees. In view of this, would you plan to cast a Republican vote or Democratic vote?

2 Republican
1 Democratic

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 58-60

Now, I'd like to ask you a few general questions about the job of U.S. Senator, especially about different ways of approaching and doing the job. I am going to read a brief description of two types of Senators, and tell me which one you prefer:

(RANDOMIZE Q.9 TO Q.11)

9. 1 Someone who reflects his constituent's views regardless of his own opinion

OR

2 Someone who votes his own mind even if he disagrees with the voters back home

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 64-66

---

10. 1 Someone who tries to get things done by negotiating and compromising on controversial issues

OR

2 Someone who believes strongly in his position on a controversial issue and sticks with it

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 64-66

---

11. 1 Someone who sees his role as making the system work by getting along with everyone

OR

2 Someone who sees his role as bucking the system to make changes when necessary

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 64-66

---

12. Can you tell me the names of the two U.S. Senators from Vermont?

First Mention

4 Named Robert Stafford
3 Named Patrick Leahy
2 Named other
1 Couldn't name any

F9 Refused/NA

Second Mention

4 Named Robert Stafford
3 Named Patrick Leahy
2 Named other
1 No second mention

F9 Refused/NA

PP. 67-69

Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of (him/her) favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE Q.13 TO Q.21)

*13. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 70-72

---

*14. Robert Stafford

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 70-72

---

*15. Richard Snelling

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 70-72

---

*16. Peter Smith

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 70-72

---

*17. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 73-75

---

*18. Em Hebbard

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 73-75

---

*19. Gerald Ford

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 73-75

---

3 3 1 4 0 7 6 2 3 4 8

*20. Jesse Helms

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 76-78

21. Dean Davis

N Aware
1 Not aware
2 Favorable
3 Unfavorable

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 76-78

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections...

*22. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

2 Peter Smith (GO TO Q.23)
1 Madeleine Kunin (GO TO Q.23)

FN Don't know (GO TO Q22a)
FN Refused/NA (GO TO Q.22a)
PP. 1-3

22a. Which way do you lean as of today? (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat)?

2 Peter Smith
1 Madeleine Kunin

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 1-3

*23. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HEE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q.23b)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q.23b)

FN Don't know (GO TO Q23a)
FN Refused/NA (GO TO Q.23a)
PP. 4-6

23a. Which way do you lean as of today? (ROTATE: Snelling the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q23b)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q23b)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q24)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q24)

PP. 4-6

23b. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

2 Made up mind
1 Change

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 7-12

23c. What are some of the most important reasons you are planning to vote for (NAME) instead of (NAME)? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q23cM1
Q23cM2
Q23cM3
Q23cM4
Q23cM5

PP. 13-33

Now, I'd like to go back and talk about issues again...

There is much in the news lately about the federal deficit...

*24. There are four basic alternatives for the federal government in reducing the size of the federal budget deficit. Which one of the following do you think is the best course of action?

(RANDOMIZE)

1 Make whatever spending cuts are needed so taxes don't have to be increased.

2 Make whatever tax increases are needed so spending on important programs don't have to be cut.

3 Reduce some spending and moderately increase taxes.

4 Rely on growth in the economy to generate more revenue from current taxes.

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 82-84

---

25. Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose a tax increase this year as part of an overall program to reduce the federal budget deficit?

2 Favor
1 Oppose

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 85-87

---

26. Imagine for a moment that it was impossible to cut enough spending to balance the budget. Under those circumstances, would you be willing to increase taxes to balance the budget or is a balanced budget not important enough to justify any tax increase?

1 Increase taxes to balance the budget
2 A balanced budget is not important enough to justify any tax increase

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 85-87

---

27. If it was impossible to cut enough spending to balance the budget without making deep cuts in government programs for the poor, would you be willing to increase taxes or would you like to see further spending cuts to balance the budget?

1 Increase taxes

OR

2 See further spending cuts

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 85-87

---

28. Have you read or heard anything about the Gramm-Rudman Act recently passed by Congress?

2 Yes (GO TO Q.29)
1 No (GO TO Q.30)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q.30)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q.30)

PP. 88-90

---

29. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this legislation?

4 Strongly favor
3 Somewhat favor
2 Somewhat oppose
1 Strongly oppose

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 88-90

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about things here in Vermont...

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

2 Right direction
1 Wrong track

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 91-93

---

31. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN) is handling her job as Governor? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Just somewhat approve
2 Just somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 94-96

---

*32. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Snelling handled his job when he was Governor? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Just somewhat approve
2 Just somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 97-99

---

*33. How would you rate the overall financial condition of the state government in Montpelier (MONT-PEE-LEE-UR) -- is it excellent, good, fair, or poor?

4 Excellent
3 Good
2 Fair
1 Poor

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 91-93

---

34. Do you generally agree or disagree that former Governor Snelling should get credit for the state's good financial condition as a result of his long-term economic planning and financial management?

2 Agree
1 Disagree

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 100-102

As you may know, Dick Snelling was Governor of Vermont for eight years prior to stepping down after last year's election. For each one of the following statements, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones you feel are not true? (IF TRUE, ASK:) Is that important or not important?

(RANDOMIZE Q.35 TO Q.37)

*35. **Under Dick Snelling, the total state debt declined by 41%.**

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 103-105

---

*36. When Dick Snelling left office, he left a $35 million deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true, not important

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 103-105

---

*37. Dick Snelling created a spending plan that will pay off the entire deficit of the state of Vermont by 1986.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 103-105

On a different topic...

Your U.S. Senators in Washington are Patrick Leahy, Democrat, and Robert Stafford, Republican...

*38. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Robert Stafford is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Just somewhat approve
2 Just somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 106-108

---

*39. Do you think Robert Stafford has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?

2 Reelection
1 New person

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP.106-108

---

*40. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Patrick Leahy is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Just somewhat approve
2 Just somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP.109-111

---

*41. Do you think Patrick Leahy has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?

2 Reelection
1 New person

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP.109-111

---

*42. On political issues, do you consider Patrick Leahy to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal or very liberal?

4 Very conservative
3 Somewhat conservative
2 Somewhat liberal
1 Very liberal

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP.112-114

As you may know, Patrick Leahy's Republican opponent for Senator this fall is Richard Snelling...

*43. On political issues, do you consider Richard Snelling to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal, or very liberal?

4 Very conservative
3 Somewhat conservative
2 Somewhat liberal
1 Very liberal

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP.112-114

Now, I'd like to ask you to think about both Richard Snelling and Pat Leahy for a moment...

(ROTATE Q.44 AND Q.45)

44. From what you have heard or read, what are some of the things that might make Richard Snelling a better U.S. Senator than Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q44M1
Q44M2
Q44M3
Q44M4
Q44M5

PP. 115-120

45. From what you have heard or read, what are some of the things that might make Patrick Leahy a better U.S. Senator than Richard Snelling? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q45M1
Q45M2
Q45M3
Q45M4
Q45M5

PP. 121-126

(HALF SAMPLE A)

46A. What do you think have been Richard Snelling's major accomplishments? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

A Q.46m1
A Q.46m2
A Q.46m3
A Q.46m4
A Q.46m5

PP. 127-132

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make decisions about. I am going to mention several issues and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy making decisions on that issue.

(RANDOMIZE Q.47-Q.55)

*47. Federal tax and spending policies

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 139-141, 154-156

*48. Environmental issues and policies

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 139-141, 154-156

*49. U.S. relations with the Soviet Union

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 142-144, 154-156

*50. National defense spending priorities

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 142-144, 154-156

*51. Nuclear arms control negotiations

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 145-147, 154-156

*52. Making sure Vermont gets its fair share of federal programs and projects

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 145-147, 154-156

*53. Representing the Vermont perspective in Washington

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 148-150, 154-156

*54. The federal deficit

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 148-150, 154-156

*55. U.S. intelligence policy

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 151-156

Now, I'd like to read several statements. Please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)?

(RANDOMIZE Q.56 TO Q.68)

***56. Has a solid record of accomplishments.**

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 157-159, 178-180

***57. Believes in reducing the role and size of the federal government.**

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 157-159, 178-180

***58. Cares about the problems of the average citizen.**

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 160-162, 178-180

***59. Wields a lot of clout and influence in political circles.**

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 160-162, 178-180

***60. Is effective in getting results on difficult problems.**

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 163-165, 178-180

---

*61. Can be trusted to do the right thing when making a decision rather than what seems to be the popular thing to do.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 163-165, 178-180

*62. Shares the same views and opinions of most Vermonters on tax and spending issues.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 166-168, 178-180

*63. Shares the same views and opinions of most Vermonters on foreign policy and national defense issues.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 166-168, 178-180

*64. Is willing to make tough decisions on controversial issues.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 169-171, 178-180

*65. Has the qualifications and experience to be a good U.S. Senator.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 169-171, 178-180

*66. **Exaggerates his accomplishments.**

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 172-174, 181-183

*67. Agrees with President Reagan's view on foreign policy issues.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 172-174, 181-183

*68. Agrees with President Reagan's views on taxes and spending issues.

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy
3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 175-177, 181-183

During the course of the upcoming Senate Campaign, you will hear the candidates discuss and debate each other's records and stands on the issues and you will learn things about both candidates you might not have known before.

The following are some things you might learn about Richard Snelling. Please tell me whether it would make you more likely or less likely to vote for him. Would that be much (more/less) likely or just somewhat (more/less) likely?

(RANDOMIZE Q.69 TO Q.76)

69. **Richard Snelling believes that the federal budget deficit must be dealt with immediately as Congress's top priority.**

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 184-186, 208-210

70. When Richard Snelling left the Governor's Office, Vermont had a $35 million budget deficit.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 187-189, 208-210

71. Richard Snelling believes the U.S. should provide financial assistance to rebels fighting communist governments in Central America.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 190-192, 208-210

72. Richard Snelling believes that some federal taxes will have to be increased to significantly reduce the deficit.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 193-195, 208-210

73. Richard Snelling believes that keeping the U.S. military strong must be a top priority even if it means spending less in non-military areas.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 196-198, 208-210

74. Richard Snelling is considered by many people throughout the country as an expert on tax and spending issues.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 199-201, 208-210

75. Richard Snelling has the endorsement of the National Rifle Association.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 202-204, 208-210

76. Richard Snelling believes a U.S. Senator should serve only one, six-year term.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 205-210

9 7 0 4 0 7 0 2 3 5 4

The following are some things you might learn about Patrick Leahy. Please tell me whether it would make you more likely or less likely to vote for him. Would that be much (more/less) likely or just somewhat (more/less) likely?

(RANDOMIZE Q.77 TO Q.84)

77. **The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy has voted to increase government spending by $52 billion over the level recommended by the Senate Budget Committee even when the Democrats were in control.**

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 211-213, 235-237

78. The Congressional Record shows that, during the last six years, Patrick Leahy has not authored any significant legislation passed into law.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 214-216, 235-237

79. Patrick Leahy believes that nuclear arms control must be dealt with immediately as Congress's top priority.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 217-219, 235-237

80. The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy, as a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, did not attend a single hearing for two years.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 220-222, 235-237

81. The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy's voting record closely resembles that of the liberal record of Ted Kennedy.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 223-225, 235-237

82. Patrick Leahy is rated as a big spender by the National Taxpayers Union year after year.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 226-228, 235-237

83. Patrick Leahy has the endorsement of Abigail VanBuren, better known as Dear Abbey.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 229-231, 235-237

84. The Congressional Record shows that since 1975, Patrick Leahy consistently voted for deficit budgets altogether totaling $937 billion.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 232-237

85. The outcome of the U.S. Senate race has many implications for Vermont and the country. Which one of the following outcomes do you think is best?

(ROTATE)

1 A Democratic U.S. Senate with Patrick Leahy, Chairman of The Agriculture Committee, but Robert Stafford losing his Chairmanship of The Environment Committee,

OR

2 A Republican U..S Senate with Robert Stafford, Chairman of The Environment Committee, and Richard Snelling Chairman of a major subcommittee.

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 238-240

---

86. Now that you know more about the candidates and their positions, if the election for U.S. Senate were being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: Richard Snelling, the Republican, or Patrick Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q.87)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q.87)

FN Don't know (GO TO Q.86a)
FN Refused/NA (GO T Q.86a)

PP. 37-39

86a. Which way do you lean as of today? Toward (ROTATE: Richard Snelling, the Republican, or Patrick Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling
1 Patrick Leahy

FN Don't know
FN Refused/NA

PP. 37-39

(ROTATE Q's 87,87a AND Q's 88,88a)

87. Have you seen any advertising on behalf of Richard Snelling?

2 Yes (GO TO Q.87a)
1 No (GO TO Q. 88)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q.88)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q.88)

PP. 241-243

87a. Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

3 Positive
2 No difference/Neutral (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Negative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 241-243

---

88. Have you seen any advertising on behalf of Patrick Leahy?

2 Yes (GO TO Q.88a)
1 No (GO TO Q.89)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q.89)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q.89)

PP. 244-246

88a. Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

3 Positive
2 No difference/Neutral (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Negative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 244-246

---

89. Patrick Leahy is a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee and is briefed by the Central Intelligence Agency on top secret information. Because of the sensitive nature of the information, members of this special committee traditionally turn down press interviews. Leahy, unlike others, grants press interviews on a regular basis. Do you think it is right or wrong for Leahy to do press interviews on sensitive intelligence topics?

2 Right (GO TO Q.D1)
1 Wrong (GO T Q.89a)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q.D1)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q.D1)

PP. 250-252

---

90. If it became clear that Patrick Leahy was simply using his position oN the Senate Intelligence Committee to get more press coverage during an election year, would you vote against him or isn't that issue important?

2 Vote against him
1 Issue isn't important

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 250-252

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

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

1 Republican (GO TO Qa)
2 Democrat (GO TO Qa)
3 Independent (GO TO Qb)
4 No preference (GO TO Qb)
5 Other (GO TO Qb)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Qb)
F9 Refused (GO TO Qb)

PP. 253-255

Qa. **(INTENSE)** Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

PP. 253-255

Qb. **(LEAN)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

1 Republican
2 Democratic
3 Neither

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

PP. 253-255

QD2. **(VOTETYPE)** 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)

01 Straight Democratic
02 Mostly Democratic
03 A few more Democrats than Republicans
04 About equally for both parties
05 A few more Republicans than Democrats
06 Mostly Republican
07 Straight Republican

08 Other_____
(SPECIFY)
09 Never voted

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA

PP. 259-261

QD7A. **(LIBCON1) On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?**

1 Very liberal
2 Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative
3 Neither/Middle-of-the-road/Moderate (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal
5 Very conservative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

PP. 262-264

QD8B. **(AGE) What is your approximate age?**

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

99 Refused

PP. 265-267

QD9. **(EDOFR) What is the last grade of school you completed?**

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

F9 Refused

PP. 268-270

QD10. **(WORKING) Are you currently. . .(READ 1-5; ONE ANSWER ONLY)**

1 Employed and working full-time
2 Employed and working part-time
3 Unemployed
4 Retired
5 Housewife

6 Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)

7 Other_____
(SPECIFY)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 271-273

QD15. **(FARM) Does anyone in your household do any farming?**

1 Respondent
2 Other member of household
3 Both
4 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
PP. 274-276

QD19. **(RES) Do you belong to a labor union or teachers' association?**

1 Labor union
2 Teachers' association
3 No

F9 Refused/Single member household
PP. 277-279

Q19a. **(OTHERM) Does anyone else in your household belong to a labor union or teachers' association?**

1 Labor union
2 Teachers' association
3 No

F9 Refused/Single member household
PP. 277-279

QD20. **(ETHNIC) In addition to being an American, is your main ethnic group or ancestry British, Irish, Italian, or what? (ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY EMPHASIZE MAIN NATIONALITY IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER IS GIVEN)**

01 British/English/Scots
02 German
03 Irish
04 Italian

05 Polish
06 French
07 Scandinavian/Swedish/Norwegian/Finnish
08 Spanish American/Hispanic (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban)

09 Afro-American/Black
10 East European/Russian
11 Portuguese
12 Asian/Oriental (Japanese, Chinese, Philipino, etc.)

13 American Indian
14 Dutch

97 Other

98 Don't know
99 Refused
PP. 280-282, 286-291

QD21. **(RELIGION) Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?**

1 Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)
2 Roman Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other Christian
5 Other non-Christian/Unspecified
6 Agnostic/Atheist
7 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
PP. 283-285

QD24. **(HOWLONG)** How long have you lived in Vermont?

1 Less than 1 year
2 1-5 years
3 6-10 years
4 Over 10 years
5 All my life

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
PP. 292-294

QD25. **(INCOME)** Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1985 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

0 Under $10,000
1 $10,000-$15,000 (14,999)
2 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999)
3 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999)
4 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999)
5 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999)
6 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999)
7 $50,000 and over

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
PP. 295-297

QD28. **(SEX)** Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

1 Male
2 Female
PP. 298-300

Combined Demographics.....PP. 301-303
Status Group.....PP. 304-306
Area - Political Strata/A.D.I./Type of Place...PP. 307-309
Area - Supplemental Strata by County.....PP. 310-312
Area -- Voter-type within political area.....PP. 313-318
Date of Interview.....PP. 319-321

D

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

VERMONT STATEWIDE #2 STUDY

Prepared for:

National Republican Senatorial Committee

Not to be released without joint permission of
Market Opinion Research
and
National Republican Senatorial Committee

June 1986
P86110

9 1 1 4 0 7 6 4 8 7 5

Vermont Statewide Study #2

*Q1. 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 Right direction
1 Wrong track

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 16-18

---

*Q2. 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)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Somewhat approve
2 Somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 19-21

As you know, there will be elections this fall...

*Q3. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican
1 Democrat

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 7-9

Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him/her favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE Q4 THRU Q8)

*Q4. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 22-24

---

*Q5. Robert Stafford

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp 22-24

---

*Q6. Richard Snelling

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 22-24

---

*Q7. Peter Smith

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 25-27

---

*Q8. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 25-27

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections...

*Q9. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat)?

2 Peter Smith
1 Madeleine Kunin

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 13-15

---

*Q10. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Snelling, the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q11)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q11)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q12)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q12)

PP. 1-6

---

*Q11. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

1 Made up mind
2 Might change between now & election day

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 4-6

(ROTATE Q12 Q14 SERIES WITH Q15 TO Q17 SERIES)

Q12. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Patrick Leahy during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q13)
1 No (GO TO Q15)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q15)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q15)

pp. 28-30

Q13. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q14. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you've read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 28-30

Q15. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Richard Snelling during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q16)
1 No (GO TO Q18)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q18)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q18)

pp 31-33

Q16. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q17. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp 31-33

(ROTATE Q18 AND Q19 WITH Q20 AND Q21)

Q18. Have you read, seen or heard any political advertising on behalf of the Snelling Campaign?

2 Yes (GO TO Q19)
1 No (GO TO Q20)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q20)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q20)

PP. 37-39

Q19. (IF YES, ASK:) Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

2 Positive
1 Negative
3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Both (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 37-39

Q20. Have you read, seen or heard any political advertising on behalf of the Leahy Campaign?

2 Yes (GO TO Q21)
1 No (GO TO Q22)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q22)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q22)

PP. 40-42

Q21. (IF YES, ASK:) Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

2 Positive
1 Negative
3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Both (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 40-42

For each one of the following statements, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones you feel are not true. (IF TRUE, ASK:) Is that important or not important?

(RANDOMIZE Q22 TO Q27)

Q22. Since 1975, Patrick Leahy has voted for spending increases that have added nearly a trillion dollars to the federal deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 46-48, 55-57

Q23. The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy is one of the U.S. Senate's biggest spenders.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 46-48, 55-57

Q24. The National Taxpayer's Union has rated Patrick Leahy as one of the Senate's biggest spenders.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp 49-51, 55-57

Q25. Patrick Leahy has a poor attendance record at meetings of the full Senate Agriculture Committee.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 49-51, 55-57

Q26. When Dick Snelling left office, he left a $35 million deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 52-57

Q27. Dick Snelling [illegible]ated a spending plan that will pay o[illegible]he entire deficit of the state of Vermont by 1986.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 52-57

Q28. As you may know, the candidates for U.S. Senate have been campaigning vigorously over the past few weeks. Of the following two statements, which **one** best describes your view of the race?

(ROTATE)

1 Dick Snelling's criticism of Patrick Leahy has been factual and documented by the Congressional Record

OR

2 Dick Snelling's criticism of Patrick Leahy has been a negative, personal attack

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 58-60

Q29. And between these two statements, which **one** best describes your view?

(ROTATE)

1 Patrick Leahy has responded to Dick Snelling's criticisms accurately and directly

OR

2 Patrick Leahy has been unwilling to respond to Dick Snelling's criticisms directly, and has been unwilling to clarify his record

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 58-60

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

QD1. **(PARTYID)** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

1 Republican (GO TO Qa)
2 Democrat (GO TO Qa)
3 Independent (GO TO Qb)
4 No preference (GO TO Qb)
5 Other (GO TO Qb)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Qb)
F9 Refused (GO TO Qb)

PP 61-63

Qa. **(INTENSE)** Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

PP 61-63

Qb. **(LEAN)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

1 Republican
2 Democratic
3 Neither

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

PP 61-63

QD2. **(VOTETYPE)** 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)

01 Straight Democratic
02 Mostly Democratic
03 A few more Democrats than Republicans
04 About equally for both parties
05 A few more Republicans
06 Mostly Republican
07 Straight Republican

08 Other (SPECIFY)_____
09 Never voted

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA

PP 67-69

QD6A. **(PVOTER)** In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say that you have voted in: (READ CATEGORIES a THRU d)

4 All of them
3 Most of them
2 Some of them
1 None of them

7 Not of voting age in 1984 (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp 70-72

QD7A. **(LIBCON1)** On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

1 Very liberal
2 Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative
3 Neither/Middle-of-the-road/Moderate (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal
5 Very conservative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
pp 70-72

QD8B. **(AGE)** What is your approximate age?

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

99 Refused
pp 73-75

QD9. **(EDOFR)** What is the last grade of school you completed?

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

F9 Refused

pp. 76-78

QD21. **(RELIGION)** Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

1 Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)
2 Roman Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other Christian
5 Other non-Christian/Unspecified
6 Agnostic/Atheist
7 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp. 79-81

QD25. **(INCOME)** Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1985 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

0 Under $10,000
1 $10,000-$15,000 (14,999)
2 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999)
3 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999)
4 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999)
5 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999)
6 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999)
7 $50,000 and over

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp. 82-84

QD28. (SEX) Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

1 Male
2 Female
PP 85-87

Additional Data Tables	Page No.
Special Table: Combined Demographics	pp. 88-90
Special Demographic Variables: Status Groups/Historic Tracer Groups	pp. 91-93
Area: Voter-type Within Political Region	pp. 100-105
Date of Interview	pp. 106-108
Special Variable - Leaky Support Index	pp. 10-12
Special Variable: Candidate Information Flow Index	pp. 34-36
Special Variable: Candidate Advertising Index	pp. 43-45
Special Demographic Variable: Party Identification with Leaners / Party Identification Scale - Normal Vote	pp. 64-66
Area - Political Strata - A.D.I. - Type of Place	pp. 94-96
Area - Supplemental Strata by County	pp. 97-99

E

MEMORANDUM

TO : John Heinz

FROM : Jan van Lohuizen

RE : Vermont Survey

CC : Tom Griscom, Jim Murphy

The following summary outlines the results of the Vermont survey taken 6/10-18/85.

Teeter Talking Points

1.Patrick Leahy is by all standard measures well-known and popular incumbent.

	March 82	June 85
Unaided Name ID:	66%	75%
Aided Name ID:		
Favorable	79%	79%
Unfavorable	13%	10%
Job Performance:		
Approve		79%
Disapprove		11%
Reelect:		
Reelect		66%
New Person		23%
Don't Know		10%

Especially based on the reelect numbers it appears that Leahy will be hard to beat.

2. Richard Snelling is also a well-known, popular and visible figure in Vermont.

Aided Name ID:	
Favorable	73
Unfavorable	18
Job Performance (retrospective):	
Approve	74
Disapprove	18

3 When Patrick Leahy and Richard Snelling are matched against each other, the results indicate it will be a very close election:

Snelling vs. Leahy (1st Ballot):

Snelling	47
Leahy	49
Don't Know	3

Snelling vs Leahy (2nd Ballot):

8 9 0 4 0 7 6 2 8 9 0

Snelling	42
Leahy	53
Don't Know	5

Between the first time the head to head question was asked and the second time it was asked a substantial number of questions was asked asking respondents to choose between Leahy and Snelling on issues, characteristics, etc. The shift in numbers suggests Leahy did better on those on the whole.

4. Snelling will want a discussion of strategies for building a majority Snelling coalition. How do you bring the campaign 55% of the electorate?

4A. Richard Snelling has a clear image and is the preferred candidate on economic issues and domestic policy. He is also stronger on images of strength, leadership, decisiveness and is more dynamic.

4B. Patrick Leahy is considered to be thoughtful and sensitive. He is considered a better person on foreign policy and defense issues.

Candidate prefer making decisions on issues...

	Snelling	Leahy	Both
Tax & Spending Pol	47	44	1
Environmental Iss.	39	52	2
U.S. Relat. w/USSR	36	55	2
Nat'l Defense Spend.	35	53	2
Arms Control	32	52	1
Dom. & Social Spend.	45	42	3
Take Care VT Citizens	46	40	6
Vermont Gets Fed'l $$	44	43	5
Rep. VT Persp. in DC	39	48	5

Whom do the following words best describe...

	Snelling	Leahy	Both
Effective	44	36	12
Too Ambitious	39	25	7
Intelligent	25	29	38
Friendly	31	36	24
Leader	46	31	17
Arrogant	44	18	5
Honest	25	30	34
Decisive	47	27	17
Independent	42	37	13
Compassionate	26	42	17
Typical Politician	36	33	18

5. The data shows a number of strategic options:

A. Bring the foreign policy dimension over to Snelling (Change public opinion on the issue).
B. Foreign Policy does not matter. Focus on Snellings strengths concerning the budget and leadership.
C. Attack Leahy and try to build up negative sentiment.
D. Focus the race on issues and personality aspects that play to Snelling's strengths.

The bottom line is that we want Snelling to leave meeting feeling confident that he can put together a winning coalition.

We should discuss the "Type A vs. Type B" leader comparison (below). Snelling wants to be himself -- he knows people will not agree with him all the time. It should be pointed out that the people prefer his type of leadership:

Type of person preferred as Senator:

Type A:	Strong opinions on issues, votes his mind... (Snelling model)	59
Type B:	Always reflect opinion of people... (Leahy model)	38

Finally we should bring up voters' perceptions on his performance on the state deficit. Snelling is concerned that he will be tagged as having been a deficit spender. The data show that the public does not think of him that way, that the public supports his budget balancing philosofy, and that the public is not aware of the credit he deserves on his handling of that issue.

3 9 0 4 0 7 6 2 8 9 4

Quota N=500
Dates of Interview-
June 10-18, 1985

Vermont Statewide Study
Marginal Results

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 . . . . . .56% Wrong track . . . . . .30 Don't know. . . . . .12 Refused/NA. 2
2.	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. . . . . .28 Somewhat approve. . . . . .31 Somewhat disapprove . . . . . .13 Strongly disapprove . . . . . .19 Don't know. . . . . 7 Refused/NA. 2
3.	If the election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROATATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) from Vermont?	Republican. . . . . .46 Democratic. . . . . .39 Don't know. . . . . .13 Refused/NA. 2
a.	Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?	Republican. . . . . . Democratic. . . . . . Don't know. . . . . . Refused/NA. . . . . .

4. Of the following seven issues, which one do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

5. Which one would you choose next? (REPEAT REMAINING ITEMS)

(RANDOMIZE)	(Q.4) Greatest Attention	(Q.5) Next Greatest Attention	Combined Greatest/Next Greatest Attention
a. Foreign affairs	10	13	24
b. Tax reform	11	15	26
c. Unemployment	9	11	20
d. Nuclear arms control	26	15	41
e. Environment	6	11	18
f. Federal budget deficit	24	16	40
g. Agriculture and farm issues	9	12	22
None of them	*		*
No second mention		3	—
Don't know	3	3	3
Refused/NA	*	*	*

6. There are four basic alternatives for the federal government in reducing the size of the federal budget deficit. Which one of the following do you think is the best course of action. . .

(RANDOMIZE)	Best Course of Action
a. Make whatever spending cuts are needed so taxes don't have to be increased.	31%
b. Make whatever tax increases are needed so spending on important programs doesn't have to be cut.	11
c. Reduce some spending and moderately increase taxes.	38
d. Rely on growth in the economy to generate more revenue from current taxes.	13
None of the above (VOLUNTEERED)	4
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	--

---

7. From what you now know about President Reagan's tax reform plan, do you generally favor or oppose the President's plan?

Favor	49
Oppose	29
Don't know	20
Refused/NA	2

---

8. President Reagan's tax reform proposal would eliminate most tax deductions which would allow lowering the income tax rates for everyone. Do you generally favor or oppose eliminating most deductions and lowering tax rates?

Favor	64
Oppose	23
Don't know	11
Refused/NA	2

---

9. Which do you think is the most important thing for the government to do this year -- (ROTATE: reduce the budget deficit or reform the federal tax laws)?

Reduce budget deficit	58
Reform federal tax laws	32
Both equally important (VOLUNTEERED)	8
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	*
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	—

---

10. Which of the following types of people would you rather have as your U.S. Senator --

(ROTATE)

a. Someone with strong opinions on issues who will vote his own mind even if he sometimes disagrees with his constituents on an issue. . . 59%

OR

b. Someone who will always reflect his constituents' views regardless of his own opinion on an issue. 38

Neither/Depends (VOLUNTEERED). 2
Don't know 2
Refused/NA . . . . . .*

---

11. Can you tell me the names of the two U.S. Senators from Vermont?

First Mention

Named Robert Stafford 29
Named Patrick Leahy 50
Named other 5
Couldn't name any 16

Second Mention

Named Robert Stafford 32
Named Patrick Leahy 25
Named other 11
No second mention 32

Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of (him/her) favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE)	Aware	Not Aware	V Favorable	V Un-favorable	V Don't know/ Ref./NA
12. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)	98	2	79	10	9
13. Robert Stafford	94	6	64	18	12
14. Jim Jeffords	92	8	65	16	11
15. John Easton	85	15	44	26	15
16. Richard Snelling	98	2	73	18	7
17. Peter Smith	62	38	35	10	17
18. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)	98	2	71	18	9
19. Bernard Sanders	85	15	44	29	12
20. Stephan (STEVEN) Morse	39	61	19	5	15

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about things in Vermont. . .

People disagree on the best way of dealing with budget deficits in Vermont.

21. Some people say that the budget should be balanced each and every year by cutting spending and raising taxes annually. Others say that the budget should be balanced over a number of years without making any major changes in taxes and spending every year. Which comes closest to your opinion?

Balanced budget every year.	31%
Balanced budget over number of years.	65
Both equally close (VOLUNTEERED). .	2
Neither/Depends . .(VOLUNTEERED). .	2
Don't know.	1
Refused/NA.	--

Your U.S. Senators in Washington are Patrick Leahy, Democrat and Robert Stafford, Republican. . .

22. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Robert Stafford is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve.	20
Somewhat approve.	42
Somewhat disapprove	13
Strongly disapprove	5
Don't know.	19
Refused/NA.	1

---

23. Do you think Robert Stafford has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?

Reelect	36
New person.	45
Don't know.	18
Refused/NA.	1

---

24. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Patrick Leahy is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve.	43
Somewhat approve.	36
Somewhat disapprove	5
Strongly disapprove	6
Don't know.	10
Refused/NA.	1

---

25. Do you think Patrick Leahy has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?

Reelect	66
New person.	23
Don't know.	10
Refused/NA.	1

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections. . .

26. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: John Easton was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Easton or Kunin)?

Easton	36%
Kunin	59
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Easton the Republican or Kunin the Democrat)?

Easton	
Kunin	
Don't know	
Refused/NA	

27. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

Smith	30
Kunin	65
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Smith the Republican or Kunin the Democrat)?

Smith	
Kunin	
Don't know	
Refused/NA	

28. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: John Easton was the Republican candidate, Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate and Bernard Sanders was the Independent candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Easton, Kunin or Sanders)?

Easton	32
Kunin	51
Sanders	13
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	*

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Easton the Republican, Kunin the Democrat or Sanders the Independent)?

Easton	
Kunin	
Sanders	
Don't know	
Refused/NA	

29. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate, Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate and Bernard Sanders was the Independent candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith, Kunin or Sanders)?

Smith	25%
Kunin	55
Sanders	15
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	*

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Smith the Republican, Kunin the Democrat or Sanders the Independent)?

Smith	
Kunin	
Sanders	
Don't know	
Refused/NA	

Thinking ahead to the 1986 election for a moment. . .

Here are some races for U.S. Senator that could be on the ballot in 1986. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mentioned were the candidates.

(IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today — toward (REPEAT NAMES AND PARTIES)

(ROTATE NAMES AND QUESTIONS)

30.	Richard Snelling, Republican	OR	Patrick Leahy, Democrat	Don't know . . . . . 3 Refused/NA 1
	47		49	
31.	Jim Jeffords, Republican	OR	Patrick Leahy, Democrat	Don't know . . . . . 7 Refused/NA 1
	37		55	
32.	John Easton, Republican	OR	Patrick Leahy, Democrat	Don't know . . . . . 5 Refused/NA 1
	31		64	

33. In primary elections to select the candidates for the November elections, do you usually vote in the Republican primary or the Democratic primary?

Republican	43%
Democratic .(GO TO Q.35)	13
Don't know .(GO TO Q.35)	19
Refused/NA. .(GO TO Q.35)	4

34. If the 1986 Republican primary for the U.S. Senate were being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Jim Jeffords)? (N=215)

Snelling	66
Jeffords	31
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

a. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Snelling the Republican or Jeffords the Democrat)?

Snelling	
Jeffords	
Don't know	
Refused/NA	

Now I'd like to ask you some more questions about Patrick Leahy. . .

35. Is there anything in particular that you like about Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

36. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

37. On political issues, do you consider Patrick Leahy to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal or very liberal?

Very conservative	5
Somewhat conservative	37
Moderate/Middle-of-the-road (VOLUNTEERED)	6
Somewhat liberal	35
Very liberal	6
Don't know	10
Refused/NA	*

38. Do you think Senator Leahy has supported President Reagan too much of the time, about the right amount or not enough of the time?

Too much	6
About right amount	56
Not enough	22
Don't know	17
Refused/NA	*

39. Some people say that Senator Leahy is too concerned about national issues and being a leader in the U.S. Senate and is not concerned enough about the people in Vermont. Others say Senator Leahy does a good job for the people in Vermont and as a national leader. What is your opinion, is Senator Leahy too concerned with being a national leader or does he do a good job representing the people in Vermont?

Too concerned w/being nat'l leader	16%
Good job representing people	70
Both. . (VOLUNTEERED)	6
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	1
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	—

---

40. Of the following two statements, which comes closest to your opinion. . .

(ROTATE)

a. Senator Leahy cares more about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation than he does about his <u>own</u> political future. 66

<u>OR</u>

b. Senator Leahy cares more about his <u>own</u> political future than he does about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation. 23

Both equally close (VOLUNTEERED)	3
Neither . . . . . .(VOLUNTEERED)	1
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	1

Now I'd like to ask you a few more questions about Richard Snelling. . .

41. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Snelling handled his job as Governor? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve	46
Somewhat approve	28
Somewhat disapprove	8
Strongly disapprove	9
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	1

---

42. Is there anything in particular that you like about Richard Snelling? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

---

43. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about Richard Snelling? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

---

44. On political issues, do you consider Richard Snelling to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal, or very liberal?

Very conservative 10
Somewhat conservative 55
Moderate/Middle-of-the-road (VOLUNTEERED) 5
Somewhat liberal. 17
Very liberal. 5
Don't know. 8
Refused/NA. . . . . *

---

45. Of the following two statements, which comes closest to your opinion. . .

(ROTATE)

a. Richard Snelling cares more about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation than he does about his <u>own</u> political future. 63

<u>OR</u>

b. Richard Snelling cares more about his <u>own</u> political future than he does about the interests of the people of Vermont and our nation. 28

Both equally close (VOLUNTEERED). 2
Neither . . . . . .(VOLUNTEERED). 1
Don't know. 6
Refused/NA. 1

---

46. Who do you think should be held responsible for the deficit in the state budget (READ AND RANDOMIZE a THRU c)

a. The state legislature 53
b. Governor Kunin (CUE-NIN). 8
c. Governor Snelling 17
All equally . . . (VOLUNTEERED) . . 8
None of the above (VOLUNTEERED) . . 4
Don't know. 9
Refused/NA. 1

47.	Would you say state taxes in Vermont under Governor Snelling increased more than in other states, less than in other states or about the same as in other states?	More. . . . . .14 About the same. . . . . .50 Less. . . . . .10 Don't know. . . . . .26 Refused/NA. 1
48.	What about state spending under Governor Snelling, would you say spending increased more than in other states, less than in other states or about the same as in other states?	More. . . . . .15 About the same. . . . . .47 Less. . . . . .12 Don't know. . . . . .25 Refused/NA. 1
49.	Finally, would you say the overall debt in Vermont under Governor Snelling increased more than in other states, less than in other states or about the same as in other states?	More. . . . . .19 About the same. . . . . .44 Less. . . . . .16 Don't know. . . . . .21 Refused/NA. 1

Now I'd like to ask you to think about both Richard Snelling and Pat Leahy for a moment. . .

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make decisions about. I'm going to mention several issues and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy making decisions on that issue.

	(RANDOMIZE)	Richard Snelling	Patrick Leahy	(VOLUNTEERED) Both	Neither	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
50.	Federal tax and spending policies	47	44	1	1	7	*
51.	Environmental issues and policies	39	52	2	1	6	*
52.	U.S. relations with the Soviet Union	30	55	2	1	12	*
53.	National defense spending priorities	35	53	2	1	8	1
54.	Nuclear arms control negotiations	32	52	1	2	13	*
55.	Domestic and social spending priorities	45	42	3	1	9	*
56.	Taking care of the problems of Vermont's citizens	46	40	6	1	6	*
57.	Making sure Vermont gets its fair share of federal programs and projects	44	43	5	1	6	*
58.	Representing the Vermont perspective in Washington	39	48	5	1	6	*

Now I'd like to do something a little different. I'm going to read you a list of words and for each one, please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy)?

(RANDOMIZE)	Richard Snelling	Patrick Leahy	(VOLUNTEERED) Both	Neither	Don't Know	Ref./ NA
59. Effective	44%	36%	12%	1%	6%	--%
60. Too ambitious	39	25	7	17	12	*
61. Intelligent	25	29	38	1	7	*
62. Friendly	31	36	24	1	8	*
63. Leader	46	31	17	*	5	--
64. Arrogant	44	18	5	18	14	1
65. Honest	25	30	34	4	7	1
66. Decisive	47	27	17	1	7	*
67. Independent	42	37	13	2	7	*
68. Compassionate	26	42	17	3	12	*
69. Typical politician	36	33	18	6	6	1

During the course of a campaign, voters learn more about the candidates and their positions on important issues. I'm going to mention some of the differences between Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy on issues and please tell me whether you tend to agree more with Snelling's position or Leahy's position on the issue.

(RANDOMIZE QUESTIONS AND ROTATE ITEMS)

70.	Richard Snelling supports further research and development of new military weapons systems	AND	Patrick Leahy opposes further research and development of new military weapons systems	Both. . (VOL.). 1 Neither (VOL.). * DK. . . . . 5 Ref./NA . . . . *
	45		48	
71.	Richard Snelling believes the U.S. must take a tough attitude in negotiating with the Soviet Union	AND	Patrick Snelling believes the U.S. should take a flexible attitude and be more willing to compromise with the Soviets	Both. . (VOL.). 1 Neither (VOL.). 1 DK. . . . . 5 Ref./NA . . . . *
	46		46	
72.	Richard Snelling supports President Reagan's plan to send military and economic aid to the anti-communist forces in Central America	AND	Patrick Leahy opposes President Reagan's plan for military and economic aid to anti-communist forces in Central America	Both. . (VOL.). 1 Neither (VOL.). 1 DK. . . . . 8 Ref./NA 1
	34		56	
73.	Richard Snelling is a conservative on most issues	AND	Patrick Leahy is a liberal on most issues	Both. . (VOL.). 2 Neither (VOL.). 2 DK. . . . . 8 Ref./NA 2
	46		40	
74.	Richard Snelling is supported by the business community	AND	Patrick Leahy is supported by labor unions	Both. . (VOL.). 3 Neither (VOL.). 5 DK. . . . . .10 Ref./NA 2
	46		35	

Now I'm going to read you some other things you might learn about a candidate during the course of a campaign. Please tell me if learning that about a candidate would make you more likely or less likely to vote for that person. (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be much (more/less) likely or somewhat (more/less) likely?

	(RANDOMIZE)	Much More Likely	Somewhat More Likely	No Difference/ Not Important (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Less Likely	Much Less Likely	DK	Ref./ NA
75.	Is opposed by the Moral Majority	16%	19%	24%	21%	11%	8%	1%
76.	Is opposed by labor unions	13	23	22	24	10	7	*
77.	Is opposed by the Vermont Public Interest Research Group	5	16	25	25	9	18	1
78.	Is opposed by the Sierra Club.	5	11	23	20	15	25	1

Now I'm going to read you some things other people have said about Patrick Leahy. For each one, please tell me whether you think that statement does or does not accurately describe Patrick Leahy.

	(RANDOMIZE)	Does	Does Not	Don't Know	Refused/ NA
79.	Is a big spender	23	60	17	1
80.	Would rather work on issues that interest him instead of issues that are important to Vermont	30	58	11	1
81.	Will do anything to get elected	23	66	10	1

Now that you've had an opportunity to think a little more about Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy. . .

82.	If the 1986 election for the U.S. Senate were being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?	Snelling. . (GO TO Q.83). . . . . .42% Leahy . . . (GO TO Q.83). . . . . .53 — Don't know. . . . . 5 — Refused/NA. . . . . *
a.	Which way do you lean as of today — toward (ROTATE: Snelling the Republican or Leahy the Democrat)?	— Snelling. . . . . . — Leahy . . . . . . Don't know. .(GO TO Q.84) . . . . . Refused/NA. .(GO TO Q.84) . . . . .
83.	Would you say your decision between Snelling and Leahy was a difficult decision to make or a fairly easy decision? (N=475)	Difficult . . . . . .29 Fairly easy . . . . . .68 Neither easy nor difficult (VOLUNTEERED) . . . . . 2 Don't know. . . . . 1 Refused/NA. . . . . .—
84.	Regardless of who you support today, if Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy were running against each other for the U.S. Senate in 1986, who do you think would win?	Snelling. . . . . .42 Leahy . . . . . .43 Don't know. . . . . .16 Refused/NA. . . . . .—
85.	Would you like to see Richard Snelling challenge Patrick Leahy for the U.S. Senate, or would you prefer that Richard Snelling not run for the U.S. Senate?	Challenge . . . . . .61 Not run . . . . . .25 Don't know. . . . . .12 Refused/NA. 1

Next November, there will also be an issue on the ballot which, if passed, would establish an Equal Rights Amendment to the Vermont State Constitution.

86.	If the election were being held today, would you vote YES in favor of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Vermont constitution or NO against an Equal Rights Amendment?	Yes, in favor . . . . . .73 No, against . . . . . .18 Don't know. . . . . 8 Refused/NA. 2

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	31%	PARTYID 51
Democrat	23	
Independent	39	
No preference	4	
Other	1	
Don't know	1	
Refused	*	

a. Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

Strong	47
Not very strong	52
Don't know	1
Refused	1

b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

Republican	34
Democratic	37
Neither	22
Don't know	6
Refused	1

STRENGTH 73

LEAN 52

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 . . . . . 78 Mostly Democratic . . . . . 17 A few more Democrats than Republicans . . . . . 10 About equally for both parties . . . . . 24 A few more Republicans than Democrats. . . . . 11 Mostly Republican . . . . . 19 Straight Republican . . . . . 8 Other_____ -- (SPECIFY) Never voted . . . . . 2 Don't know. . . . . 2 Refused/NA. 1	VOTETYPE 57-58
D7A.	On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?	Very liberal. . . . . 6 Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative . . . . . 33 Neither/Middle-of-the-road/ Moderate (VOLUNTEERED). . . . . 6 Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal . . . . 42 Very conservative . . . . . 10 Don't know. . . . . 2 Refused . . . . . —	LIBCON1 63

D8B. What is your approximate age?

(V10)

18-24 years	12%	
25-29 years	10	
30-34 years	14	AGE
35-39 years	11	85-86
40-44 years	9	
45-49 years	7	
50-54 years	7	
55-59 years	6	
60-64 years	8	
65-74 years	12	
75 and over	4	
Refused	*	

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

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	7	
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	7	
Graduated high school	36	EDOFR
Vocational school/Technical School	3	87
Some college - 2 years or less	14	
Some college - more than 2 years	9	
Graduated college	16	
Post-graduate work	8	
Refused	*	

D20. In addition to being an American, is your main ethnic group or ancestry British, Irish, Italian, or what? (ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY EMPHASIZE MAIN NATIONALITY IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER IS GIVEN)

(V14)

British/English/Scots	27	
German	6	ETHNIC
Irish	22	108-109
Italian	4	
Polish	2	
French	24	
Scandinavian/Swedish/ Norwegian/Finnish	3	
Spanish American/Hispanic (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban)	1	
Afro-American/Black	—	
East European/Russian	1	
Portuguese	—	
Asian/Oriental (Japanese, Chinese, Philipino, etc)	—	
American Indian	1	
Dutch	*	
Other	3	
Don't know	4	
Refused	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.) . . . . . .46% Roman Catholic. . . . . .44 Jewish. . . . . 2 Other Christian . . . . . 3 Other Non-Christian/ Unspecified . . . . . 1 Agnostic/Atheist. . . . . 1 None. . . . . 2 Don't know. . . . . .— Refused 1	RELIGION 110
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). . . . . 15 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999). . . . . 13 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999). . . . . 11 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999). . . . . 14 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999). . . . . 12 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999). . . . . .5 $50,000 and over. . . . . .7 Don't know. . . . . .3 Refused 7	INCOME 119
D26.	(TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?	White . . . . . 99 Black . . . . . .* Hispanic/Spanish American/ Chicano . . . . . .1 Oriental. . . . . .* American Indian . . . . . .* Other . . . . . — Not ascertained . . . . . —	RACE 120
D28.	Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)	Male . . . . . 48 Female 52	SEX 126

Verbatims from Job # P8[illegible]95 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wa[illegible] II)

Question 22Nd: (Wave II) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently? (No difference/Don't know responses)

I just heard about his attendance record. (spe) No (we) Don't know.
I'm invited to a potluck dinner to meet Dear Abby and him this week. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
His ideas and issues. (we) Don't know.
Can't remember. (any) Nothing.
Commercials. (spe) About agriculture and that he's paved the way. Don't stop him now.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
What he feels should be different. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Farmers troubles. (we) Agriculture committee; but what can he do really.
I saw him on T.V. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) I already have my mind made up. I know a lot about Leahy already.
Newspaper, television ads. (spe) No.
He did not attend all the Senate sessions.(we) Don't know. (any) No.
He handled the interview with the press on Danoloff case in a very fine professional manner. (we) Don't know. (any) No.
I don't pay any attention to it really. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
An ad on television. (spe) His farm ads.
Just general stuff nothing specific. (we) That's it.
I want to get in and if I do I'll be head of the Agricultural committee. It's such a mess that's all we need is for him to be chairman. (we) Nothing.
Vote on South Africa sanction. (spe) Voted for sanctions and for overriding Reagan's veto.
Television. (spe) Don't know.
Everything. (spe) No.
Letter in the mail. (spe) I didn't read it.
T.V. (spe) No.
I've seen ads on T.V. saying to vote for him. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No, refused to comment.
Work on sanctions against South Africa. (we) Nothing.
Debate with each other and disagreements. (spe) Don't know.
McNeil report. (spe) Daniloff issue. (we) Nothing.
I read an article about his staff not wanting to debate Snelling. (we) I really don't pay attention to the ads. I listen to their views on issues.
Don't know. (any) No.
The debate. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No.
Campaign ads. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Been in town.
Don't know. (any) Nothing I can't remember.
Advertisements. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.

38 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave II)

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Patrick Leahy instead of Richard Snelling?

Don't know. (any) No.
I like him personally. (spe) Good record. (we) His campaign.
His policies. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Time in office. (we) Snelling's background as Governor was not impressive. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
International issues. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) I know him personally.
Don't know. (any) No.
Really can't say. (we) Nothing.
He is a Democrat. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
Done a great job. (we) Should stay there.
He's been responsive to the needs of the people in the state. (we) Leahy is an honest man. (any) No.
Basically his seniority in Senate. (we) Nothing.
Like his views better than Snelling. (we) Approach to people.
Experience. (we) Integrity, honesty.
Incumbent. (we) That's it.
I like his environmental concerns. (we) He's got a better understanding towards agriculture.
His experience. (we) Snelling would just be starting out.
Like what Leahy has done so far. (we) Nothing.
Do not like his approach to politics. Leahy is the incumbent. He will have more powerful past time on committee which in long run will help Vermont. (any) No.
Because I approve of most of the stands on the issues. (we) His campaign against Leahy is not on the issues. He is just attacking Leahy's character. (any) No.
That he has done a good job in the office. (spe) Don't know. (any) No.
His experience. (we) Don't know.
We've always been Democrats. (we) Don't know.
I agree with Leahy's platform. (spe) Arms control. (we) Economy.
Democratic. (we) He's been in a long, long time.
Presently in office. Didn't like Snelling as Governor. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) He's Democrat.
He's done a terrific job in the Senate. (spe) He's intelligent and in contact with Vermont.
Don't know. (any) Snelling cut down Leahy. (spe) He attacked Leahy's record without saying what he would do.
Leahy's experience. (we) His stand on certain issues.
Because he's a Democrat. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Because of his experience. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Just like him better. (spe) No.
I like some decisions he made. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
He's done good so far. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No.
I agree with Leahy's position more especially his position on South America. (we) Favors his attitude toward programs more than Snelling. (spe) No.
His record in the Senate for the past few years. (we) The way the two parties ran their campaign.

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Patrick Leahy instead of Richard Snelling?

I feel he's more concerned about issues I'm concerned about. (spe) No, there are too many to name.
Pleased with Senate record, especially on environmental issues. (we) National issues, tends toward disarmament. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Like his record. (we) Not as positive about Snelling's record. Like what Leahy's done on intelligence and agricultural committee.
I think he's done a lot for the state. The only reason Snelling is running is because Ronald Reagan wants him to be here. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Leahy corresponds with constituents and Snelling did not let his constituents know what was going on. I feel Snelling got the state in debt. (we) Nothing.
Like his foreign policy and what he has done in Senate Intelligence Committee. (we) To help change U.S. foreign policy in Central America.
Because of what he's done so far in office. (spe) No, have to think about it.
Because I'm Democrat. (we) He's the right man.
Don't like Snelling. (we) Like Leahy's position.
Like what Leahy has to say. (we) Just don't like Snelling.
I know him personally, he has a good record. (spe) Attitude on Nicaragua and South Africa.
Snelling's record as Governor was not impressive. (we) Don't know.
Because he did a wonderful job for Vermont and its farmers. (we) Don't know.
He's been in office a long time. (we) He's done a good job. (spe) No. Don't know. (any) No.
Mostly because I don't like Snelling. (spe) No.
He will do more for the farmer. (we) Don't know.
Doing a good job. (spe) I do not like Snelling. (we) No.
Think he does more for the people. (spe) No.
I know him on much better basis. (we) Doing a much better job. (spe) No.
He's done a good job. (we) Nothing.
Think he's the better man. (we) Nothing.
Good man, experienced and has a good following. (we) Nothing.
Done a good job. (spe) No.
Do a good job so far. (spe) Nothing.
I don't trust him. (we) He portrays himself as a hero.
If Leahy is elected he will head Agriculture department. (we) Don't know about Snelling. (we) I'll find out more about both before November.
More experience. Pleased with work on foreign relations. Good job so far.
Leahy's positive stand on acid rain. (we) He's in the Senate in a key position. (we) Experienced. (any)
He's been good in the past. (spe) No.
Issues. (spe) Snelling's campaign was cold.
Like Leahy's ideas and some issues better.
Don't know. (any) Past record is good.
Because he did a reasonable job before. (spe) Not really. (we) Nothing.

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Patrick Leahy instead of Richard Snelling?

I have a good instinct about him. (spe) I just think he'll do a better job. (we) Nothing.
He's done a good amount for Vermont. (spe) He got that education program.
I don't vote Republican. (we) He's done a good job. (spe) Don't know.
He has a good record. (spe) His position on taxes. (we0 Don't know.
Because of his past accomplishments. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
He's a Democrat. (we) His seniority is an asset to the state.
He's for the average person. Believe in him. Honest man. (we) Nothing.
Better man. (we) He'd do a better job.
Democrat's help out the state better. (we) No.

82 Responses

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Richard Snelling instead of Patrick Leahy?

Because of what he has done as prior Governor. (we) I feel there should be a change once in a while.
He's more conservative. (we) He respects the dollar.
He's for Vermont and the Highlander's. Leahy's for Flat landers. (we) Nothing.
Snelling did a good job as Governor. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) No.
He did such a good job as Governor. (we) Don't know.
Better experience. Like him as Governor. (we) Nothing.
Like more of Snelling's ideas. (we) More than those of Leahy.
Don't know. (any) No.
Don't like Leahy's voting record. (spe) Personal and public views. (we) Snelling's been more careful of spending taxpayers money, not Leahy.
He's a better politician. (spe) He has me believing in what he's doing. (we) Nothing.
I agree with his policies. (spe) No. (we) Don' know.
Just Republican. (we) Nothing else. Will decide after tonight's debate.
I heard more about him. (we) That's it. I don't really follow politics much.
Only because I've been Republican for 84 years. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
More for what he stands for. (spe) No. (we) No.
I know more about Snelling. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No.
Heard more about him than Leahy. (we) The work he did with foster children, with my aunt.
He's Republican. (we) Nothing.
He's Republican. (we) Nothing.
Excellent administrator. (we) A good Governor.
He is a much better manager.
Don't know. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
He was good as a Governor. (we) Don't know.
Does a better job. (spe) No. (we) I don't agree with Leahy's way of thinking.
Like his ideas better. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Leahy has been thoroughly spoiled. (we) Once they're in, they have no problem with money, they are thieves.
He is a businessman (we) Reduced deficit.
Like Snelling, I think he is good. (we) Don't like Leahy.
Everything I heard about Snelling is good. (we) Everything I heard about Leahy is bad.
Don't know. (any) I like what he says and does. (spe) No.
A good Governor. (spe) Financially responsible. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Because I am a personal friend of his.
He's conservative. (we) Don't know.
I'm a Republican. (we) His views. (spe) On the nation.
I met him during his time as governor. (spe) No.
He's Republican, has Republican values. (spe) Less government, less taxes, less government involvement in people lives.
Not sure. (any) He was Governor before.

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Richard Snelling instead of Patrick Leahy?

I lean toward Republican. (we) That's it.
Because he is a better man and he is Republican and so am I. (any) No.
He is more intelligent. (we) He will work for the people in the state. (any) No.
He was a good Governor. (spe) Don't know.
I like the things he did as Governor. (spe) Don't know.
He impresses me. (spe) Don't know.
Think he would do a better job. (we) Don't know.
Impressed with Snelling's work as Governor. (we) He's pushing for lowering the national debt.
Just ads and what I saw on T.V. (spe) Don't know. (we) Nothing.
Leahy has had too much bad publicity. (we) Snelling was a good Governor.
Like his stand, Snelling. Leahy is opposed to the President. Snelling has done a good job.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
More experience therefore will do a better job. (we) Nothing.
More conservative. (any) No.
Saw Snelling on T.V. He comes to some places I work. (spe) No.
I am more familiar with Snelling being here in the State. Leahy galavants all over the country and is stationed in D.C. (we) That is all.
No particular reason. (any) No.
Snelling is a Republican. (we) Nothing.
Snelling was a Governor so he'll make a good Senator. (we) Leahy wastes money on mail to voters. He sent us the same letter 3 times.
He was a good Governor. (we) Don't know.

60 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P8[illegible]95 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave II)

Question 19Mf: (Wave II): What have you seen, read or heard about Richard Snelling recently? (More favorable responses)

His ability to try to keep spending down. (we) That's it.
Vermont farmers. (we) That's it.
He's trying to help us out. Don't know if he will. (we) Don't know. (spe) No.
Commercials on T.V. (spe) About agriculture and the good job he's done. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) On T.V. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
Campaign ads. (spe) Saving taxes. Knows the needs of people in Vermont. (we) Nothing.
Seen on T.V. (spe) Don't know. (we) Nothing.
He's been campaigning a lot on T.V. (spe) No. (we) Don't remember.
Ad on T.V. (spe) Don't know. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
News story. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
He is gaining on Leahy. (we) Don't know. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
Heard things in the news. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Interview on television. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Debate with Leahy. (we) No.
Television news and newsletter. (spe) Acid rain, and taxes etc.
He is going to debate Leahy tonight. (we) Don't know.
I was at a dinner for him and I like his views on business.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
He came into my office at work and I met him. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Literature in mail. (spe) No.
He will get rid of the dead fish. (we) He will work on behalf of the people's interest in Vermont. (any) No.
He said he would help the farmers, but he didn't do this when he was Governor. (we) He would make sure all children could read and write.
Ads on radio saying he would help farmers. (we) Nothing.
Going to have a debate. (we) Nothing.
T.V. ads. (spe) Nothing.
Commercials, basically he'll show up in your home town on a personal level which seems friendly and reminded us he was Governor. (we) Nothing.
Radio. (spe) Said he didn't support Reagan about Daniloff. (we) Nothing.
Ad. (spe) Something about Leahy.
I saw him on T.V. saying something. (spe) No.
He was here in town. (we) Don't know.

34 Responses

Question 19Lf: (Wave II) What have you seen, read or heard Richard Snelling recently?(Less favorable responses)

Something about the national deficit. (spe) No. (we) Strong stand for healthy Vermont environment. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Commercials - signs on cows. Dumb commercial. (we) Read Herald - his opinion is as a Republican, he'll have more power. I think that's dumb. (we) Nothing (any) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
His ideas and views. (we) Don't know.
He said he is anxious to get to Washington and help Reagan reduce the budget, yet he left the state of Vermont with the largest deficit in its history when he was Governor.
Not really. (any) No.
Things in newspaper. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Questioning of debate. (spe) Schedule changing.
Bad mouth - Leahy. (we) Nothing.
He just bickers with Leahy about meaningless issues, like who has more funding. He never takes a stand on the issues.
Don't know. (we) His campaign against Leahy's character.
Don't know. (any) No.
That he's running. (spe) Don't know.
He tries to do his best trying to get a hold of people, but I don't like his approach. (spe) Criticizing his opponent.
His stands on finances.
Don't know. (any) No.
The 2 of them debate publicity this evening. (we) In news constantly. (spe) No .
Seen his ads and know he has a debate soon. (spe) Don't remember. (we) Nothing.
Read in paper about his campaign. (spe) How different towns voted in primary. (we) Ads said a popular Governor.
He is not in favor of labor. (we) Don't know.
He claims he could do a great job in Senate. (we) His remarks against Leahy have been uncalled for. (any) No.
Mudslinging tactics. (we) That's it.
I saw him on T.V., he was talking about Leahy. (spe) No. (we.) Don't know.
News. (spe) He was talking about the position that Leahy is taking. (we) No.
T.V. ads digging holes for Leahy. (we) No.
Commercial tells what he's done for the people. (we) No.
Television, can't remember what it said. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
T.V. ads. (spe) Don't like them. (spe) Nasty. (spe) No.
On T.V. (spe) Keeps trying to center on negative things about Leahy.
Mostly campaign ads. (spe) No.
I saw an ad taking snipes at Leahy. (spe) His voting record. (we) Nothing.
News. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
He supports the ERA. (we) He's running a slander campaign, attacking Leahy's record and not offering any alternatives.

35 Responses

Question 19Nd: (Wave II) What have you seen, read or heard about Richard Snelling recently? (No difference/Don't know responses)

A lot of big ideas but never follows them. (we) No.
Don't Know. (any) No.
His ideas and issues. (we) Don't know.
Advertising. (spe) Nothing (we) Nothing.
Ad. (spe) Budget news in general. (we) Nothing.
Just saw him. (spe) Reducing federal deficit. (we) Nothing.
Two commercials. (spe) No.
Campaigning in general. (we) The underdog. He can say anything he want's, Leahy can't.
I've seen his appearance on T.V. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
He is attacking Leahy's position. (we) He is trying to make points on the budget and defense. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
Ads. (spe) Deficit - federal government should follow what he did in Vermont. People he talked to that supported him. (we) Nothing.
Newspaper. (spe) No.
I've just seen ads. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) When things do not go his way he acts like a cry baby.
I don't remember. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
I've seen more of him on television and his ads.
I've seen news articles, but I don't remember what they were about. (any) No.
I want to be Senator. (we) Deficit down if I get in. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Television. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) No.
Television ads. (spe) Mudslinging on both sides.
Don't know. (any) No.
Campaign ads. (we) Everything. (spe) No.
In the parade. (spe) Battlefield.
T.V. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) No, refused to comment.
Something on fiscal responsibility. (spe) By Howard Baker that a freshman Republican in Vermont would do better than a seasoned Democrat in Vermont.
Read in paper, seen on T.V. (spe) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No.
Refute things Leahy said. An ad about a positive attitude about Vermont.
The campaign. (spe) No.
News stories. (spe) Don't know.
He will be on a debate with Leahy. (we) Don't know.
Saw an ad saying Reagan supports him. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
Advertisements on T.V. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.

38 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave II)

Question 22Mf: (Wave II) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently? (More favorable)

He's fighting acid rain. (we) That's it.
Don't Known, (any) No.
News story. (spe) Daniloff. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) No.
He's trying to help the farmers. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) He is interested in the needs and concerned about the people of Vermont.
Things in newspaper. (spe) No. (we) Track records speak for themselves.
Same article. (spe) Debate schedule change.
Commercial - Can't remember. (we) Nothing.
His stand on agriculture. (we) His stand on foreign issues. (any) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
T.V. commercial. (spe) Cow commercial concerning farming.
That he's running. (spe) Don't know.
He did good things in Senate. (spe) Helping farmers and being involved with sensitive area of government.
Television ads. (spe) His importance to farmers, a national figure, of the state.
Comments about where he stands. (we) Don't know.
I just heard basic information. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Opinion on radio on national issues yesterday, can't remember. (we) Picture with family, I was impressed. (we) Can't remember. (any) No.
Seen ads and read in paper. (spe) Don't remember recent issues just record over past few years. (we) Nothing.
Television, not sure. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
He is in favor of labor.
Don't know. (any) The political views Leahy has.
Don't know. (any) He will come up for Agriculture Committee in Washington if he is elected again.
He will become the chairman of Agriculture Committee, if the Democrats control the Senate. (we) Don't know. (any) No.
He will continue to work hard for Vermont. (we) He will help the farmers get a better price for their milk. (any) No.
He wants to help the farmers. (any) No.
Heard ad on radio. (spe) Don't know.
His committee on foreign affairs and farmers. (we) Nothing.
Tells all he's done for agriculture. (we) No.
Told about different things he's been doing in Washington. (we) Nothing.
Favor of the farmers. (we) Nothing.
In the paper about foreign policy and his committee. (spe) No.
Commercials, experienced in Senate so would be good for Vermont. (we) Can't afford to start all over again with new person. (we) Reagan came on T.V. for him. (we) Nothing.
A pamphlet they gave out at some store. (spe) No.
Ad about cows. (spe) It was poor.
Just what my son in college told me. (spe) I don't remember.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
News. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.

39 Responses

Question 22Lf: (Wave II) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently?(Less favorable responses)

Overuse of cranking mail. (we) Nothing (any) No.
Don't know. (any) no.
Don't know. (any) No.
Campaign publicity. (spe) Don't know. (we) Just voting records. Don't like how he has voted on issues. (spe) Don't know.
Don't remember. (any) Just his campaign ads.
He just bickers with Snelling about meaningless issues, like who has more funding. He never takes a stand on the issues.
Ads. (spe) He should keep bumper stickers on cars instead of cows - bad image. (we) Controversy. (spe) On Leahy's record. (spe) Nothing.
I saw him on television. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
How he's done in the primaries. (we) Campaign ads. (spe) Don't know.
Debate. (we) What he's done.
News. (spe) He was discussing his Chairmanship he has with the Agricultural committee. (we) Don't know.
An article on how much publicity he gets. (we) How much of the taxpayers money he wastes on this publicity.
Same ad but it came from Snelling's office. (spe) No.
Headlines in the papers. (spe) He spent more money campaigning this time.
Helps farmers. (we) Nothing.

16 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave III)

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Patrick Leahy instead of Richard Snelling?

He's doing a good job.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
I like the way he's been in the past.(we) He has seniority that could be valuable to us.(we)Don't know.
Don't know.(any) I like the things he's done.(spe) No.
Like what he's done.
He's done a good job.(we) Don't know.
I lean towards Democrats.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) No.
Don't like Snelling's policies.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) No.
Personal contact with him for years.(we) Holds important positions in committees in Senate.
I like his record better than Snelling's (spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Prefer his record.(spe) No. (we) Snelling hasn't had a good record being Governor.(spe) The deficit.
Refused.(any) No
I like his ideals on nuclear weapons.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Like his opinions on things.(spe) No.(we) He has a lot of experience.(we) No.
Don't know.(any) I'm satisfied with his work.(we) Don't know.
Because he's a Democrat, and has experience, and I like what he's done for the foreign policy and the Social Service program.(spe) No.(we) Nothing.
I've been very happy with his work in the past, he's a good Senator and I don't want to lose him. Also I never liked Snelling not when he was Governor or any other time.(we) Nothing.
I didn't like him as a Governor so why should I vote for him for Senator.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) Good man for the job.(we) Nothing.
Like him better.(we) Voting record.(spe) No.
He's done a lot for the state.(we) Don't know.
Experienced.(we) He's represented Vermont as good as anyone could.
Everything he's done in the Senate so far.(spe) No. (we) He's for the average person. I met and talked with him once and I was very impressed.
More interesting in the farmers and the little people, Snelling is for the rich.(we) I like his position on arms control.
I like his political views.(spe) No. Been in a long time. Seems like he knows what he's doing.
Because he has more years in.(spe). No.(we) Don't know.
Because he's doing a good job. (spe) On the dairy and with the people. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) He's done a good job in the past. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) He's got some good ideas. What I've heard I like. (spe) He wants to help Vermont. (we) He's for the little people.
He's done a very good job. (spe) No. (we) He's for the people and honest.
I don't like Snelling. (we) Don't know.
I agree with his stand-points. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
He didn't do much for Vermont. He quit as Governor to take care of his $3.35 hour business. (spe) No. (we) He's only there because Reagan wants him there. Since he quit as Governor, he'd quit at something else.

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave III)

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Patrick Leahy instead of Richard Snelling?

Leahy has accomplished a lot (spe) For the veteran. (we) His views are similar to my own. (spe) No.
I like his honesty, and he's also been honest about the job he is doing. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
I really appreciate his record in the Senate. (we) Leahy's involved in a lot of committees.
Like what he's done. (we) Seniority is important.
Does better than Snelling. (spe) No. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Did good in office before. (we) Is going to be on Agricultural committee. (we) More clout and help to Vermont. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
I met him once. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
I dislike Richard Snelling. (we) Leahy's a good man and experienced. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Experienced. (we) Careful to stay in contact with people. Impressed. (we) Met him. Farm people are cared for by him. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Done a good job so far. (we) More good to come. (spe) No. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
I agree with some of the things he's done in Washington, although I don't like any of them. I think it's easier to get things done once you know the people down there. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
He's a Democrat. (we) I don't like Snelling. (spe) No. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
I feel he's getting a lot accomplished for the state. (spe) He's working hard for the state.
I know more about him. (spe) No (we) Nothing.
His international political opinions. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
I share his political views. (we) Nothing.
I tend to vote Democrat. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
He's done a good job. (we) Don't know.
Overall he represents my views. (we) Don't know.
Done much for Vermont. Smart man. (we) Best candidate.
Better policies. (we) Don't know.
He's done a good job. (spe) I agree with his policies. (spe) His stands on financing for farming and foreign policy. (we) Don't know.
What he's done so far. (we) Committees, dairy farmers.
Prefer something he has a stand on. (spe) No. (we) Experience politician.
I don't like Snelling. (spe) The way he's come across in his ads. (spe) No.
Leahy's has a lot of accomplishments and he's more qualified. (we) He represents more of what Vermonts stands for. (spe) He's done a lot for veterans.
He's a better candidate. (we) Like his views.
Like his policies. (we) Just like him better as a person.
Prefer Leahy. (we) Nothing.
Like what he's done so far. (we) Nothing.
He's a friend of mine. (we) He's better qualified.

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Patrick Leahy instead of Richard Snelling?

He's been in the Senate so long that I think he knows what's going on better than Snelling. (we) I don't think he's doing anything to hurt Vermont.
He's the best man. (spe) Snelling put Vermont in debt when he was Governor.
Political philosophy, more liberal. (we) Foreign policy stands.
I like the work he has done. (we) He'd be able to help farmers if he's Agriculture Commissioner.
Experience. (we) Nothing.
Record wise. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
His experience. (spe) His position on the foreign affairs committee.
He's done a good job. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) They're both made mistakes, but I feel Snelling would make more.
He's more assured on issues. Snelling goes back and forth. (spe) Economy, department.
His record. A known quantity, Snelling is not at least not nationally. (spe) No.
More experience. (we) He's a Democrat.
The most experience. (we) An honorable legislator.
Some of his programs, he's switching alliances. (we) Nothing.
Because I talked to Snelling and I didn't like what he had to say. (we) Nothing.

81 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave III)

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Richard Snelling instead of Patrick Leahy?

Don't believe in Leahy.(spe) No.(we) He's phony.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) No.
I liked him when he was Governor.(we) Don't know.
Seems to be the more likely candidate
He's more for the middle class people.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Liked him when he was Governor.(we) He did a good financial job for the state.
He's Republican.(we) Don't care for Leahy's record in the Senate.
Snelling was our Governor and we were all quite fond of him. (we) Don't know.
Because he's more conservative.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) Talked about popular issues.(spe) No.
Don't know.(any) I'm a Republican.(we) Nothing.
I just like his impressions. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
His experience in state government. (spe) No. (we) That's all.
I know him quite well. (we) Don't know.
Know him better. (spe) No (we) Nothing.
Handled money better. Concerned with issues. (spe) No. (we) He'll get the job done well.
Don't know. (any) I like him better. (spe) Don't know.
Because I'm a Republican. (we) I believe in what he stands for (spe) No.
I don't know Leahy. (we) I'm Republican. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
I have always been a fan of Snelling's. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
I don't like some of the things they say about him. (spe) Something about the farmers. (spe) Nothing.
I think we need a change in Washington. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
His record as Governor. (spe) No (we) My general impression of him is good. I wasn't here for the full time he was Governor, so I don't know much. (we) Don't know.
He's a Republican. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) No.
I think we need a change. (we) Complacency on Leahy's part.
His way of conducting himself in different office. (we) Nothing.
Snelling's track record as Governor. (we) Budget, businessman, and for Vermont .
I know him. (spe) He was a good Governor. (we) Don't know.
He's more conservative. (we) He's Republican.
Reagan will get the support of a Republican. (we) Don't know.
He did a good job as Governor. (we) Agree with his views.
I like him better than Leahy. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Hard to say. (any) Don't think of Leahy much.
Leahy has been in a long time. (we) Snelling has new ideas.
He can do more for us. (spe) Cut down on the deficit. (we) Don't know.
Because of his attitude toward defense. (we) Foreign policy. (we) He wants to help farmers. (we) Don't know.
I would not vote for Leahy. (spe) Not impressed with him.
Don't know. (any) No.
Conservative. (we) Don't know.
Need new blood in Washington. (we) He's a Republican and conservative.

Question 12: Why would you be voting for Richard Snelling instead of Patrick Leahy?

Need new blood in Washington. (we) He's Republican and conservative.
Republican. (we) I like what he says. (spe) No.
More fiscal responsibility. (we) Don't know.
A good Governor. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Like the way he looks.
I like him better. (we) Nothing.

47 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave III)

Question 19Mf: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Richard Snelling recently? (More favorable responses)

Commercials on t.v.(spe) Don't know.(we) Don't know.
Little controversy over something Leahy said that Snelling denied ever saying.(we) Don't know.
On the radio, on t.v.(spe) A Commercial paid for by Snelling.
It's on t.v. all the time.(spe) No.(we) No.
I heard him give a report on Vermont.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
Television commercial putting down the service record of Leahy. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
On the news. (spe) His campaign report. (we) Concerned about the people in Vermont. (spe) No.
Television commercial. (spe) No.
I saw him in the parade. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
His ads. (spe) Both negative and positive. (spe) They said he was smearing Leahy. and it was said he had a lot of accomplishments. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No.
Television ads. (spe) No. (we) I heard the debate. (spe) I like some of his remarks. (spe) Tax reform. (we) His farm policy is good.
The President appearing for him. (we) The debates he's involved in.
Television ads and news. (spe) No.
Talk at Rotary meeting. (we) On radio and television. (spe) No.
Talking about drug abuse. (spe) He changed his mind about it, he use to be lenient. (we) Don't know.
Personal contact and television. (spe) Saying he's going to meet the budget.

19 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking(Wave III)

Question 19Lf: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Richard Snelling recently?(Less favorable responses)

His carrying on about Pat Leahy.(spe) He was talking about, debating, he said Leahy wouldn't debate when he was here.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(we) NO.
Don't know.(any) No.
Paid advertising on television.(spe) Someone says Leahy did not do a good job and that he deserves to serve Vermont.(spe) No.(we) Nothing.
That he's Republican. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
I've been reading so much. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) I avoid it.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
I think he's crooked. (spe) People say he's running campaign crooked. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
T.V. channel 3. Not impressed with his answers on a question and answer program. He's nothing but a politician. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
He needs more positive campaign. (spe) No. (any) No.
I saw a television debate. (spe) No.
On the news. (spe) He's for crime and punishment and drug enforcement. (we) He's a little late now. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) He was saying things about Leahy that he really didn't have the facts on. (we) Don't know.
Seen his ads on television. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) Didn't show for campaign meeting. (we) Nothing.
On the news. (spe) Rhetoric. (spe) Campaign ads. (spe) They were critical of Leahy. (we) Don't know.
Political cartoons. (spe) His indecision, mudslinging in campaign.
Newspaper. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) Drug programs. (we) Nothing.

21 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P86195 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave III)

Question 19Nd: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Richard Snelling recently? (No difference/Don't know responses)

In the news.(spe) Downgrading between two candidates.(we) literature sent to me.(spe) No.
Pamphlet.(spe) No.(we) Nothing.
Ads.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) NO.
Always something in the headline.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Ad by his party.(spe) Don't know.(we) Don't know.
Advertisement.(spe) Experience, achievements as Governor.(we) Nothing.
Paper.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Ad on t.v.(spe) Talking about things of future generations. (we) No.
News.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Saw him on t.v.(spe) Going to Washington to talk to Reagan. (spe) No.(we) No.
In the paper.(spe) The debate.(we) Nothing.
I received a newsletter in the mail about him.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
His opinions on the electricity in this area.(spe) No.(we) About the farmers.(spe) No but I don't agree with him.
Received a letter in the mail.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Advertisements.(spe) Things he's done in the past.(we) Don't know.
Debate.(spe) Foreign policy and how he stands on it.(we) About his regular campaign.
News.(spe) No.(we) No.
I read about him in the Free Press.(spe) Just about the debate. (we) Don't know.
It's an underhanded campaign. (we) Don't know.
I've seen him in the news. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
T.V. (spe) He was speaking about the debate between him and Leahy. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) No.
Pounding his record as Governor, that's all you hear. (we) Don't know.
Campaign ads. (spe) No. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Refused.
T.V. (spe) No.
I read something in the newspaper (spe) No.
In the newspapers. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Commercial. Don't know. (any) no.
Radio ads, and television ads. (spe) No.
Part of the debate. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Heard his commercials on radio and his debate on television.
Don't know. (any) No.
Political ads. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) No.
News reports. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
On television. (spe) Commercials. (spe) No.
What he says he's doing. (spe) Will cut the deficit in government. (we) Don't know.
Debate. (spe) Support for Reagan's policy on Central America.
Name calling between Snelling and Leahy. (we) Amount of money Snelling spent on campaigning.
Don't know. (any) No.

Question 19Nd: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Richard Snelling recently? (No difference/Don't know responses)

The debate. (we) In the news. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
Debate. (we) Nothing.
The debate. (spe) No.

46 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P8[illegible]95 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wa[illegible] III)

Question 22Mf: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently? (More favorable)

Don't know.(any) About him not making it to Burlington.(we) Don't know.
A letter we received.(spe) Don't know.(we) Don't know.
He had a political stipulation.(spe) Don't know.(we) Don't know.
Promoting himself.(spe) Achievements what he wants to accomplish.(we) The positions he holds in different committees from being a state Senator.
Don't know.(any) Nothing.
I received a newsletters in the mail also about him.(spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Issues and agriculture and how he wants to help farmers and about how much experience he's had.(we) Don't know.
As I said I like the job he's done.(we) His appointment is supposed to come up for the agriculture committee.(we) Don't know.
In the paper.(spe) No.(we) Nothing.
Don't know.(any) Nothing comes to mind at the moment.
Things he's done in the past.(we) Don't know.
The things he's doing for agriculture and the farmers.(we) Don't know.
He is with the agriculture and the farmers.(we) He wants to become chairman of the Agriculture Committee and help farmers.
His big support for the farmers, this is a farming area so that's very important here.(we) Farming is the main topic around here.
That he's the Senator in Vermont. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Nothing.
Commercials. (spe) Seems like he's for farmers and smaller people. (we) Don't know.
He's for the people, all people and for the United States. He was on 60 minutes last night. (spe) No, but I enjoyed it.
It's an underhanded campaign.
That he's very good in politics. (we) Don't know.
Snelling is knocking Leahy every chance he gets. (we) I hope he helps the farmers and the aging. (we) Don't know.
What he's doing in Washington. (spe) Follow foreign affairs and he is for the veterans, and elderly. (we) Tried to represent Vermont the best he can.
Read something in the paper. (spe) Don't know. (we) Don't know.
His record on Senate committees. (we) He's a visible Senate candidate.
He's on the news about farmer's deal. (we) He's going to help Vermont farmers and all farmers. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Commercial about farmers. (spe) I caught the tail end. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
I saw him in the parade. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
A news report. (spe) He did get kicked out of the debate. (we) Nothing.
I follow the newspaper comments. (spe) No.
60 Minutes. (spe) General Singlaub, Contra aid in Nicaragua.
I saw the debate and I've read some articles. (spe) Just covering the campaign. (spe) No.
Ads. (spe) Agriculture Committee. (we) Nothing.
Heard him on radio. (we) Saw his debate on television.
His ads on television about farmers. (we) Nothing.

Verbatims from Job # P86295 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wave III)

Question 22Mf: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently? (More favorable)

Yes. (spe) He gets a lot of press. (spe) He's big friends with Daniel Ortega. (we) Don't know.
Commercial. (spe) Put stickers on cows saying vote for Leahy. (we) Don't know.
His feelings of farm situation. (we) Like his intelligence capacity and views on things.
Don't know. (any) No.
In the paper. (spe) The security of the country. (spe) No.
Campaign ads. (spe) He asked Snelling to be accountable for his accusations.
Campaigning. (spe) No.
Television news. (spe) No.
Don't know. (any) No.
On national television. (spe) Daniloff's release from the Soviet Union.
Farm program. (we) Nothing.

45 Responses

Question 22Lf: (Wave III) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently?(Less favorable responses)

Don't know.(any) No.
Don't know.(any) No.
Recent controversy that he said Snelling said something about an arms race but I'm not sure.(we) Don't know.
I saw him on t.v. in Vermont today.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Don't know. (any) Nothing I could be specific about.
Ads. (spe) His views towards agriculture and farming. (we) Nothing.
T.V. commercials. (spe) Putting stickers on a car. (we) Nothing.
T.V. (spe) No. (we) Nothing.
For abortion. (we) Help for the farmers.
The ads. (spe) Pasting bumper stickers on a cow. (we) Made a fool of himself on farm policy. (spe) He hasn't done anything for farmers. (we) Don't know.
Too farmers talking for him because he's putting campaign stickers on a cow. (we) He's planning on becoming the head of the Agriculture Committee.
Trying to get farmers behind him on television. (we) Nothing.
His record. (spe) No.

13 Responses

Verbatims from Job # P85[illegible]5 Vt. Stwd. Tracking (Wa[illegible] III)

Question 22Nd: (Wave II1) What have you seen, read or heard about Patrick Leahy recently? (No difference/Don't know responses)

Sends out pamphlet.(spe) Keeps people informed about his stand on issues.(we) Nothing.
National news.(spe) He's on different committees.(we) Nothing.
Ads.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
T.v.(spe) Something he was doing in Washington.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) No.
Brochure.(spe) No.(we) Talking about the spy exchange on t.v.(spe) No.
Ad on t.v.(spe) That he's putting his campaign stickers on cows.(we) Don't know .
T.v.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
In the paper.(spe) No.(we) No.(we) Nothing.
T.v.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Received letter in the mail.(spe) No.(we) Don't know.
Don't know.(any) No.
Debate, foreign policy and how he stands on it.
I read about his feelings about the trade off with Danieloff and with the contras.(spe) No.(spe) Don't know.
Free Press.(spe) No.(we) No.
Don't know. (any) Don't know.
What he's doing in the Senate. (we) Don't know.
News. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
I read a letter about him. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Vice chairman of the Senate. I can't remember which but some committee and he's on t.v. all the time. (spe) No (we) Don't know.
Campaign ads. (spe) No. (we) Nothing. (any) No.
Refused.
Contact with people is excellent. (we) On 60 Minutes last night. (spe) No (any) No.
T.V. (spe) No.
T.V. advertisements. (spe) No (spe) Nothing.
Don't know. (any) No.
Television and news. (spe) Incumbency is important.
His television ads. (spe) They make him lack now authoritative and in control than Snelling. (we) Don't know.
He was talking about his accomplishments. (spe) No. (we) He may be elected head of a committee.
Don't know. (any) No.
Television. (spe) No.
Commercials. (spe) No. (we) Don't know.
Debate. (spe) Mild, Central America. Not much of a debate really.
The debate. (we) Advertising on television. (spe) Making promises to farmers.
Television. (spe) No.
The debate. (spe) No.
Debates on television. (spe) Daniloff's case.
A commercial. (spe) Be head of Agriculture Department.

38 Responses

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Vermont Statewide Study

Summary Tables

Prepared for:

National Republican Senatorial Committee

Not to be released without the joint permission
of Market Opinion Research and
National Republican Senatorial Committee

June, 1985
Job #P85056

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Summary of Voting Intentions and Candidate Perceptions by Leahy Support Groups

		Leahy Support Groups				
	Total	Core Pro-Leahy	Pro Leahy	Neutral	Anti Leahy	Core Anti Leahy
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(500)	(113)	(144)	(73)	(130)	(41)
Percent=	100%	(23%)	(29%)	(15%)	(26%)	(7%)
Leahy						
Aware	98	100	96	97	98	100
Favorable	79	98	85	73	70	37
Unfavorable	10	1	1	8	14	59
Snelling						
Aware	98	96	96	100	98	100
Favorable	73	59	60	79	87	95
Unfavorable	18	31	25	12	8	--
Vote Intention						
Snelling	47	--	11	55	86	100
Leahy	49	100	82	35	9	--
Undecided	4	--	7	10	5	--
Soft Leahy	--	22	22	22	4	0
Soft Snelling	--	0	7	29	22	2
Reagan						
Approve	59	31	52	66	78	93
Disapprove	32	65	33	23	17	5
Don't know	9	4	14	11	6	2
Issue Agenda						
Nuclear arms	41	59	43	37	32	22
Deficit	40	35	28	44	46	66
Tax reform	26	16	28	23	29	44
Foreign affairs	24	25	20	22	22	41
Farmers	22	17	24	18	28	12
Jobs	20	23	25	22	17	--
Environment	18	21	22	15	13	10

Delia

1. Issue structure is already clear.
2. Push it further apart.

Summary of Voting Intentions and Candidate Perceptions by Leahy Support Groups
(Cont'd)

		Leahy Support Groups				
	Total	Core Pro-Leahy	Pro Leahy	Neutral	Anti Leahy	Core Anti Leahy
Issue Handling Preference (PDI)[a]						
Vermont problems	+6	-62	-28	+35	+60	+93
Fed. tax/ spending	+3	-62	-34	+20	+63	+91
Vermont fair share	+1	-57	-36	+14	+59	+85
Vermont perspective	-9	-71	-50	+8	+51	+88
Environment issues	-13	-69	-42	+12	+28	+73
National defense spending	-18	-79	-55	-9	+42	+81
Nuclear arms	-20	-78	-51	--	+24	+73
U.S./Soviet relations	-25	-84	-50	-13	+16	+71
Personal Qualities (PDI)[a]						
Arrogant	+26	+49	+44	+24	+ 2	-22
Decisive	+20	-14	- 3	+32	+49	+73
Leader	+15	-32	- 7	+31	+52	+78
Too ambitious	+14	+39	+33	+ 2	--	-46
Effective	+ 8	-46	-23	+25	+58	+75
Independent	+ 5	-36	- 7	+23	+29	+29
Typical poltician	+ 3	+31	+32	+ 8	-37	-54
Intelligent	- 4	-46	-19	--	+31	+49
Friendly	- 5	-44	-27	+10	+26	+58
Honest	- 5	-50	-25	+11	+28	+49
Compassionate	-16	-67	-39	- 2	+29	+41

This is how they were defined.

[a]PDI=Percentage Difference Index = % "Snelling" minus % "Leahy."

Normal Republican Vote Analysis

	Normal Vote	Snelling Vote	Deviation from Normal	Number Of Cases
Total	52%	49	- 3	(500)
Voter Type				
Republican	77	87	+10	(132)
Ticket-splitters	53	41	-12	(223)
Democrats	26	17	-11	(120)
Political Regions				
Chittenden	48	44	- 4	(121)
Northwest	60	62	+ 2	(55)
Northeast	54	40	-14	(51)
West	53	47	- 6	(159)
East	53	52	- 1	(114)
Age				
18-29	50	54	+ 4	(110)
30-39	48	38	-10	(126)
40-49	55	57	+ 2	(77)
50+	55	50	- 5	(186)
Status Groups				
High income	58	50	- 8	(59)
Intelligentsia	50	41	- 9	(80)
Middle class	53	55	+ 2	(186)
Lower end	49	44	- 5	(113)
Religion				
Catholic	47	43	- 4	(222)
Non-Catholic	56	53	- 3	(278)
Sex				
Male	55	52	- 3	(240)
Female	50	46	- 4	(260)
Ethnicity				
Irish	51	41	-10	(108)
French	50	45	- 5	(118)

MOR Minimum Winning Coalition Analysis

Political Region	GOP Target	Snelling	Deviation
Chittenden	46%	44%	- 2
Northwest	48	62	+14
Northeast	54	40	-14
West	51	47	- 4
East	51	52	+ 1

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Awareness and Perceptions of Selected Political Figures

	Aware	Favorable	Unfavorable	Ratio[a]
Patrick Leahy	98%	79%	10	7.9
Jim Jeffords	92	65	16	4.1
Richard Snelling	98	73	18	4.1
Madeleine Kunin	98	71	18	3.9
Stephan Morse	39	19	5	3.8
Robert Stafford	94	64	18	3.5
Peter Smith	62	35	10	3.5
John Easton	85	44	26	1.7
Bernard Sanders	85	44	29	1.5

[a]Ratio=Percent favorable divided by percent unfavorable.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make decisions about. I'm going to mention several issues and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy making decisions on that issue.

	Richard Snelling	Patrick Leahy	(VOLUNTEERED) Both	Neither	Don't know	Ref./ NA	PDI[a]
Taking care of the problems of Vermont's citizens	45%	42%	3	1	9	*	+ 6
Domestic and social spending priorities	45	42	3	1	9	*	+ 3
Federal tax and spending policies	47	44	1	1	7	*	+ 3
Making sure Vermont gets its fair share of federal programs and projects	44	43	5	1	6	*	+ 1
Representing the Vermont perspective in Washington	39	48	5	1	6	*	- 9
Environmental issues and policies	39	52	2	1	6	*	-13
Natonal defense spending priorities	35	53	2	1	8	1	-18
Nuclear arms control negotiations	32	52	1	2	13	*	-20
U.S. relations with the Soviet Union	30	55	2	1	12	*	-25

(a) PDI=Percentage Difference Index= % "Richard Snelling" minus % "Patrick Leahy."

*Less than .5%.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Now I'd like to do something a little different. I'm going to read you a list of words and for each one, please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy)?

	Richard Snelling	Patrick Leahy	(VOLUNTEERED) Both	Neither	Don't know	Ref./ NA	PDI[a]
Arrogant	44%	18%	5%	18%	14%	1%	+26
Decisive	47	27	17	1	7	*	+20
Leader	46	31	17	*	5	--	+15
Too ambitious	39	25	7	17	12	*	+14
Too effective	44	36	12	1	6	--	+8
Independent	42	37	13	2	7	*	+5
Typical politician	36	33	18	6	6	1	+3
Intelligent	25	29	38	1	7	*	-4
Friendly	31	36	24	1	8	*	-5
Honest	25	30	34	4	7	1	-5
Compassionate	26	42	17	3	12	*	-16

(a) PDI=Percentage Difference Index=% "Richard Snelling" minus % "Patrick Leahy."

*Less than .5%.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Now I'm going to read you some things other people have said about Patrick Leahy. For each one, please tell me whether you think that statement does or does not accurately describe Patrick Leahy.

	Does	Does Not	Don't know	Refused/ NA	PDI[a]
Would rather work on issues that interest him instead of issues that are important to Vermont	30%	58%	11%	1%	-28
Is a big spender	23	60	17	1	-37
Will do anything to get elected	23	66	10	1	-43

(a) PDI=Percentage Difference Index=% "Does" minus % "Does not."

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Now I'm going to read you some other things you might learn about a candidate during the course of a campaign. Please tell me if learning that about a candidate would make you more likely or less likely to vote for that person. Would that be much (more/less) likely or somewhat (more/less) likely?

	Much More Likely	Somewhat More Likely	No Difference/ Not Important (VOLUNTEERED)	Somewhat Less Likely	Much More Likely	DK	Ref./ NA	PDIa
Is opposed by the Moral Majority	16%	19%	24%	21%	11%	8%	1%	+ 3
Is opposed by labor unions	13	23	22	24	10	7	*	+ 2
Is opposed by the Vermont Public Interest Research Group	5	16	25	25	9	18	1	-13
Is opposed by the Sierra Club	5	11	23	20	15	25	1	-19

(a) PDI=Percentage Difference Index=% "More likely" minus % "Less likely."

*Less than .5%.

Vermont Statewide Study
Draft Questionnaire #1 Quota N=500
June 7, 1985

1. 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?

2. 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)?

3. If the election for Governor of Vermont were being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

   a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED,ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

4. If the election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) from Vermont?

   a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

5. Of the following six issues, which one do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

   6. Which one would you choose next? (REPEAT REMAINING ITEMS)

   (RANDOMIZE)

   a. Foreign affairs
   b. Tax reform
   c. Unemployment
   d. Nuclear arms control
   e. Environment
   f. Federal budget deficit

7. Do you think things in Vermont are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Madeleine Kunin is handling her job as Governor? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about various problems and issues facing the country . . .

9. How worried would you say you are about the federal budget deficit -- extremely worried, very worried, somewhat worried or not at all worried?

10. Thinking about government spending, which one do you think should be the emphasis for the federal government this year . . .

    a. Increase spending on programs such as education and health care in order to help more people
    b. Keep spending on programs at their present level in order to reduce the budget deficit
    c. Reduce spending on most programs and eliminate others to reduce the budget deficit

11. There are four basic alternatives for the federal government in reducing the size of the federal budget deficit. Which one of the following do you think is the best course of action . . .

    (RANDOMIZE)

    a. Make whatever spending cuts are needed so taxes don't have to be increased
    b. Make whatever tax increases are needed so spending on important programs doesn't have to be cut
    c. Reduce some spending and moderately increase taxes
    d. Rely on growth in the economy to generate more revenue from current taxes

12. In general, do you think the federal tax system is fair or not fair to the average citizen?

13. From what you now know about President Reagan's tax reform plan, do you generally favor or oppose the President's plan?

14. President Reagan's tax reform proposal would eliminate most tax deductions which would allow lowering the income tax rates for everyone. Do you generally favor or oppose eliminating most deductions and lowering tax rates?

15. Which do you think is the most important thing for the government to do this year -- (ROTATE: reduce the budget deficit or reform the federal tax laws)?

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about national defense and foreign policy . . .

16. Do you believe the United States armed forces and military weapons systems are more than adequate to deter Soviet aggression, simply adequate or inadequate to deter Soviet aggression?

17. Which of the following three statements come closest to your own opinion on what our military power should be . . .

    (RANDOMIZE)

    a. The United States should be stronger than the Soviet Union
    b. The United States should be equal to but not stronger than the Soviet Union
    c. It doesn't really matter if the Soviet Union is somewhat stronger than the United States

18. President Reagan has proposed developing a space-based defense system against Soviet nuclear attack, often referred to as the "Star Wars" system. Do you think the U.S. should or should not go ahead with development of such a space-based defense system?

    Thinking about the office of U.S. Senator for a moment . . .

19. As you may know, the Republican Party controls the U.S. Senate, that is, has the majority of seats. Would you like to have the Republicans remain in control of the United States Senate after the 1986 elections or the Democrats take control, or do you have no preference on this? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Do you feel strongly or not too strongly about that?

20. Can you tell me the names of the two U.S. Senators from Vermont?

    Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him favorable or unfavorable?

    (RANDOMIZE)

    21. Patrick Leahy
    22. Robert Stafford
    23. Jim Jeffords
    24. John Easton
    25. Richard Snelling
    26. Peter Smith

Your U.S. Senators in Washington are Patrick Leahy, Democrat and Robert Stafford, Republican . . .

27. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Robert Stafford is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

28. Do you think Robert Stafford has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it's time to give a new person a chance to do better?

29. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Patrick Leahy is handling his job as U.S. Senator? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

30. Do you think Patrick Leahy has performed well enough to deserve reelection or do you think it's time to give a new person the chance to do better?

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections for a moment . . .

Here are some races for U.S. Senator that could be on the ballot in 1986. For each one, please tell me who you would vote for if the election were being held today and the people I mentioned were the candidates.

(IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (REPEAT NAMES AND PARTIES)?

(ROTATE NAMES AND QUESTIONS)

31. Richard Snelling, Republican OR Patrick Leahy, Democrat
32. Jim Jeffords, Republican OR Patrick Leahy, Democrat
33. John Easton, Republican OR Patrick Leahy, Democrat

Now I'd like to ask you some more questions about Patrick Leahy . . .

34. Is there anything in particular that you like about Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

35. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about Patrick Leahy? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

36. From what you know, what particular problem or issue has Patrick Leahy worked the hardest on or spent most of his time with since he became U.S. Senator? (PROBE FOR ONE SPECIFIC RESPONSE)

37. On political issues, do you consider Patrick Leahy to be very conservative, somewhat conservative, somewhat liberal or very liberal?

38. Do you think Senator Leahy has supported President Reagan too much of the time, about the right amount or not enough of the time?

39. Some people say that Senator Leahy is too concerned about national issues and being a leader in the U.S. Senate and is not concerned enough about people in Vermont. Others say Senator Leahy does a good job for the people in Vermont and as a national leader. What is your opinion, is Senator Leahy too concerned with being a national leader or does he do a good job representing the people in Vermont?

Now I'd like to ask you to think about both Richard Snelling and Pat Leahy for a moment . . .

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make judgements on and decisions about. I'm going to mention several issues and problems and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy making decisions on that issue.

(RANDOMIZE)

40. Federal tax and spending policies
41. Environmental issues and policies
42. U.S. relations with the Soviet Union
43. National defense spending priorities
44. Nuclear arms control negotiations
45. Domestic and social spending priorities

Now I'd like to do something a little different. I'm going to read you a list of words and for each one, please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Richard Snelling or Pat Leahy)?

(RANDOMIZE)

46. Effective
47. Aggressive
48. Intelligent
49. Friendly
50. Leader
51. Arrogant
52. Trustworthy
53. Decisive
54. Independent
55. Strong
56. Fair
57. Concerned

During the course of a campaign, voters learn more about the candidates and their positions on important on important issues. I'm going to mention some of the differences between Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy on issues and please tell me whether you tend to agree more with Snelling's position or Leahy's position on the issue.

(RANDOMIZE)

58. Richard Snelling supports further research and development of new military weapons systems and Patrick Leahy opposes further research and development of new military weapons systems.
59. Richard Snelling believes the U.S. must take a tough and hard line attitude in negotiating with the Soviet Union and Patrick Leahy believes the U.S. should take a more moderate and flexible attitude and be willing to compromise with the Soviets.
60. Richard Snelling supports President Reagan's plan to send military and economic aid to the atni-communist forces in Central America and Patrick Leahy opposes President Reagan's plan for military and economic aid to anti-communist forces in Central America.
61. Richard Snelling believes we must reduce the deficit by cutting spending and not raising taxes and Patrick Leahy believes we must cut spending but also raise taxes
62. Richard Snelling is a strong supporter of President Reagan's policies and programs and Patrick Leahy is a harsh critic of President Reagan's policies and programs
63. Richard Snelling is a conservative on economic issues and Patrick Leahy is a liberal on economic issues
64. Richard Snelling is supported by the business community and Patrick Leahy is supported by labor unions.

Now that you've had an opportunity to think a little more about Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy. . .

65. If the 1986 election for the U.S. Senate were being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: Richard Snelling the Republican candidate or Patrick Leahy the Democratic candidate)?

    a. (IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: Snelling the Republican or Leahy the Democrat)?

66. (IF ANSWERS SNELLING OR LEAHY, ASK:) Would you say your decision between Snelling and Leahy was a difficult decision to make or a fairly easy decision?

67. Regardless of who you support today, if Richard Snelling were to run against each other for the U.S. Senate in 1986, who do you think would win?

68. Would you like to see Richard Snelling challenge Patrick Leahy for the U.S. Senate in 1986, or would you prefer that Richard not run for the U.S. Senate?

<u>Political and Demographic Characteristics</u>

Party identification
Past voting behavior
Political ideology
Age
Education
Income
Religion
Ethnicity
Race
Sex

SNELLING '86 U.S. SENATE

(802) 985-9471
(800) FOR-VT86

Co-Chairmen
Gov. Deane C. Davis
Mrs. Lola P. Aiken

8/5

Jan-
Do you agree and how would you do it? I need your help. Let's discuss.
Murph

MEMORANDUM

Charlie Black

from

Governor Snelling August 1, 1986

I think we made progress in Washington Tuesday. I am "content" (to the extent I am ever content) with the plan for advertising in August. I am not sure it does very much, or that any advertising can do very much for us in August.

Assuming, however, that we are really "only" about 17 points behind Leahy at this time, that that represents a sincere gain of about 8% from June 1 levels, and further assuming that there has not been a statistically relevant loss in July since the poll on which those conclusions are based, our "nice" advertising of August should leave a good taste in people's minds and I would suspect we would at least hold our own through August.

I would like to think we might gain 3 or 4 points between July 3 and September 1 as the result of the July ads which we have not measured and the nice ads of August.

But it is hard to see, and probably not reasonable to expect, that we are closer than 13 points on September 1 and the question is what do we need to do to get 7% of the people to change their minds and at least half of those with no opinion to decide for us.

I suspect a very large number of our 14% deficit - enough to win by - will be found among people who are usually Republican, or chronic ticket-splitters who have already voted for me several times.

I believe that the single biggest void in our campaign to date is on the subject of incumbency with its related elements of seniority, clout, etc.

Pat's advertising certainly moves directly to this area. He tells voters that "Vermont can't afford to start all over."

I suggest that our September advertising must tackle and succeed in either destroying the image that he has clout and power and can do more for Vermont, or it must establish that I have power and clout and can do more for Vermont, or mix these positive and negative themes in a way which establishes in people's minds that I am the candidate who can make the biggest difference for Vermont and the nation.

I suggest that this is where we must find the genious in interpreting the polls and in advertising which communicates not just the words of this message, but the creditable and emotional substance of it.

We really can't schedule advertising filming without knowing how we are going to do that. I really believe we need to start very soon after Labor Day, which means that it is in the next several weeks that we have to decide how to destroy the concept that Leahy has a lot of power and clout, born of seniority.

You know, I wish I could enlist some of the seated U.S. Senators to help me with this task. It is hard for me to believe that Vermonters would continue to buy Leahy's self-adulation if even a few of his colleagues were to say, "No one pays much attention to Pat Leahy -- he doesn't get bills passed, he isn't very successful with amendments. He has been here a long time - perhaps too long. When people come into the Senate, they either build a reputation as workhorses others want to be associated with, or as showhorses more interested in re-election than in the work of the Senate, and when that happens, they could be here forever and not accomplish anything. Pat Leahy has had his chance down here. He will never be a George D. Aiken or a Bob Stafford."

RAS/mmm

cc: Robert Teeter
Rey Post
Jim Murphy

Jan VL —
FYI. If any comments, please let me know.

MEMORANDUM

Rey Post

from

Governor Snelling February 12, 1986

I don't know how good a Congressman's questionnaire results are, but attached is the result of responses of 10,000 (Vermonters allegedly) responding to a poll by Jim Jeffords.

The following points seem quite interesting to me: first, 40% favor increasing revenues to get deficits under control and another 22% favor budget cuts and increased revenues. Those are pretty large numbers as compared to the 3% favoring Gramm-Rudman.

On the sad side, but not surprisingly so, is the 60% who believe higher taxes should come primarily from corporations, but I would not sniff at the substantial minorities favoring a new tax on imported oil or a value added tax.

Again, on the not surprising side is the 52% who think the cuts should center on weapons, or the 60% who believe it should center on foreign economic aid, or the fact that only 4% favor cuts in social security benefits.

RAS/mmm

cc: Jim Murphy
Charlie Black

P.S. Thanks for your thoughts on the media plan.

Subject: Govt by Questionaire

File Polls

JEFFORDS QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

1. A = 30% mandatory budget cuts
   B = 30% more in military
   C = 8% more domestic
   ~~D = 40% increase revenue~~
   E = 22% ~~budget~~ cuts & revenue
   F = 3% Repeal Gram-Rudman

2. A = 20% Higher income taxes
   ~~B = 60% Higher corp. taxes~~
   C = 25% New tax on imported oil
   D = 20% Higher gasoline tax
   E = 20% value added
   F = 18% No taxes under any circum.

CUTS

3. A = 12% education
   B = 18% college students
   C = 60% ~~foreign~~ aid
   D = 82% military aid (foreign)
   E = 4% social security
   F = 10% vets benefits
   G = 19% food stamps
   H = 15% too many
   I = 50% military retirement
   J = 40% civilian retirement
   K = 1% 55 elderly
   L = 7% MMFC
   M = 40% govt employees salaries
   N = 32% military salaries
   O = 6% WIC
   P = 30% Dairy support
   Q = 32% Farm support
   R = 58% S.D.I.
   ~~S = 52%~~ weapons
   T = 32% nutrition
   U = 12% highways
   V = 25% water proj.
   W = 28% military troops
   X = 15% small business loans
   Y = 15% Farm ownership to states
   Z = 26% Asst. mass.

Question degree

4. A = 80% Shift tax burdens
   B = 18%
   Other = 2%

5. A = 18% elim. state & local deduction
   B = 55% keep deduct
   C = 27% 75% of deducts
   Other = 5%

QUESTIONNAIRE

Your responses to the following questi[illegible] will help determine the views of Vermonters on s[illegible] of the crucial decisions we'll face in the co[illegible] months. Please note there is space for response[illegible] two members of your household.

	RESIDENT #1	RESIDENT #2
1. If this year's deficit is projected to exceed the targets levels in the Gramm-Rudman bill (outlined in this newsletter), how do you feel Congress should respond? (Please check the one option closest to your views.)		
A. Allow the mandatory budget cuts to go into effect, across the board, as provided by Gramm-Rudman, with half the cuts in the military and the other half in domestic programs that are not exempted.	A. ☐	A. ☐
B. Adopt an alternative plan to meet the deficit reduction targets by budget cutting, with more cuts in the military budget than the domestic budget.	B. ☐	B. ☐
C. Adopt an alternative plan with more cuts in the domestic budget than in the military budget.	C. ☐	C. ☐
D. Adopt a plan that meets the budget targets by increasing revenue instead of further budget cutting.	D. ☐	D. ☐
E. Adopt a plan to meet the budget targets with a combination of selective budget cuts and revenue increases.	E. ☐	E. ☐
F. Repeal Gramm-Rudman so the budget targets won't have to be met.	F. ☐	F. ☐
2. Regardless of how you answered the first question, if Congress does determine that new revenues are needed to meet the deficit reduction targets, which of the following would you consider acceptable? (Check as many as you wish.)		
A. Higher income taxes for individuals.	A. ☐	A. ☐
B. Higher taxes for corporations.	B. ☐	B. ☐
C. A new tax on imported oil.	C. ☐	C. ☐
D. Higher taxes on gasoline.	D. ☐	D. ☐
E. A Value Added Tax (similar to a national sales tax).	E. ☐	E. ☐
F. No new taxes under any circumstances whatever.	F. ☐	F. ☐
3. Regardless of how you answered the above questions, if further budget cuts are needed, which of the following should be cut? (Check as many as you wish.)		
A. Public education / B. Aid to college students	A. ☐ B. ☐	A. ☐ B. ☐
C. Foreign economic aid / D. Foreign military aid	C. ☐ D. ☐	C. ☐ D. ☐
E. Social Security / F. Veterans Benefits	E. ☐ F. ☐	E. ☐ F. ☐
G. Food Stamps / H. Job Training	G. ☐ H. ☐	G. ☐ H. ☐
I. Military Retirement / J. Civil Service Retirement	I. ☐ J. ☐	I. ☐ J. ☐
K. SSI for elderly, blind and disabled	K. ☐	K. ☐
L. Aid to Needy Families with Children	L. ☐	L. ☐
M. Civil Service salaries / N. Military salaries	M. ☐ N. ☐	M. ☐ N. ☐
O. Women Infants and Children (nutrition)	O. ☐	O. ☐
P. Dairy price supports / Q. Farm supports other than dairy	P. ☐ Q. ☐	P. ☐ Q. ☐
R. SDI ("Star Wars") / S. Weapon systems other than SDI	R. ☐ S. ☐	R. ☐ S. ☐
T. Amtrak / U. Highway aid	T. ☐ U. ☐	T. ☐ U. ☐
V. Water projects / W. Military troop strength	V. ☐ W. ☐	V. ☐ W. ☐
X. Small business loans / Y. Farm ownership loans	X. ☐ Y. ☐	X. ☐ Y. ☐
Z. Misc. assistance to states and municipalities	Z. ☐	Z. ☐
4. The House-passed tax reform bill would, in general, shift some of the tax burden from individuals to large corporations. Do you feel this type of tax reform should be enacted in 1986?		
A. Yes / B. No	A. ☐ B. ☐	A. ☐ B. ☐
5. Advocates of tax reform differ on the issue of the federal deduction for state and local taxes. Of the following options, which would you prefer? (Check one.)		
A. Eliminate the state and local deduction. Use the $32 billion in "savings" to reduce the deficit.	A. ☐	A. ☐
B. Continue to allow the federal tax deduction for tax payments to state and local governments, as under the present tax law.	B. ☐	B. ☐
C. Restrict all deductions in excess of $1,000, including the state and local deduction, to 70% of the itemized amount. Use the "savings" to raise the personal tax exemption from $1,500 to $2,000 for each dependent.	C. ☐	C. ☐

Please tear off this page, and re-fold so that the address on the other side is clearly visible, and mail. Or, if you prefer, drop off the completed questionnaire at my offices in Winooski, Montpelier, or Rutland. Again, thanks for your effort.

MEMO

TO: GOVERNOR SNELLING

FROM: REY

DATE: FEBRUARY 6, 1986

RE: JEFFORDS QUESTIONNAIRE

Jim called me this morning to share the results of his latest poll.

This is a terribly unscientific device (mailed to every address in the state....response rate of about 10,000 Vermonters). Interestingly enough, the results over the years have still come quite close to the perceptions measured by more accurate methodology.

I suggest you take, in particular, a look at the deficit (#1) responses, as well as the state and local taxes deduction (#5) figures. The only other observation I have is that an understanding of the definition of the areas under #3 may be confused by some people (e.g. V. "water projects"), which will result in skewed responses.

Thanks.

2/14/86

Hans-
Please give to Jan VL. He might already have, but I want to be sure.

MEMO

TO: J. MURPHY, C. BLACK, T. COOPER

FROM: REY POST

DATE: FEBRUARY 6, 1986

RE: OCTOBER RUTLAND HERALD POLL

To keep everyone's file complete on RAS data, I am sending you a copy of the first Herald poll.

FYI. Thanks.

The Herald / Times-Argus / UVM

Poll

October 26-27, 1985

Campaign
Marketing
Associates, Inc.

95 College Street, Burlington, Vermont 05401

Campaign
Marketing
Associates, Inc.

The Rutland Daily Herald
The Barre Montpelier Times-Argus
University of Vermont
Student Political Opinion Poll
October 26-27, 1985

The accompanying report and analysis, related to Vermont political opinions and preferences, has been prepared by Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. in accordance with our proposal dated October 15, 1985.

The survey on which the following analysis is based was conducted employing generally accepted opinion research techniques. The survey sampled 503 randomly selected respondents from across the state by telephone. The results are accurate to within an error margin of plus or minus 4.5 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent.

When reviewing these results, it should be remembered that the error margin will, of course, increase as the sample subset size decreases.

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc.
October 29, 1985

95 College Street, Burlington, Vermont 05401 (802) 863-9600

The Methodology

Sample Design:

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. was solely responsible for the sample design. The telephone numbers of the respondents contacted were selected randomly from each of the eight Vermont state regional telephone directories. The number of completed interviews per region was proportional to the population of that region. In total, 503 calls were completed with the breakdown per region as follows:

St. Albans	(29)	5.8%
St. Johnsbury	(51)	10.1%
Burlington	(114)	22.7%
Barre/Montpelier	(74)	14.7%
Rutland	(77)	15.3%
White River Jct.	(48)	9.5%
Bennington	(29)	5.8%
Brattleboro	(81)	16.1%
Total	(503)	100.0%

Survey Execution:

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. supervised the telephone interviews. The actual interviews were conducted by political science students at the University of Vermont. All calls were completed between 1:00pm and 5:00pm on Saturday October 26th and Sunday October 27th. The calls were made from a central phonebank located at the University of Vermont.

Survey Analysis:

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. personnel coded and analyzed the survey results utilizing the University of Vermont's computer facilities. The results are accurate to within an error margin of plus or minus 4.5 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent.

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B. Jeffords Open-ended Question

C. Most Important Vermont Problem

D. Survey Questionnaire

MARGINALS

1. First, let me ask you whether you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Ronald Reagan is doing as President?

	Percent	Number
Strongly Approve	27.6%	139
Mildly Approve	36.0	181
Mildly Disapprove	16.5	83
Strongly Disapprove	18.5	93
DK	1.4	7
	100.0%	503

2. Now, the job Governor Madeleine Kunin is doing?

Strongly Approve	25.6%	129
Mildly Approve	50.7	255
Mildly Disapprove	10.1	51
Strongly Disapprove	6.6	33
DK	7.0	35
	100.0%	503

3. Next, US Senator Robert Stafford?

Strongly Approve	15.7%	79
Mildly Approve	44.5	224
Mildly Disapprove	13.1	66
Strongly Disapprove	6.0	30
DK	20.7	104
	100.0%	503

4. OK, US Senator Patrick Leahy?

Strongly Approve	38.8%	195
Mildly Approve	37.4	188
Mildly Disapprove	8.2	41
Strongly Disapprove	5.0	25
DK	10.7	54
	100.1%	503

5. Finally, Congressman James Jeffords?

Strongly Approve	24.7%	124
Mildly Approve	44.7	225
Mildly Disapprove	8.9	45
Strongly Disapprove	4.0	20
DK	17.7	89
	100.0%	503

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about the upcoming 1986 state elections.

6. If the US senate election was held today would you be inclined to vote for Patrick Leahy or Richard Snelling?

Patrick Leahy	50.3%	253
Richard Snelling	38.6	194
DK	11.1	56
	100.0%	503

7. Is your support of Leahy strong or weak?

Strong	77.9%	197
Weak	17.0	43
DK	5.1	13
	100.0%	253

8. Is your support of Snelling strong or weak?

Strong	70.1%	136
Weak	24.2	47
DK	5.7	11
	100.0%	194

9. Madeleine Kunin is expected to seek reelection next year. Who would you like to see challenge her?

[see appendix A]

10. If the election for governor was held today and Madeleine Kunin was running against James Jeffords, who would you be inclined to vote for?

Madeleine Kunin	52.9%	266
James Jeffords	33.6	169
DK	13.5	68
	100.0%	503

11. And if Madeleine Kunin was running against John Easton, who would you be inclined to vote for?

Madeleine Kunin	59.0%	297
John Easton	29.8	150
DK	11.1	56
	99.9%	503

12. Now, if Madeleine Kunin, John Easton, and Bernard Sanders were running for governor and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

Madeleine Kunin	50.3%	253
John Easton	26.6	134
Bernard Sanders	11.7	59
DK	11.3	57
	99.9%	503

13. Next, if Congressman James Jeffords seeks reelection, who would you like to see challenge him?

[see appendix B]

14. If James Jeffords was running for Congress against Bernard Sanders and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

James Jeffords	70.8%	356
Bernard Sanders	18.9	95
DK	10.3	52
	100.0%	503

Next, I would like to ask your opinion on a few issues which concern many Vermonters.

15. To start, let me ask you what you think is the most important problem facing Vermont today.

[see Appendix C]

16. As you may know, Vermonters will be asked on the 1986 ballot if they want to add an Equal Rights Amendment to the State Constitution. If the election was held today would you be inclined to vote for or against the state Equal Rights Amendment?

For	70.8%	356
Against	20.7	104
DK	8.5	43
	100.0%	503

17. Do you think the drinking age in Vermont should be raised to 21?

Yes	58.4%	294
No	37.8	190
DK	3.8	19
	100.0%	503

18. Next, some people say property taxes have increased too much recently, while others argue that property taxes have not increased any faster than anything else. If you pay property taxes, do you find paying these taxes more of a financial burden than five years ago, less of a financial burden, or about the same as five years ago.

More of a burden	43.5%	219
Less of a burden	4.8	24
About the same	31.2	157
Do not pay property taxes	12.9	65
DK	7.6	38
	100.0%	503

19. Would Vermont be better off with less, more, or about the same amount of ski area development as exists today?

Less	12.9%	65
More	20.5	103
About the same	61.2	308
DK	5.4	27
	100.0%	503

20. World hunger has been in the news a lot recently. Let me ask you if you personally know anyone in Vermont who regularly does not get enough to eat?

Yes	21.7%	109
No	75.7	381
DK	2.6	13
	100.0%	503

21. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place Vermont news media?

1	3.2%	16
2	3.8	19
3	17.1	86
4	32.4	163
5	21.9	110
6	8.2	41
7	3.2	16
DK	10.3	52
	100.1%	503

22. Do you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree that public funds for Vermont state universities and colleges should be increased?

[UVM private question]

23. Now, do you believe universities and colleges in Vermont should or should not pay property taxes?

[UVM private question]

24. Patrick Leahy has spent almost 12 years in the US Senate. Does this make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

More likely to vote for him	45.3%	228
Less likely to vote for him	7.2	36
Have no influence	43.9	221
DK	3.6	18
	100.0%	503

25. Opponents of Richard Snelling often point out that the state ran a deficit during the former Governor's last term. Supporters often point out that the former Governor left in place a plan to pay off this deficit by next June. Does Snelling's handling of the state budget make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

More likely to vote for him	19.9%	100
Less likely to vote for him	27.8	140
Have no influence	45.3	228
DK	7.0	35
	100.0%	503

And to finish the survey, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

26. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be a Democrat or Republican?

a. [If respondent said Democrat or Republican ask:]
Do you consider yourself to be a STRONG Democrat (Republican) or a WEAK Democrat (Republican)?

b. [If respondent said Independent ask:]
Do you lean a bit more towards the Democrats or towards the Republicans?

Strong Democrat	12.5%	63	
Weak Democrat	15.5	78	39.7%
Leaning Democrat	11.7	59	
Independent	17.3	87	17.3
Leaning Republican	8.5	43	
Weak Republican	16.7	84	36.9
Strong Republican	11.7	59	
DK (other)	6.0	30	6.0
	99.9%	503	99.9%

27. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place yourself?

1	6.8%	34
2	7.4	37
3	14.7	74
4	27.0	136
5	22.9	115
6	10.1	51
7	6.4	32
DK	4.8	24
	100.1%	503

28. If you voted in the 1984 governors race, did you vote for Madeleine Kunin or John Easton?

Maleleine Kunin	50.5%	254
John Easton	30.8	155
Did not vote	14.5	73
DK	4.2	21
	100.0%	503

29. How many years have you lived in Vermont?

0-3 years	7.8%	39
4-10 years	13.9	70
10+ years	77.5	390
DK	0.8	4
	100.0%	503

30. I am going to read through some income categories. Please stop me when I reach the category which best represents your total annual household income. [read through categories]

$0-10,000	14.1%	71	15.1%
$10,000-20,000	30.6	154	32.8
$20,000-30,000	27.2	137	29.2
$30,000 and up	21.3	107	22.8
DK	6.8	34	--
	100.0%	503	99.9%

31. Please tell me in what year you were born?

18-25 years old	14.3%	72	14.5%
26-40 years old	37.6	189	38.1
41-59 years old	23.1	116	23.4
60+ years old	23.7	119	24.0
DK	1.4	7	--
	100.1%	503	100.0%

32. Finally, as you may have noticed, Richard Snelling has recently grown a beard. In your opinion, should he shave the beard off or keep the beard?

shave it	39.4%	198
keep it	24.3	122
DK	36.4	183
	100.1%	503

33. Sex.

Males	48.3%	243
Females	51.7	260
	100.0%	503

34. Phone regions.

St. Albans	5.8%	29
St. Johnsbury/Newport	10.1	51
Burlington	22.7	114
Barre/Montpelier	14.7	74
Rutland	15.3	77
White River Junction	9.5	48
Bennington	5.8	29
Brattleboro	16.1	81
	100.0%	503

Table 1
Leahy/Snelling by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Repubicans
Leahy	74.5%	50.6%	28.0%
Snelling	17.0	37.9	62.4
DK	8.5	11.5	9.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%
N	200	87	186

Table 2
Leahy/Snelling by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Leahy	60.6%	44.9%	42.8%
Snelling	30.3	44.9	46.9
DK	9.1	10.3	10.3
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 3
Leahy/Snelling by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Leahy	49.3%	55.2%	53.3%	45.8%
Snelling	32.4	33.1	42.3	43.0
DK	18.1	11.7	4.4	11.2
	99.8%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 4
Leahy/Snelling by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Leahy	40.3%	51.3%	45.7%	58.8%
Snelling	52.8	38.6	38.8	29.4
DK	6.9	10.1	15.5	11.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 5
Leahy/Snelling by Sex

	Male	Female
Leahy	50.2%	50.4%
Snelling	40.3	36.9
DK	9.5	12.7
	100.0%	100.0%
N	243	260

Table 6
Leahy/Snelling by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Leahy	53.8%	53.5%	46.4%
Snelling	33.7	36.8	42.6
DK	12.3	9.7	11.1
	99.8%	100.0%	100.1%
N	154	114	235

Table 7
Kunin/Jeffords by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Kunin	66.5%	51.7%	40.3%
Jeffords	24.0	29.9	45.2
DK	9.5	18.4	14.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 8
Kunin/Jeffords by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Kunin	67.7%	44.9%	42.8%
Jeffords	23.2	38.2	43.4
DK	9.1	16.9	13.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 9
Kunin/Jeffords by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Kunin	52.1%	57.8%	63.5%	38.3%
Jeffords	35.2	29.9	27.7	45.8
DK	12.7	12.3	8.8	15.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 10
Kunin/Jeffords by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Kunin	45.8%	56.6%	56.9%	47.9%
Jeffords	50.0	29.6	30.2	32.8
DK	4.2	13.8	12.9	19.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 11
Kunin/Jeffords by Sex

	Male	Female
Kunin	52.7%	53.1%
Jeffords	33.7	33.5
DK	13.6	13.5
	100.0%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 12
Kunin/Jeffords by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Kunin	53.2%	55.3%	51.5%
Jeffords	35.1	36.0	31.5
DK	11.7	8.8	17.0
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 13
Kunin/Easton by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Kunin	71.5%	69.0%	44.6%
Easton	22.5	20.7	41.4
DK	6.0	10.3	14.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 14
Kunin/Easton by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Kunin	71.6%	59.6%	48.3%
Easton	20.1	28.7	40.7
DK	8.3	11.8	11.0
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 15
Kunin/Easton by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Kunin	54.9%	65.6%	67.2%	44.9%
Easton	26.8	24.7	24.1	43.9
DK	18.3	9.7	8.8	11.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 16
Kunin/Easton by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Kunin	47.2%	61.4%	64.7%	57.1%
Easton	47.2	28.6	23.3	27.7
DK	5.6	10.1	12.1	15.1
	100.0%	100.1%	100.1%	99.9%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 17
Kunin/Easton by Sex

	Male	Female
Kunin	59.3%	58.9%
Easton	32.1	27.7
DK	8.6	13.5
	100.0%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 18
Kunin/Easton by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Kunin	55.8%	61.4%	60.0%
Easton	33.8	33.3	25.5
DK	10.4	5.3	14.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 19
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Kunin	60.5%	50.6%	41.4%
Easton	18.0	17.2	39.8
Sanders	13.5	17.2	7.5
DK	8.0	14.9	11.3
	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 20
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Kunin	57.6%	47.8%	45.5%
Easton	16.2	28.7	38.7
Sanders	16.7	11.8	5.5
DK	7.6	11.8	10.3
	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 21
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Kunin	42.3%	55.2%	59.1%	38.3%
Easton	25.4	20.1	23.4	39.3
Sanders	14.1	12.3	11.0	12.2
DK	18.3	12.3	6.6	10.1
	100.1%	99.9%	100.1%	99.9%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 22
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Kunin	38.9%	50.3%	55.2%	52.1%
Easton	29.2	26.5	25.0	26.9
Sanders	19.4	13.8	9.5	6.7
DK	12.5	9.5	10.3	14.3
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 23
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Sex

	Male	Female
Kunin	50.2%	50.4%
Easton	28.4	25.0
Sanders	12.4	11.2
DK	9.1	13.5
	100.1%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 24
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Kunin	43.5%	52.6%	53.6%
Easton	28.6	29.0	24.3
Sanders	18.9	7.9	8.9
DK	9.0	10.5	13.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 25
Jeffords/Sanders by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Jeffords	64.5%	72.4%	78.0%
Sanders	25.5	16.1	15.1
DK	10.0	11.5	6.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 26
Jeffords/Sanders by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Jeffords	59.6%	80.2%	80.7%
Sanders	30.3	12.5	10.3
DK	10.1	7.4	9.0
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 27
Jeffords/Sanders by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Jeffords	70.4%	69.5%	71.5%	72.9%
Sanders	15.5	18.2	21.2	20.6
DK	14.1	12.3	7.3	6.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 28
Jeffords/Sanders by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Jeffords	61.1%	65.6%	75.0%	81.5%
Sanders	23.6	23.3	18.1	10.9
DK	15.3	11.1	6.9	7.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 29
Jeffords/Sanders by Sex

	Male	Female
Jeffords	73.7%	68.1%
Sanders	18.9	18.9
DK	7.4	13.1
	100.0%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 30
Jeffords/Sanders by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Jeffords	70.1%	71.9%	70.6%
Sanders	22.1	19.3	16.6
DK	7.7	8.8	12.8
	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 31
ERA by Sex

	Male	Female
Support (yes)	66.7%	74.6
Oppose (no)	23.5	18.1
DK	9.9	7.3
	100.1%	100.0%
N	243	260

Table 31
Drinking Age by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Raise to 21 (yes)	33.3	57.1	61.2	74.8
Do not raise (no)	65.3	39.2	35.3	21.0
DK	1.4	3.7	3.5	4.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 33
Property Tax Burden by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
More of Burden	56.3%	45.5%	40.9%	37.4%
Less of Burden	1.4	3.3	8.0	5.6
About Same	12.7	26.6	36.5	43.9
Do Not Pay	23.9	17.5	6.6	8.4
DK	5.6	7.1	8.0	4.7
	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 34
Ski Area Development by Residency(# of years)

	0-3 years	4-10 years	10+ years
Less Development	15.4%	8.6%	13.6%
More Development	18.0	20.0	21.0
About Same	64.1	70.0	59.7
DK	2.6	1.4	5.6
	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%
N	39	70	390

Table 35
Hunger in Vermont by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Know Someone(yes)	28.2%	25.3%	18.3%	21.5%
Do Not (no)	71.8	71.4	78.1	77.6
DK	0.0	3.3	3.7	0.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 36
The Beard by Sex

	Male	Female
Shave it	38.3%	40.4%
Keep it	26.7	21.9
DK	35.0	37.7
	100.0%	100.0%
N	243	260

Table 37
The Beard by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Shave it	36.1%	33.3%	37.9%	52.9%
Keep it	36.1	29.1	22.4	11.8
DK	27.8	37.6	39.7	35.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 38
The Beard by Leahy/Snelling Race

	Leahy Supporters	Snelling Supporers	DK
Shave it	39.1%	41.2%	33.9%
Keep it	22.1	27.8	21.4
DK	38.7	30.9	44.6
	99.9%	99.9%	99.9%
N	253	194	56

Appendix A

Question #9: Kunin vs. _____

Answers	Number	Percent
1. Easton	51	10.1%
2. Snelling	13	2.6
3. Sanders	12	2.4
4. Smith	8	1.6
5. Jeffords	8	1.6

(Less than 1% for rest)

Leahy
Barry Commoner
Wick
Bernhart
Morse
Metcalf
Welch
Leadbetter
Silbert
Stafford

Appendix B

Question #13: Jeffords vs. _____

Answer	Number	Percent
1. Snelling	11	2.2%
2. Sanders	9	1.8
3. Pollina	7	1.4

(Less than 1% for rest)

Easton
Kunin
Leahy
Edgar May
Wright
Guest
Smith
Welch
Ronald Reagan

Appendix C

Question #15: Most Important Problem in Vermont

Answer	Number	Percent
1. Environment	109	21.7%
a. Pollution	(36)	(7.2)
b. Acid Rain	(44)	(8.7)
c. Hazardous Waste	(8)	(1.6)
d. Nuclear Dump	(21)	(4.2)
2. Unemployment	49	9.7%
3. Taxes	42	8.3%
4. Need Economic Development	30	6.0%
5. Agriculture troubles	23	4.6%
6. Education	22	4.4%
7. Too Much Development	21	4.2%
8. General Economy	19	3.8%
9. Poverty	17	3.4%
10. State Deficit	17	3.4%
11. Federal Deficit	9	1.8%
12. Drinking Age	7	1.4%
13. Hunger	7	1.4%
14. Welfare	6	1.2%

(1% or Less)

Doe Permits
Brattleboro Water Quality
Crime
Sewage Disposal
Not Enough Housing
Opposed To Act 250
Social Security

Appendix C continued

Nuclear Arms
High Cost of Medical Care
The Political Left
Working Conditions
Roads and Highways
Energy
US Government
Too Little Federal Funds for Vermont
Marijuana Prohibition
Handicapped Access
55 MPH Speed Limit
Governor Kunin
Nuclear Power
Population Growth
High Cost of Utilities
Wood Chip Smell
Child Kidnappings

3 7 0 4 0 7 0 2 9 3 7

Statewide Poll: October 1985
Rutland Herald/Barre
Montpelier Times Argus/UVM

Student Name _____
Number Called _____
Region Called _____

Hello. My name is _____. I am a student in a government class at the University of Vermont. The University, The Rutland Herald, and the Barre/Montpelier Times Argus have provided our class with the opportunity to conduct a public opinion poll to learn about the political attitudes of people in Vermont. I have a few questions I would like to ask you. They will take about five minutes. Your responses will be recorded anonymously. Will you help me?

To begin, I am going to ask you about some political officeholders. For each I want you to tell me whether you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job he or she is doing in office.

1. First, let me ask you whether you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Ronald Reagan is doing as President?

   1___Strongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

2. Now, the job Governor Madeleine Kunin is doing?

   1___Stongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

3. Next, US Senator Robert Stafford?

   1___Strongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

4. OK, US Senator Patrick Leahy?

   1___Strongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

5. Finally, Congressman James Jeffords?

1___Strongly Approve
2___Mildly Approve
3___Mildly Disapprove
4___Strongly Disapprove
9___DK

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about the upcoming 1986 state elections.

6. If the US senate election was held today would you be inclined to vote for Patrick Leahy or Richard Snelling?

1___Patrick Leahy [go to question 7]
2___Richard Snelling [go to question 8]
9___DK [go to question 9]

7. Is your support of Leahy strong or weak?

1___Strong 2___Weak 9___DK

8. Is your support of Snelling strong or weak?

1___Strong 2___Weak 9___DK

9. Madeleine Kunin is expected to seek reelection next year. Who would you like to see challenge her?

[record answer:]_____

10. If the election for governor was held today and Maleleine Kunin was running against James Jeffords, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___Madeleine Kunin 2___James Jeffords 9___DK

11. And if Madeleine Kunin was running against John Easton, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___Madeleine Kunin 2___John Easton 9___DK

12. Now, if Madeleine Kunin, John Easton, and Bernard Sanders were running for governor and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___Kunin 2___Easton 3___Sanders 9___DK

13. Next, if Congressman James Jeffords seeks reelection, who would you like to see challenge him?

[record answer:]_____

14. If James Jeffords was running for Congress against Bernard Sanders and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___James Jeffords 2___Bernard Sanders 9___DK

Next, I would like to ask your opinion on a few issues which concern many Vermonters.

15. To start, let me ask you what you think is the most important problem facing Vermont today.

[record answer:]_____

16. As you may know, Vermonters will be asked on the 1986 ballot if they want to add an Equal Rights Amendment to the State Constitution. If the election was held today would you be inclined to vote for or against the state Equal Rights Amendment?

1___For 2___Against 9___DK

17. Do you think the drinking age in Vermont should be raised to 21?

1___Yes 2___ No 9___DK

18. Next, some people say property taxes have increased too much recently, while others argue that property taxes have not increased any faster than anything else. If you pay property taxes, do you find paying these taxes more of a financial burden than five years ago, less of a financial burden, or about the same as five years ago.

1___More of a burden
2___Less of a burden
3___About the same
4___Do not pay property taxes.
9___DK

19. Would Vermont be better off with less, more, or about the same amount of ski area development as exists today?

1___Less 2___More 3___About Same 9___DK

20. World hunger has been in the news a lot recently. Let me ask you if you personally know anyone in Vermont who regularly does not get enough to eat?

1___Yes 2___No 9___DK

21. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place Vermont news media?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 DK

22. Do you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree that public funds for Vermont state universities and colleges should be increased?

1___Strongly Agree
2___Mildly Agree
3___Mildly Disagree
4___Strongly Disagree
9___DK

23. Now, do you believe universities and colleges in Vermont should or should not pay property taxes?

1___Should 2___Should Not 9___DK

24. Patrick Leahy has spent almost 12 years in the US Senate. Does this make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

1___More likely to vote for him.
2___Less likely to vote for him.
3___Have no influence.
9___DK

25. Opponents of Richard Snelling often point out that the state ran a deficit during the former Governor's last term. Supporters often point out that the former Governor left in place a plan to pay off this deficit by next June. Does Snelling's handling of the state budget make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

1___More likely to vote for him.
2___Less likely to vote for him.
3___Have no influence.
9___DK

And to finish the survey, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

26. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be a Democrat or Republican?

a. [If respondent said Democrat or Republican ask:]
Do you consider yourself to be a STRONG Democrat (Republican) or a WEAK Democrat (Republican)?

b. [If respondent said Independent ask:]
Do you lean a bit more towards the Democrats or towards the Republicans?

Summary code:

1___Strong Democrat
2___Weak Democrat
3___Leaning Democrat
4___Independent
5___Leaning Republican
6___Weak Republican
7___Strong Republican
9___DK (other)

27. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place yourself?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 DK

28. If you voted in the 1984 governors race, did you vote for Madeleine Kunin or John Easton?

1___Kunin 2___Easton 3___Did not vote 9___DK

29. How many years have you lived in Vermont?

1___0-3 years 2___4-10 years 3___10+ years 4___DK

30. I am going to read through some income categories. Please stop me when I reach the category which best represents your total annual household income. [read through categories]

1___$0-10,000
2___$10,000-20,000
3___$20,000-30,000
4___$30,000 and up
9___DK

31. Please tell me in what year you were born? _____

32. Finally, as you may have noticed, Richard Snelling has recently grown a beard. In your opinion, should he shave the beard off or keep the beard?

1___shave it 2___keep it 9___DK

Thank you for your time.

[Your respondent was a: _____male _____female]

[You called which phone region: _____]

Jim Murphy

Hans -
Make copy.
give one to
Jan VL + file
ours in VT
survey
Mph

BECKER INSTITUTE

VERMONT

1985 Program

2nd Survey

December 1985

ABOUT THE SURVEY....

- o 500 telephone interviews
- o Vermont public, 18 years and older
- o Telephone directory sampling
- o Central data collection facility
- o 16 minute interview
- o Questionnaire conference: October 28, 1985
- o Interviewing: December 12-14, 1985
- o Report presentation: January 10, 1986

FAVORABILITY TOWARD VERMONT PUBLIC FIGURES

	Mainly Favorable %	Mainly Unfavorable %	Never Heard Of/ No Opinion %
Patrick Leahy			
December 1985	81	10	9
June 1985	82	10	8
December 1984	77	12	11
September 1982	70	14	16
Madeleine Kunin			
December 1985	76	18	6
June 1985	73	19	8
December 1984	66	21	13
February 1984	59	22	19
September 1982	67	16	17
Richard Snelling			
December 1985	63	26	11
June 1985	80	[illegible]	6
December 1984	80	14	6
February 1984	76	16	8
November 1983	77	15	8
September 1983	81	12	7
June 1983	76	16	8
September 1982	77	15	8
Bernard Sanders			
December 1985	46	33	21
June 1985	53	27	20
December 1984	46	25	29
February 1984	40	29	31
Peter Smith			
December 1985	41	14	45
June 1985	44	11	45
February 1984	28	15	57
October 1982	33	8	59
Stephen Morse			
December 1985	19	12	69
Michael Bernhardt			
December 1985	11	11	78
John Fey	9	8	83
State Comparisons			
Rhode Island - DiPrete - 4/85	81	7	12
New Hampshire - Sununu - 2/85	81	15	4
Maine - Brennan - 9/85	80	17	3
Massachusetts - Dukakis - 5/85	77	18	5
Vermont - Kunin - 12/85	76	18	6
Connecticut - O'Neill - 11/85	67	26	7

SNELLING FAVORABILITY TRENDS

	Mainly Favorable		Mainly Unfavorable		Never Heard Of/ No Opinion	
	12/85 %	6/85 %	12/85 %	6/85 %	12/85 %	6/85 %
Total Vermont Public	63	80	26	14	11	6
Sex						
Men	63	81	28	14	9	5
Women	64	79	25	14	11	7
Location						
Central	62	81	27	12	11	7
Chittenden	61	76	29	17	10	7
Southern	68	80	16	13	16	7
Rutland	74	79	21	16	5	5
Northern	59	83	31	13	10	4
Political Party						
Republican	74	87	16	9	10	4
Independent	67	77	24	15	9	8
Democrat	50	80	38	17	12	3
Political Thinking						
Liberal	48	NA	40	NA	12	NA
Conservative	76	NA	19	NA	5	NA
Middle-Of-The-Road	65	NA	24	NA	11	NA
Age						
18 - 29 Years	59	78	28	15	13	7
30 - 44 Years	64	76	24	17	12	7
45 - 65 Years	68	87	25	9	7	4
65 Years And Over	62	80	29	14	9	6
Years Lived In Vermont						
5 Years Or Less	55	70	19	16	26	14
6 - 15 Years	61	76	30	17	9	7
16 - 25 Years	60	85	25	12	15	3
26 Years Or More	69	83	24	13	7	4
Income						
Under $10,000	61	71	29	21	10	8
$10,000 - $14,999	53	80	30	14	17	6
$15,000 - $24,999	58	79	31	19	11	2
$25,000 - $34,999	69	84	23	10	8	6
$35,000 And Over	74	87	20	6	6	7
Blame For Deficit						
Snelling	50	NA	43	NA	7	NA
Kunin	86	NA	11	NA	3	NA
Both	81	NA	10	NA	9	NA
Neither	70	NA	19	NA	11	NA
Don't Know/No Opinion	55	NA	16	NA	29	NA

NA - Not Available

LEAHY-SNELLING TRIAL HEAT

	Leahy		Snelling		Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided	
	12/85 %	6/85 %	12/85 %	6/85 %	12/85 %	6/85 %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	55	46	34	42	11	12
Sex						
Men	55	45	36	47	9	8
Women	55	48	33	38	12	14
Location						
Central	57	45	34	44	9	11
Chittenden	58	54	35	35	7	11
Southern	50	40	30	44	20	16
Rutland	51	40	39	47	10	13
Northern	56	49	33	41	11	10
Political Party						
Republican	27	28	62	61	11	11
Independent	60	52	28	36	12	12
Democrat	80	63	14	30	6	7
Political Thinking						
Liberal	85	66	8	25	7	9
Conservative	34	26	57	63	9	11
Middle-Of-The-Road	56	51	33	38	11	11
Age						
18 - 29 Years	57	41	36	48	7	11
30 - 44 Years	60	54	28	42	12	4
45 - 64 Years	50	43	42	41	8	16
65 Years And Over	48	45	33	34	19	21
Income						
Under $10,000	55	52	30	35	15	13
$10,000 - $14,999	68	39	24	51	8	10
$15,000 - $24,999	61	50	31	39	8	11
$25,000 - $34,999	49	55	42	39	9	6
$35,000 And Over	49	39	43	54	8	7
Blame For Budget Deficit						
Snelling	71	NA	22	NA	7	NA
Kunin	33	NA	56	NA	11	NA
Both	49	NA	41	NA	10	NA
Neither	51	NA	39	NA	10	NA
Don't Know/No Opinion	50	NA	29	NA	21	NA
Leahy Favorability						
Favorable	65	53	26	37	9	10
Unfavorable	7	10	86	85	7	5
Snelling Favorability						
Favorable	40	37	49	50	11	13
Unfavorable	92	95	4	5	4	0

KUNIN-SMITH TRIAL HEAT

	Kunin %	Smith %	Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	67	21	12
Sex			
Men	62	26	12
Women	72	17	11
Location			
Central	62	28	10
Chittenden	71	19	10
Southern	64	16	20
Rutland	69	20	11
Northern	72	17	11
Political Party			
Republican	42	45	13
Independent	74	14	12
Democrat	88	6	6
Political Thinking			
Liberal	84	9	7
Conservative	48	41	11
Middle-Of-The-Road	73	15	12
Years Lived In Vermont			
5 Years Or Less	81	6	13
6 - 15 Years	78	11	11
16 - 25 Years	68	23	9
26 Years Or More	62	26	12
Income			
Under $10,000	76	14	10
$10,000 - $14,999	68	18	14
$15,000 - $24,999	74	19	7
$25,000 - $34,999	60	32	8
$35,000 And Over	61	22	17
Kunin Favorability			
Favorable	81	11	8
Unfavorable	11	71	18
Smith Favorability			
Favorable	59	35	6
Unfavorable	83	9	8

KUNIN-SMITH-SANDERS TRIAL HEAT

	Kunin %	Smith %	Sanders %	Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	56	18	13	13
Sex				
Men	49	22	16	13
Women	62	15	10	13
Location				
Central	52	23	14	11
Chittenden	57	17	11	15
Southern	54	16	7	23
Rutland	61	14	18	7
Northern	60	17	13	10
Political Party				
Republican	38	40	10	12
Independent	59	14	13	14
Democrat	78	4	11	7
Political Thinking				
Liberal	65	9	14	12
Conservative	39	34	16	11
Middle-Of-The-Road	63	14	11	12
Age				
18 - 29 Years	60	10	16	14
30 - 44 Years	53	18	13	16
45 - 64 Years	58	21	11	10
65 Years And Over	56	25	11	8
Income				
Under $10,000	59	14	15	12
$10,000 - $14,999	53	14	18	15
$15,000 - $24,999	55	16	16	13
$25,000 - $34,999	57	29	5	9
$35,000 And Over	56	18	10	16
Kunin Favorability				
Favorable	68	11	10	11
Unfavorable	7	55	23	15
Smith Favorability				
Favorable	50	31	12	7
Unfavorable	70	5	16	9
Sanders Favorability				
Favorable	51	11	26	12
Unfavorable	55	30	2	13

KUNIN-BERNHARDT TRIAL HEAT

	Kunin %	Bernhardt %	Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	72	9	19
Political Party			
Republican	50	21	29
Independent	78	7	15
Democrat	90	2	8
Political Thinking			
Liberal	88	2	10
Conservative	57	19	24
Middle-Of-The-Road	76	6	18

KUNIN-BERNHARDT-SANDERS TRIAL HEAT

	Kunin %	Bernhardt %	Sanders %	Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	63	7	13	17
Political Party				
Republican	46	18	12	24
Independent	70	5	11	14
Democrat	77	0	12	11
Political Thinking				
Liberal	70	1	15	14
Conservative	54	17	15	14
Middle-Of-The-Road	67	3	11	19

KUNIN-FEY TRIAL HEAT

	Kunin %	Fey %	Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	73	9	18
Political Party			
Republican	51	20	29
Independent	79	6	15
Democrat	90	2	8
Political Thinking			
Liberal	86	3	11
Conservative	59	18	23
Middle-Of-The-Road	77	4	19

KUNIN-FEY-SANDERS TRIAL HEAT

	Kunin %	Fey %	Sanders %	Wouldn't Vote/ Undecided %
Total Vermont Registered Voters	61	7	13	19
Political Party				
Republican	43	17	12	28
Independent	67	5	11	17
Democrat	78	0	12	10
Political Thinking				
Liberal	70	3	14	13
Conservative	50	15	13	22
Middle-Of-The-Road	66	3	12	19

The Herald / Times-Argus / UVM

Poll

October 26-27, 1985

Campaign
Marketing
Associates, Inc.

95 College Street, Burlington, Vermont 05401

Campaign
Marketing
Associates, Inc.

The Rutland Daily Herald
The Barre Montpelier Times-Argus
University of Vermont
Student Political Opinion Poll
October 26-27, 1985

The accompanying report and analysis, related to Vermont political opinions and preferences, has been prepared by Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. in accordance with our proposal dated October 15, 1985.

The survey on which the following analysis is based was conducted employing generally accepted opinion research techniques. The survey sampled 503 randomly selected respondents from across the state by telephone. The results are accurate to within an error margin of plus or minus 4.5 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent.

When reviewing these results, it should be remembered that the error margin will, of course, increase as the sample subset size decreases.

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc.
October 29, 1985

95 College Street Burlington Vermont 05401 (802) 863-0600

The Methodology

Sample Design:

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. was solely responsible for the sample design. The telephone numbers of the respondents contacted were selected randomly from each of the eight Vermont state regional telephone directories. The number of completed interviews per region was proportional to the population of that region. In total, 503 calls were completed with the breakdown per region as follows:

St. Albans	(29)	5.8%
St. Johnsbury	(51)	10.1%
Burlington	(114)	22.7%
Barre/Montpelier	(74)	14.7%
Rutland	(77)	15.3%
White River Jct.	(48)	9.5%
Bennington	(29)	5.8%
Brattleboro	(81)	16.1%
Total	(503)	100.0%

Survey Execution:

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. supervised the telephone interviews. The actual interviews were conducted by political science students at the University of Vermont. All calls were completed between 1:00pm and 5:00pm on Saturday October 26th and Sunday October 27th. The calls were made from a central phonebank located at the University of Vermont.

Survey Analysis:

Campaign Marketing Associates, Inc. personnel coded and analyzed the survey results utilizing the University of Vermont's computer facilities. The results are accurate to within an error margin of plus or minus 4.5 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent.

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MARGINALS

1. First, let me ask you whether you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Ronald Reagan is doing as President?

	Percent	Number
Strongly Approve	27.6%	139
Mildly Approve	36.0	181
Mildly Disapprove	16.5	83
Strongly Disapprove	18.5	93
DK	1.4	7
	100.0%	503

2. Now, the job Governor Madeleine Kunin is doing?

Strongly Approve	25.6%	129
Mildly Approve	50.7	255
Mildly Disapprove	10.1	51
Strongly Disapprove	6.6	33
DK	7.0	35
	100.0%	503

3. Next, US Senator Robert Stafford?

Strongly Approve	15.7%	79
Mildly Approve	44.5	224
Mildly Disapprove	13.1	66
Strongly Disapprove	6.0	30
DK	20.7	104
	100.0%	503

4. OK, US Senator Patrick Leahy?

Strongly Approve	38.8%	195
Mildly Approve	37.4	188
Mildly Disapprove	8.2	41
Strongly Disapprove	5.0	25
DK	10.7	54
	100.1%	503

5. Finally, Congressman James Jeffords?

Strongly Approve	24.7%	124
Mildly Approve	44.7	225
Mildly Disapprove	8.9	45
Strongly Disapprove	4.0	20
DK	17.7	89
	100.0%	503

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about the upcoming 1986 state elections.

6. If the US senate election was held today would you be inclined to vote for Patrick Leahy or Richard Snelling?

Patrick Leahy	50.3%	253
Richard Snelling	38.6	194
DK	11.1	56
	100.0%	503

7. Is your support of Leahy strong or weak?

Strong	77.9%	197
Weak	17.0	43
DK	5.1	13
	100.0%	253

8. Is your support of Snelling strong or weak?

Strong	70.1%	136
Weak	24.2	47
DK	5.7	11
	100.0%	194

9. Madeleine Kunin is expected to seek reelection next year. Who would you like to see challenge her?

[see appendix A]

10. If the election for governor was held today and Madeleine Kunin was running against James Jeffords, who would you be inclined to vote for?

Madeleine Kunin	52.9%	266
James Jeffords	33.6	169
DK	13.5	68
	100.0%	503

11. And if Madeleine Kunin was running against John Easton, who would you be inclined to vote for?

Madeleine Kunin	59.0%	297
John Easton	29.8	150
DK	11.1	56
	99.9%	503

12. Now, if Madeleine Kunin, John Easton, and Bernard Sanders were running for governor and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

Madeleine Kunin	50.3%	253
John Easton	26.6	134
Bernard Sanders	11.7	59
DK	11.3	57
	99.9%	503

13. Next, if Congressman James Jeffords seeks reelection, who would you like to see challenge him?

[see appendix B]

14. If James Jeffords was running for Congress against Bernard Sanders and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

James Jeffords	70.8%	356
Bernard Sanders	18.9	95
DK	10.3	52
	100.0%	503

Next, I would like to ask your opinion on a few issues which concern many Vermonters.

15. To start, let me ask you what you think is the most important problem facing Vermont today.

[see Appendix C].

16. As you may know, Vermonters will be asked on the 1986 ballot if they want to add an Equal Rights Amendment to the State Constitution. If the election was held today would you be inclined to vote for or against the state Equal Rights Amendment?

For	70.8%	356
Against	20.7	104
DK	8.5	43
	100.0%	503

17. Do you think the drinking age in Vermont should be raised to 21?

Yes	58.4%	294
No	37.8	190
DK	3.8	19
	100.0%	503

18. Next, some people say property taxes have increased too much recently, while others argue that property taxes have not increased any faster than anything else. If you pay property taxes, do you find paying these taxes more of a financial burden than five years ago, less of a financial burden, or about the same as five years ago.

More of a burden	43.5%	219
Less of a burden	4.8	24
About the same	31.2	157
Do not pay property taxes	12.9	65
DK	7.6	38
	100.0%	503

19. Would Vermont be better off with less, more, or about the same amount of ski area development as exists today?

Less	12.9%	65
More	20.5	103
About the same	61.2	308
DK	5.4	27
	100.0%	503

20. World hunger has been in the news a lot recently. Let me ask you if you personally know anyone in Vermont who regularly does not get enough to eat?

Yes	21.7%	109
No	75.7	381
DK	2.6	13
	100.0%	503

21. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place Vermont news media?

1	3.2%	16
2	3.8	19
3	17.1	86
4	32.4	163
5	21.9	110
6	8.2	41
7	3.2	16
DK	10.3	52
	100.1%	503

22. Do you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree that public funds for Vermont state universities and colleges should be increased?

[UVM private question]

23. Now, do you believe universities and colleges in Vermont should or should not pay property taxes?

[UVM private question]

24. Patrick Leahy has spent almost 12 years in the US Senate. Does this make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

More likely to vote for him	45.3%	228
Less likely to vote for him	7.2	36
Have no influence	43.9	221
DK	3.6	18
	100.0%	503

25. Opponents of Richard Snelling often point out that the state ran a deficit during the former Governor's last term. Supporters often point out that the former Governor left in place a plan to pay off this deficit by next June. Does Snelling's handling of the state budget make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

More likely to vote for him	19.9%	100
Less likely to vote for him	27.8	140
Have no influence	45.3	228
DK	7.0	35
	100.0%	503

And to finish the survey, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

26. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be a Democrat or Republican?

a. [If respondent said Democrat or Republican ask:] Do you consider yourself to be a STRONG Democrat (Republican) or a WEAK Democrat (Republican)?

b. [If respondent said Independent ask:] Do you lean a bit more towards the Democrats or towards the Republicans?

Strong Democrat	12.5%	63	
Weak Democrat	15.5	78	39.7%
Leaning Democrat	11.7	59	
Independent	17.3	87	17.3
Leaning Republican	8.5	43	
Weak Republican	16.7	84	36.9
Strong Republican	11.7	59	
DK (other)	6.0	30	6.0
	99.9%	503	99.9%

27. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place yourself?

1	6.8%	34
2	7.4	37
3	14.7	74
4	27.0	136
5	22.9	115
6	10.1	51
7	6.4	32
DK	4.8	24
	100.1%	503

28. If you voted in the 1984 governors race, did you vote for Madeleine Kunin or John Easton?

Maleleine Kunin	50.5%	254
John Easton	30.8	155
Did not vote	14.5	73
DK	4.2	21
	100.0%	503

29. How many years have you lived in Vermont?

0-3 years	7.8%	39
4-10 years	13.9	70
10+ years	77.5	390
DK	0.8	4
	100.0%	503

30. I am going to read through some income categories. Please stop me when I reach the category which best represents your total annual household income. [read through categories]

$0-10,000	14.1%	71	15.1%
$10,000-20,000	30.6	154	32.8
$20,000-30,000	27.2	137	29.2
$30,000 and up	21.3	107	22.8
DK	6.8	34	--
	100.0%	503	99.9%

31. Please tell me in what year you were born?

18-25 years old	14.3%	72	14.5%
26-40 years old	37.6	189	38.1
41-59 years old	23.1	116	23.4
60+ years old	23.7	119	24.0
DK	1.4	7	--
	100.1%	503	100.0%

32. Finally, as you may have noticed, Richard Snelling has recently grown a beard. In your opinion, should he shave the beard off or keep the beard?

shave it	39.4%	198
keep it	24.3	122
DK	36.4	183
	100.1%	503

33. Sex.

Males	48.3%	243
Females	51.7	260
	100.0%	503

34. Phone regions.

St. Albans	5.8%	29
St. Johnsbury/Newport	10.1	51
Burlington	22.7	114
Barre/Montpelier	14.7	74
Rutland	15.3	77
White River Junction	9.5	48
Bennington	5.8	29
Brattleboro	16.1	81
	100.0%	503

Table 1
Leahy/Snelling by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Repubicans
Leahy	74.5%	50.6%	28.0%
Snelling	17.0	37.9	62.4
DK	8.5	11.5	9.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%
N	200	87	186

Table 2
Leahy/Snelling by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Leahy	60.6%	44.9%	42.8%
Snelling	30.3	44.9	46.9
DK	9.1	10.3	10.3
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

?

Table 3
Leahy/Snelling by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Leahy	49.3%	55.2%	53.3%	45.8%
Snelling	32.4	33.1	42.3	43.0
DK	18.1	11.7	4.4	11.2
	99.8%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 4
Leahy/Snelling by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Leahy	40.3%	51.3%	45.7%	58.8%
Snelling	52.8	38.6	38.8	29.4
DK	6.9	10.1	15.5	11.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 5
Leahy/Snelling by Sex

	Male	Female
Leahy	50.2%	50.4%
Snelling	40.3	36.9
DK	9.5	12.7
	100.0%	100.0%
N	243	260

Table 6
Leahy/Snelling by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Leahy	53.8%	53.5%	46.4%
Snelling	33.7	36.8	42.6
DK	12.3	9.7	11.1
	99.8%	100.0%	100.1%
N	154	114	235

Table 7
Kunin/Jeffords by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Kunin	66.5%	51.7%	40.3%
Jeffords	24.0	29.9	45.2
DK	9.5	18.4	14.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 8
Kunin/Jeffords by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Kunin	67.7%	44.9%	42.8%
Jeffords	23.2	38.2	43.4
DK	9.1	16.9	13.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 9
Kunin/Jeffords by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Kunin	52.1%	57.8%	63.5%	38.3%
Jeffords	35.2	29.9	27.7	45.8
DK	12.7	12.3	8.8	15.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 10
Kunin/Jeffords by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Kunin	45.8%	56.6%	56.9%	47.9%
Jeffords	50.0	29.6	30.2	32.8
DK	4.2	13.8	12.9	19.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 11
Kunin/Jeffords by Sex

	Male	Female
Kunin	52.7%	53.1%
Jeffords	33.7	33.5
DK	13.6	13.5
	100.0%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 12
Kunin/Jeffords by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Kunin	53.2%	55.3%	51.5%
Jeffords	35.1	36.0	31.5
DK	11.7	8.8	17.0
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 13
Kunin/Easton by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Kunin	71.5%	69.0%	44.6%
Easton	22.5	20.7	41.4
DK	6.0	10.3	14.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 14
Kunin/Easton by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Kunin	71.6%	59.6%	48.3%
Easton	20.1	28.7	40.7
DK	8.3	11.8	11.0
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 15
Kunin/Easton by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Kunin	54.9%	65.6%	67.2%	44.9%
Easton	26.8	24.7	24.1	43.9
DK	18.3	9.7	8.8	11.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 16
Kunin/Easton by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Kunin	47.2%	61.4%	64.7%	57.1%
Easton	47.2	28.6	23.3	27.7
DK	5.6	10.1	12.1	15.1
	100.0%	100.1%	100.1%	99.9%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 17
Kunin/Easton by Sex

	Male	Female
Kunin	59.3%	58.9%
Easton	32.1	27.7
DK	8.6	13.5
	100.0%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 18
Kunin/Easton by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Kunin	55.8%	61.4%	60.0%
Easton	33.8	33.3	25.5
DK	10.4	5.3	14.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 19
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Kunin	60.5%	50.6%	41.4%
Easton	18.0	17.2	39.8
Sanders	13.5	17.2	7.5
DK	8.0	14.9	11.3
	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 20
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Kunin	57.6%	47.8%	45.5%
Easton	18.2	28.7	38.7
Sanders	16.7	11.8	5.5
DK	7.6	11.8	10.3
	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 21
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Kunin	42.3%	55.2%	59.1%	38.3%
Easton	25.4	20.1	23.4	39.3
Sanders	14.1	12.3	11.0	12.2
DK	18.3	12.3	6.6	10.1
	100.1%	99.9%	100.1%	99.9%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 22
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Kunin	38.9%	50.3%	55.2%	52.1%
Easton	29.2	26.5	25.0	26.9
Sanders	19.4	13.8	9.5	6.7
DK	12.5	9.5	10.3	14.3
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 23
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Sex

	Male	Female
Kunin	50.2%	50.4%
Easton	28.4	25.0
Sanders	12.4	11.2
DK	9.1	13.5
	100.1%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 24
Kunin/Easton/Sanders by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Kunin	43.5%	52.6%	53.6%
Easton	28.6	29.0	24.3
Sanders	18.9	7.9	8.9
DK	9.0	10.5	13.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 25
Jeffords/Sanders by Party ID

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Jeffords	64.5%	72.4%	78.0%
Sanders	25.5	16.1	15.1
DK	10.0	11.5	6.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	200	87	186

Table 26
Jeffords/Sanders by Ideology

	Liberal	Middle-of-Road	Conservative
Jeffords	59.6%	80.2%	80.7%
Sanders	30.3	12.5	10.3
DK	10.1	7.4	9.0
	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	198	136	145

Table 27
Jeffords/Sanders by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Jeffords	70.4%	69.5%	71.5%	72.9%
Sanders	15.5	18.2	21.2	20.6
DK	14.1	12.3	7.3	6.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 28
Jeffords/Sanders by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Jeffords	61.1%	65.6%	75.0%	81.5%
Sanders	23.6	23.3	18.1	10.9
DK	15.3	11.1	6.9	7.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 29
Jeffords/Sanders by Sex

	Male	Female
Jeffords	73.7%	68.1%
Sanders	18.9	18.9
DK	7.4	13.1
	100.0%	100.1%
N	243	260

Table 30
Jeffords/Sanders by Region

	North	Chittenden	South
Jeffords	70.1%	71.9%	70.6%
Sanders	22.1	19.3	16.6
DK	7.7	8.8	12.8
	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%
N	154	114	235

Table 31
ERA by Sex

	Male	Female
Support (yes)	66.7%	74.6
Oppose (no)	23.5	18.1
DK	9.9	7.3
	100.1%	100.0%
N	243	260

Table 31
Drinking Age by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Raise to 21 (yes)	33.3	57.1	61.2	74.8
Do not raise (no)	65.3	39.2	35.3	21.0
DK	1.4	3.7	3.5	4.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 33
Property Tax Burden by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
More of Burden	56.3%	45.5%	40.9%	37.4%
Less of Burden	1.4	3.3	8.0	5.6
About Same	12.7	26.6	36.5	43.9
Do Not Pay	23.9	17.5	6.6	8.4
DK	5.6	7.1	8.0	4.7
	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 34
Ski Area Development by Residency(# of years)

	0-3 years	4-10 years	10+ years
Less Development	15.4%	8.6%	13.6%
More Development	18.0	20.0	21.0
About Same	64.1	70.0	59.7
DK	2.6	1.4	5.6
	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%
N	39	70	390

Table 35
Hunger in Vermont by Income

	0-$10,000	$10-$20,000	$20-$30,000	$30,000+
Know Someone(yes)	28.2%	25.3%	18.3%	21.5%
Do Not (no)	71.8	71.4	78.1	77.6
DK	0.0	3.3	3.7	0.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
N	71	154	137	107

Table 36
The Beard by Sex

	Male	Female
Shave it	38.3%	40.4%
Keep it	26.7	21.9
DK	35.0	37.7
	100.0%	100.0%
N	243	260

Table 37
The Beard by Age

	18-25	26-40	41-59	60+
Shave it	36.1%	33.3%	37.9%	52.9%
Keep it	36.1	29.1	22.4	11.8
DK	27.8	37.6	39.7	35.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	72	189	116	119

Table 38
The Beard by Leahy/Snelling Race

	Leahy Supporters	Snelling Supporers	DK
Shave it	39.1%	41.2%	33.9%
Keep it	22.1	27.8	21.4
DK	38.7	30.9	44.6
	99.9%	99.9%	99.9%
N	253	194	56

Appendix A

Question #9: Kunin vs. _____

Answers	Number	Percent
1. Easton	51	10.1%
2. Snelling	13	2.6
3. Sanders	12	2.4
4. Smith	8	1.6
5. Jeffords	8	1.6

(Less than 1% for rest)

Leahy
Barry Commoner
Wick
Bernhart
Morse
Metcalf
Welch
Leadbetter
Silbert
Stafford

Appendix B

Question #13: Jeffords vs. _____

Answer	Number	Percent
1. Snelling	11	2.2%
2. Sanders	9	1.8
3. Pollina	7	1.4

(Less than 1% for rest)

Easton
Kunin
Leahy
Edgar May
Wright
Guest
Smith
Welch
Ronald Reagan

Appendix C

Question #15: Most Important Problem in Vermont

Answer	Number	Percent
1. Environment	109	21.7%
a. Pollution	(36)	(7.2)
b. Acid Rain	(44)	(8.7)
c. Hazardous Waste	(8)	(1.6)
d. Nuclear Dump	(21)	(4.2)
2. Unemployment	49	9.7%
3. Taxes	42	8.3%
4. Need Economic Development	30	6.0%
5. Agriculture troubles	23	4.6%
6. Education	22	4.4%
7. Too Much Development	21	4.2%
8. General Economy	19	3.8%
9. Poverty	17	3.4%
10. State Deficit	17	3.4%
11. Federal Deficit	9	1.8%
12. Drinking Age	7	1.4%
13. Hunger	7	1.4%
14. Welfare	6	1.2%

(1% or Less)

Doe Permits
Brattleboro Water Quality
Crime
Sewage Disposal
Not Enough Housing
Opposed To Act 250
Social Security

Appendix C continued

Nuclear Arms
High Cost of Medical Care
The Political Left
Working Conditions
Roads and Highways
Energy
US Government
Too Little Federal Funds for Vermont
Marijuana Prohibition
Handicapped Access
55 MPH Speed Limit
Governor Kunin
Nuclear Power
Population Growth
High Cost of Utilities
Wood Chip Smell
Child Kidnappings

Statewide Poll: October 1985
Rutland Herald/Barre
Montpelier Times Argus/UVM

Student Name _____
Number Called _____
Region Called _____

Hello. My name is _____. I am a student in a government class at the University of Vermont. The University, The Rutland Herald, and the Barre/Montpelier Times Argus have provided our class with the opportunity to conduct a public opinion poll to learn about the political attitudes of people in Vermont. I have a few questions I would like to ask you. They will take about five minutes. Your responses will be recorded anonymously. Will you help me?

To begin, I am going to ask you about some political officeholders. For each I want you to tell me whether you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job he or she is doing in office.

1. First, let me ask you whether you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Ronald Reagan is doing as President?

   1___Strongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

2. Now, the job Governor Madeleine Kunin is doing?

   1___Stongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

3. Next, US Senator Robert Stafford?

   1___Strongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

4. OK, US Senator Patrick Leahy?

   1___Strongly Approve
   2___Mildly Approve
   3___Mildly Disapprove
   4___Strongly Disapprove
   9___DK

5. Finally, Congressman James Jeffords?

1___Strongly Approve
2___Mildly Approve
3___Mildly Disapprove
4___Strongly Disapprove
9___DK

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about the upcoming 1986 state elections.

6. If the US senate election was held today would you be inclined to vote for Patrick Leahy or Richard Snelling?

1___Patrick Leahy [go to question 7]
2___Richard Snelling [go to question 8]
9___DK [go to question 9]

7. Is your support of Leahy strong or weak?

1___Strong 2___Weak 9___DK

8. Is your support of Snelling strong or weak?

1___Strong 2___Weak 9___DK

9. Madeleine Kunin is expected to seek reelection next year. Who would you like to see challenge her?

[record answer:]_____

10. If the election for governor was held today and Maleleine Kunin was running against James Jeffords, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___Madeleine Kunin 2___James Jeffords 9___DK

11. And if Madeleine Kunin was running against John Easton, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___Madeleine Kunin 2___John Easton 9___DK

12. Now, if Madeleine Kunin, John Easton, and Bernard Sanders were running for governor and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___Kunin 2___Easton 3___Sanders 9___DK

13. Next, if Congressman James Jeffords seeks reelection, who would you like to see challenge him?

[record answer:]_____

14. If James Jeffords was running for Congress against Bernard Sanders and the election was held today, who would you be inclined to vote for?

1___James Jeffords 2___Bernard Sanders 9___DK

Next, I would like to ask your opinion on a few issues which concern many Vermonters.

15. To start, let me ask you what you think is the most important problem facing Vermont today.

[record answer:]_____

16. As you may know, Vermonters will be asked on the 1986 ballot if they want to add an Equal Rights Amendment to the State Constitution. If the election was held today would you be inclined to vote for or against the state Equal Rights Amendment?

1___For 2___Against 9___DK

17. Do you think the drinking age in Vermont should be raised to 21?

1___Yes 2___ No 9___DK

18. Next, some people say property taxes have increased too much recently, while others argue that property taxes have not increased any faster than anything else. If you pay property taxes, do you find paying these taxes more of a financial burden than five years ago, less of a financial burden, or about the same as five years ago.

1___More of a burden
2___Less of a burden
3___About the same
4___Do not pay property taxes.
9___DK

19. Would Vermont be better off with less, more, or about the same amount of ski area development as exists today?

1___Less 2___More 3___About Same 9___DK

20. World hunger has been in the news a lot recently. Let me ask you if you personally know anyone in Vermont who regularly does not get enough to eat?

1___Yes 2___No 9___DK

21. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place Vermont news media?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 DK

22. Do you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree that public funds for Vermont state universities and colleges should be increased?

1___Strongly Agree
2___Mildly Agree
3___Mildly Disagree
4___Strongly Disagree
9___DK

23. Now, do you believe universities and colleges in Vermont should or should not pay property taxes?

1___Should 2___Should Not 9___DK

24. Patrick Leahy has spent almost 12 years in the US Senate. Does this make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

1___More likely to vote for him.
2___Less likely to vote for him.
3___Have no influence.
9___DK

25. Opponents of Richard Snelling often point out that the state ran a deficit during the former Governor's last term. Supporters often point out that the former Governor left in place a plan to pay off this deficit by next June. Does Snelling's handling of the state budget make you more likely to vote for him, less likely to vote for him, or have no influence on your vote?

1___More likely to vote for him.
2___Less likely to vote for him.
3___Have no influence.
9___DK

And to finish the survey, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

26. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be a Democrat or Republican?

a. [If respondent said Democrat or Republican ask:]
Do you consider yourself to be a STRONG Democrat (Republican) or a WEAK Democrat (Republican)?

b. [If respondent said Independent ask:]
Do you lean a bit more towards the Democrats or towards the Republicans?

Summary code:
1___Strong Democrat
2___Weak Democrat
3___Leaning Democrat
4___Independent
5___Leaning Republican
6___Weak Republican
7___Strong Republican
9___DK (other)

27. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most conservative and 7 the most liberal, where would you place yourself?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 DK

28. If you voted in the 1984 governors race, did you vote for Madeleine Kunin or John Easton?

1___Kunin 2___Easton 3___Did not vote 9___DK

29. How many years have you lived in Vermont?

1___0-3 years 2___4-10 years 3___10+ years 4___DK

30. I am going to read through some income categories. Please stop me when I reach the category which best represents your total annual household income. [read through categories]

1___$0-10,000
2___$10,000-20,000
3___$20,000-30,000
4___$30,000 and up
9___DK

31. Please tell me in what year you were born? _____

32. Finally, as you may have noticed, Richard Snelling has recently grown a beard. In your opinion, should he shave the beard off or keep the beard?

1___shave it 2___keep it 9___DK

Thank you for your time.

[Your respondent was a: _____male _____female]

[You called which phone region: _____]

Caller Name: _____

Phone Number: _____

Hello. My name is _____. I'm calling on behalf of Campaign Marketing Associates, an opinion research firm. Today we are calling people from around the country as part of a survey to learn more about their perceptions of Vermont. The survey will take only a few minutes to complete. Would you be interested in helping?

1. What is Vermont?_____

[if respondent says "it's a state," go directly to question 2, if the repondent did not know Vermont was a state, read the following sentence]

The Vermont that we want to ask you about is the state of Vermont.

2. What comes to your mind first when thinking about the state of Vermont? _____

Now, I want to ask you some specific questions about the state of Vermont. You may not know the answers to some these questions. Please don't be embarassed if you don't. I would appreciate, though, if you would give me your best guess for the questions you are not sure of.

3. OK, can you tell me in what region of the country Vermont is located [read list]?

___ Northeast
___ South
___ Midwest
___ Rocky Mountain region
___ Far west

4. Please name one state that borders Vermont._____

5. What is the Capital of Vermont? _____

6. Besides the Capital, can you name one other city or town in Vermont? _____

7. Please tell me how many people you think live in Vermont?

_____

8. Which foreign country is closest to Vermont? _____

9. Have you ever visited Vermont? Yes No DK

Your are doing great. Now I would like to continue by asking you a few questions about some products produced in Vermont.

10. Which of the following food products comes to mind first when thinking of Vermont [read list]

___ Maple syrup
___ Milk
___ Cheese
___ Apples
___ Other _____
___ DK

11. Farmers in certain state pride themselves on producing products of particularly high quality, such as pineapples from Hawaii. If you were convinced that Vermont farmers produced a product of exceptionally high quality, would you be willing to pay more for that product if it were available locally?

Yes No DK

12. Has you fresh apple or apple product consumption decreased because of Alar?

Yes No DK

Vermont farmers produce a lot of milk. Do you regularly drink milk?

[if yes, read question 13, then skip to question 15]
[if no, skip to question 14]

13. Which of the following reasons is the most important reason you drink milk? [read list]

1___because it is nutritious
2___because it is a good source of calcium
3___because it helps reduce blood pressure
4___because you like it
5___other_____
6___DK

14. Which of the following reasons is the most important reason you do not drink milk? [read list]

1___because it has too many calories
2___because of its high fat content
3___because it costs too much
4___because you don't like it
5___other_____
6___DK

[ASK THIS SECTION OF FEMALES ONLY, if you are talking to a male skip to next page].

Now I am going to ask you about a name brand product that is produced in Vermont and sold nationwide. The product is a sports bra.

15. Do you use a sports bra?

1___No [skip to next page]
2___Yes [continue with question 16]
3___DK [skip to next page]

16. I am going through a list of leading brands of sports bras. Please tell me which one you normally use? [read list]

1___Jog Bra
2___Olga
3___Form Fit
4___Lilly of France
5___Actively Yours
6___Other _____
7___DK

17. I am going to read through a list of stores where you can buy sports bras. Please tell in which type of store you usually purchase your sports bras?

1___sporting goods store
2___speciality store
3___department store
4___other _____
5___DK

18. Do you regularly participate in aerobics?

1___Yes [continue with question 19]
2___No [skip to next page]
3___DK [skip to next page]

19. I am going to read through a list of stores where you can buy aerobic outfits. Please tell me in which type of store you usually purchase you aerobic wear?

1___Sporting goods stores
2___Speciality stores
3___Department stores
4___Other _____
5___DK

20. During aerobics, do you wear a leotard?

Yes No DK

Now I want to ask you about a national issue that has received a lot of attention recently. The issue is acid rain. Many experts blame acid rain for a variety of environmental problems, including the killing of water life and plant life.

21. It has been suggested that the cost of preventing acid rain pollution be shared by all of use throughout the nation. One particular plan calls for all of us who use electricity to pay a bit more to help prevent acid rain. Would you be willing to pay a higher electrical bill each month in order to help prevent acid rain?

1___Yes [continue to next question]
2___No [skip to question 23]
3___DK [skip to question 23]

22. Roughly speaking, please tell me how much more you would be willing to pay each month for electricity if the money went to help prevent acid rain? _____

Now, to finish the survey, let me again ask you some questions about Vermont in general. I'm going to read through a list of statements about Vermont. Some statements are true, and some statements are false. As I read each statement, please tell me if you think it is true or false. As earlier in the survey, you may not know the answers to these questions, but please give us your best guess.

23. There are more people than cows in Vermont.	T	F	DK
24. Vermont has snow all year round.	T	F	DK
25. Vermont's Mount Mansfield is the largest active volcano in the U.S.	T	F	DK
26. Vermont has the largest commercial shipping port in the eastern United States.	T	F	DK

That's all for the true false, but I do have a couple more questions about Vermont.

27. Currently, there is one popular TV show set in Vermont? Can you name this show? _____

28. One of the traditions Vermonters are most proud of is Town Meeting Day. Every year on a day in March, each Vermont town gathers for a Town Meeting. Please think for a minute and give us your best guess of why these meetings are held.

_____

And to end the survey let me ask you a couple of questions about yourself.

29. Please tell me what you do for a living._____

30. I am going to read through a list of income categories. Please stop me when I reach the category which best represents your total annual household income. [read list]

1___$0-15,000
2___$15-25,000
3___$25-40,000
4___$40,000 and up
5___DK

31. Please tell me in what year you were born? _____

32. And a last question. We in Vermont would like to have you help us design a slogan for our state. Based on what you know about Vermont, take a minute and tell me what slogan you think would best describe our state.

_____

[Your respondent was a: _____Male _____Female]

[Your respondent was from which state_____]

Polls Have It: Leahy, Kunin

Most if not all of those who participated in undertaking the Herald-Times Argus Opinion Poll expected to find Vermont's Democratic Sen. Patrick Leahy leading former Gov. Richard Snelling and Gov. Kunin in the same position over former Attorney General John Easton, her opponent in last year's election.

Not generally expected in either case was the degree of their popularity or support by the voters, as indicated by the poll results.

Explanations are easy enough. Leahy is in office and has been enjoying exceptionally heavy media exposure in recent months. Snelling has been out of office since last January and unable to obtain the kind of media access open to his opponent even in his Proposition One campaign to deal with the federal deficit.

It's also fair to say that Leahy has been campaigning for re-election all year, while Snelling only recently decided to return to the political fray.

Gov. Kunin's apparent popularity is measured against no announced candidate, only against those who might challenge her. Easton has been judged the strongest potential candidate from Republican ranks because their contest last year was so painfully close. However, Easton did something pretty close to a vanishing act after the election and has been absent from the political scene until very recently.

Burlington's Mayor Sanders would be a factor in next year's election, if he ran for governor, probably more of a factor than the opinion poll indicated. But Kunin would win a majority in a three-way contest that included Sanders, according to the poll, despite fears among Democrats that he might pull enough votes from the governor to prevent a majority vote.

Both Leahy and Kunin were given 76 percent approval ratings in the poll compared with 70 percent for Sen. Robert Stafford and 69 percent for Congressman James Jeffords. If Jeffords challenged Kunin next year, the governor would have a 5 to 3 advantage according to the poll.

Poll respondents gave President Reagan a 63 percent approval rating which, taken with other responses, seems to demonstrate growing Democratic strength in Vermont.

Replies on other issues found the environment at the top of the list of the most important problems in Vermont while at the same time ski area development won strong popular support. More than 80 percent of Vermonters who have lived here 10 or more years supported either the present level of ski development or more of it. Even more of those who have lived here less than 10 years were supporters of ski area development. Only 12 percent of those responding called for less development of the ski business.

If there seemed to be an inconsistency between concern for the environment and the matter of ski area development, it might be explained by the degree of interest in the acid rain problem. Pollution was second to acid rain as an important aspect of the problem of the environment.

Poll results will give candidates, would-be candidates, legislators, party activists and many others much to chew on during the coming months.

11/5
R.H.

Danby Man Arraigned For Murder

By TIM DONAHUE

A 23-year-old Danby man pleaded innocent Monday to charges of shooting and killing a 20-year-old neighbor early Saturday evening and firing at another man.

Brian J. Corey, who works as a plumber, denied charges of first degree murder and aggravated assault Monday afternoon in Rutland District Court. He failed to post $150,000 cash bail and was returned to the Rutland Community Correctional Center.

Lorne E. Greene, 20, of Danby was shot to death early Saturday morning across the street from Corey's parents' house on the Danby-Tinmouth Road in Danby, police said.

Dr. Eleanor N. McQuillen, chief state medical examiner, said Monday that Greene died from a single gunshot wound to his forehead.

Vermont State Police arrested Corey at the scene without resistance. Rutland County State's Attorney James P. Mongeon said Monday.

The incident, which occurred at around 1 a.m., was the second murder in Rutland County within the past week. Mongeon's office is now handling a total of five murder cases.

Rutland Herald-Times Argus-UVM Poll

First Of Three Parts 11/2/86

(Continued from Page One)

Three-fourths of the senator's fellow Democrats backed him, while only 17 percent of the Democrats surveyed picked Snelling. Independents also leaned toward Leahy, with 58.6 percent of them picking him, compared to 37.9 percent selecting Snelling.

The former governor fared far better, however, among fellow Republicans. More than 62 percent of them chose him, compared to 28 percent opting for Leahy.

Ideologically, support for Leahy and Snelling was split almost equally among middle-of-the-road respondents and conservatives. Exactly 44.9 percent of the moderates would vote for each candidate, while 46.9 percent of the conservatives chose Snelling and 42.8 percent chose Leahy.

However, Leahy clearly locked up the bulk of the backing among liberals. Nearly 61 percent of the liberal respondents would vote for him, compared to 30.3 percent supporting Snelling.

Leahy also led Snelling in garnering support from Vermonters in all income categories.

Those persons surveyed who reported incomes of $10,000 or less backed Leahy heavily, 49.3 percent to 32.4 percent for Snelling. The gap narrowed, however, as their income rose: Among those making $30,000 or more, 45.8 percent chose Leahy and 43 percent picked Snelling.

Men and women liked Leahy equally — 50.2 percent of the men and 50.4 percent of the women surveyed said they would vote for him. However, Snelling drew slightly more support from men: he was favored by 40.3 percent of the males polled, compared to 36.8 percent of the females.

The chief difference was among those who were undecided. Nearly 13 percent of the women were uncertain, compared to 9.5 percent of the men.

Finally, the poll revealed that Leahy's weak point, geographically speaking, lies in the southern sections of Vermont. Among those surveyed from Rutland, Bennington, Brattleboro and White River Junction areas, Leahy drew 46.4 percent support, compared to Snelling's 42.6 percent — well within the poll's margin of error.

The senator's strength was predominant, however, in northern sections of the state. In Chittenden and Addison regions, Leahy led Snelling 53.5 percent to 36.8 percent. Likewise, in St. Johnsbury, St. Albans and Montpelier areas, the senator had a 20 point lead over Snelling, 53.8 percent to 33.7 percent.

Property-Tax Called Burden

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Vermonters overwhelmingly support passage of a state Equal Rights Amendment and a 21-year-old drinking age, and they also prefer a status-quo approach to ski area development, according to a new statewide poll.

Nearly half of the 503 people polled at random late last month also said their property taxes were a greater burden now than they were five years ago. In addition, one-fifth of those surveyed said they "personally know" someone who regularly goes hungry.

Those findings were made as a result of a two-day telephone poll conducted a week ago by Campaign Marketing Associates Inc. in conjunction with the University of Vermont.

The most overwhelming response came in reaction to the proposed addition of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Vermont Constitution.

The ERA, already approved by two state Legislatures, will come before Vermont's voters in the November 1986 election. Nearly 71 percent of those surveyed said if the ratification vote were held today, they would be inclined to vote for the ERA, with just less than 21 percent opposed and 8.5 percent undecided.

The ERA's adoption drew stronger backing from women polled than from men. Nearly 75 percent of the females questioned said they were pro-ERA, 18.1 percent opposed it and 7.3 percent were undecided.

Among men, 66.7 percent supported the ERA, 23.5 per-

(See Page 10: Poll)

Rutland Herald-Times Argus-UVM Poll

Last of Three Parts

Results Are Weighed

By EVE RAIMON
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Top Democrats said they were happy with their good standing in a recent statewide poll, but they were cautious about what could happen in the long campaign season ahead.

Republicans, meanwhile, were quick to downplay the poll's significance, which showed clear gains over previous surveys for Sen. Patrick J. Leahy and Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin.

The first portion of the Rutland Herald-Times Argus poll published Sunday showed Leahy would receive 50.3 percent of the

(See Page 10: Reaction)

Environment A Big Concern

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Environmental concerns top the list of important problems facing Vermont today, with pollution and acid rain leading the pack.

More than one-fifth of all Vermonters polled a week ago cited environmental issues as "the most important problem facing Vermont today."

Of the 21.7 percent who cited that issue, 8.7 percent singled out acid rain and 7.2 percent mentioned pollution. The possibility of a nuclear dump in the state bothered 4.2 percent, and another 1.8 percent expressed concern about hazardous waste.

Those responses combined to make environment the top vote-getter among 503 Vermonters [illegible] the same problem. Although dozens of other problems were mentioned by respondents, none came close to stirring as much concern.

The runner-up answer was unemployment, which 49 respondents, or 9.7 percent, singled out as their prime worry. Next in line was taxes, which 8.3 percent mentioned as a pressing issue.

About 5 percent of those polled said the need for economic development was the most important problem. All the remaining problems were cited by less than 5 percent — including agriculture troubles, 4.8 percent; education, 4.4 percent; "too much development," 4.2 percent; general economy, 3.8 percent; and poverty and the state deficit, each mentioned by 3.4 percent of those polled.

Less than 2 percent cited the

Environment

(Continued from Page One)

federal deficit, Vermont's low drinking age, hunger and welfare as key concerns.

Some responses fell into the less-than-1-percent category. Doe permits, always controversial each fall, were mentioned, as was Brattleboro water quality, "the political left," "marijuana prohibition," the 55 mile-an-hour speed limit, roads and highways, and Governor Kunin.

Vermonters also singled out the high cost of utilities, the high cost of medical care, nuclear arms, the smell of Burlington's wood chip plant, crime and opposition to Act 250.

General subjects like Social Security, lack of housing, sewage disposal, working conditions, the U.S. government, child kidnappings, nuclear power, population growth and energy also were recognized by a handful of those polled as pressing concerns.

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ppeared it and 9.9 percent uncertain.

ing support also surfaced roposals to raise Ver- 's drinking age from 18 to hat was favored by 58.4 ent, compared to 37.8 per- in opposition and 3.8 per- undecided.

e survey showed that ing for an increase in the ing age rose dramatical- the age of respondents in- sed. Persons in the 18 to 25 bracket opposed the idea percent to 33.3 percent, for ple: however, those 60 s or older advocated the ase 74.6 percent to 21 per-

the subject of property urdens, which are a grow- political and legislative ern, those surveyed were e divided. More than 43 ent said property taxes e a greater financial den now than five years while 31.2 percent said were about the same.

owever, only 4.8 percent property taxes were less burden now. The remain- 9 percent said they did not property taxes or were ertain.

he respondents' assess- of their property tax den bore a close relation- to their incomes, with cern about the financial den declining as incomes eased.

mong those polled who n $10,000 or less, 56.3 per- t said property taxes were re of a burden and only 1.4 cent said the burden had ened. Nearly 24 percent in low-income category said y paid no property taxes 12.7 percent said their pro- ty taxes were about the ne.

n contrast, far fewer of se surveyed in the $30,000- 5 income category — just 37.4 percent — judged property taxes to be more of a burden now than five years ago. Even more, 43.9 percent, said property taxes were about the same. Another 5.6 percent said the burden was less and 8.4 percent said they paid no property taxes.

However, the majority of respondents fell in the $10,000 to $30,000 income classes, and those at the lower end of the scale clearly considered property taxes a more pressing concern than those at the upper end.

More than 45 percent of those surveyed in the $10,000 to $20,000 range said the burden was greater, 26 percent said it was about the same and just 3.3 percent said property taxes had lessened. Another 17.5 percent said they did not pay property taxes.

Among those making $20,000 to $30,000, 40.9 percent said property taxes were more of a burden, 8 percent said less and 36.5 percent said they were about the same. Just 5.6 percent said they did not pay them.

The remaining responses, in all income categories, constituted those who did not know.

The subject of ski area development, an escalating controversy expected to be a major topic in the upcoming legislative session, drew some surprising responses from those surveyed.

When asked whether Vermont would be "better off" with less, more or about the same ski area development "as exists today," only 12.9 percent of those polled said "less."

The overriding sentiment, expressed by 61.2 percent of those polled, was that development should remain about the same. And another 20.5 percent said there should be more ski area development than there is now. A small number, 5.4 percent, said they did not know.

Of the 305 persons polled, 351 said they had lived in Vermont more than 10 years. Nearly 60 percent of them said ski area development should stay about the same, but 21 percent said there should be more. Another 13.6 percent picked "less development."

Newcomers to Vermont, those who have lived here three years or less, opted most frequently for "less development." The poll showed that 15.4 percent of them chose that, compared to 18 percent saying "more" and 64.1 percent recommending about the same amount.

On the subject of hunger, about three-fourths of those surveyed said they did not personally know anyone "who regularly does not get enough to eat." However, 21.7 percent said they did, and another 2.6 percent did not know.

As the incomes of those polled rose, they tended to say they did not know a hungry person. Slightly more than 28 percent of those making less than $10,000 answered "yes" to that question, compared to only 18.3 percent in the $20,000 to $30,000 income bracket.

The poll indicated that Vermonters generally view the media as moderate, rather than strongly conservative or liberal. More than 71 percent of those polled placed the Vermont news media in a middle range between those two poles, with only 7 percent calling it strongly conservative and just 11.4 percent terming it liberal.

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Reaction

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vote if the election were held now. Former Republican Gov. Richard A. Snelling would garner 38.8 percent, with 11.1 percent undecided.

The results indicate Leahy has improved his standing considerably since a June poll by the Becker Institute, which had Leahy and Snelling even at 44 percent.

Leahy said in a telephone interview Monday that he was pleased with the results, but he predicted polling data "would go back and forth" several times before the election a year from now.

The two-term incumbent pointed to findings in the poll that indicated strong approval of his performance in the Senate. More than 78 percent of the respondents liked the way Leahy was doing his job, with 39 percent rating their approval strong.

"It pleased me the most to find the vast majority agree with the way I'm doing my job," Leahy said. "That's the thing that appealed to me the most."

Campaign Marketing Associates Inc. of Burlington conducted the poll over the weekend of Oct. 26-27 for the Rutland Herald and the Barre-Montpelier Times Argus. University of Vermont political science students were involved in the polling and they contacted 503 Vermonters at random. The margin of error is plus or minus 4.5 percent.

Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin also was cautious in her response to the results of the second portion of the poll, released Monday, which matched her with formal rival John J. Easton Jr. and Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders.

In that contest, Kunin won 50.3 percent of those polled, while 28.8 percent of the respondents supported Easton. Sanders trailed with 11.7 percent, and 11.3 percent were undecided.

At a press conference Monday, Kunin said she was pleased with the results, but said she believed it was "much too early" to begin the 1988 campaign.

However, she joked, "I wish the election were today."

Other Democrats said the results confirmed the findings of telephone surveys conducted by party workers over the summer. Richard A. Waite, executive director of the State Democratic Committee, said those results showed support for Democrats was growing.

"This basically confirms that," Waite said.

But Waite cautioned Democrats against being overly optimistic based on the poll's results.

"We can't breathe a sigh of relief," Waite said. "The challenge is to act now to organize to see that the base of support remains strong and continues to grow."

Leading Republicans, however, said they were not surprised by the survey's findings. James Murphy, deputy political director of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, said the results reflected the fact that the Leahy organization had been campaigning in the state for months.

Murphy said Snelling has indicated he would start his campaign next year. He said there would be "more than ample time to catch up."

Snelling was unavailable to comment on the results of the poll.

Patrick Garahan, executive director of the Republican State Committee, questioned the poll's findings. The methodology of distributing the telephone calls proportionately throughout the state may have skewed the results, Garahan said.

"You would expect some slippage," Garahan said, "but I don't believe there is a 12 point spread in that race."

Garahan said he was surprised by the finding that more Republicans would support Kunin than Easton in a race for governor. The survey showed that in a two-way race between Kunin and Easton, 44.8 percent of the GOP respondents would favor Kunin, compared with 41.4 percent for Easton. Another 13 percent were undecided.

Garahan attributed the finding to a "tendency among voters to support someone in office, particularly in a two-year term."

Easton, who lost to Kunin in 1984 by a slim margin, said the poll would not discourage him from attempting a rematch in 1986. The Stowe Republican downplayed the significance of a survey done more than a year in advance of the election.

"It simply showed me I have work to do to get back in front of the voters," Easton said, adding that he may make his decision public sometime this month.

Easton also predicted that contrary to the results of the poll, Sanders' entry into the race as an independent could produce a situation in which none of the candidates would receive a majority — thus leaving the election in the hands of the Legislature.

Kunin's 50.3 percent hold on a majority is likely to erode in coming months, increasing the chances for the Burlington mayor to act as a political "spoiler."

Sanders, too, was not surprised by the results of the poll, and said in a telephone interview Monday he was no less likely now to oppose Kunin for governor.

"One year before the election, the incumbent starts out with a significant advantage," Sanders explained. "The issues have not yet been joined."

However, the three-term mayor was at a loss to describe a finding in the poll that indicated support for a Sanders bid for governor among residents of Chittenden County lagged behind residents of other counties in the state.

He drew backing from 7.9 percent of those polled in Chittenden and Addison counties, compared to 18.9 percent support from respondents in areas encompassing St. Johnsbury, St. Albans, and Montpelier.

Poll Finds Snelling Has Up

Rutland Herald-Times

First Of Th

The Board Loses By

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Vermonters' support for former Gov. Richard A. Snelling's U.S. Senate candidacy has dipped in recent months and his incumbent opponent has gained strength, according to a statewide poll conducted last week.

The survey revealed that Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., would garner 50.3 percent of the vote if the election were held now. Snelling would receive 38.6 percent of the vote, with 11.1 percent of those polled undecided about the race.

That represents a definite improvement in Leahy's standing since November 1984, when a poll by the Roper Institute showed he and Snelling in a dead heat with 44 percent support apiece.

The incumbent also has gained ground since last June, when another Roper poll showed he would receive 48 percent of the vote to Snelling's 42 percent.

The results of this latest poll, conducted the weekend of Oct. 26-27, suggest that Snelling has a major uphill climb ahead in his effort to reclaim Leahy's seat for the GOP. The former governor has less support now, a full year before the 1986 election, than he had at the close of his last gubernatorial term.

Sen. Patrick Leahy

The Leahy-Snelling contest was a major focus of the poll conducted exclusively for the Rutland Herald and the Barre-Montpelier Times-Argus by Campaign Marketing Associates Inc. of Burlington, in conjunction with the University of Vermont.

Exactly 503 Vermonters, selected at random from instate telephone directories, responded to 32 poll questions posed by UVM political science students. The margin of error, based on that number of responses, is plus or minus 4.5 percent.

The calls were distributed proportionately among Vermont's telephone districts to provide an accurate gauge of voter sentiments in different parts of the state.

The poll results clearly suggest that Leahy's support among Vermonters is strong and seems to be growing.

His seniority as a two-term member of Congress showed up as a definite asset, while Snelling's handling of Vermont's state budget — which had a double-digit deficit his last term — was a negative factor that made a significant number of Vermonters less likely to vote for him.

When asked how Leahy's 12 years in office would influence their decision in the voting booth, 45.3 percent of the respondents said it made them more likely to choose him. Another

hill Fight Against Leahy

Argus-UVM Poll

ee Parts 11/3

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9 percent said his seniority would ve no influence.

Only 7.2 percent said Leahy's state experience made them less ely to vote for him. Another 3.5 percent were undecided.

In a related question, Vermonters overwhelmingly approved of the job Leahy is doing in Washington.

More than 76 percent said they approved of his performance to some extent, with 39 percent calling their approval strong. Only 18.2 percent said they disapproved of Leahy's work mildly or strongly, while 10.7 percent were undecided.

In fact, Leahy's performance rating topped that of several other officials. Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin [illegible] approval from [illegible]

Richard Snelling

The job done by Sen. Robert Stafford, R-Vt., drew approval from 60.2 percent of those surveyed, while Rep. James M. Jeffords' work earned approval from 68.4 percent.

Leahy even outshone President Reagan. Nearly 64 percent approved of the president's performance to some degree, but only 27 percent of them said they approved strongly.

the assessment of Snelling's record of budget management during his last term.

Although 45.3 percent said it would have no influence, 27.8 percent said it made them less likely to vote for him and only 19.8 percent said it made them more likely to support Snelling. The remaining 7 percent were undecided.

Leahy's seniority and Snelling's legacy of a state budget deficit have already surfaced as issues in the campaign.

Vermonters also gave Leahy the edge when asked if their support for him was strong or weak. Fully 77.2 percent of the 194 persons who said they were inclined to vote for Leahy said they supported him strongly, with only 17 percent terming their support weak. About 5 percent said they could not rate their support.

Of the 194 people who said they would vote for Snelling, 78.1 percent termed their support strong and 24.2 percent characterized it as weak. The remaining 5.7 percent were uncertain.

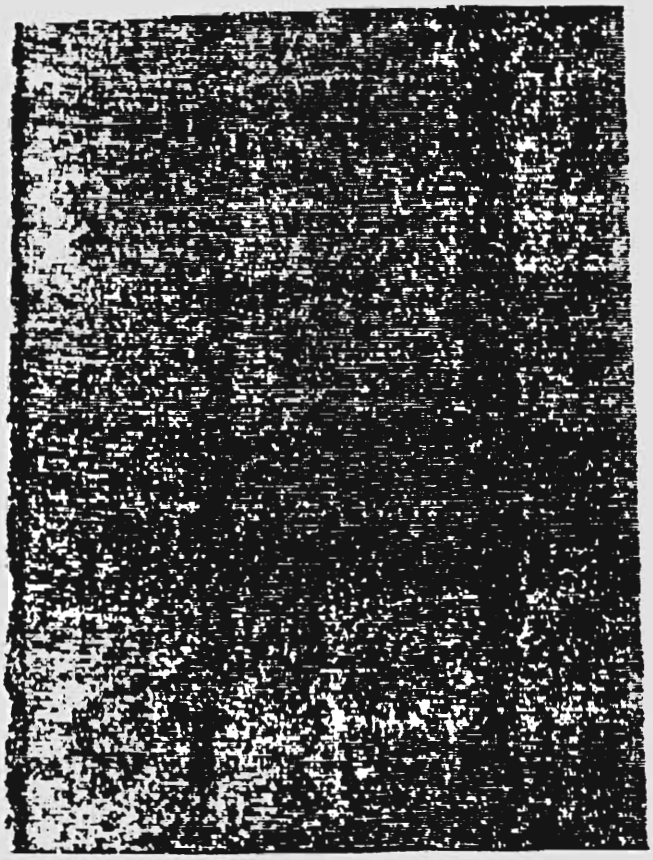
Specifics on the party affiliation

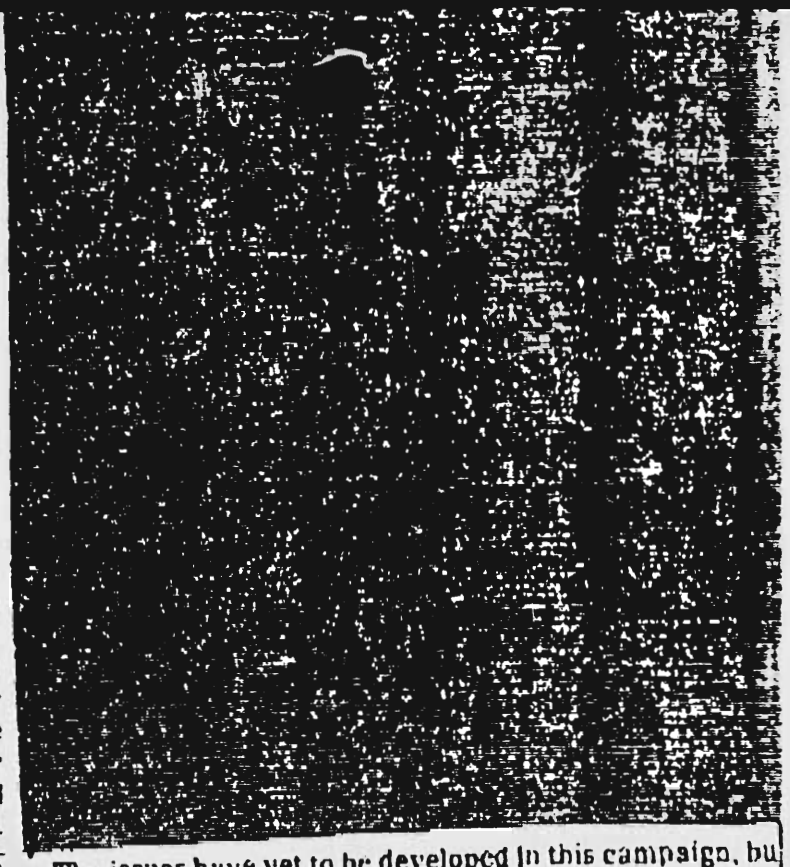
·nelling As Underdog

was not exactly a surprise that a new poll showed enger Richard A. Snelling trailing incumbent U.S. 'atrick J. Leahy, D-Vt. But it certainly was unusual to e former governor cast as an underdog. Snelling, the person to win four two-year terms for governor, won of those elections easily.

.s latest poll, done for The Times Argus-Rutland ld and the University of Vermont, showed Leahy to be ng Snelling by about 12 points. The size of Leahy's lead irprise some inveterate poll-watchers. Other surpris- ieces of information were the strength of the support oth men and the number of people who have made up minds already.

e survey showed that 78 percent of the people who said would choose Leahy over Snelling described their sup- as "strong." Only 17 percent said it was "weak." Of who put themselves in the Snelling column, 70 per- said they were "strong" supporters and 24 percent their support was "weak." In the Snelling-Leahy h-up, asking people which candidate they would vote the election were held now, only 11 percent said they o: know. Slightly more than 50 percent said they would ith Leahy and 38.6 percent said Snelling was their man. ose numbers suggest that it is going to be difficult for r Leahy or Snelling to build substantially on his cur base of support. Leahy appears to have an edge use Snelling has more "weak" support than he does. It be those "soft" votes that each side will be trying to The other group the campaigns will be wooing is the le-minds." But here again, there is not much to work t is a year before the election, and the poll showed that 11 percent of the people have not made up their minds





The issues have yet to be developed in this campaign, bu a couple have surfaced already. It appears Leahy is goin to be emphasizing his seniority, just as Sen. Robert T. Staf ford, R-Vt., did in 1982. Stafford sounded like a broke record by the end of that campaign, starting off ever speech by telling people he was chairman of the Senate En vironment and Public Works Committee and chairman o the labor, education, arts and humanities subcommitte Stafford held those positions largely by virtue of his senior ty, and Vermont voters demonstrated that they did n want to give them up when they re-elected the incumbent.

Leahy is seeking a third six-year term, and he alread has been touting the benefits that would befall the state the Democrats regain control of the Senate and Vermo has a person with his seniority to represent them. Althou the word "seniority" was not mentioned in the poll, 45 pe cent of those contacted said Leahy's 12 years in offi would make them more likely to vote for him, 44 perce said it didn't make any difference, and 7 percent said would make them less likely to support Leahy.

The $36 million deficit accrued during Snelling's last tw years in office appears to be somewhat of a handicap f the challenger. In the poll, people were told that Snelling opponents "often point out that the state ran a deficit du ing the former governor's last term" and that his su porters "often point out that he former governor left place a plan to pay off the deficit by next June." Almost percent said Snelling's "handling of the state budge would make them more likely to vote for him, about 28 p cent said it would make them less likely to support hi and 45 percent said it didn't make any difference.

It is not clear yet whether Snelling's state deficit w undermine his efforts to cast himself as a crusader to fi the huge federal deficits. But we probably can count Leahy's people to keep bringing it up as long as the surv show it to be a "negative" — in the pollsters' parlance

Big Lead Seen Over Easton

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — A new statewide poll shows that Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin would defeat former Attorney General John J. Easton Jr. by a two-to-one margin — even if Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders made the governor's contest a three-way race.

Kunin, the Democratic incumbent, proved the clear-cut favorite for re-election among Vermonters polled randomly by telephone Oct. 26-27 for the Rutland Herald and the Barre-Montpelier Times-Argus.

Although Easton only lost to Kunin last year by a few thousand votes, the survey indicated that Easton, a Stowe Republican, would fare much more poorly if an election were held now. Easton said this fall he was considering a rematch and would decide sometime this month whether to challenge Kunin in 1986.

The poll, conducted by Campaign Marketing Associates Inc. of Burlington in conjunction with the University of Vermont, revealed that, in a head-to-head contest, Kunin would garner 58 percent of the vote, while Easton would receive just 29.8 percent. Another 11 percent of the voters would be undecided.

A similar ratio would be likely if Sanders, considered a possible third-party contender for governor next year, entered the contest.

While offered that scenario, 58.5 percent of those surveyed said they would be inclined to vote for Kunin, Easton garnered support from 26.5 percent of the participants. Sanders received 11.3 percent backing, and 11.3 percent were undecided.

Oddly enough, [illegible] whether they [illegible]

(See Page 10, [illegible])

Poll

(Continued from Page One)

Kunin or Easton last year, only 30.8 percent said they had backed Easton — despite the fact that he received about 50 percent of the vote in 1984. Fully 50.5 percent said they had backed Kunin, 14.5 percent said they did not vote and 4.2 percent were uncertain.

The growth in Kunin's popularity since the 1984 election was underscored further by Vermonters' response to the notion of a gubernatorial battle between her and Rep. James M. Jeffords, R-Vt.

Despite Jeffords' proven popularity in past elections, Kunin again came out on top among those surveyed, with 52.8 percent support to his 33.6 percent. The remaining 13.5 percent were undecided.

However, according to the poll, Jeffords would crush Sanders if they were opponents in a congressional contest. Fully 70.8 percent of the poll participants said they would be inclined to re-elect Jeffords, and only 18.8 percent indicated they would back Sanders.

The poll responses regarding a possible rematch between Kunin and Easton revealed some unexpected trends.

The incumbent governor, for instance, would receive more support from Republicans than Easton would. Kunin would also receive more backing from conservatives, according to poll results.

The survey showed that, in a two-way race, 44.6 percent of the Republican respondents would vote for Kunin, compared to 41.4 percent supporting Easton. Another 14 percent were undecided.

Among Democrats and independents, the choice was not even close. In a two-way race, Kunin drew 71.5 percent of the Democrats' backing, compared to 22.5 percent for Easton; 69 percent of the independents chose Kunin, and just 20.7 percent picked Easton.

Along ideological lines, conservatives also showed strong support for the Democratic incumbent, with 48.3 percent picking Kunin and 40.7 percent selecting Easton. The governor won hands-down among liberals and middle-of-the-roaders: She won 71.6 percent of liberals' support to Easton's 20.1 percent, and among moderates, she was backed by 59.8 percent to Easton's 28.7 percent.

When the poll participants' leanings are considered on the basis of their incomes, Kunin came out ahead in virtually every income category.

Those earning $20,000 to $30,000 showed the most marked tendency to back Kunin — 67.2 percent chose her, while just 24.1 percent picked Easton. The choice was closest among those making $30,000 or more: 44.9 percent of them were inclined to support Kunin, compared to 43.9 percent leaning towards Easton.

Kunin also fared better than Easton across most age categories, beating him by more than a 2-to-1 margin among those between the ages of 26 and 59.

Vermonters in the 18 to 25 age bracket were split evenly, however, with each candidate receiving 47.2 percent backing. In the over-60 category, Kunin drew 57.1 percent support to Easton's 27.7 percent.

Not surprisingly, Vermont's first female governor showed greater support from women than Easton did. The poll showed that, among women, 58.9 percent picked Kunin and 27.7 percent chose Easton. Another 13.5 percent were undecided.

Among men, the number of undecided respondents dropped to 8.6 percent, giving Easton 32.1 percent backing to 59.3 percent for Kunin.

The governor also fared better than Easton in every geographic section of the state. Nearly 58 percent of those from northern sections picked Kunin, while just 33.8 percent chose Easton. On her home turf, encompassing Chittenden and Addison counties, the Kunin-Easton tally was 61.4 percent to 33.3 percent.

The incumbent proved even stronger among those surveyed in southern Vermont sections, earning 60 percent backing to Easton's 25.5 percent.

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Sanders Not Seen as Spoiler

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — The theory that Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders could be a political "spoiler" in the governor's race next year — hurting the Democratic incumbent and helping the GOP challenger — was not borne out by new poll conducted by Campaign Marketing Associates Inc. of Burlington.

Democratic Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin's position at this point appears so strong, that even in a three-way contest she could win more than half the popular vote.

The prospect of Sanders' gubernatorial candidacy drew support from just 11.7 percent of those polled last week. Slightly more than 50 percent indicated they would be inclined to vote for Kunin.

That finding runs contrary to the theory, currently offered by some political observers, that a third-party

(See Page 10: Sanders)

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Sanders

(Continued from Page One)

candidacy by Sanders could enhance the GOP challenger's chances against Kunin. They reason that Sanders, a socialist, could claim enough support to prevent anyone from obtaining a majority of votes — thus tossing selection of the next governor into the lap of the Legislature.

The breakdown of poll responses proves that Sanders would indeed receive the greatest support from young, liberal Democrats and independents. He also would fare better with low-income Vermonters than with those earning higher salaries.

Ironically, the survey showed that Sanders would receive less support from voters in his home county, Chittenden, that in other sections of the state.

The bottom line: Even in a three-way race with Easton and Sanders, Kunin seems likely at this point to come out on top overwhelmingly. She even beat Easton in the battle for Republican and conservative votes.

Among Democrats surveyed, 60.5 percent said they would vote for Kunin, 18 percent picked Easton and 13.5 percent opted for Sanders. The remaining 8 percent were undecided.

Kunin also captured 50.8 percent of the independents' support, while Easton and Sanders each received 17.2 percent and 14.9 percent were undecided.

Even Republican respondents gave the governor a slight edge over her potential Republican challenger. About 41.4 percent of the Republicans surveyed chose Kunin, compared to 39.8 percent picking Easton and 7.5 percent selecting Sanders. The rest, 11.3 percent, were uncertain.

Liberals also liked Kunin: 57.8 percent said they would vote for her, while 18.2 percent picked Easton and 18.7 percent picked Sanders. The governor received 47.8 percent of moderates' backing, with Easton garnering 28.7 percent and Sanders, 11.8 percent.

Among those calling themselves conservatives, 45.5 percent supported Kunin's reelection. Easton drew support from 38.7 percent, while Sanders received just 5.5 percent of their backing.

On the basis of income, Sanders' support varied little, ranging from 11 percent among those in the $20,000-$30,000 bracket to 14.1 percent among Vermonters making $10,000 or less.

However, Kunin fared best among persons in the $10,000 to $30,000 salary range. Among Vermonters making $30,000 or more, she actually fell below Easton in support; he received 39.3 percent, while she received 38.3 percent. Sanders drew 12.2 percent support in that high-income category.

In terms of age, Kunin received the least support, 38.9 percent, among those 18 to 25. From age 28 up, however, she received the backing of at least half of those polled.

Sanders, in contrast, lost support as the participants' ages increased. He earned backing from 19.4 percent of those between ages 18 and 25, but only 6.7 percent of those over age 80.

Easton received about one-quarter of the votes in all age categories, although he drew greatest support, 29.2 percent, among those 18 to 25.

Men were inclined to vote for either Easton or Sanders slightly more than women were; however, Kunin still received backing from 50.4 percent of the women and 50.2 percent of the men.

Despite his prominence in Chittenden County, Sanders received less support among respondents from that region than those from other sections of the state. He received 7.9 percent backing among those polled in Chittenden and Addison counties, compared to 52.6 percent for Kunin and 29 percent for Easton.

Easton and Sanders both fared best in northern sections encompassing St. Johnsbury, St. Albans and Montpelier. A

Poll: Kunin Enjoys Commanding

0 5 0 9 2 0 1 0 0

fall 28.6 percent from those areas chose Easton, and 18.9 percent favored Sanders.

Kunin drew backing from 43.5 percent of the northerners, significantly less than the 51.6 percent support she received from those polled in southern areas.

Despite the incumbent's strong showing in a line-up with Easton and Sanders, both men's names cropped up spontaneously when Vermonters were asked who they would like to see challenge Kunin.

Fifty-one persons, 10 percent of those polled, named Easton. Former Gov. Richard A. Snelling was next, named 18 times, and Sanders was third, mentioned by a dozen respondents. Jeffords and Lt. Gov. Peter P. Smith tied for fourth place with eight nominations apiece.

When the same question was asked about Jeffords' likely re-election bid for Congress, Snelling came out on top as the challenger considered most desirable. However, only 11 poll participants mentioned his name, just 2.2 percent, with the vast majority naming no one.

Sanders was second; his name came up nine times. Jeffords' 1984 Democratic opponent, Anthony Pollina, was next with seven references.

All the other names mentioned after that — from Ronald Reagan to Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt. to Sen. Edgar May, D-Windsor — were brought up by fewer than 1 percent of those polled.

continued
Sanders
pleasing

Property-Tax Called Burden

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Vermonters overwhelmingly support passage of a state Equal Rights Amendment and a 21-year-old drinking age, and they also prefer a status-quo approach to ski area development, according to a new statewide poll.

Nearly half of the 503 people polled at random late last month also said their property taxes were a greater burden now than they were five years ago. In addition, one-fifth of those surveyed said they "personally know" someone who regularly goes hungry.

Those findings were made as a result of a two-day telephone poll conducted a week ago by Campaign Marketing Associates Inc. in conjunction with the University of Vermont.

The most overwhelming response came in reaction to the proposed addition of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Vermont Constitution.

The ERA, already approved by two state Legislatures, will come before Vermont's voters in the November 1986 election. Nearly 71 percent of those surveyed said if the ratification vote were held today, they would be inclined to vote for the ERA, with just less than 21 percent opposed and 8.5 percent undecided.

The ERA's adoption drew stronger backing from women polled than from men. Nearly 75 percent of the females questioned said they were pro-ERA, 18.1 percent opposed it and 7.3 percent were undecided.

Among men, 66.7 percent supported the ERA, 23.5 per-

(See Page 10: Poll)

Rutland Herald-Times Argus-UVM Poll

Last of Three Parts

Results Are Weighed

By EVE RAIMON
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Top Democrats said they were happy with their good standing in a recent statewide poll, but they were cautious about what could happen in the long campaign season ahead.

Republicans, meanwhile, were quick to downplay the poll's significance, which showed clear gains over previous surveys for Sen. Patrick J. Leahy and Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin.

The first portion of the Rutland Herald-Times Argus poll published Sunday showed Leahy would receive 50.3 percent of the

(See Page 10: Reaction)

Environment A Big Concern

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Environmental concerns top the list of important problems facing Vermont today, with pollution and acid rain leading the pack.

More than one-fifth of all Vermonters polled a week ago cited environmental issues as "the most important problem facing Vermont today."

Of the 21.7 percent who cited that issue, 8.7 percent singled out acid rain and 7.3 percent mentioned pollution. The possibility of a nuclear dump in the state bothered 4.2 percent, and another 1.6 percent expressed concern about hazardous waste.

Those reponses combined to make environment the top vote-getter among 503 Vermonters asked to name the biem. Although dozens of other problems were mentioned by respondents, none came close to stirring as much concern.

The runner-up answer was unemployment, which 49 respondents, or 9.7 percent, singled out as their prime worry. Next in line was taxes, which 8.3 percent mentioned as a pressing issue.

About 6 percent of those polled said the need for economic development was the most important problem. All the remaining problems were cited by less than 5 percent — including agriculture troubles, 4.6 percent; education, 4.4 percent; "too much development," 4.2 percent; general economy, 3.8 percent; and poverty and the state deficit, each mentioned by 3.4 percent of those polled.

Less than 2 percent cited the

Environment

(Continued from Page One)

federal deficit, Vermont's low drinking age, hunger and welfare as key concerns.

Some responses fell into the less-than-1-percent category. Doe permits, always controversial each fall, were mentioned, as was Brattleboro water quality, "the political left," "marijuana prohibition," the 55 mile-an-hour speed limit, roads and highways, and Governor Kunin.

Vermonters also singled out the high cost of utilities, the high cost of medical care, nuclear arms, the smell of Burlington's wood chip plant, crime and opposition to Act 250.

General subjects like Social Security, lack of housing, sewage disposal, working conditions, the U.S. government, child kidnappings, nuclear power, population growth and energy also were recognized by a handful of those polled as pressing concerns

116 RH.

Poll

ntinues from Page One)

t opposed it and 9.9 percent re uncertain.

Strong support also surfaced proposals to raise Vermont's drinking age from 18 to That was favored by 58.4 percent, compared to 37.8 percent in opposition and 3.8 percent undecided.

The survey showed that king for an increase in the nking age rose dramatically as the age of respondents increased. Persons in the 18 to 25 bracket opposed the idea 3 percent to 53.3 percent, for ample; however, those 60 ars or older advocated the crease 74.8 percent to 21 percent.

On the subject of property burdens, which are a growing political and legislative ncern, those surveyed were are divided. More than 43 rcent said property taxes are a greater financial rden now than five years o, while 31.2 percent said ey were about the same.

However, only 4.8 percent id property taxes were less a burden now. The remaining 20 percent said they did not y property taxes or were certain.

The respondents' assessment of their property tax rden bore a close relationship to their incomes, with oncern about the financial urden declining as incomes creased.

Among those polled who rned $10,000 or less, 56.3 percent said property taxes were ore of a burden and only 1.4 ercent said the burden had essened. Nearly 24 percent in his low-income category said hey paid no property taxes nd 12.7 percent said their property taxes were about the ame.

In contrast, far fewer of those surveyed in the $30,000-plus income category — just 37.4 percent — judged property taxes to be more of a burden now than five years ago. Even more, 43.9 percent, said property taxes were about the same. Another 5.6 percent said the burden was less and 8.4 percent said they paid no property taxes.

However, the majority of respondents fell in the $10,000 to $30,000 income classes, and those at the lower end of the scale clearly considered property taxes a more pressing concern than those at the upper end.

More than 45 percent of those surveyed in the $10,000 to $20,000 range said the burden was greater, 26 percent said it was about the same and just 3.3 percent said property taxes had lessened. Another 17.5 percent said they did not pay property taxes.

Among those making $20,000 to $30,000, 40.9 percent said property taxes were more of a burden, 8 percent said less and 36.5 percent said they were about the same. Just 6.6 percent said they did not pay them.

The remaining responses, in all income categories, constituted those who did not know.

The subject of ski area development, an escalating controversy expected to be a major topic in the upcoming legislative session, drew some surprising responses from those surveyed.

When asked whether Vermont would be "better off" with less, more or about the same ski area development "as exists today," only 12.9 percent of those polled said "less."

The overriding sentiment, expressed by 61.2 percent of those polled, was that development should remain about the same. And another 20.5 percent said there should be more ski area development than there is now. A small number, 5.4 percent, said they did not know.

Of the 365 people polled, 249 said they had lived in Vermont more than 10 years. Nearly 60 percent of them said ski area development should stay about the same, but 21 percent said there should be more. Another 13.6 percent picked "less development."

Newcomers to Vermont, those who have lived here three years or less, opted most frequently for "less development." The poll showed that 15.4 percent of them chose that, compared to 18 percent saying "more" and 64.1 percent recommending about the same amount.

On the subject of hunger, about three-fourths of those surveyed said they did not personally know anyone "who regularly does not get enough to eat." However, 21.7 percent said they did, and another 2.6 percent did not know.

As the incomes of those polled rose, they tended to say they did not know a hungry person. Slightly more than 28 percent of those making less than $10,000 answered "yes" to that question, compared to only 18.5 percent in the $20,000 to $30,000 income bracket.

The poll indicated that Vermonters generally view the media as moderate, rather than strongly conservative or liberal. More than 71 percent of those polled placed the Vermont news media in a middle range between those two poles, with only 7 percent calling it strongly conservative and just 11.4 percent terming it liberal.

11/5
R. H.

DRAFT

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

500
12/3-5/85

DECISION/MAKING/INFORMATION
1363 Beverly Road, Suite 300
McLean, Virginia 22101
November 1985

Project #3359-14
Time Started
Time Ended

Field Edit
Field Validation
Coding Edit

Hello, I'm _____ of Decision/Making/Information, a national research firm. We're talking with people in Vermont today and would like to ask you a few questions (OPTIONAL) on a confidential basis. (DO NOT PAUSE)

A. Are you registered to vote in Vermont?

YES (CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW).1
NO (ASK Q.B).....2

IF "NO" IN Q.A, ASK:

B. Is there anyone else in your household who is registered to vote?

(IF "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE)

(IF "YES," ASK:) May I speak with that person, please?

(IF "YES," REPEAT Q.A WITH NEW PERSON)

1. Do you feel that things in Vermont are generally going in the right direction, or that things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION.....82.1
WRONG TRACK.....14.2

2. Now, just suppose you were elected Governor and could make one change or improvement to help Vermont, what would it be? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

_____

_____

_____

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

STRONGLY APPROVE.....34.1
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....35.2
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....6.3
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....17.4

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the job the state legislature is doing? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE.....1
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....2
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....3
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....4

5. Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of (ROTATE) ... the Vermont Republican Party ... or the Vermont Democratic Party?

REPUBLICAN PARTY.....34..1
DEMOCRATIC PARTY.....34.2
BOTH (DO NOT READ).....4.3
NEITHER (DO NOT READ).....24.4

Now, I would like to read you a list of names and have you tell me, for each one, first whether you've heard of the person; then, if so, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person.

(ROTATE NAMES)	HEARD OF/ FAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ UNFAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ NO OPINION	NEVER HEARD OF
6. Peter Smith	1	2	3	4
7. Madeline Kunin (Cue-nin)	1	2	3	4
8. Pat Leahy (Lay-he)	1	2	3	4
9. Michael Bernhardt	1	2	3	4
10. Jack Fey (Fie-like "Pie")	1	2	3	4

11. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Madeline Kunin is handling her job as Governor of Vermont? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE.....1
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....2
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....3
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....4

---

12. Do you feel that Madeline Kunin has performed well enough as Vermont's Governor to deserve reelection or do you feel it is time to give a new person the chance to do a better job?

REELECT.....1
NEW PERSON.....2
DEPENDS WHO RUNS (DO NOT READ).....3
NO OPINION (DO NOT READ).....4

Now, I would like to read you another list of names and have you tell me, for each one, first whether you've heard of the person; then, if so, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person.

(ROTATE NAMES)	HEARD OF/ FAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ UNFAVORABLE	HEARD OF/ NO OPINION	NEVER HEARD OF
13. Dick Snelling	1 73	2 20	3	4
14. Jeffrey Amestoy (Am-e-stoy)	1	2	3	4
15. Stephen Morse	1	2	3	4
16. Pat Garahan	1	2	3	4
17. Bernard Sanders	1	2	3	4

---

18. Now I'd like to read you a number of issue concerns facing Vermont, and I'd like you to tell me which one you think should be the top priority of the Governor. (RANDOMIZE)

Attracting new jobs and industry to the state.....36....1
Reducing Vermont's deficit.....11....2
Protecting Vermont's environment.....17....3
Reducing property taxes.....15....4
Improving the criminal justice system.....9....5
Aiding local towns financially.....17....6

---

19. As you may know, Vermont's corporate and personal income taxes were raised temporarily by the legislature as part of a deficit reduction plan.

Some people say that when the deficit is eliminated, the taxes should be returned to previous levels as planned.

Others say they should remain at the higher level so that the additional funds can be spent on more state services.
What do you think? Should taxes be cut back or should they stay where they are now?

CUT BACK.....57 1
STAY AT PRESENT LEVELS.....42 2

Now I am going to read you some statements other people have made to us. For each one I read, I want you to tell me whether you agree or disagree. (AFTER EACH RESPONSE, ASK:) Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?

(ROTATE QS. 20-21)	Agree Strng	Agree Smwht	Disag Smwht	Disag Strng
20. Growth and economic development in Vermont can be achieved without harming the environment.	1 34	2 33	3 15	4 12
21. Vermont's taxes are too high to attract new jobs and industries to the state.	1 25	2 19	3 28	4 26

Thinking about taxes for a moment ...

22. Do you think Vermont's state income tax is ... too high ... too low ... or ... just about right?

TOO HIGH.....1
TOO LOW.....2
ABOUT RIGHT.....3

---

23. How about Vermont's property taxes? Do you think they are ... too low ... too high ... or ... about right?

TOO HIGH.....1
TOO LOW.....2
ABOUT RIGHT.....3

---

24. As you may know, there have been several proposals to provide property tax relief in Vermont.

Some people say that property tax relief should be expanded to help not only individual homeowners, but also farmers and renters overburdened by property taxes.

Others say that property tax relief should be given to <u>every</u> homeowner.

What do you think? Should property tax relief be provided only to individuals in need, or to all homeowners?

INDIVIDUALS IN NEED.....1
ALL HOMEOWNERS.....2

Now, let's talk about foreign affairs for a moment.

25. Thinking about the issue of nuclear disarmament for a moment, generally speaking, do you support or oppose nuclear disarmament? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) Is that strongly (support/oppose) or just somewhat (support/oppose)?

SUPPORT STRONGLY.....1 40
SUPPORT SOMEWHAT.....2 25
OPPOSE SOMEWHAT (SKIP TO Q.29).....3 14
OPPOSE STRONGLY (SKIP TO Q.29).....4 17

IF "SUPPORT" IN Q.25, THEN ASK:

People disagree on the different conditions that should be met before nuclear disarmament should be agreed to. For each of the following, please tell me whether in your opinion that should or should not be a necessary requirement of a nuclear arms agreement with the Russians.

	SHOULD	SHOULD NOT
26. An agreement be verifiable, in other words, that each side allow the other side to inspect it's nuclear arsenal.	1 89	2 11
27. That an agreement leave the Russians and the United States with about equal military power.	1 91	2 8
28. That an agreement not just reduce the nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union but also of their allies.	1 92	2 6

Thinking ahead to next fall's general election for Governor, for whom would you vote if the candidate were:

29.	(ROTATE) Peter Smith, Republican, Madeline Kunin, Democrat, and Bernard Sanders, Independent?	SMITH.....1 KUNIN.....2 SANDERS.....3
30.	Again, if the candidates were: (ROTATE) Bernard Sanders, Independent, Madeline Kunin, Democrat, and Michael Bernhardt, Republican, for whom would you vote?	SANDERS.....1 KUNIN.....2 BERNHARDT.....3
31.	And if the candidates were (ROTATE): Madeline Kunin, Democrat, and Peter Smith, Republican, for whom would you vote?	KUNIN.....1 SMITH.....2
32.	Finally, if the candidates were (ROTATE) Michael Bernhardt, Republican, and Madeline Kunin, Democrat, for whom would you vote?	BERNHARDT.....1 KUNIN.....2
33.	And, if the 1986 general election for U.S. Senate were being held today, and the candidates were (ROTATE) Pat Leahy, Democrat, and Dick Snelling, Republican, for whom would you vote?	LEAHY.....1 SNELLING.....2

Now, I am going to read you a list of things people might take into consideration in their decision how to vote for U.S. Senator. For each one, please tell me whether that is extremely important, very important, just important, not that important, or not at all important to you, personally in deciding whether to elect a candidate U.S.Senator from Vermont.

(RANDOMIZE)	Extrmly Imprtnt	Very Imprtnt	Just Imprtnt	Not That Imprtnt	Not At All Imprtnt
34. The candidate is an incumbent who has built up seniority in the Senate.	1 9	2 25	3 29	4 22	5 13
35. The candidate was born in Vermont.	1 11	2 26	3 16	4 23	5 24
36. The candidate is in line to become Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee.	1 16	2 36	3 23	4 22	5 14
37. The candidate is experienced in helping reduce deficits.	1 22	2 51	3 23	4 3	5 1
38. The candidate is willing to limit the amount of money he sill spend in his campaign.	1 19	2 39	3 24	4 12	5 6
39. The candidate is strongly committed to working for nuclear disarmament.	1 23	2 46	3 24	4 8	5 8

---

40. Of the following two types of candidates, which one would you be more likely to vote for -- if it makes no difference to you, just say so.(ROTATE)

Someone who was born in Vermont.....16..1

OR

Someone who chose to live in Vermont, and has lived there for more than 25 years.....15..2

NO DIFFERENCE (DO NOT READ).....76..3

---

41. And, of these two types, which would you be more likely to vote for? Again, if it makes no difference, just say so. (ROTATE)

Someone who would voluntarily limit the smount of campaign spending to a certain amount, even if he could raise more.....65..1

OR

Someone who feels it's okay to spend on his campaign the total amount he feels he can ethicially raise.....10..2

NO DIFFERENCE (DO NOT READ).....25..3

As you may know, Dick Snelling was Governor of Vermont for eight years prior to stepping down after last year's election. For each of the following statement, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones are not true.

	True/Important	True/Not Imprtnt	Not True
42. Under Dick Snelling the total state debt declined by 31%.	1 25	2 4	3 42
43. When Dick Snelling left office, he left a 35 million dollar deficit.	1 39	2 11	3 21
44. Dick Snelling created the spending plan that will pay off the entire deficit of the state of Vermont by 1986.	1 30	2 4	3 42

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes ...

45. What is your age please?

18 - 24.....1
25 - 34.....2
35 - 44.....3
45 - 54.....4
55 - 64.....5
65 AND OLDER.....6

46. What is the last year of school you have completed?

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL.....1
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE.....2
SOME COLLEGE/VOCATIONAL.....3
COLLEGE GRADUATE.....4
POST-GRADUATE.....5

47. Which of these phrases best describes how you usually vote? (ROTATE READING CHOICES TOP TO BOTTOM OR VICE VERSA.)

MOSTLY REPUBLICAN.....1
SLIGHTLY REPUBLICAN.....2
EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES.....3
SLIGHTLY DEMOCRATIC.....4
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC.....5

48. Which of these statements best describes how conservative or liberal you are? (ROTATE READING CHOICES TOP-TO-BOTTOM OR VICE VERSA.)

QUITE CONSERVATIVE.....1
SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE.....2
NEITHER CONSERVATIVE NOR LIBERAL.....3
SLIGHTLY LIBERAL.....4
QUITE LIBERAL.....5

49. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Repubican/Democrat) or a not-so strong (Republican/Democrat)?

(IF INDEPENDENT/OTHER/NO PREFERENCE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

STRONG REPUBLICAN.....1
NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN.....2
NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT.....6
STRONG DEMOCRAT.....7

LEAN TO REPUBLICANS.....3
INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE.....4
LEAN TO DEMOCRATS.....5

---

50. Sex (BY OBSERVATION)

MALE.....1
FEMALE.....2

What is your name please? _____

IF REFUSAL, ASK:

May I have your first name then in case my supervisor needs to verify that this interview actually took place?

_____

TELEPHONE ( ) _____
AREA NUMBER

I have re-read this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring answers have been appropriately filled in and that this interview has been obtained from the individual designated.

INTERVIEWER _____ DATE _____

NOTE: This interview is the sole property of Decision/Making/Information. Any attempt to duplicate or sell the contents constitutes an illegal act and is subject to prosecution.

MEMORANDUM

TO : Governor Snelling
Charlie Black
Jim Murphy

FROM : Jan van Lohuizen Jan

RE : Balancing the budget through tax increases

cc : TG, SC

A couple of thoughts on tax increase positioning. Since at some point or another during the campaign the issue of tax increases will come up, the following points might be of interest.

1. Popularity of tax increases as a way of balancing the budget is low and has declined since last year (national data). We're up against the great communicator, who has firmly said that the budget can be balanced without them.

2. The public blames Congress for the size of the deficit. Reagan himself does not get as much of the blame.

3. The best way to position the tax increase issue is probably as a way of saying something about Dick Snelling himself, rather than tax increases as a matter of public policy. In other words, it's probably better to say that Dick Snelling is willing to make the tough choices, including a tax increase, and is honest enough to tell you to your face. It's probably not a good idea to say that tax increases are necessary to balance the budget.

4. Tax increases always should be referred to as a last resort. Based on focus group research on the social security issue, the public clearly believes that there is a lot of slack in the budget (examples: cogressional pay, limousines and foreign aid, in addition to coffee pots for the Pentagon). The public's willingness to sacrifice (to accept COLA freezes, and by inference tax increases) is limited; it demands to see other things happen first. Consequently every time a tax increase is brought up, it will have to be presented as a last resort, after all these other things have been cut.

MEMORANDUM TO SCOTT COTTINGTON
cc: Jim Murphy, Jan Van Lohuizen, Stu Piper

From: Tom Griscom TG
Re: Vermont
Date: June 7, 1985

Just a casual thought on Vermont.

I would be interested if we can determine, either through a poll or other research tools, this question:

--Has Pat Leahy put his own personal interests before the interests of Vermont?

The reason for asking this is that the past perception of Leahy has beenthat he is more interested in personal accomplishment and national/international issues than those that impact on his home state.

When he had the opportunity to become the ranking Democrat on the Senate Ag Committee, with the defeat of Huddleston, Leahy turned it down in favor of being the Vice Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. I think it is fair to say that reminded Vermonters of the intial impression of Leahy and might be something that Snelling could exploit.

MEMORANDUM

TO : JM, HK

FROM : Jan van Lohuizen

RE : Snelling plan.

I finally had a chance to read the Snelling plan. On the whole it made a lot of sense. I would consider the following additional thoughts, rather than criticism:

- The most important part of the press plan should be to set the agenda, and not a) give the other guy a free ride anymore b) talk about his issues anymore.

- I agree that character is a really important part of the strategy, but I don't think that using the press is a good tool to implement that strategy. They're going to want to write about arrogance, and selling the character message there might backfire. I think with the press the main goal should be to change the issues relevant to the vote and to sell Snelling achievements. That is the place to sell what he did on the deficit, the state debt, the growth in bureaucracy, etc, etc. We should use paid to sell the personality message.

- At the bottom of page 5 my concern is that we can be too worried about the arrogance issue and go overboard the other way too. If we try to tone down the message too much, we loose credibility. My feeling is that we should use the arrogance, try to rewrap it and sell it, rather than down play it; that his arrogance problem is mainly that he is so convinced he is right, and so smart, that no one else gets a word in. This you can sell as 'strength of conviction', 'strong principles . To try tell people that he is really a nice guy underneath all this is not going to work. In other words don't tone it down, find a good way to sell it.

- Phase 3, i would relabel. I don't think it should be the Snelling solution phase, but the <u>solutions that work</u> phase. The point that should be made is not so much that Snelling has all the answers, but that Snelling is the kind of guy that a) has answers, and b) has answers that work in the real world, that don't backfire or have unintended consequences. This leads up to the Snelling - common sense link that sets him off against 'Leahy in never never land', where there are no solutions, only press conferences and tv camera's.

I think the rest is fine. At this point it is premature to worry about what we'll run in September and October.

DRAFT MEMORANDUM

TO: GOVERNOR SNELLING, REY POST, [illegible]

FROM: CHARLIE BLACK, GREG STEVENS

DATE: JANUARY 27, 1986

As the Snelling campaign prepares to [illegible] political media and communications effort, it is vital that the key players in the campaign agree on a plan and once [illegible] adhere to it as closely as possible. The following is a suggested approach to the development and [illegible] of media for the Snelling campaign.

In order to be successful, modern media [illegible], as suggested in the Snelling campaign plan, must be waged in stages or phases.

It is imperative that all the principals of the campaign agree to the phases and what should be accomplished in order that they be adhered to as strictly as possible.

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A successful media campaign is essentially a building block process. Each phase builds on the previous one and each is interrelated with the other. Voters are only capable of accepting and grasping a small number of messages at any one time. Thus, once again, it is essential that the campaign stick to a small number of messages in each given phase. Not only must the paid medium reflect this approach but so also must all other forms of voter contact and communication: specifically free media press initiatives including press conferences, press releases, interviews and reactions to press inquiries; candidate speeches and direct mail.

Once again, as outlined in the Snelling campaign plan, given the task before us and Leahy's apparent standing with the Vermont electorate vis-a-vis Governor Snelling, the execution of the phases described below is essential to a winning campaign.

At this point, we see essentially five phases in the Snelling media campaign. This memo will attempt to outline each phase and what needs to be achieved in each. We will be more specific with what needs to be accomplished in the first phase and outline generally the approaches to subsequent phases.

The first phase, in many ways, is as important as any in the entire campaign. It is important because it lays the foundation in the voters' minds for the rest of the Snelling election effort. first, you have to set the agenda & outgung Leahy a free ride

During this crucial phase we establish two "all-important" themes: the Snelling record as Governor and what we call here

the "Snelling strengths of character".

As has been discussed and outlined before, in order for the Snelling campaign to be successful, the voters of Vermont must be reminded of the Governor's outstanding record as the state's chief executive -- particularly in his management of Vermont's fiscal affairs.

This effort is important because it stresses the Governor's strongest specific accomplishments. It is designed to reestablish in the voters' minds a record which later will be compared to the specific record of Leahy.

Because of the nature of service in the Senate and because of Leahy's real record in spending and budget matters this theme helps establish a point of reference for the voters, it gives them something concrete with which to compare Snelling and Leahy.

While we know that Leahy will attempt to take credit for any number of accomplishments during his term as Senator, he will be hard-pressed to cite concrete examples of achievements in the Senate; particularly related to budget and spending matters.

The second major ingredient of the first phase of the media campaign is the exposure of the "Snelling strengths of character". These strengths fit our definition of what the role of Senator should be.

Beyond the Governor's excellent record in fiscal matters there is probably nothing more vital to the success of the campaign than exposing and constantly reinforcing these Snelling character traits. This theme goes particularly to the heart of the incumbency question that voters will ask either consciously

or subconsciously throughout the entire campaign: "Why should we make a change in who represents us in the U.S. Senate?" or, more to the point, "Why throw Leahy out?".

Given the level of popularity of both candidates and the high regard in which the candidates are held by the voters, it is the character of the two men and the approach they bring to the office that will very likely be the point of comparison the voters use to make their decision on election day.

how do you get the press to write about character, they'll write about arrogance - not pain

Here again, as with his specific record on Vermont fiscal affairs, Snelling enjoys an advantage which could turn out to be key to the entire campaign.

The first phase of the media effort begins the week of January 20 with the start of a one-week radio buy. This spot is to provide some desperately needed visibility to the Snelling campaign and help offset the distinct advantage Leahy currently holds in the free media.

While the radio spot may not result in any noticeable change in the polling numbers, it will help set up the television spots to follow.

The first wave of television is to coincide with the official announcement of candidacy in early March and would include three spots. As currently conceived, the three spots will run in equal rotation for a three week period. Since the "winter wave" buy calls for achieving a level of 1000 Gross Rating Points, a three-spot rotation means that television viewers in Vermont will see the spots approximately 3 to 4 times per week for the three-week period.

The first spot, as discussed earlier, will highlight the Snelling record of accomplishment in the area of fiscal affairs.

In a straight-forward fashion, this spot will lay out the very strong positives of the Snelling record, specifically:

1) That it was under the Snelling Administration that Vermont saw a stabilization and resurgence in its economy due to Governor Snelling's aggressive programs to create jobs - more than 48,000 were created in any other 8-year period in Vermont's history.

And that this aggressive job-creation program reversed a previous trend which had seen Vermont's unemployment rate consistently at or above the national average. After Snelling's election to the State House, Vermont's joblessness has been cut to the point that today it is half the national rate!

2) That due to Snelling's tight-fisted management approach (an approach we need in the U.S. Senate), Vermont's total debt burden, adjusted for inflation, declined a whopping 31% during the Snelling years and that also during the period, state spending was held constant or level -- an accomplishment achieved in no-other-state (check this), during the same period.

3) Another major achievement in the economic area, again attributable to Snelling's unique fiscal management skills and policies, was enactment of state income tax cuts totalling an estimated $217 million during the Snelling years. In addition, Snelling poured millions more into property tax relief by transferring $18.5 million from the General Fund into the

Property Tax Relief Fund and state aid to education.

4) The best example of Snelling's tight-grip in Vermont's fiscal affairs and one of the major reasons state spending was held even was that the Governor "put the brakes" on the growth of the state government bureaucracy.

When Snelling left office there were exactly the same number of state employees as the day he took office. This contrasts dramatically with sharp increases in the number of state bureaucrats that occurred in the years immediately preceeding the four Snelling terms.

This strong record of accomplishment, by the way, not only refreshes the voters' memories of Governor Snelling's achievements in office and helps set up future contrasts with Leahy -- but also should help mitigate the criticism of the so-called "Snelling deficit".

The other two spots of the first television wave will deal with the Snelling strengths of character.

One spot, as has been discussed and outlined in the campaign plan, will feature Governor Snelling talking directly about "The Role of the Senator". It is through this technique that Snelling -- in his own words -- will convey to the voter the unique qualities -- strengths of character -- that he will bring to the office of U.S. Senator.

The tone of this spot is critical. We must be careful not to convey the arrogance that apparently a significant number of Vermont voters attach to Snelling's personality. One approach may be to shoot this spot in a soft environment such as a living

Hard work and strong principals don't tone down arrogance, rewrap and sell

room setting with Snelling surrounded by his family or a group of friends.

bull, don't have em kiss babies

In this spot, Governor Snelling will talk about how things have changed in this country and how the style of our representation has changed. We have many in the Congress who bemoan the problems, but seem to be unwilling to devise and openly support what may be unpopular solutions. We need Senators who are willing to tackle tough problems regardless of the political consequences.

Although the strength of our state and nation are great, this greatness is not always reflected in those who serve us in Washington. We need different kinds of Senators who are capable of exerting the leadership required to solve the complex and difficult problems before us. We need leaders with courage and clear vision who are concerned with more than the next election -- who are concerned about the future of our children and grandchildren. willing to make the tough choices.

For example, only recently has the severity of the federal budget deficit crisis become at all recognized and we have yet to hear specific long-term solutions for the problem.

Our federal representatives all too often summon the courage to deal with a problem only after it has reached crisis proportions. And then, their words still may not match their votes. They talk about outlining federal spending while continuing to vote for every popular, yet costly program under the sun, because they cannot get away from attempting to be all things to all people. Those kinds of representatives are part

8 0 0 4 0 7 6 0 0 7 0

of the problem. What we really need are Senators and House members who have the determination and willingness to shake up the system. To exert the type of leadership that will make a difference for the people of Vermont and the nation.

The third spot of the first phase of the Snelling media campaign will be a string of testimonials by Vermonters describing in vivid terms Snelling's strength of character.

As we know, it is much easier and more credible to present the qualities Snelling will bring to the Senate through the use of third parties. Ideally, this spot would use name Vermonters such as Davis, Aiken, Morse and possibly Stafford and Jeffords interspersed with "average" Vermonters such as a farmer, a factory or mill worker, and a youthful employee of a high-tech firm like IBM.

These people will be able to say things like: "Snelling has the guts to get the job done, he'll talk straight and pull no punches", "Snelling is a take-charge guy who won't be afraid to tackle tough problems";

"Snelling's record as Governor shows he knows what needs to be done in Washington -- and he'll get it done!";

"Snelling has strong opinions -- which we may not always agree with -- but we'll always know where he stands!";

"We need courageous and decisive leaders in the Senate like Dick Snelling.";

"We'll know that with Snelling as our Senator he'll always be independent and not be worrying about special interests.";

"No one is better prepared to serve Vermont in the U.S. Senate than Dick Snelling", and so forth.

Once this phase of the Snelling media effort is begun,

8 0 0 4 0 7 6 0 0 7 4

the campaign must start working to develop what we'll call here, "the Snelling solution phase".

This phase will consist of another 3 to 4 weeks of television from mid-April into mid-May. Here we are recommending three 30-second spots which will achieve 1000 Gross Rating Points during this period.

This phase will demonstrate that Snelling has specific solutions to critical problems -- most importantly the federal budget deficit. Depending on the priorities of Governor Snelling and the rest of the campaign leadership, these "Snelling Solution" spots should probably deal with two of the following issue areas: agriculture, the environment, education and its application to job creation, and/or national defense.

One approach may be for the spots to succinctly describe Snelling's accomplishments in each of these issue areas as Governor, and then outline his specific methods of dealing with them on the federal level.

Obviously, the Snelling solutions will have to be designed with great care and it is important that they begin to be developed as quickly as possible.

The third phase of the media campaign will focus on Snelling-Leahy contrasts. The television for this phase will run for 5 to 6 weeks covering the period from early to mid-June through mid-July. At 2000 Gross Rating Points it will be a strong buy consisting of four 30-second spots.

These spots will join the campaign directly between Snelling and Leahy and will offer for the first time the distinct differences in their positions and records on the top issues.

For example, unquestionably a spot will need to be devised clearly contrasting Leahy's record on federal spending and Snelling's specific solutions. It is here where the campaign will illustrate some of Leahy's votes for spending programs and how Snelling will move to cut those programs, once elected to the Senate. Once again, other critical issues will have to be addressed, such as agriculture, the environment, education and defense.

As it was in August, it is difficult to determine now what will be required in the final phases of the campaign.

It will depend, of course, on how well the previous stages work, what tenor the Leahy campaign has taken by then and what issues may be foremost in the voters' minds by that time.

One scenario that seems plausible at this moment is for the Snelling campaign to launch a 2 to 3 week series of spots in early September dealing directly with Leahy's record as Senator. Because of Governor Snelling's aversion to negative campaigning, these spots will have to be done softly and tastefully -- but the message must be clear, for example: Leahy is one of the biggest spenders in Washington; he has not supported a strong defense and he has been inept at helping to bring a solution to our troubled farmers.

If our campaign has been successful and we are dead-even or ahead of Leahy at this point, the final phase of the media campaign will hammer home the Snelling record, the Snelling solutions, and the Snelling strengths of character.

Since we have budgeted a heavy buy of 5000 Gross Rating

Points during these final weeks of the campaign, we will probably need to produce or use 6 to 8 spots during these last weeks -- most likely from the third week of September to November 4. It is possible that we may want to recycle a few of the spots used during the initial phases of the campaign.

RADIO

By and large the radio buy should be used to fill in the windows between the various waves of television.

Under the media plan outlined above, two weeks of radio should be scheduled from approximately April 7 through April 20. As with all the radio waves, the spots should compliment the television stressing the same themes and carrying the same messages.

Using the proposed television plan, the next two-week wave of radio would be placed from May 12 through May 25.

Since the next television wave, or the third phase carries the campaign from early to mid-June through mid-July, there should be no radio scheduled again until the final phase of the campaign. Attached is a draft schedule for the television and radio waves of the campaign.

CONCLUSION

As indicated this is a proposed media plan which should be discussed and thoroughly thought by Governor Snelling and the other leaders of the Snelling campaign.

It is important that agreement be reached in this approach to the phases of the campaign so that the development of the creative aspect of the television and radio advertising can commence immediately. We have taken the liberty of enclosing some draft scripts for the first wave of television.

We look forward to hearing your thoughts, suggestions and questions.

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Vermont Statewide Study #3

*Q1. How interested are you in the election this fall -- are you very interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested?

3 Very interested
2 Somewhat interested
1 Not very interested

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

---

*Q2. 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)?

4 Strongly approve 29
3 Somewhat approve 53
2 Somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove 16

F8 Don't know 1
F9 Refused/NA

As you know, there will be an election this fall...

*Q3. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican 37
1 Democrat 44

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Regarding the issue of negotiating arms limitation agreements with the Russians...

Q4. Of the following two positions, which one do you agree with the most?

1 We should abide by the terms of the arms limitation agreement we have already negotiated with the Russians, even though they have never been ratified by the Senate

OR

2 We should not be concerned with treaties we've never agreed to so far, but negotiate a brand new agreement on limiting nuclear arms

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA 15

Q5. People disagree on what position they want their Senators to take on the negotiations to limit nuclear weapons. Some people feel that their Senator should actively speak out and pass legislation to determine what and how President Reagan should negotiate with the Russians. Others feel that their Senators should support President Reagan and let him negotiate the best deal he can get with the Russians. Which view is closest to your own?

(ROTATE ITEM 1 AND 2)

1 Senators speak out and pass legislation to determine how President Reagan should negotiate with Russians

2 Senators should support President Reagan and let him negotiate with the Russians

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

On another topic . . .

Q6. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement: The U.S. Senate is not as efficient as it should be because Senators stay in office too long and worry too much about getting reelected rather than getting things done.

4 Strongly agree
3 Somewhat agree
2 Somewhat disagree
1 Strongly disagree

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Here are the names of some people. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him/her favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE Q7 THRU Q10)

*Q7. Patrick Leahy **(LAY-HE)**

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

---

*Q8. Richard Snelling

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

---

*Q9. Peter Smith

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

---

*Q10. Madeleine Kunin **(CUE-NIN)**

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections...

*Q11. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate, Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate and Bernard Sanders was the Independent candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith, Kunin or Sanders)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat or Sanders, the Independent)?

2 Pete Smith
1 Madeleine Kunin
3 Bernard Sanders

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

---

*Q12. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Snelling, the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q13) 37 37
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q13) 54

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q14) 7
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q14)

*Q13. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

1 Made up mind 59
2 Might change between now & election day 40

F8 Don't know 1
F9 Refused/NA

(ROTATE Q14 TO Q16 SERIES WITH Q17 TO Q19 SERIES)

Q14. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Patrick Leahy during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q15)
1 No (GO TO Q17)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q17)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q17)

Q15. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q16. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you've read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q17. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Richard Spalding during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q18)
1 No (GO TO Q20)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q20)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q20)

Q18. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q19. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

For each one of the following statements, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones you feel are not true. (IF TRUE, ASK:) Is that important or not important?

(ROTATE Q20 TO Q21)

Q20. Since 1975, Patrick Leahy has voted for spending increases that have added 977 (nine hundred and seventy-seven) billion dollars to the federal deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q21. Patrick Leahy has a poor attendance record at meetings of the full Senate Agriculture Committee.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q22. The campaigns for U.S. Senate have each offered different reasons for supporting their candidate. Pat Leahy's campaign has argued that he deserves reelection because, with his seniority and clout, Vermont can't afford to start all over. Dick Snelling's campaign has argued that Pat Leahy is a member of the minority and has no committee chairmanship and that because Dick Snelling will be working with the Republican majority and will get an important subcommittee chairmanship, he will get more done for Vermont. Which argument do you most agree with?

(ROTATE ITEM 1 AND 2)

1 Pat Leahy's deserves reelection because of seniority and clout

2 Dick Snelling will work with Republican majority

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Now, I'd like to read several statements. Please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE: Dick Snelling or Pat Leahy (LAY-HE)?

(RANDOMIZE Q.23-Q.26)

Q23. Has a solid record of accomplishments.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q24. Cares about the problems of the average citizen.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q25. Has the qualifications to be a good U.S. Senator.

2 Dick Snelling
1 Pat Leahy
3 Both (VOL.)
4 Neither (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q26. Exaggerates his accomplishments.

2	Dick Snelling	35	32
1	Pat Leahy	[illegible]	20
3	Both (VOL.)	3	[illegible]
4	Neither (VOL.)	6	14
F8	Don't know	9	14
F9	Refused/NA		

There are many different issues and problems an elected official must make decisions about. I am going to mention several issues and for each one, please tell me whether you would rather have Dick Snelling or Pat Leahy making decisions on that issue.

(RANDOMIZE Q27-Q29)

Q27. Federal tax and spending policies.

2	Dick Snelling	[illegible]	48
1	Pat Leahy	36	
3	Both (VOL.)	[illegible]	
4	Neither (VOL.)	2	
F8	Don't know	[illegible]	
F9	Refused/NA		

Q28. Environmental issues and policies.

2	Dick Snelling	32	[illegible]
1	Pat Leahy	52	[illegible]
3	Both (VOL.)	[illegible]	
4	Neither (VOL.)	2	
F8	Don't know	[illegible]	
F9	Refused/NA		

Q29. Nuclear arms control negotiations.

2	Dick Snelling	3	[illegible]
1	Pat Leahy	5[illegible]	[illegible]
3	Both (VOL.)	[illegible]	
4	Neither (VOL.)	2	
F8	Don't know	15	
F9	Refused/NA		

The following are some things you might learn about Patrick Leahy. Please tell me whether it would make you more likely or less likely to vote for him. Would that be much (more/less) likely or just somewhat (more/less) likely?

(ROTATE Q30 AND Q31)

Q30. Pat Leahy's voting record in the Senate shows that he consistently votes the Democratic Party line and does not stake out an independent position on legislation.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference/Not important **(VOLUNTEERED)**
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q31. As a state's attorney in Vermont, Pat Leahy spoke out against tougher sentences for drug dealers.

5 Much more likely
4 Somewhat more likely
3 No difference/Not important **(VOLUNTEERED)**
2 Somewhat less likely
1 Much less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q32. Patrick Leahy is a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee and is briefed by the Central Intelligence Agency on top secret information. Because of the sensitive nature of the information, members of this special committee traditionally turn down press interviews. Leahy, unlike others, grants press interviews on a regular basis. Do you think it is right or wrong for Leahy to do press interviews on sensitive intelligence topics?

2 Right
1 Wrong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Q33. If it became clear that Patrick Leahy was simply using his position on the Senate Intelligence Committee to get more press coverage during an election year, would you vote against him or isn't that issue important?

2 Vote against him
1 Issue isn't important

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

QD1. **(PARTYID)** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

1 Republican **(GO TO Qa)**
2 Democrat **(GO TO Qa)**
3 Independent **(GO TO Qb)**
4 No preference **(GO TO Qb)**
5 Other **(GO TO Qb)**

F8 Don't know **(GO TO Qb)**
F9 Refused **(GO TO Qb)**

Qa. **(INTENSE)** Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

Qb. **(LEAN)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

1 Republican
2 Democratic
3 Neither

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD2. **(VOTETYPE)** 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)

01 Straight Democratic
02 Mostly Democratic
03 A few more Democrats than Republicans
04 About equally for both parties
05 A few more Republicans than Democrats
06 Mostly Republican
07 Straight Republican

08 Other (SPECIFY)_____
09 Never voted

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA

QD6. **(GVOTER)** Thinking about all elections including school, local and primary elections, how many of them have you voted in over the past few years -- none of them, less than half of them, about half of them, most of them or all of them?

1 None of them
2 Less than half of them
3 About half of them
4 Most of them
5 All of them

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD7A. **(LIBCON1)** On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

1 Very liberal
2 Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative
3 Neither/Middle-of-the-road/Moderate (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal
5 Very conservative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD8B. **(AGE)** What is your approximate age?

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

99 Refused

QD9. **(EDOFR)** What is the last grade of school you completed?

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

F9 Refused

QD10. **(IF FEMALE, AS[illegible]** Are you currently . . . (READ 1-5[illegible]NE ANSWER ONLY)

1 Employed and working full-time
2 Employed and working part-time
3 Unemployed
4 Retired
5 Housewife

6 Temporarily laid off (VOLUNTEERED)

7 Other (SPECIFY)_____

8 Don't know
9 Refused/NA

QD11. **(IF FEMALE, ASK:)** What is your present marital status?

1 Single
2 Married
3 Divorced
4 Separated
5 Widow/Widower

8 Don't know
9 Refused/NA

QD21. **(RELIGION)** Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

1 Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)
2 Roman Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other Christian
5 Other non-Christian/Unspecified
6 Agnostic/Atheist
7 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD25. **(INCOME)** Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1985 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

0 Under $10,000
1 $10,000-$15,000 (14,999)
2 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999)
3 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999)
4 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999)
5 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999)
6 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999)
7 $50,000 and over

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

QD28. **(SEX)** Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

1 Male
2 Female

---

1 6 0 0 7 6 0 4 7

The campaigns for Senatorial each offered different reasons for supporting their candidate

Pat Leahy's campaign has argued that he deserves reelection because with his seniority and clout in the Senate, Vermont can't afford to start all over.

Dick Snelling's campaign has argued that ~~because~~ Pat Leahy is a member of a minority, while Dick Snelling will be working with the Republican majority, ~~he will~~ get an important ~~committee~~ sub chairmanship and will get more done for Vermont.

and be not a committee chairmanship

(Intro April 077)

Pat Leahy's voting record in the Senate shows that he consistently votes the Democratic party line and does not stake out an independent position on bills

As a state's attorney in Vermont Pat Leahy spoke out against tougher sentences for drug dealers

802 658 5150

THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT ISSUES AND PROBLEMS AN ELECTED OFFICIAL MUST MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT. I AM GOING TO MENTION SEVERAL ISSUES AND FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU WOULD RATHER HAVE RICHARD SNELLING OR PATRICK LEAHY MAKING DECISIONS ON THAT ISSUE.

(ROTATE)

FEDERAL TAX AND SPENDING POLICIES
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND POLICIES
NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS
~~TA~~

Now I'd like to read you several statements. Please tell me whether it best describes (ROTATE Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy)

HAS A SOLID RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS
CARES ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN
HAS THE QUALIFICATIONS TO BE A GOOD US SENATOR
Exaggerates about his accomplishments

Regarding the issue of negotiating arms limitation agreements with the Russians

Of the following two positions, which one do you agree with the most (~~[illegible]~~)

1) We should abide by the ~~account treaties~~ terms of the nuclear arms limitation agreements we've already negotiated with the Russians even though they have never been ratified by the Senate

or

2) We should not be concerned with treaties we've agreed to so far but negotiate a brand new agreement on limiting nuclear arms.

People disagree on what position they want their Senator to take on the negotiations ~~on~~ to limit nuclear weapons. ~~have~~

Some people feel that their Senator should actively speak out and pass legislation to determine what and how ~~the~~ President Reagan should negotiate with the Russians ~~, even if that conflicts with President Reagan's position~~

Others feel that ~~they want~~ their Senator should support President Reagan and let President Reagan negotiate the best deal he can get with the Russians.

(Copy of ripe)

Between the two

who's better at

Controlling taxes and spending
Providing leadership for Vermont
Getting things done in the Senate
Creating a nuclear peace

SALT III → No one wants nuclear disarmament more than I

National bipartisan consensus

Ludicrous

Senators stay in office too long

RD ~~the~~ Congress is not as effective as it should be because too many Senators worry ~~more~~ too much about getting reelected rather than getting things done

Leahy sez that because of his clout seniority Vermont can't afford to lose him

Sneiling says that because he'll be a member of the majority he can get more done, he'll be a chairman of the subcommittee for days 1

Ethore Leahy

Leahy is a consistent supporter of Democrat positions and does not stake out an independent position

As state's attorney he is opposed to tougher sentences for drug dealers

MEMORANDUM

TO: Snelling Campaign Group
FROM: Alex Gage
RE: Draft questionnaire for August Poll
DATE: 8/13/86

Enclosed is a copy of the last Vermont poll. It is our feeling that the next poll should be a subset of this one, plus any new comparative questions that should be added. Pay particular attention to questions 22 to 27. Should any of these be cut? Are there more that should be added?

Our timing on this is an August 23rd field start, preliminary numbers on the 27th, data breaks on the 28th, and a conference call on the 29th.

I will get in touch with you next week to get your comments, revisions, etc.

encl.

Clout
truthfulness
Cares about people
The Snelling record

} pull up for old survey

Vermont Statewide Study #2

*Q1. 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 Right direction
1 Wrong track

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 16-18

---

*Q2. 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)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Somewhat approve
2 Somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 19-21

As you know, there will be elections this fall...

*Q3. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican
1 Democrat

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 7-9

Here are the na[illegible] of some people. For each one, pleas[illegible]ll me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him/her favorable or unfavorable?

(RANDOMIZE Q4 THRU Q8)

*Q4. Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE)

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 22-24

---

*Q5. Robert Stafford

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 22-24

---

*Q6. Richard Snelling

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 22-24

---

*Q7. Peter Smith

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 25-27

---

*Q8. Madeleine Kunin (CUE-NIN)

3 Aware favorable
2 Aware unfavorable
1 Not aware

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 25-27

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections...

*Q9. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat)?

2 Peter Smith
1 Madeleine Kunin

Bernard Sanders

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 13-15

---

*Q10. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Snelling, the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q11)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q11)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q12)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q12)

PP. 1-6

---

*Q11. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

1 Made up mind
2 Might change between now & election day

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 4-6

(ROTATE Q12 Q14 SERIES WITH Q15 TO Q17 SE S)

Q12. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Patrick Leahy during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q13)
1 No (GO TO Q15)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q15)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q15)

pp. 28-30

Q13. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q14. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you've read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp 28-30

Q15. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Richard Schulling during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q16)
1 No (GO TO Q18)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q18)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q18)

pp. 31-33

Q16. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q17. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 31-33

(ROTATE Q18 AND Q19 WITH Q20 AND Q21)

Q18. Have you read, seen or heard any political advertising on behalf of the Snelling Campaign?

2 Yes (GO TO Q19)
1 No (GO TO Q20)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q20)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q20)

PP. 37-39

Q19. (IF YES, ASK:) Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

2 Positive
1 Negative
3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Both (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 37-39

Q20. Have you read, seen or heard any political advertising on behalf of the Leahy Campaign?

2 Yes (GO TO Q21)
1 No (GO TO Q22)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q22)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q22)

PP. 40-42

Q21. (IF YES, ASK:) Would you say your reaction to the ads were generally positive or negative?

2 Positive
1 Negative
3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Both (VOLUNTEERED)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 40-42

For each one of the following statements, please tell me which ones you feel are true and which ones you feel are not true. (IF TRUE, ASK:) Is that important or not important?

(RANDOMIZE Q22 TO Q27)

Q22. Since 1975, Patrick Leahy has voted for spending increases that have added nearly a ~~trillion dollars~~ to the federal deficit.

> 977 billion

need this one

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 46-48, 55-57

Q23. The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy is one of the U.S. Senate's biggest spenders.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 46-48, 55-57

Q24. The National Taxpayer's Union has rated Patrick Leahy as one of the Senate's biggest spenders.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp 49-51, 55-57

Q25. Patrick Leahy has a poor attendance record at meetings of the full Senate Agriculture Committee.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp 49-51, 55-57

Q26. When Dick Snelling left office, he left a $35 million deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 52-57

Q27. Dick Snelling created a spending plan that will pay off the entire deficit of the state of Vermont by 1986.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 52-57

Q28. As you may know, the candidates for U.S. Senate have been campaigning vigorously over the past few weeks. Of the following two statements, which one best describes your view of the race?

(ROTATE)

1 Dick Snelling's criticism of Patrick Leahy has been factual and documented by the Congressional Record

OR

2 Dick Snelling's criticism of Patrick Leahy has been a negative, personal attack

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 58-60

Q29. And between these two statements, which one best describes your view?

(ROTATE)

1 Patrick Leahy has responded to Dick Snelling's criticisms accurately and directly

OR

2 Patrick Leahy has been unwilling to respond to Dick Snelling's criticisms directly, and has been unwilling to clarify his record

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 58-60

Now, a few questi[illegible] for statistical purposes. . .

QD1. **(PARTYID)** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

1 Republican (GO TO Qa)
2 Democrat (GO TO Qa)
3 Independent (GO TO Qb)
4 No preference (GO TO Qb)
5 Other (GO TO Qb)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Qb)
F9 Refused (GO TO Qb)

pp 61-63

Qa. **(INTENSE)** Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp. 61-63

Qb. **(LEAN)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

1 Republican
2 Democratic
3 Neither

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp. 61-63

QD2. **(VOTETYPE)** 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)

01 Straight Democratic
02 Mostly Democratic
03 A few more Democrats than Republicans
04 About equally for both parties
05 A few more Republicans
06 Mostly Republican
07 Straight Republican

08 Other (SPECIFY)_____
09 Never voted

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA

pp 67-69

QD6A. (PVOTER) In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say that you have voted in: (READ CATEGORIES a THRU d)

4 All of them
3 Most of them
2 Some of them
1 None of them

7 Not of voting age in 1984 (VOL.)

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 70-72

QD7A. (LIBCON1) On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

1 Very liberal
2 Somewhat liberal/More liberal than conservative
3 Neither/Middle-of-the-road/Moderate (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Somewhat conservative/More conservative than liberal
5 Very conservative

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
pp. 70-72

QD8B. (AGE) What is your approximate age?

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

99 Refused
pp. 73-75

QD9. **(EDOFR)** What is the last grade of school you completed?

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

F9 Refused

pp. 76-78

QD21. **(RELIGION)** Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

1 Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)
2 Roman Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other Christian
5 Other non-Christian/Unspecified
6 Agnostic/Atheist
7 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp. 79-81

QD25. **(INCOME)** Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1985 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

0 Under $10,000
1 $10,000-$15,000 (14,999)
2 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999)
3 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999)
4 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999)
5 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999)
6 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999)
7 $50,000 and over

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp. 82-84

QD28. (SEX) Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

1 Male
2 Female
AA 86-87

Jan - 84

LEAHY TELEVISION :60 (current Leahy Bullshit)

SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY, CO-AUTHOR OF THE SEMI-CONDUCTOR CHIP PROTECTION ACT, TO FIGHT FOREIGN PIRACY OF AMERICAN COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY. PRIME MOVER OF THE NATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY AND INNOVATION ACT TO HELP AMERICAN BUSINESS COMPETE AGAINST FOREIGN COMPANIES. CO-SPONSOR OF A BILL TO EXTEND THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TAX CREDIT WHICH HAS CREATED 150,000 JOBS AND STIMULATED 3.5 BILLION IN ECONOMIC GROWTH. AUTHOR OF DEATH/BLIND AWARENESS WEEK TO BRING PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES INTO THE JOB MARKET. WINNER OF FEDERAL FUNDS FOR ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND JOBS FOR THE NEW VETERANS MEDICAL CENTER IN WHITE RIVER JUNCTION AND THE GEORGIA REGIONAL INDUSTRIAL PARK. FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WHITE RIVER NATIONAL FISH HATCHERY AND MUCH MORE. SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY. VERMONT WINS WHAT WE NEED. AMERICA HEARS WHAT WE SAY. VERMONT CAN'T AFFORD TO START ALL OVER AGAIN.

MEMORANDUM TO JIM MURPHY

FROM: Tom Griscom

RE: Snelling

DATE: August 18, 1986

cc: Jan van Lohuizen

There was an article in the news digest over the weekend on Snelling that brings out some of the points we discussed on Friday (attached). There are some basic words to describe Snelling: making waves, principles, strength of conviction. Then each one of these phrases leads to the point that Snelling "accomplished a lot."

I think that you have to take this on frontally, play to the negatives that for Snelling are positives. Draw the contrast between a candidate who was willing to make tough, sometimes unpopular decisions, but they worked. He would not shy from a fight just to do what is politically expedient. That the people of Vermont know the type of senator he will be because of the type of governor he was: no-nonsense, tough, honest, workhorse not showhorse, etc. There is a lot here that comes out in this story that people know Snelling and he should play to his strength of being a totally unreasonable person who gets the job done.

As Snelling said, "The Senate needs people who know how to get things done. There is an unwillingness to lead; there is a sense of looking to the polls to tell them what positions are popular to take. Your job is to make what is right more popular."

That is the essence of Snelling. Murph, I do feel you were on the mark of walking into the fray with Snelling being Snelling and not trying to turn him into something he is not.

With Snelling, The Issue Often Is His Style

Rutland Herald 8/10

This is one of a series of articles exploring candidates for major office in Vermont in 1986. The stories will appear from time to time in both the Sunday and daily papers.

By JACK HOFFMAN
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Richard A. Snelling has become an institution in Vermont politics. It's unusual when his name does not come up in the course of a conversation about who's running in the next election or why someone lost the last one. As often as not, the discussion of Snelling focuses more on how he has done things than on what he has done. He has, in his words, "been making a lot of waves." But making waves, he also said, has enabled him to accomplish a lot.

In the more than 25 years Snelling has been on the political scene in Vermont, much has been written and said about his style. His critics have called him arrogant and overbearing; his supporters talk about his strength of character, his leadership ability and his principles. But in interviews with about 20 people who have dealt with Snelling over the years, his fans and critics alike said they respect his intelligence and his abilities. They agree that Snelling is a person who knows what he wants and how to go about getting it.

Now Snelling, 59, is seeking a seat in the United States Senate. He has a primary contest against Anthony N. Doria, who is given little chance of winning and whom Snelling has largely ignored. Assuming he wins the primary, Snelling then has a tough, uphill fight against a popular incumbent, Democratic Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, who has been in office since 1974.

One question that Snelling's style has raised about this race is how well he would function in the legislative setting of the Senate. Whether people like Snelling's style or not, most agreed that he was an effective chief executive. But some wondered if he would be content to be one of 100 senators — and one with no seniority at that.

House Majority Leader

Snelling is not without legislative experience. He served in the Vermont House of Representatives for one term in 1959-60. Thirteen years later, having run unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor and governor during that period, Snelling returned to the Vermont House. He rose quickly, and the Republicans picked him to be House majority leader for the 1975-76 session.

Secretary of State James H. Douglas, who was elected to the House the same yer Snelling returned

See Page 8: Snelling

cont.

Snelling

(Continued from Page One)

and later served in Snelling's administration, remembered the member from Shelburne as "a very assertive, strong leader."

It was Snelling, Douglas said, who proposed the idea that the Republicans develop a legislative program. Douglas said it was the first time he could remember the party preparing such an agenda.

"We put together a steering committee," explained Douglas. "He obviously had a lot to say about it, but it (the legislative agenda) came out of the steering committee. I was glad that he provided that leadership."

Rep. John A. Hise Jr., R-Bristol, was a freshman legislator when Snelling was elected majority leader. Hise, now chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, had never met Snelling before he got to Montpelier and ended up serving with him on the House Commerce Committee that first term.

Hise, who had been president of a New York advertising company, said he was impressed with Snelling's knowledge of business issues, such as workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. He recalled that the chairman of the committee, Rep. John T. Morgan, R-South Woodstock, and the vice chairman, Rep. William D. Flanders, R-Essex Junction, also knew a thing or two about the issues and got into rousing debates with Snelling.

"Morgan was a tough old coot and smart as billy hell," said Hise. "He wasn't always easy to get along with . . . It was anything but a quiet committee meeting. Oh boy, the sparks would really fly."

Fought Salmon's Tax

Snelling went on in that session to establish himself as something of a fiscal and economic wizard in Vermont. In the fall of 1975, then Gov. Thomas P. Salmon, a Democrat, called a special session to try to head off what was predicted would be a $9-million deficit by the end of the fiscal year. The state had just finished the previous fiscal year in June with a $7.5 million deficit.

Snelling challenged Salmon's forecast, explaining that the economy was coming out of a recession and that the state's fortunes would be much improved in the following year. Snelling's position carried the day, and the Legislature refused to increase taxes and restricted Salmon's authority to impound funds, which he had threatened to do if taxes were not raised.

Snelling was proved right — the state ended the year with a huge surplus instead of a deficit — and his reputation as a fiscal expert helped carry him into the governor's office. (Salmon's political fortunes went the other direction; he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1976 and some blamed the fateful special session for his loss.) "His (Snelling's) record in the House helped propel him onto the governorship," recalled Peter Giuliani of Montpelier, a veteran of the Legislature who was Snelling's seat mate in the House.

"He was very effective in getting what he wanted," said Giuliani, who had his share of public disagreements with Snelling. "Whatever he wanted, he fought hard for."

Salmon talked philosophically about his defeat in the special session.

"History records he was right, I was wrong," said the two-term Democratic governor. "As I told the Legislature . . . so be it." He said calling legislators back into session to ask them to raise taxes was something others were unwilling to do, but he took the risk in order to leave the state with a balanced budget. That he was wrong was good news for the state because it meant the state's economy was in good shape, Salmon explained.

History also shows, Salmon continued, that in the twilight of Snelling's tenure as governor he greatly miscalculated the depth of the 1982 recession and the effects of federal tax cuts and left Vermont with a huge deficit. "He was grossly incorrect in his wisdom about the decision . . . that led to the sea of red ink that will be his legacy," Salmon said.

In Snelling's last term, Vermont ran up a cumulative two-year deficit of $35.8 million. Although Snelling acknowledged that he miscalculated the depth of the recession and some of the effects of the Reagan tax cut package, he said that it was his plan to retire the deficit that his successor, Gov. Madeleine Kunin, has been following for the past two years. Indeed, the deficit was paid off in June of this year in conformance with the deficit retirement package passed by the Legislature in 1984.

According to Salmon, Snelling's style was different from his own. "We tried to operate through a collegial management style," he said. "There was a lot of argument, debate, discussion . . . My perception of the former majority leader is that he had less patience with the process of listening."

"Although he is a man of enormous intelligence and executive talents, he operates more by fiat," said Salmon.

Like some of Snelling's other critics, Salmon objected to his style but did not question his ability.

"There isn't anyone on earth who doesn't believe he is capable," said Salmon. "He's demonstrated that in both public and private life."

Snelling As Governor

Stephan A. Morse of Newfane was speaker of the House for four of the eight years that Snelling served as governor, which was the longest tenure for a Vermont governor since the early 19th century.

"He always knew what he wanted, why he wanted it and why it was important," said Morse.

Morse acknowledged that Snelling's style was difficult at times. But he described the former governor as "principled," and said he always appreciated Snelling's strength of conviction.

Morse, and many others, said much of Snelling's strength and effectiveness lay in his command of the facts, his being well-informed. According to Morse, Snelling "really respected people who disagreed with him and were as prepared as he was."

Douglas, who worked on Snelling's first campaign for governor, explained that Snelling devoted time in the early months of the campaign to meet with experts in various fields. "Within a matter of months, he was able to become knowledgeable about the broad aspects of state government," said Douglas. "He's brilliant, able to absorb a lot of material in a short time, and he's a hard worker."

Some who served in the Legislature when Snelling made the transition from lawmaker to governor said he became more forceful, more aggressive.

One former House member who asked not to be identified said Snelling was willing to take advice when he was in the Legislature. "He lost touch with the Legislature as soon as he walked into the front office," he said.

In Hise's view, Snelling did "extremely well" working "in a rather quiet, forceful way" with the Legislature in his first few years in office. "Later, he became more forceful," said Hise.

John Zampieri, who served as a Democratic member of the House for 20 years before Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin appointed him comissioner of state buildings, agreed that Snelling changed. But he said that anybody would change when going from the Legislature to the governor's office.

"Anybody in a leadership position has to push," said Zampieri. "When you push, you tend to be unpopular because you step on peoples' toes."

Canadian Power

One thing that Snelling wanted was that Vermont take advantage of the massive hydroelectric generating facilities being developed in Canada by the provincially owned utility, Hydro-Quebec. The success of that idea is something that some view as a crowning achievement of the Snelling years.

According to James E. Griffin, who retired last month as president and chairman of the board of Central Vermont Public Service Corp., Snelling was instrumental in getting New England utilities to look to Canada for power and then later in forcing Vermont

Cont.

utilities to build the state's own connection to Quebec.

Now two new links exist between Canada and New England. One is the $150-million powerline through the northeast corner of Vermont that will serve the entire region. The second is a connection in the northwest corner of the state that for now just serves Vermont.

Snelling met with the boards of directors of several major New England utilities and "had an effect" on their decisions to start the talks that eventually led to the powerline project, said Griffin.

On the second project, however, Snelling was more heavy-handed.

He took advantage of a Vermont law that authorizes the state to purchase power and negotiated a contract with Hydro Quebec for a block of power for Vermont. He then told the utilities he would prefer that they took charge of the project, but said the state would do it if they didn't.

"I don't know if it was a threat or a bluff or what it was," said Griffin, who also was chairman of the board of the Vermont Electric Power Corp., which operates the electrical transmission system in the state. "But I didn't want to take any chances."

The utilities feared that Vermont would start a state power authority and agreed to take over the project, Griffin explained.

According to Griffin, the utilities eventually would have built the second connection. But he acknowledged that they would not have moved as quickly and gotten the job done as fast if Snelling hadn't forced them into action.

"It was a very good move on the part of the utilities and the state of Vermont... That will become a valuable interconnection," he said.

National Governor's Association

Snelling's forceful style was not something he displayed only in his own backyard. He also earned a reputation for being aggressive, and effective, among his fellow governors.

During his eight years in office, Snelling served as chairman of the Republican Governors' Association and chairman of the the National Governors' Association, each of which are one-year terms.

Former Utah Gov. Scott Matheson, a Democrat who succeeded Snelling as NGA chairman, described the former Vermont governor as having a "very aggressive personality."

He said that Snelling "worked cooperatively for the most part" and that he is "very, very intellectually capable."

But he said Snelling's aggressiveness sometimes got him in trouble. "I think it hurt him with the administration," he said.

Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm, also praised Snelling for his work in the NGA, although he made it clear that as a Democrat he would vote for a Democrat for the U.S. Senate. "He's been a very effective, very bright, very able spokesman for Vermont," said Lamm. He also pointed out that Snelling became chairman with bipartisan support.

One former Democratic governor, who got into some heated discussions with Snelling, was not as complimentary. "I always found Snelling to be very arrogant and aloof," he said. "He was an autocratic chairman, and the NGA suffered because of that, because of the friction."

Governor To Senator

Matheson suggested that Snelling might find it difficult to adjust from being a chief executive to becoming a legislator. He said he had talked about such transitions with Sens. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., and James Exon, D-Neb., both of whom had served as governors. They said they were not as effective as senators as they were as governors, Matheson said. "It's the inability to control and decide."

"I think he'd go crazy, especially without seniority," said Salmon, who himself wanted to make the same switch from administrator to legislator. "I think it would be difficult for Dick to adjust. But no one questions that if he were elected he would work aggressively. Perhaps a little difficult to manage, but he would work hard."

David A. Wilson, who served as Snelling's last secretary of administration, acknowledged that the former governor would have to make adjustments to being in the Senate. But Wilson, who described Snelling as one of the most principled people he has ever dealt with, he had little doubt that his former boss was up to the task.

"He's a very directed person," said Wilson. "Once he put his mind to what it takes to be a great United States senator, then I think he will be a great United States senator."

Kunin, who also served in the Vermont House with Snelling, said she thought Snelling preferred the executive role to the "collegial, consensus building of the legislature." Kunin recalled that Snelling was articulate and a good spokesman for the Republicans.

But she also said he "didn't sense where the majority was." As an example, she cited his strong support of nuclear power in the early 1970s — a time, she said, when there was growing skepticism about that source of electricity.

Stephen C. Terry, a former political reporter who is now director of corporate relations for Green Mountain Power Corp., said the Senate would be a challenge for Snelling. Terry, the former managing editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* and a former aide to the late Sen. George D. Aiken, said Snelling is used to being a chief executive. "He's used to being the captain of the ship."

Giuliani, however, predicted his old seat-mate would make the adjustment.

"He worked very impressively in the Vermont Legislature. If that is any indication, he'll do very well."

Snelling himself also points to his experience in the Vermont House as evidence of his ability in the legislative arena.

"I became majority leader; I enjoyed it, and I think I did well," he said.

But he also said the skills required of a chief executive are just the kind of skills needed now in Congress.

"The modern chief executive differs (from legislators) only in that their job is to get something done," he said. "Congress desparately needs people who have a sense of how to get things done."

Reiterating a charge he has made on numerous occasions, Snelling said Congress is failing in its duty. He said the club atmosphere of the Senate — the "I'll-scratch-your-back-you-scratch-mine" attitude — has become totally destructive.

Snelling said if he were in the Senate he would not agree to any so-called "non-aggression pact" and never criticize another member's position. "You bet I will speak out," said Snelling.

"I think the notion that the House and Senate should be filled with a bunch of lawyers who like to palaver is part of the problem," he said.

Snelling agreed that he had taken some unpopular positions in the past and had not always succeeded in pushing through an idea or program he wanted. But he said he believes one of the failings of political leaders today is their unwillingness lead.

In Snelling view, too many politicians look at the polls to tell them what positions are popular to take.

"I really don't have much respect for legislators who espouse what has momentum and what is popular," he said. Today, according to Snelling, politicians too often want to prove that what is popular is right. He explained he always believed a leader's role was "to make what is right more popular."

Responding to Kunin's comment about his not sensing the majority view, Snelling said, "You must be sensitive (to what the majority wants) but you must not blindly follow."

Snelling said he would continue press ideas that may not be popular with the majority.

"I've been doing it all my life," he said. "I've been making a lot of waves, but I've also accomplished a lot."

FYI - 8/25/86
J. Murphy/Bam

With Snelling, The Issue Often Is His Style

Rutland Herald 8/10

This is one of a series of articles exploring candidates for major office in Vermont in 1986. The stories will appear from time to time in both the Sunday and daily papers

By JACK HOFFMAN
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Richard A. Snelling has become an institution in Vermont politics. It's unusual when his name does not come up in the course of a conversation about who's running in the next election or why someone lost the last one. As often as not, the discussion of Snelling focuses more on how he has done things than on what he has done. He has, in his words, "been making a lot of waves." But making waves, he also said, has enabled him to accomplish a lot.

In the more than 25 years Snelling has been on the political scene in Vermont, much has been written and said about his style. His critics have called him arrogant and overbearing; his supporters talk about his strength of character, his leadership ability and his principles. But in interviews with about 20 people who have dealt with Snelling over the years, his fans and critics alike said they respect his intelligence and his abilities. They agree that Snelling is a person who knows what he wants and how to go about getting it.

Now Snelling, 59, is seeking a seat in the United States Senate. He has a primary contest against Anthony N. Doria, who is given little chance of winning and whom Snelling has largely ignored. Assuming he wins the primary, Snelling then has a tough, uphill fight against a popular incumbent, Democratic Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, who has been in office since 1974.

One question that Snelling's style has raised about this race is how well he would function in the legislative setting of the Senate. Whether people like Snelling's style or not, most agreed that he was an effective chief executive. But some wondered if he would be content to be one of 100 senators — and one with no seniority at that.

House Majority Leader

Snelling is not without legislative experience. He served in the Vermont House of Representatives for one term in 1959-60. Thirteen years later, having run unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor and governor during that period, Snelling returned to the Vermont House. He rose quickly, and the Republicans picked him to be House majority leader for the 1975-76 session.

Secretary of State James H. Douglas, who was elected to the House the same yer Snelling returned

See Page 8: Snelling

Van Lidington

LOCK.

Snelling

Continued from page one

and later served in Snelling's administration remembered the member from Shelburne as "a very assertive, strong leader."

It was Snelling, Douglas said, who proposed the idea that the Republicans develop a legislative program. Douglas said it was the first time he could remember the party preparing such an agenda.

"We put together a steering committee," explained Douglas. "He obviously had a lot to say about it, but it (the legislative agenda) came out of the steering committee. I was glad that he provided that leadership."

Rep. John A. Hise Jr., R-Bristol, was a freshman legislator when Snelling was elected majority leader. Hise, now chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, had never met Snelling before he got to Montpelier and ended up serving with him on the House Commerce Committee that first term.

Hise, who had been president of a New York advertising company, said he was impressed with Snelling's knowledge of business issues, such as workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. He recalled that the chairman of the committee, Rep. John T. Morgan, R-South Woodstock, and the vice chairman, Rep. William D. Flanders, R-Essex Junction, also knew a thing or two about the issues and got into rousing debates with Snelling.

"Morgan was a tough old coot and smart as billy hell," said Hise. "He wasn't always easy to get along with. It was anything but a quiet committee meeting. Oh boy, the sparks would really fly."

Fought Salmon's Tax

Snelling went on in that session to establish himself as something of a fiscal and economic wizard in Vermont. In the fall of 1975, then Gov. Thomas P. Salmon, a Democrat, called a special session to try to head off what was predicted would be a $9 million deficit by the end of the fiscal year. The state had just finished the previous fiscal year in June with a $7.5 million deficit.

Snelling challenged Salmon's forecast, explaining that the economy was coming out of a recession and that the state's fortunes would be much improved in the following year. Snelling's position carried the day, and the Legislature refused to increase taxes and restricted Salmon's authority to impound funds, which he had threatened to do if taxes were not raised.

Snelling was proved right — the state ended the year with a huge surplus instead of a deficit — and his reputation as a fiscal expert helped carry him into the governor's office. (Salmon's political fortunes went the other direction; he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1976 and some blamed the fateful special session for his loss.) "His (Snelling's) record in the House helped propel him onto the governorship," recalled Peter Giuliani of Montpelier, a veteran of the Legislature who was Snelling's seat mate in the House.

"He was very effective in getting what he wanted," said Giuliani, who had his share of public disagreements with Snelling. "Whatever he wanted, he fought hard for."

Salmon talked philosophically about his defeat in the special session.

"History records he was right, I was wrong," said the two-term Democratic governor. "As I told the Legislature, so be it." He said calling legislators back into session to ask them to raise taxes was something others were unwilling to do, but he took the risk in order to leave the state with a balanced budget. That he was wrong was good news for the state because it meant the state's economy was in good shape, Salmon explained.

History also shows, Salmon continued, that in the twilight of Snelling's tenure as governor he greatly miscalculated the depth of the 1982 recession and the effects of federal tax cuts and left Vermont with a huge deficit. "He was grossly incorrect in his wisdom about the decision, that led to the sea of red ink that will be his legacy," Salmon said.

In Snelling's last term, Vermont ran up a cumulative two-year deficit of $35.8 million. Although Snelling acknowledged that he miscalculated the depth of the recession and some of the effects of the Reagan tax cut package, he said that it was his plan to retire the deficit that his successor, Gov. Madeleine Kunin, has been following for the past two years. Indeed, the deficit was paid off in June of this year in conformance with the deficit retirement package passed by the Legislature in 1984.

According to Salmon, Snelling's style was different from his own. "We tried to operate through a collegial management style," he said. "There was a lot of argument, debate, discussion. My perception of the former majority leader is that he had less patience with the process of listening."

"Although he is a man of enormous intelligence and executive talents, he operates more by fiat," said Salmon.

Like some of Snelling's other critics, Salmon objected to his style but did not question his ability.

"There isn't anyone on earth who doesn't believe he is capable," said Salmon. "He's demonstrated that in both public and private life."

Snelling As Governor

Stephan A. Morse of Newfane was speaker of the House for four of the eight years that Snelling served as governor, which was the longest tenure for a Vermont governor since the early 19th century.

"He always knew what he wanted, why he wanted it and why it was important," said Morse.

Morse acknowledged that Snelling's style was difficult at times. But he described the former governor as "principled," and said he always appreciated Snelling's strength of conviction.

Morse, and many others, said much of Snelling's strength and effectiveness lay in his command of the facts, his being well-informed. According to Morse, Snelling "really respected people who disagreed with him and were as prepared as he was."

Douglas, who worked on Snelling's first campaign for governor, explained that Snelling devoted time in the early months of the campaign to meet with experts in various fields. "Within a matter of months, he was able to become knowledgeable about the broad aspects of state government," said Douglas. "He's brilliant, able to absorb a lot of material in a short time, and he's a hard worker."

Some who served in the Legislature when Snelling made the transition from lawmaker to governor said he became more forceful, more aggressive.

One former House member who asked not to be identified said Snelling was willing to take advice when he was in the Legislature. "He lost touch with the Legislature as soon as he walked into the front office," he said.

In Hise's view, Snelling did "extremely well" working "in a rather quiet, forceful way" with the Legislature in his first few years in office. "Later, he became more forceful," said Hise.

John Zampieri, who served as a Democratic member of the House for 20 years before Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin appointed him comissioner of state buildings, agreed that Snelling changed. But he said that anybody would change when going from the Legislature to the governor's office.

"Anybody in a leadership position has to push," said Zampieri. "When you push, you tend to be unpopular because you step on peoples' toes."

Canadian Power

One thing that Snelling wanted was that Vermont take advantage of the massive hydroelectric generating facilities being developed in Canada by the provincially owned utility, Hydro-Quebec. The success of that idea is something that some view as a crowning achievement of the Snelling years.

According to James E. Griffin, who retired last month as president and chairman of the board of Central Vermont Public Service Corp., Snelling was instrumental in getting New England utilities to look to Canada for power and then later, in forcing Vermont

Cont.

utilities to build the state's first connection to power lines that now exist between Canada and New England. One is the $150 million powerline through the northeast corner of Vermont that will serve the entire region. The second is a connection in the northwest corner of the state that for now just serves Vermont.

Snelling met with the boards of directors of several major New England utilities and "had an effect" on their decisions to start the talks that eventually led to the powerline project, said Griffin.

On the second project, however, Snelling was more heavy-handed.

He took advantage of a Vermont law that authorizes the state to purchase power and negotiated a contract with Hydro-Quebec for a block of power for Vermont. He then told the utilities he would prefer that they took charge of the project, but said the state would do it if they didn't.

"I don't know if it was a threat or a bluff or what it was," said Griffin, who also was chairman of the board of the Vermont Electric Power Corp., which operates the electrical transmission system in the state. "But I didn't want to take any chances."

The utilities feared that Vermont would start a state power authority and agreed to take over the project, Griffin explained.

According to Griffin, the utilities eventually would have built the second connection. But he acknowledged that they would not have moved as quickly and gotten the job done as fast if Snelling hadn't forced them into action.

"It was a very good move on the part of the utilities and the state of Vermont. That will become a valuable interconnection," he said.

National Governor's Association

Snelling's forceful style was not something he displayed only in his own backyard. He also earned a reputation for being aggressive, and effective, among his fellow governors.

During his eight years in office, Snelling served as chairman of the Republican Governors' Association and chairman of the the National Governors' Association, each of which are one-year terms.

Former Utah Gov. Scott Matheson, a Democrat who succeeded Snelling as NGA chairman, described the former Vermont governor as having a "very aggressive personality."

He said that Snelling "worked cooperatively for the most part" and that he is "very, very intellectually capable."

But he said Snelling's aggressiveness sometimes got him in trouble. "I think it hurt him with the administration," he said.

Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm, also praised Snelling for his work in the NGA, although he made it clear that as a Democrat he would vote for a Democrat for the U.S. Senate. "He's been a very effective, very bright, very able spokesman for Vermont," said Lamm. He also pointed out that Snelling became chairman with bipartisan support.

One former Democratic governor, who got into some heated discussions with Snelling, was not as complimentary. "I always found Snelling to be very arrogant and aloof," he said. "He was an autocratic chairman, and the NGA suffered because of that, because of the friction."

Governor To Senator

Matheson suggested that Snelling might find it difficult to adjust from being a chief executive to becoming a legislator. He said he had talked about such transitions with Sens. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., and James Exon, D-Neb., both of whom had served as governors. They said they were not as effective as senators as they were as governors, Matheson said. "It's the inability to control and decide."

"I think he'd go crazy, especially without seniority," said Salmon, who himself wanted to make the same switch from administrator to legislator. "I think it would be difficult for Dick to adjust. But no one questions that if he were elected he would work aggressively. Perhaps a little difficult to [illegible] but he would work hard."

David A. Wilson, who served as Snelling's last secretary of administration, acknowledged that the former governor would have to make adjustments to being in the Senate. But Wilson, who described Snelling as one of the most principled people he has ever dealt with, he had little doubt that his former boss was up to the task.

"He's a very directed person," said Wilson. "Once he put his mind to what it takes to be a great United States senator, then I think he will be a great United State senator."

Kunin, who also served in the Vermont House with Snelling, said she thought Snelling preferred the executive role to the "collegial, consensus-building of the legislature." Kunin recalled that Snelling was articulate and a good spokesman for the Republicans.

But she also said he "didn't sense where the majority was." As an example, she cited his strong support of nuclear power in the early 1970s — a time, she said, when there was growing skepticism about that source of electricity.

Stephen C. Terry, a former political reporter who is now director of corporate relations for Green Mountain Power Corp., said the Senate would be a challenge for Snelling. Terry, the former managing editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* and a former aide to the late Sen. George D. Aiken, said Snelling is used to being a chief executive. "He's used to being the captain of the ship."

Giuliani, however, predicted his old seat-mate would make the adjustment.

"He worked very impressively in the Vermont Legislature. If that is any indication, he'll do very well."

Snelling himself also points to his experience in the Vermont House as evidence of his ability in the legislative arena.

"I became majority leader. I enjoyed it, and I think I did well," he said.

But he also said the skills required of a chief executive are just the kind of skills needed now in Congress.

"The modern chief executive differs (from legislators) only in that their job is to get something done," he said. "Congress desparately needs people who have a sense of how to get things done."

Reiterating a charge he has made on numerous occasions, Snelling said Congress is failing in its duty. He said the club atmosphere of the Senate — the "I'll-scratch-your-back-you-scratch-mine" attitude — has become totally destructive.

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—The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Thursday, August 14, 1986 • • •

Snelling Calls Maine Senator's

Campaign '86

Republican senatorial candidate Richard A. Snelling has charged that the visit to Vermont of a national Democratic Party official was an example of Sen. Patrick J. Leahy's strategy of "obfuscation and misinformation."

Monday, Sen. George Mitchell, D-Maine, who is chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said Snelling's campaign was using a general campaign strategy devised by national Republican officials and was merely filling in the blanks.

Snelling's charges that Leahy's attendance record is poor, that Leahy is a liberal and that he is a big spender mirror charges made by Republicans in other states, Mitchell contended.

But at a South Burlington news conference Tuesday, Snelling, reiterated all three charges. He said that for Mitchell to say the charges were similar to those in other states was not to answer them at all, and was instead an effort to divert attention from them.

"He doesn't say it isn't true," Snelling said.

He released papers showing that from 1981 to 1984, Leahy ranked 80th among the 107 senators who served during that period in terms of attendance at committee hearings, attending 19 percent of his hearings.

Snelling also released a paper he said showed that Leahy was a "partisan liberal Democrat." The paper said Leahy's support of President Jimmy Carter was among the highest in the Senate, and his support of President Ronald Reagan was among the lowest. Snelling said this showed that Leahy was not an independent thinker, nor was he the moderate that many Vermonters suppose him to be.

"The reason I'm calling Pat Leahy a liberal is because he is a liberal," Snelling said, adding that Leahy has been hiding that philosophic blueprint from the people of Vermont."

William Gray, Leahy's campaign manager, said Leahy is an independent thinker who votes his conscience and sometimes supports Reagan and

Charges Diversion Tactics

sometimes opposes him.

"Instead of using labels to characterize his opponent, I suggest that Mr. Snelling say how he would have voted," on some of the various issues Leahy has faced.

Snelling did respond to questions about issues at his news conference, saying he favored sanctions against the government of South Africa and supported humanitarian, but not military, aid to the counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua.

Gray said he did not know where Snelling's attendance data came from, because he understood that there are no official records of committee attendance, but he did not dispute the information. He did say, "The voters of Vermont know (Leahy) works hard," and said this was just another effort by Snelling to recycle an old charge.

Snelling disputed Mitchell's contention that his campaign is being run by a national Republican campaign committee, saying that anyone who knows him would realize he would not let outsiders run his campaign.

The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Friday, August 15, 1986

Snelling 'Shocked' By Leahy's Vote Against Rehnquist

Campaign '86

U.S. Senate candidate and former governor Richard A. Snelling said Thursday afternoon he is "shocked and surprised" at Sen. Patrick J. Leahy's decision to vote against the confirmation of Justice William Rehnquist as U.S. Supreme Court chief justice.

The Senate Judiciary Committee voted 13-5 Thursday to approve the nomination of Rehnquist as chief justice.

"Just a few weeks ago he was telling the Vermont news media that he thought the President's nomination of Mr. Justice Rehnquist was outstanding and that he planned to vote for his confirmation. Now, as he has on so many other issues, he flip-flops and decides not to support the Justice's nomination," Snelling said.

Snelling's primary opponent, South Royalton lawyer Anthony Doria, also criticized Leahy's vote.

"I fully agree with the Republicans' support of the nomination," Doria said. "Leahy himself said Rehnquist is a man of keen intellect, that the guy is brilliant. Personally I think the whole thing a political harassment of a justice. The Democrats knew they weren't going to get anywhere.

"Leahy just took advantage of the opportunity to make another headline," Doria said.

Also Thursday, Peter Diamondstone, Liberty Union candidate for the U.S. House, said his party has collected 900 signatures on its petitions calling for the impeachment of Rehnquist.

The petitions, circulated throughout Vermont this week, charge Rehnquist "has displayed prejudice against blacks, Jews and women (and) ... five sworn witnesses have testified that Rehnquist harassed black and Latino voters."

Diamondstone said he collected 240 signatures in Burlington Thursday, bringing the total so far to 900.

The petitions will be mailed to Vermont's congressional delegation and to other members of Congress as well, he said.

Snelling Budget Plan

U.S. Senate candidate Richard A. Snelling Thursday presented his plan for a balanced budget and a plan to reduce federal spending to the Vermont Society of Certified Public Accountants, a press release said.

To get the deficit under control, he suggested the government limit defense and non-defense spending to no more than the rate of inflation.

"But it does not have to be done in a way that devastates vital programs which many of our citizens have come to depend on," he said. "We are finally coming to the realization that the deficit problem is not a numbers issues, but a people issue. No interest groups will fare well if our economy fails."

By giving local and state governments greater decision-making authority and flexibility in dispensing their resources to the neediest segments of the population, money can be dispensed more flexibly to needed services and programs while reducing unnecessary program costs, he said

Letters To The Editor

Rutland Herald 8/17

Setting Record Straight On Snelling-Leahy Spending

Dear Editor:

I would like to set the record straight on two points raised in Deborah Sline's column in the Aug. 3 Rutland Herald. First, there is the implication that the Snelling campaign failed to accurately report all polling costs in our filings with the Federal Election Commission. This is simply not the case. All of our polling expenses to date have been completely reflected in our filings with the FEC.

The fact of the matter is that we cannot compete with the massive amounts of out-of-state money Patrick Leahy has raised and have had to make do with less extensive polling data.

Because Sen. Leahy spends $44,000 on polls is hardly a reason for us to spend that much. Ms. Sline "buys" a totally illogical claim made by Leahy – that because he spent a huge sum we "must" have spent more than we say we did.

Second, with respect to the issue of Common Cause guidelines, while it remains our intention to adhere to the guidelines with respect to our own polling, we certainly cannot make such decisions for another organization, such as the National Republican Senatorial Committee – or *The Rutland Herald* or anyone else that takes polls.

Finally, I totally disagree with Ms. Sline's comment that talk of spending caps is a "moot" matter because of the "combined costs" of this campaign so far.

Governor Snelling made an offer early in this campaign to limit his spending to under $1 million. Pat Leahy, over and over again, refused to abide by that or any other specific limit!

Pat Leahy has already raised nearly $1.2 million; he is rapidly on his way to raising $2 million. Governor Snelling has already indicated his intention to try to keep his spending below $1 million, and Patrick Leahy's free-wheeling spending and money raising makes spending a continued issue.

It is clear that while Ms. Sline is certainly entitled to her views in a piece clearly marked "commentary," the facts on which she bases those views should at least be accurate. And, in my opinion, that was not the case.

Rey Post
General Campaign Manager

Appreciated Story About Northern League

We have recently subscribed to the Sunday *Herald* and are enjoying the paper very much.

What a pleasant surprise it was to read the July 20 issue of Vermont magazine featuring "Ken Coleman and other Northern League beginnings," especially the stories about Robin Roberts, the great pitcher for the Phillies.

Robin grew up in our home town and played sports at the same high school I attended (Lanphier). He was known as a good baseball player and an even better basketball player. In fact, the Class A minor league park in Springfield, IL, is named after Roberts (Lanphier Park/Robin Roberts Stadium).

Phil Shadid
Springfield, IL

The Sunday Times Argus and Sunday Rutland Herald welcomes letters to the editor. We endeavor to publish all letters, but they should be short, to the point, neatly typed or handwritten and signed in ink. Letters should include the writer's full name and address and a telephone number. Letters that are unsigned, libelous, in poor taste or incomprehensible will not be published.

Loving Farm Life Translates Into Winning Votes

By DON MELVIN
Free Press Capital Bureau

MONTPELIER — Everyone loves Vermont's farmers — but no one more so than politicians in election time.

Although agriculture accounts for only about 4 percent of the gross state product, the annual output of goods and services, and dairy farm employees account for perhaps 3.5 percent of the registered voters, farmers find themselves lavished with political attention.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., has emphasized that, if re-elected, he could become chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. Richard A. Snelling, one of Leahy's Republican challengers, has spent enormous effort trying to chip away at Leahy's image as an effective friend of farmers. Leahy and Snelling have each run television ads showing the candidate on a farm.

Republican gubernatorial candidate Peter Smith has attacked Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin's record in helping farmers, and has unveiled his own six-point plan to help farmers. Kunin administration officials have hotly defended her agricultural record.

And it seems nearly every candidate has held a news conference on the topic —events which frequently feature several farmers as a scenic backdrop for the television cameras, and at which candidates have not always shown a thorough knowledge of the subject.

If there aren't that many farm voters, and agriculture is not that large a component of the state's economy, why all the fuss?

For one thing, the ads and the press conferences are not aimed at farmers, but at a broader group of people who want to preserve the rural nature of Vermont, political strategists and observers around the state agree.

"A candidate who exhibits concern for agriculture is a candidate who appeals to a broad spectrum of the electorate," said Stephen Terry, a former aide to the late Republican Sen. George Aiken, and a former newspaper editor. Terry is now a spokesman for a utility company.

Polls bear him out. A telephone survey conducted earlier this year by the University of Vermont's School of Natural Resources found that 69 percent of those surveyed considered loss of agricultural land a big problem. Another 22 percent considered it a small problem, and only 9 percent considered it no problem at all.

Although agriculture accounts for only a few voters and a small portion of the state's economy, it is inextricably intertwined with many voters' sense of what Vermont is about.

Developing a farm program is, said UVM political scientist Garrison Nelson, "a value statement. It is a quality-of-life statement. Agriculture is a key component of the state's perception of itself."

Nelson said Vermonters feel, "If we lose agriculture, we'll be wall-to-wall condos and we'll turn into New Jersey."

Said Republican fund-raiser James Johnston, "We're all frustrated farmers."

Further, being in favor of the family farm is a position which creates virtually no

Turn to POLITICIANS, 2B

From Page 1B

enemies for a politician. Even being in favor of strong environmental policies, safe though that may be in Vermont, can cause unrest in certain segments of the business community.

Also, farming is more important to the economy than it at first appears. If related businesses are included, such as tractor sales or feed dealerships, it accounts for 15 percent of the gross state product.

And that doesn't include tourism, and most people agree that Vermont's farms are a foundation of the tourist industry.

Although many Vermonters are not farmers, a large percentage of them have been off the farm for only one or two generations, Terry said, and still have emotional ties to farming.

But the attention farm issues get during election time rankles some farm advocates.

Anthony Pollina, head of a farm advocacy organization called Rural Vermont, said, "Farmers don't get a lot of attention at times other than election times. The follow-through just hasn't been there."

Because the intended audience is not farmers, but the broader population, Pollina said politicians sometimes find it sufficient to announce that they have a farm program without taking the time to understand the issues thoroughly.

Robert Sherman, a former newspaper reporter who now serves as Kunin's press secretary, believes politicians are becoming better briefed on agricultural matters than they were two years ago. Farm policy used to be almost entirely on the federal level, he said, but that is changing.

Still, the politics of agriculture reaches beyond the economics of farming. Terry speaks of the "psychic relief" commuters feel when they drive by farms on their way home from their offices.

Sherman noted, "Farming is a key value that brings people and keeps people in Vermont," so one might expect Vermont politicians to harbor that value as well.

And Nelson agreed that the political importance of agriculture goes further than economics. "People have been coming to Vermont for years for quality-of-life reasons, not economic reasons, so it should come as no surprise."

Minnesota Senator Stumps for Snelling, Cites Need for Businessmen in Senate

By SARAH WILSON
Free Press Capital Bureau

The views of businessmen like Republican Richard A. Snelling are needed in the U.S. Senate, Sen. Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., said Saturday.

Boschwitz, who was in Vermont to campaign for Snelling, said 70 of the 100 senators are lawyers.

But he declined to discuss the performance of Snelling's Democratic opponent, Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

Boschwitz and Leahy are both on the Senate Agriculture Committee. Boschwitz said because they work closely together, it would be "inappropriate" for him to comment on Leahy.

Boschwitz declined to say why Leahy should be replaced, but said he would like to see another businessman in the Senate.

"He is, as I am, from the world of business," Boschwitz said of Snelling. "I welcome the idea of having more of the entrepreneurial spirit."

The two Republicans agreed the federal government should gradually become less involved in farming. Boschwitz said there is not a close-enough relationship between production and demand in some branches of agriculture.

Boschwitz said the farmers with the most severe problems in the United States are those who are involved in federal programs.

"I believe that the American farmer ... is too closely tied to government," he said.

Boschwitz and Snelling appeared to disagree on the desirability of an assessment levied on farmers to pay for the whole herd buyout program. Boschwitz said if farmers are offered large-enough incentives, they will always produce surpluses.

Snelling, who will face candidate Anthony Doria in the Republican primary, has criticized Leahy for supporting the assessment, which he argues is costing the average Vermont farmer about $4,000. He said Saturday he would like to see the tax removed.

"We kind of like the assessment down our way," Boschwitz said. He said if the tax had not been levied, the price of milk would have been reduced — a step he argued would have fallen unfairly hard on farmers in his state.

Boschwitz said he was largely responsible for another assessment farmers pay that goes toward milk promotion. He said consumption has increased by about 10 percent in the past three years, partly as a result of increased promotion.

"Really, the problem in dairy has been consumption, rather than production," he said. "The consumption of milk, if we can spur it, will solve the problems."

Boschwitz said the interests of farmers are overrepresented in Washington.

"I think the farmers are well represented in the United States Senate and their needs are heard — probably too much," he said. Boschwitz said Congress is constantly making farm programs more complicated, rather than cutting them back.

Boschwitz predicted the current decline in the number of farms will slow in the next few years. But he said the recovery of American agriculture depends partly on improvements in the world economy that would boost exports — which will take a few years.

"There is a turnaround coming," he predicted.

A Look At The Campaign Organizations Of Four U.S. Senate Candidates

Rutland Herald 8/17

By DEBORAH SLINE
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Behind most successful candidates for public office stand largely invisible but essential campaign organizations, and nowhere is that more evident than in Vermont's U.S. Senate race this year.

Political organizations function as extensions of the candidates, and usually the caliber of their operation can make the difference between victory and defeat.

Now, in the dog days of summer when Election Day still seems distant, two of these organizations are humming behind the scenes in preparation for busier weeks ahead.

Both the Democratic incumbent, Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, and key Republican challenger Richard A. Snelling have had modern, well-organized campaign operations in place for months, mapping strategy and providing support for the two chief contenders.

In contrast, GOP hopeful Anthony N. Doria of South Royalton has a skeletal organization and performs nearly all the campaign work himself. Liberty Union candidate Jerry Levy of Brattleboro has no organization in the classic political sense.

The Leahy Organization

Leahy, as might be expected, has built an elaborate organization in his effort to win a third term.

Leahy began recruiting key staff last winter, and for months now his organization has functioned as an entity almost completely separate from the senator, who has been in Washington.

Three people oversee this operation from the headquarters on College Street in Burlington and also manage field offices in Burlington, Rutland, Brattleboro and Montpelier.

Leahy's key people: William Gray, a Burlington lawyer serving on a volunteer basis as campaign director; Mary Beth Cahill, the campaign manager and a Massachusetts import who worked on successful campaigns to elect such liberals to Congress as former Rep. Robert Drinan and current Reps. Barney Frank and Edward Markey; and Deborah Graham, a former Rutland Herald reporter who worked in Colorado Sen. Gary Hart's 1984 Democratic presidential campaign.

Leahy's headquarters, a cramped second-story suite, houses about a dozen paid staff and an equal number of full-time volunteers. Each field office has two workers — one paid and one a volunteer.

From the headquarters, as well as the field offices, volunteers and staff crank out letters to prospective supporters, telephone voters, update lists of contributors and organize Leahy backers to attend weekend parades and rallies.

Although these offices got under way relatively recently, Leahy began preparation for this year's campaign at least a year ago, when he used volunteers to conduct voter identification by telephone.

The senator uses a Boston media consultant, Ken Swope Associates, to produce all of the campaign's television and radio commercials, which began running on a periodic basis in March when Snelling formally announced.

Leahy also has used Washington pollster Peter Hart, although campaign staff would not say how many surveys were conducted with their $44,000 polling investment through June.

In addition to these formal organizational efforts, Cahill estimates that the Leahy campaign has about 3,000 volunteers statewide. He has organizations in each county and in about 200 cities and towns.

Gray said the campaign network will feature the largest core of volunteers ever amassed in a Vermont political race.

"In some ways, you don't even see the organization" now, Gray said. As the Nov. 4 election approaches, however, it should gain increasing importance as the effort to woo Vermont's 200,000-plus registered voters moves into its final phase.

The Snelling Campaign

The former governor's bid to oust Leahy is backed by an equally sophisticated campaign organization based at the Jelly Mill Common shopping mall in Shelburne.

That base, plus Snelling's own office on Dorset Street in South Burlington, forms the hub of all the challenger's campaign activities.

Snelling has no satellite offices in other Vermont communities, but Campaign Manager Rev Post said those might be created this fall.

Post served as an aide to Republican Sen. Robert Stafford, whose 1982 re-election campaign he managed, before signing on with Snelling last December. His early efforts revolved around fundraising, hiring staff and dealing with the press, but Post has receded into the background somewhat since Peter Wellish was imported from Washington last spring to serve as press secretary.

Unlike Leahy — who, partly out of necessity and partly by design, has relied more heavily on his organization to establish his presence as a candidate — Snelling has been playing a more visible role.

He has held press conferences almost every week since his announcement in March, while Leahy's appearances have been largely limited to weekends when he returns to Vermont from Washington.

Meanwhile, much has been made of Snelling's media producers, Murphy & Castellanos and his Virginia-based consulting firm, Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, which has a string of GOP election successes that include that of Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

Post combats charges that these consultants have played a heavy-handed role in the Snelling campaign by contending that Snelling himself is the chief architect and executor of the campaign strategy. He said, for instance, that Snelling has written most of the scripts for his advertisements, which first ran in March and have been aired more frequently than the incumbent's.

Behind the scenes, however, Post said Snelling has a "grid of about 10,000 volunteers right down to the neighborhood level" working on the campaign. Like Leahy, the challenger has an organization in every county and has organizers in most communities.

Snelling's efforts are coordinated by about 11 paid staff members in the Shelburne and South Burlington offices, where Snelling divides his time when he is not on the road.

Post said the campaign had not yet conducted voter identification a standard telephone operation to pinpoint possible backers. The campaign also will do no polling of its own until fall, although Post says newspaper polls and surveys for the National Republican Senatorial Committee mean the campaign is hardly "in a data void."

Post said the campaign also has received staff help from the NRSC "on an as-needed basis." The Leahy organization has not received such aid from the Democratic Party, but Post contends that both camps benefit from party-building activities under way this year.

In addition, Post said, Leahy's incumbency gives him an in-state Senate staff that will "work real hard to see the boss back in office."

Mailings, including targeted letters to farmers, legislators and other groups and general fundraising mailings, have been used frequently since January to drum up support and dollars for Snelling.

Meanwhile, Snelling is holding fundraisers, speaking to various groups and doing what Wellish calls "shake and bowdy" at parades and fairs.

Doria And Levy

Doria has a headquarters in South Royalton, a $1,500 bus he uses as his mobile campaign office and two paid staff workers. He has campaign chairmen in each county, but the crux of his campaign is his own daily activity.

Widely considered the underdog in the primary against Snelling, Doria is relying largely on press conferences, his $5 pasta-and-politics dinners and appearances before various groups to present his message.

"I have no organization," he said recently. "I can't beat Snelling or Leahy with money. From the inception my campaign was not organized as a political campaign but as a citizen rebellion against apathy and professional politicians."

Levy's effort as the Liberty Union Party candidate has been even less significant. He has no staff, no organization and has campaigned infrequently so far. He said that the number of votes he gets probably will hinge on the closeness of the Leahy-Snelling contest and whether Vermonters can afford the luxury of a "protest vote" for him.

Bennington Parade Draws Politicians, Despite the Rain

Rutland Herald 8/18

BENNINGTON — For Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., being named the Grand Marshall of Sunday's Bennington Battle Day Parade was an honor that no amount of rain could wash away.

"When you're a native Vermonter, this is the holiday that really gives you a chance to be proud of Vermont," Leahy said as he led the parade down Main Street.

"We Vermonters get a chance today to show our patriotism and our sense of history. I really wanted to be Grand Marshall of this parade," Leahy said.

As a child, Leahy said, he and his parents would travel from Montpelier for the annual parade celebrating the Revolutionary War Battle of Bennington, a battle that actually took place five miles away across the New York state border.

"The cars that were brand new back then are in the parade now as antiques," Leahy said laughing.

Looking up at the dark clouds overhead, Leahy wondered if the parade beginning at 12:30 p.m. and scheduled to last more than two hours with more than 100 floats, bands, and exhibits could move a little bit faster.

"I'd like to beat the rain, but I guess we have to stick to the schedule," Leahy said.

As Leahy turned the corner at a crowded Putnam Square — lined with posters supporting various candidates — thunder crackled in the sky and umbrellas, rain hats, and plastic garbage bags were pulled out by the thousands of spectators lining the parade route.

Within minutes the rain began, a slow drizzle at first then a steady douwnpour for more than an hour and a half.

But most of the spectators stayed, ignoring the rain and waiting for their favorite politicians, bands and fire departments.

Soon after Leahy came Gov. Madeline Kunin, smiling and waving as the first rain began to come down.

Ten minutes later came Lt. Gov. Peter Smith, Kunin's Republican opponent, soaked to the skin but gamely darting from sidewalk to sidewalk to shake hands.

The band members pressed on playing their instruments and banging their drums defiantly as the rain increased in volume.

By the time former Gov. Richard Snelling, Leahy's Republican opponent, passed the reviewing stand 20 minutes later he was making swimming motions to the soggy crowd.

Also passing the reviewing stand in the heavy rainfall were Secretary of State James Douglas and lieutenant governor candidates Republican Susan Auld and Democrat Howard Dean.

Republican Anthony Doria, Snelling's opponent in the September primary was the only politician not to face the rain. He rode by in a red, white, and blue school bus waving to the crowd from the bus door.

Many local candidates for office also braved the rain. For example, Sen. Harvey Carter, D-Bennington, and his running mate, Seth Bongartz, strolled by the reviewing stand barefoot with their pants rolled up to their knees.

By 2:15 p.m., as the parade was drawing to a close the rain had let up and the sun peeked through the clouds drawing an ironic jeer from the spectators.

"Perfect timing," yelled one mother with her three chidren still huddled in plastic garbage bags.

Dave Karvelas 9/13

Burlington Free Press

Snelling Must Have 1 More Round Left

MONTPELIER — I wouldn't be surprised to learn that Marines stationed at Khe Sanh in 1968 now have nightmares about running out of ammunition as 50,000 grinning North Vietnamese storm the compound.

Wyatt Earp probably had nightmares about drawing on Ike Clanton with an empty six-shooter. Sigourney Weaver's worst dream would pit her against the Aliens with no juice left in her pulse rifle.

The theme of all three dreams — lack of firepower at a time of need — brings us to Republican Senate candidate Richard Snelling. With less than three months before the election, one might wonder if Snelling wakes up in the middle of the night screaming, "Where are the bombs? I have no bombs left to drop on Patrick Leahy."

The question of how much firepower Snelling has in his arsenal will be answered in about a month when the Senate race kicks into high gear.

With the most recent poll showing a 25 percentage point gap between himself and the Democratic incumbent, it is fair to presume that Snelling, who is expected to win the GOP primary against Anthony Doria, may need nothing short of a nuclear bomb to dislodge Leahy from the Senate.

Whether he has such firepower in reserve is a matter of speculation. There are two schools of thought on the issue. Followers of the first school contend that Snelling exhausted his ammunition in an attempt to close the rift in polls that consistently have shown Leahy with a substantial edge.

There is no question that Snelling had to take serious steps to close the margin, which could have the effect of discouraging potential contributors and fostering an overall perception of

Snelling responded by slamming Leahy on the issues of attendance, agricultural effectiveness and spending. Because no polls have been released since the attacks, it is difficult to determine the success of his program, although it is safe to say that nothing yet appears to have caught fire.

The second school of thought argues that no candidate would make the tactical mistake of exhausting ammunition prematurely, leaving you with nothing on the day of judgment. The first school would counter that the day of judgment would be of little importance if Snelling had not succeeded in showing some improvement by then.

It is difficult to envision what Snelling has left to throw at Leahy this fall. The economy appears prosperous and there are no compelling issues nagging at the voters, two factors that benefit the incumbent. The issue of the federal deficit, a favorite topic for Snelling, has been blunted by economic conditions and by passage of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction bill (which Leahy supported).

Beyond the question of tactics, issues and firepower, however, is the less tangible matter of personalities.

Snelling is a man who has shown over the years the capacity to do what it takes to get the job done. He does not give up. He does not get tired. He does not show weakness or vulnerability.

Those reporters who have covered him throughout the years are likely to conclude that if anyone can defeat Leahy under present conditions, Snelling is the one. If Snelling were a member of the New York Knicks, he would be the guy you go to when you need a basket with two seconds left on the clock. The guy the other team hopes doesn't get the ball. The guy more interested in results than attempts.

The very traits for which he has been criticized during his four terms as governor — arrogance, egotism, aggressiveness and obstinance — are exactly what is needed in this situation. Someone else in his shoes might melt into a puddle of self-pity or go though the motions with little enthusiasm and no hope of victory.

There is a tendency among political observers to view Snelling, more so than any other politician, as someone never to be taken too lightly. He is not a man accustomed to losing. Even worse, he hates to lose.

Snelling clearly has an unenviable and extremely difficult task to achieve by Nov. 4. He may even privately question his own chances of winning the contest.

But somehow, I doubt he is having nightmares about it.

• Dave Karvelas is chief of the Free Press capital bureau

Campaigns in Vermont

Rutland Herald 8/19

By PAUL TEETOR

BENNINGTON — Superman touched down in Bennington Monday to promote the U.S. Senate candidacy of Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

Actor Christopher Reeve, who has played Superman in three recent movies, spoke out for intelligence over muscle in global politics Monday and said Leahy should be re-elected to help control the "muscle mentality" of President Ronald Reagan.

It was the latest in what promises to be a string of Democratic and Republican celebrities in support of the candidates in the U.S. Senate race.

Leahy is also expecting a visit this fall from Abigail Van Buren, better known to newspaper readers as Dear Abby. Earlier this year former presidential candidate Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado made a visit to boost Leahy's candidacy.

On the Republican side, GOP luminaries who have

come to Vermont to help former Gov. Richard Snelling in his bid to oust Leahy, are former President Gerald Ford, Vice President George Bush and U.S. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole. A visit by former U.S. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker is planned next week.

Snelling has also said that he is acquainted with the family of rival Dear Abby columnist, Ann Landers. But it is not known whether the well-known twin-sister competition would extend to the Vermont campaign.

Actor Reeve said Monday it was unusual for him to enter into political campaigns. "I've never done this before," he said in Bennington Monday.

"I've always had a policy that celebrities should not get involved in politics. Our job is fantasy, not mixing with the real world," he said.

But in the last year, Reeve said, he has found that he could not live with that policy.

"I feel now that I have the right like anyone else to support a candidate and to make my feelings known," he said.

Reeve said his appearance was not to be confused with the kind of celebrity politics often practiced in states like New York and California. He said he has recently established a residence in nearby Williamstown, Mass., and that his father, Franklin Reeve, has lived in Rutland County for the past 13 years.

"This is not a case of a celebrity flying in to give you people the runaround. It's a case of me waking up to what is going on in my own backyard," Reeve said.

More than 250 people turned out for the Reeve reception, held in the grassy, tree-filled backyard of Dr. Dudley Baker.

Wearing loafers (no socks), off-white linen pants, light blue Oxford shirt, blue blazer and a green button that said, "think globally, act locally," the tall, handsome Reeve signed a final autograph, stepped to the microphone, and explained why he was breaking his long-standing policy of not mixing acting with politics.

Citing recent international incidents, such as the invasion of Grenada and the bombing of Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi, Reeve said that America under President Ronald Reagan has put muscle over intelligence in global affairs.

"The debate in America today has become a question of muscle versus intelligence. I feel that we have too much muscle today. That's why we need to re-elect Sen. Leahy, who believes in an intelligent America," Reeve said. Reeve concluded his short talk by urging everyone to "wake up to what is happening all around you."

Leahy acknowledged that bringing in Reeve was an unusual step in his Senate campaign against Snelling.

"This is something I've never done before. This is the first time I've had a celebrity campaign for me but this is also the first time Chris has done anything like this," Leahy said.

"When Chris called and asked if he could help, I was impressed because I'm a tremendous fan of his. Whenever I go to a Superman movie I yell and shout and throw popcorn," Leahy said.

After talking it over, Leahy said that because of Reeve's residency in Williamstown, Mass. and his father's longtime residence in Vermont, he decided it would be all right for Reeve to campaign for him.

Leahy said he also expected Snelling to bring in his own celebrity as the campaign heats up after Labor Day.

"And the next 2½ months, the Republicans will throw everything but the kitchen sink at me. The president will come here, the vice president has already come here, and I suspect he will come again," Leahy said.

Reeve said his Monday night appearance would probably be the only time he will be able to campaign for Leahy because he is leaving for London on Sept. 1.

"I have to go film Superman IV," Reeve said.

Before facing Leahy, Snelling first must defeat South Royalton Republican Anthony N. Doria in the September primary. However, the longtime former governor is widely considered the favorite to win his party's nomination.

On Monday the Snelling campaign announced another guest speaker. Former U.S. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker will visit Vermont next week. Baker, the former Republican senator from Tennessee, will campaign with Snelling Aug. 29 in Brattleboro. Snelling campaign press secretary Peter Wellish confirmed Monday. Baker is a longtime friend of Snelling.

It is also possible Snelling could bring out his own man of steel should President Ronald Reagan decide to make a campaign stop in Vermont.

NATIONAL [illegible]
SENATORIAL [illegible]

3807

TER NO.	YOUR [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5377	[illegible]	5/27/[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	.	
TRI	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
						[illegible].00

NATIONAL [illegible]
SENATORIAL COMMITTEE
[illegible]
WASHINGTON, [illegible]

BANK OF VIRGINIA
[illegible]
[illegible]

3807

	DATE	CONTROL NO.	AMOUNT
PAY ****20,000 DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS	7/[illegible]/[illegible]	3807	$***20,000.00

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

Marked Opinion Research
Drawer 07-[illegible]
Detroit MI 48207

NOT NEGOTIABLE

⑈[illegible]⑈ ⑆[illegible]⑆ [illegible]⑈

2625

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

DRAWER 67-088 DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48267 (313) 963-2414

June 14, 1985

Jan von Lohuizen
National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

Terms: Net Due and payable by June 27, 1985.

Job No. P85056

Vermont

500 telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of registered voters in the State of Vermont.

$20,000.00

(12)

PUBLICAN
COMMITTEE

7452

NO	INVOICE DATE	INVOICE AMOUNT	AMOUNT PAID	DISCOUNT TAKEN	NET CHECK AMOUNT
2457	11/04/85	2,750.00	2,750.00	00	
DESCRIPTION: Survey					
8370	11/20/85	13,100.00	13,100.00	00	
DESCRIPTION: Survey					
8377	12/04/85	4,750.00	4,750.00	00	
DESCRIPTION: Survey					
8515	12/09/85	4,750.00	4,750.00	00	
DESCRIPTION: Survey					
					25,350.00

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
SENATORIAL COMMITTEE
[illegible] FIRST ST., N.W., SUITE 800
WASHINGTON, DC 20001

BANK OF VIRGINIA
ARLINGTON, VA
55-402/560

7452

DATE

PAY [illegible] DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS

[illegible] 16/85

[illegible] Making Majority
[illegible] Lowin Main Bersek
[illegible]

NOT NEGOTIABLE

Decision/Making/Information

Invoice No.

Intelligent alternatives
for today's decision makers

1363 Beverly Road, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

December 9, 1985

National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, NW Suite 600
Washington, DC 20001

Attn: Jan Van Lohuizen

RE: Project 122-335014; Vermont Statewide

Piggyback Questions on Survey	$4,750.00
Total Due This Invoice	$4,750.00

Date 12/13

Approved by Jan

P. O. #

Acct. # 7756

Vendor #

TERMS: Net on receipt of invoice. Please pay from invoice as no statement will be issued.

#3

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

	INVOICE DATE	INVOICE AMOUNT	AMOUNT PAID	DISCOUNT TAKEN	
[illegible] SCRIPTION SURVEY	7/04/86	25,000.00	25,000.00	[illegible]00	

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
SENATORIAL COMMITTEE
[illegible] ST., N.W., SUITE 800
[illegible]GTON, DC 20001

BANK OF VIRGINIA
ARLINGTON, VA
[illegible]

1106

0411 CONTRO[illegible]

[illegible]000 DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS 7/06/86 1106

Market Opinion Research
Attn: Fred Steeper
[illegible]

NOT NEGOTIABLE

13317

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

April 4, 1986

DRAWER 67-688, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48267 | (313) 963-2414

Mr. Jan Van Lohuizen
National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Terms: Net Immediately

Job No. P86052

500 telephone interviews administered to a probability sample of registered voters in the State of Vermont - - - $25,000.00

Date 4/30/86
Approved by Jan
P. O. #
Acct. # 7750
Vendor # 00192

G

M E M O

To Jim Murphy

From Jan van Lohuizen

Re Vermont polling.

cc Jim Wholey

Here is the info on Vermont:

We did something with MOR last year June/July. Since Snelling was not a candidate we did not allocate for that survey.

We did something with DMI in December (RNC piggyback) for which we allocated $ 118.75 on 2/9/86.

We did a survey with MOR in March/April for which we allocated $ 625 on 5/26/86.

We did a survey with MOR in June which we have not allocated, since we have not given it to him yet, and probably won't.

H

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

March 12, 1986

Treasurer
Snelling in '86
100 Dorset Street
South Burlington, VT 05401

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter provides you with formal notice that the National Republican Senatorial Committee has made an in-kind contribution of $118.75 with regard to a survey which was conducted for the NRSC and allocated in part to you on February 9, 1986.

Pursuant to Federal Election law, we will report this amount which is 2 1/2 percent of the total cost of the survey.

If there are any problems or questions, please give me a call at (202) 347-0202. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maryanne E. Preztunik
Comptroller

440 FIRST STREET, N.W. • SUITE 600 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) [illegible] • (202) 224-[illegible]

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRISCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

June 19, 1986

Treasurer
Snelling in '86 Committee
P.O. Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter provides you with formal notice that the National Republican Senatorial Committee has made an in-kind contribution of $625.00 with regard to a survey which was conducted for the NRSC and allocated in part to Snelling in '86 Committee on May 26, 1986.

Pursuant to Federal Election law, we will report this amount which is 2 1/2 percent of the total cost of the survey.

If there are any problems or questions, please give me a call at (202) 347-0202. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maryanne E. Preztunik
Comptroller

440 FIRST STREET, N.W. • SUITE 600 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 347-0202 • (202) 224-2351

May 30, 1986

TO: Tom Griscom
Scott Cottington

FROM: Paul Curcio

RE: Vermont Advertising Test Analysis

This provides the Committee's analysis of the MOR test of Governor Dick Snelling's advertising.

BACKGROUND

As part of the NRSC's national advertising testing program, MOR tested Gov. Snelling's commercials ("Effectiveness #4," "Team," "Big Claims," "Effectiveness #1," "Mountain," "Cartoon," and "Congressional Record") and two Pat Leahy ads ("Sons and Daughters" and "Environment"). As with last cycle's testing, the respondents filled out a questionnaire after viewing each commercial, and then participated in a focus-group discussion. MOR will call the respondents several days hence to measure their recall of the commercials. All advertising is measured for its believability, how informative it is, how well it's liked, and how influential it is judged to be. We also measured how much voters agreed or disagreed with copy statements made in each commercial. A 0-to-100 scale is used to measure voter reaction in each of these areas. A score of 50 is the neutral point; below 50 is a negative score, above is positive.

The testing was conducted on May 27 in Burlington among a group of approximately 80 voters who are not strongly committed to either candidate and are not strong partisans.

CONCLUSIONS

1. When the time comes to attack Pat Leahy as a big spender, "Congressional Record" should be used. "Cartoon" should not. "Congressional Record" has a more serious tone, and hence is more credible than "Cartoon."

2. Of the two agriculture/attendance commercials, ""Big Claims" is clearly worthy of airing. "Effectiveness #1" can air, but only in tandem with "Big Claims." "Big Claims," the strongest of all Snelling's ads, is significantly more believable than "Effectiveness #1," and thus should be the "anchor" of the attack on Leahy's attendance record. "Effectiveness #1" has videotape footage that can be useful as a way to underscore and dramatize Leahy's absence. It probably should not air alone, because voters are a bit skeptical of the authenticity of that footage (is it really the Agriculture Committee? Is that really Leahy's chair?)

3. "Effectiveness #4" can air, but probably only after Leahy's negatives have been driven up by the attendance and big spending issues. "Effectiveness #4" questions Leahy's integrity. Given Leahy's positives, it is probably not surprising that voters resist this message. Thus "Effectiveness #4" should not air until Leahy's negatives have been increased, and voters are more receptive to an ad which questions his motives and his integrity.

   Separately, the NRSC should continue to press the 4-A's to ressurect their political-ad program. They are a credible third-party source which could corroborate and strengthen the Snelling campaign's attack on Leahy's advertising claims.

4. "Mountain" should also not air until Leahy's negatives have been driven up. This ad questions Leahy's effectiveness, and these voters had difficulty believing that. After Leahy's negatives are increased, presumably this attack will be more likely to "stick."

5. The Snelling campaign should be prepared to answer questions about how Leahy compares with other senators on these issues. For virtually every attack, these voters asked how Leahy performed versus other senators. It's likely that if these voters asked for comparisons, surely the press will. The comparisons could include attendance records (e.g., did any other senator miss all the meetings?) and interest-group ratings.

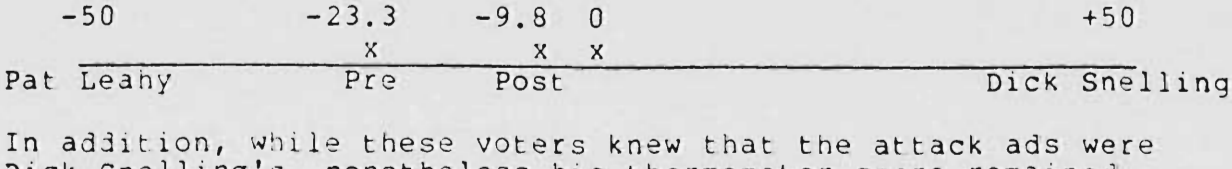
KEY FINDINGS

1. Overall, these commercials were able to put a dent in Pat Leahy's popularity, without doing damage to Dick Snelling. On several measurements taken before and after the Snelling ads were shown, Leahy suffered noticeable and statistically significant declines. This is particularly significant because the sample was leaning to Leahy. See below:

	Pre	Post
Sen. Pat Leahy	71*	61*
Pat Leahy deserves re-election	62	52

*Note: Score on 0-to-100 scale; above 50 is positive; below 50 is negative; 50 is neutral

Ballot Question



In addition, while these voters knew that the attack ads were Dick Snelling's, nonetheless his thermometer score remained

unchanged pre to post. This suggests that there will be little backlash against him for airing these attack ads.

	Pre	Post
Dick Snelling	58	57

2. Governor Snelling's ads appear to have achieved the specific objectives of increasing Leahy's negatives in several key areas: attendance, accomplishments, and federal spending. Leahy's negatives increased significantly in all of these areas, though some were more dramatic than others. Details follow:

	Pre (Agree/Disagree)	Post (Agree/Disagree)	Change
Pat Leahy is one of the biggest spenders in Washington	44	55	+11
Pat Leahy has not been able to accomplish much in the U.S. Senate	41	52	+11
Pat Leahy has missed too many important committee meetings in Washington	41	57	+16
Pat Leahy has seniority in the U.S. Senate, and that is important to Vermont	72	59	-13

Note that the statement about Leahy's lack of effectiveness is barely over the neutral point (50), while "big spender" and "poor attendance" are higher. This is probably because effectiveness is more nebulous and difficult to gauge than spending (which is based on votes) and attendance (which is based on records). In addition, there seems to be a fairly strong impression that Leahy is indeed effective.

3. These voters accepted the specific negatives about Sen. Leahy, but were unwilling to conclude that he's been a bad senator. This is probably because his favorables are strong enough to withstand one exposure to a negative ad. See below:

	Agree/Disagree Mean Score
Vermont voters are disappointed by Pat Leahy's record on the Agriculture Committee	51
Pat Leahy is not effectively representing Vermont	45
Pat Leahy hasn't accomplished much for Vermont during his second term	47
Pat Leahy lacks the leadership necessary to be an effective senator for Vermont	38

This suggest that these commercials are only the first step in building the case that Vermont can do better than Patrick Leahy in the Senate.

4. While these ads do begin to create doubts about Leahy, they don't make the case for Dick Snelling as the alternative. This is certainly not surprising, because only one ad ("Team") mentioned Snelling as a potential replacement for Leahy. Specifically:

	Pre (Agree/Disagree)	Post (Agree/Disagree)
Pat Leahy can get more done in Washington than Dick Snelling can	61	57
Dick Snelling's ideas worked in Vermont and would work in Washington	55	52

5. "Big Claims" is the strongest of the Snelling ads. It is strong on all key measurements except "like/dislike," which is predictably weak for all the ads. (Voters usually don't like the tone of negative political advertising.) Details follow:

	Mean Score	Rank among 6 Snelling ads
Believability	70	1
Information	59	1
Like/Dislike	43	2
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	61	1

For an attack ad, "Big Claims" has a particularly high believability score. This is probably due to the use of the Library of Congress as the information source. This high believability also contributed to strong agreement on key copy points:

	Agree/Disagree Mean Score
Senator Pat Leahy didn't attend any of the 23 meetings of the Agriculture Committee	63
It is a surprise and a disappointment that Leahy didn't attend the meetings	64
The Library of Congress is a believable source of information on senate committee attendance	67

6. The other agriculture commercial, "Effectiveness #1," had good scores, but "Big Claims'" were better. The key difference is in believability. This is probably because the Library of Congress is a more credible source than a videotape showing Leahy not doing something. (Some voters questioned whether the empty chair was indeed Leahy's.) Despite this, however, "Effectiveness #1" is not a weak commercial: it communicated Leahy's poor attendance record just as well as "Big Claim" does.

	Mean Score	Rank among 6 Snelling ads
Believability	58	2
Information	54	3
Like/Dislike	41	5
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	57	4

	"Effectiveness #1" Mean Score (Agree/Disagree)	"Big Claims" Mean Score (Agree/Disagree)
Pat Leahy did not show up once for Agriculture Committee hearings	62	63

7. Of the two "big spender" commercials, "Congressional Record" is stronger than "Cartoon." Both commercials cover the same issue (Leahy is a big spender) and use the same sources. The difference between them is their tone: "Cartoon" is less serious than "Congressional Record," and as a result, has slightly lower information and believability scores.

	"Congressional Record"		"Cartoon"	
	Mean Score	Rank	Mean Score	Rank
Believability	54	3	51	4
Information	56	2	48	6
Like/Dislike	43	2	44	1
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	58	2	58	2

8. "Effectiveness #4" has some notable weaknesses, especially its believability. The probable reason for this is that "Effectiveness #4" in effect questions Leahy's motives and his integrity. Voters apparently have high regard for Leahy's integrity, and they have a difficult time believing he'd deliberately distort his record that way. This is dramatized by comparing the believability scores for "Effectivenss #4" and the Leahy ad that originally made the claims:

	Leahy Ad ("Sons & Daughters")	Snelling Response ("Effectiveness #4)
Believability	62	49

The other key measurements for "Effectiveness #4" are below.

	"Effectiveness #4" Mean Score	Rank among 6 Snelling ads
Information	52	4
Like/Dislike	38	6
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	54	6

Despite its believability problem, this commercial does create some modest doubt about Leahy's claims.

	Agree/Disagree Score after Seeing Leahy Ad	Agree/Disagree Score after Seeing "Effectiveness #4"*
Leahy wrote an arms-control law	52	50
Leahy helped President Reagan prepare for Geneva	57	48

In short, Leahy's credibility can withstand a rebuttal from the Congressional Record (on the arms-control law), but not from Ronald Reagan's White House. In addition, it is more believable that a senator would write a law than prepare the president for Geneva.

*Note: In the copy test, "Effectiveness #4" immediately followed Leahy's ad.

9. "Mountain's" scores were comparatively weak, mainly because these voters had a difficult time believing the claims that Pat Leahy has accomplished little for Vermont in his second term. Most of its scores on the four standard scales were around 50, the neutral point, suggesting that voters neither accepted nor rejected the commercial overall. See below:

	"Mountain" Mean Score	Rank Among 6 Snelling Ads
Believability	51	4
Information	51	5
Like/Dislike	40	3
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	56	4

What voters did reject were the commerical's specific claims:

	Agree/Disagree Mean Score
Though he holds seniority in the U.S. Senate, Pat Leahy has not accomplished much for Vermont during his second term	47
Pat Leahy lacks the leadership necessary to be an effective senator for Vermont	38
Pat Leahy has not sponsored any significant legislation to solve Vermont's problems	49

June 2, 1986

To: Scott Cottington
Tom Griscom

From: Paul Curcio

RE: Vermont Copy Test -- "Team"

This provides the Committee's analysis of the MOR test of Governor Snelling's "Team" commercial.

BACKGROUND

"Team" was tested along with 6 other Snelling ads on May 27 in Burlington, Vermont. "Team" was evaluated separately from the other ads because the MOR computer program can only accommodate up to 8 ads at a time. We tested nine (7 Snellings, 2 Leahys).

"Team" argues that Pat Leahy's re-election would lead to: (a) Ted Kennedy becoming Senate Majority Leader; (b) Bob Stafford being stripped of his chairmanship of the Committee on Environment and Public Works; and (c) President Reagan being robbed of his GOP Senate majority. The ad concludes by asking which team is preferable -- Reagan/Stafford/Snelling or Kennedy/Leahy.

CONCLUSIONS

1. "Team" in its current form should not be used. Its scores for believability and information were poor, the lowest of all Governor Snelling's ads. Voters seemed to reject the "team" premise, reject the overriding importance of Senator Stafford in this election, and they seemed to find the ad confusing.

2. The "team" idea alone is probably not strong enough to influence voters. However, perhaps it could be strengthened if it were tied to issues rather than pure partisanship. For example, a commercial could argue that the Reagan/Snelling team is better for Vermont because Dick Snelling would work with President Reagan to continue America's recovery, lower the deficit, etc. By contrast, a re-elected Leahy would continue to work against the President. In this way, the team concept would be meaningful to Vermonters because it would be based on issues important to them, rather than just on partisanship.

KEY FINDINGS

"Team" has some severe weaknesses, particularly for believability and information. These two measurements are especially important for a negative ad, because if it is

believable and informative, voters are likely to accept the message despite the negative tone of the ad. Note below how poorly "Team" performs versus the other Snelling ads we tested:

	"Team"	All Others	Difference
Believability	35	56	-21
Information	46	53	- 7
Like/Dislike	45	42	+ 3
Opinion of Snelling (more/less favorable)	57	57	0

There are a number of reasons for these poor scores:

1. "Team" is too speculative and hypothetical. These voters believe that "Team's" claims (Kennedy as Majority Leader; Stafford stripped of his chairmanship) are purely speculative -- they may come true, but they may not. This is probably responsible for the very low believability and information scores. Details follow:

	Mean Score (Agree/Disagree)
If Pat Leahy wins re-election, Ted Kennedy will become Majority Leader and Bob Stafford could lose his position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works	50

2. Senator Bob Stafford and his chairmanship are not particularly convincing arguments to vote against Leahy. If these voters are any indication, Senator Stafford is not so overwhelmingly popular that he or his chairmanship will cause people to vote against Leahy. See below:

	Mean Score
Senator Bob Stafford	59
It is important to Vermont for Bob Stafford to continue as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works	55
It is more important for Bob Stafford to keep his chairmanship of the Environment and Public Works Committee than for Pat Leahy to become Agriculture Committee chairman	51

3. The ad is confusing. There is confusion because it is not singleminded. There are in fact two messages in this commercial -- (a) Leahy is overpromising when he says he'll become Agriculture Committee chairman; and (b) the "team" idea. In addition, "Team" is very "busy", with many visuals and an announcer explaining the "domino effect" of what will happen if one or the other candidate wins. All of this confusion probably led to the non-committal responses on the copy points.

4. The "team" will not exist after 1988. Some of these voters rejected this "team" argument because they were acutely aware that President Reagan can't serve after 1988, and Senator Stafford probably won't run. As a result, the only team member who would remain after 1988 is Dick Snelling. This probably contributes to the low believability score.

5. The commercial is too dependent on pure party line. These voters said that they want to judge candidates more on their individual merits and less on their party. They perceived "Team" to be a blatant partisan appeal, and seemed to resist any attempt to link Leahy and Snelling to to other political leaders. See below:

	Mean Score (Agree/Disagree)
The Reagan/Stafford/Snelling team is better for Vermont than the Leahy/Kennedy team.	50

FOR REY POST

	Scully	Gumienny	Vecchio	Arig.	Total Sample
AD RS12 - Seniority					
This commercial is different from most you see on...	70	20	50	47	51
Though he holds seniority in the U.S. Senate, Pat Leahy has not accomplished much for Vermont during his second term...	75	70	20	55	54
It is important to Vermont that their Senators have seniority...	60	40	80	60	63
Patrick Leahy lacks the leadership necessary to be an effective Senator for Vermont...	40	30	30	33	38
Patrick Leahy has not sponsored any significant legislation to help solve Vermont's problems...	70	50	30	50	49
Believability	70	40	50	53	51
Information	65	60	20	48	51
Like/Dislike	50	65	20	45	40
Influence	50	70	50	57	56
AD RS15 - Big Claims					
Believability	65	70	30	55	70
Information	50	80	20	50	59
Like/Dislike	50	80	20	50	43
Influence	60	85	50	65	61
This commercial is different from most you see on...	70	20	50	47	58
Senator Pat Leahy has made big claims about his concern for Vermont farmers...	80	70	50	67	64
Senator Pat Leahy didn't attend any of the 23 meetings of the Senate Agriculture Committee...	80	40	50	57	63
It is a surprise and a disappointment that Pat Leahy didn't attend the Senate agriculture meetings...	60	80	50	63	64
The Library of Congress is a believable source of information on SEnate committee attendance...	90	80	50	73	67
AD RS19 - Team					
Believability	60	45	30	45	35
Information	75	90	30	65	46
Like/Dislike	60	60	30	50	45
INfluence	60	60	50	57	57
This commercial is different from most you see on...	70	20	50	47	
The Reagan-Stafford-Snelling team is better for Vermont than the Leahy-Kennedy team...	60	50	30	47	50
If Pat Leahy wins reelection, Ted Kennedy will become Senate majority leader and Bob Stafford could lose his position as Chairman of the Senate Comm. on Env. and Public Works...	60	40	50	50	50
It is important to Vermont for Bob Stafford to continue as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works...	70	30	80	60	55
It is more important for Bob Stafford to keep his chairmanship of the Environment and Public Works Committee than for Pat Leahy to become Agriculture Comm. Chairman...	50	50	50	50	51

	Scully	Gumienny	Vecchio	Total Avg.	Total Avg.
AD RS13 - Arms Control/Geneva					
This commercial is different from most you see on ...	70	20	50	47	53
Senator Pat Leahy wrote an arms control law...	40	70	60	57	50
Senator Pat Leahy helped prepared President Reagan for the Geneva talks...	40	70	60	57	48
Senator Pat Leahy co-sponsored a law to freeze federal spending...	40	40	70	50	50
There is a big difference between what Senator Leahy has said and what he has done...	50	40	20	37	50
Believability	65	45	40	50	44
Information	70	80	30	60	52
Like/Dislke	30	40	20	30	38
Influence	50	60	50	47	54
AD RS14 - $977 Reasons					
Believability	70	40	30	47	51
Information	70	80	30	60	48
Like/Dislike	60	40	30	40	44
Influence	60	70	50	60	58
This commercial is different from most you see on...	70	80	50	47	53
The Congressional Record is a believable source of information about Senator Pat Leahy's record...	80	40	30	50	58
Since 1975, Senator Pat Leahy has voted to add $977 billion to the federal deficit...	80	60	50	63	56
Senator Pat Leahy is one of the Senate's biggest spenders...	80	65	50	65	53
It is important to me that the National Taxpayer's Union has rated Pat Leahy as one of the Senate's biggest spenders...	75	75	10	53	48
AD PL21 - Environment					
This commercial is different from most you see on...	70	20	50	47	55
Patrick Leahy is the number one environmentalist in the U.S.Senate...	75	30	70	58	56
Vermont needs Pat Leahy in the U.S. Senate...	80	50	80	70	60
Patrick Leahy has done a lot to help Vermont's environment and keep the state free of nuclear waste dumps...	90	50	85	75	67
Vermont can't afford to start all over again with a new Senator in Washington...	80	40	85	68	56
Believability	80	60	80	73	63
Information	50	40	80	57	49
Like/Dislike	75	30	90	65	62
Influence	80	50	90	73	68

Summary of Three Vermont Respondents' Reactions to Test Ads

AD RS16 - Big Spender	Scully	Gumienny	Vecchio	Avg.	Total Sample
Believability	50	96	30	58	54
Information	60	90	50	67	56
Like/Dislike	10	90	20	40	43
Influence	10	85	50	48	58
This commercial is different from most you see on...	85	70	30	62	59
Patrick Leahy is one of the Senate's biggest spenders ...	60	50	30	47	55
Over the last few years, Pat Leahy has voted to substantially increase budget committee budgets...	60	80	50	63	62
The Congressional Record is a reliable source...	80	90	50	73	67
Since 1975, Pat Leahy has voted to add nearly a trillion dollars to the federal deficit...	60	40	50	50	51
AD RS11 - Agriculture Committee					
Believability	40	40	30	37	58
Information	60	60	50	57	54
Like/Dislike	10	20	10	13	41
Influence	10	65	50	42	57
This commercial is different from most you see on...	70	30	50	50	55
Patrick Leahy did not show up once for Agriculture Committee hearings...	70	60	50	60	62
Vermont voters are disappointed by Patrick Leahy's record on the Agriculture Committee...	40	30	30	33	51
Patrick Leahy is not effectively representing Vermont...	40	30	20	30	45
Vermont's elected officials should attend committee hearings...	90	90	70	83	76
AD PL22 - Arms Control Treaty/Geneva					
Believability	80	95	75	83	62
Information	60	60	75	65	49
Like/Dislike	90	70	80	80	58
Influence	90	70	80	80	66
This commercial is different from most you see on...	65	30	50	48	52
Patrick Leahy wrote the law which keeps our arms control treaties enforced...	70	50	60	60	52
Patrick Leahy does a good job carrying Vermont's messages to Washington...	80	80	75	78	62
Vermont needs Patrick Leahy in the Senate...	80	65	90	78	60
Patrick Leahy helped President Reagan prepared for the Geneva talks...	65	50	75	63	57

67					#4
CR					
	6/03/84	14,500.00	14,500.00	.00	
DESCRIPTION: SURVEY					
3513	6/12/84	13,275.00	13,275.00	.00	
DESCRIPTION: SURVEY					
3513	6/24/84	14,500.00	14,500.00	.00	
DESCRIPTION: SURVEY					
					66,175.00

12625

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
SENATORIAL COMMITTEE
440 FIRST ST. N.W., SUITE 000
WASHINGTON, DC 200

BANK OF VIRGINIA
ARLINGTON, VA
55-103/530

	DATE	CONTROL NO.	AMOUNT
66,175 DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS	7/08/84	12625	****66,175.00

Market Opinion Research
Drawer 67-8[illegible]
Detroit MI [illegible]

NOT NEGOTIABLE

[illegible] 5[illegible] 5[illegible] 5

3467

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

June 9, 1986

Maryanne Preztunik
National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

Terms: Net Due on receipt

Job No. P86080

Vermont Ad Test

For two ad test groups of 40 participants each held in Burlington, Vermont on May 27, 1986.	$13,300.00
Travel expenses for moderator	500.00
Total project cost:	$13,800.00

Date
Approved by
P. O. #
Acct. # 7900
Vendor #

8 7 1 4 0 7 6 3 1 5 5

K

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ
CHAIRMAN

TOM GRIDCOM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

National Republican Senatorial Committee

September 26, 1986

Treasurer
Snelling '86 Committee
Post Office Box 1986
Shelburne, VT 05482

To Whom It May Concern:

Per my conversation with Jim Murphy, the following should be considered as an invoice for the ad test conducted by MOR for the Snelling '86 Committee. A check in the amount of $3,600 is your portion of the cost and should be sent to the National Republican Senatorial Committee to my attention at the earliest convenience.

If there should be any problems or questions, please contact me at (202) 347-0202.

Sincerely,

Maryanne E. Preztunik
Comptroller

440 First Street, N.W. • Suite 600 • Washington, D.C. 20001 • (202) 347-0202 • (202) 224-2351

SENSITIVE

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Snelling '86 Committee
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer
National Republican Senatorial Committee
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer

MUR 2212

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. **BACKGROUND**

On December 2, 1986, the Commission determined that there is reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.C.S. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report costs of surveys and advertising tests paid for by NRSC as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling '86 Committee. The Commission also found reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report the costs of surveys and advertising tests paid for by the NRSC as in-kind contributions from that committee and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as received from NRSC. The Commission approved the sending of subpoenas to produce documents and orders to submit written answers to both respondents, and the subpoenas and orders were mailed with the notifications of the reason to believe findings.

Following requests for, and approval of, extensions of time within which to comply with the subpoenas and orders, counsel for

the respondents on January 20, 1987, submitted responses both to the Commission's findings of reason to believe and to the subpoenas and orders. At the same time counsel asked to enter into pre-probable cause negotiations, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(a), directed toward reaching conciliation agreements. (See Attachments 1 and 2).

The committees' responses to the Commission's subpoenas consist of numerous documents totalling over 1000 pages. Because of the volume of material which must be analysed and the complexity of the legal and factual issues involved, this Office is of the opinion that at present it would be premature to enter into pre-probable cause conciliation. Therefore, it is the recommendation of this Office that the Commission decline at this time to enter into pre-probable cause to believe conciliation.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Decline at this time to enter into conciliation with the Snelling '86 Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

2. Approve the attached letters.

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

2/12/87
Date

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

Attachments

1. Letter from counsel for the Snelling '86 Committee
2. Letter from counsel for the National Republican Senatorial Committee
3. Letters (2)

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 2212
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial Committee	)	
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on February 18, 1987, the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2212:

1. Decline at this time to enter into conciliation with the Snelling '86 Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

2. Approve the letters, as recommended in the General Counsel's Report signed February 12, 1987.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald McGarry and Thomas voted affirmatively for this decision.

Attest:

2/19/87
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Office of Commission Secretary:	Fri.,	2-13-87,	12:03
Circulated on 48 hour tally basis:	Fri.,	2-13-87,	2:00
Deadline for vote:	Wed.,	2-18-87,	4:00

plm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 24, 1987

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein Becker Borsody and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

RE: MUR 2212
National Republican Senatorial Committee
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Gerson:

On January 21, 1987, the Commission received the request of your clients, the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, to enter into conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

The Commission has considered your clients' request and determined, because of the volume of material produced in response to the Commission's subpoena and order and because of the complexity of the factual and legal issues involved, to decline at this time to enter into conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe. At such time as the investigation in this matter has been completed, the Commission will reconsider your clients' request.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

2 7 0 4 0 7 0 5 1 5 1

pkm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 24, 1987

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1140 19th Street, N.W.
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If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Lawrence M. Noble
Deputy General Counsel

GCC#2785

RECEIVED AT THE FEC

HAND DELIVERED

87 FEB 26 A9:18

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1140 19TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-6601[1]
(202) 861-0900
TELEX 756-260

250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10177-0077[1]
(212) 370-9800
TELEX 510100817I

108 NORTH ST. ASAPH STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314[1]
(703) 684-1204

201 MAIN STREET
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76102-3105
(817) 334-0701

FOUR EMBARCADERO
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111-5954
(415) 398-5565

1875 CENTURY PARK EAST
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067-2501
(213) 556-8861

515 EAST PARK AVENUE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301-2524
(904) 681-0596

[1]P.C. NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND VIRGINIA ONLY

February 25, 1987

87 FEB 26 A10:28

HAND DELIVERED

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

Re: MUR 2212
Snelling '86 Committee,
Duncan F. Brown, as Treasurer

Dear Mr. Steele:

This responds to your letter of February 24, 1987, stating that, because of the volume of material produced in the above-referenced MUR and because of the complexity of the issues involved, the Commission is unable to enter into conciliation of this matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

While such a statement on behalf of the Commission is not unexpected, and while we agree, as the submitters of the materials in question, that they are indeed voluminous and that the issues are complex, the Commission should note that our suggestion for conciliation was reflective of the fact of that complexity and a desire for economy for the parties. It should in no way be taken as a concession that a probable cause finding is inevitable or appropriate.

The respondents had hoped that the Commission might have been willing to resolve promptly and informally a matter in which the law is far from clear, i.e., the definition by regulation of what constitutes receipt of polling information, in a way that might have provided guidelines for future campaigns while saving substantial costs both for the Commission and for all respondents, but particularly the Snelling '86 Committee, which has no current activity.

8 7 0 4 0 7 6 5 1 5 5

However, in view of your letter on behalf of the Commission, the respondents reiterate the points contained in their written response, and ask the Commission to find that there is no probable cause to believe that they have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act.

I remain available to discuss this matter at the convenience of your staff.

Sincerely,

Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson
Attorney for the Respondents

SMG:cr

9 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 1 6 4

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1140 19TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-6601*
(202) 861-0900
TELEX 756-260

250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10177-0077*
(212) 370-9800
TELEX 5101008171

108 NORTH ST. ASAPH STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314*
(703) 684-1204

201 MAIN STREET
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76102-3105
(817) 334-0701

FOUR EMBARCADERO
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111-5954
(415) 398-5565

1875 CENTURY PARK EAST
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067-2501
(213) 556-8861

515 EAST PARK AVENUE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301-2524
(904) 681-0596

*P.C. NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND VIRGINIA ONLY

HAND DELIVERED
RECEIVED AT THE FEC
87 FEB 26 A9:18
87 FEB 26 A10:30

February 25, 1987

HAND DELIVERED

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

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Sincerely,

Stuart Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson
Attorney for the Respondents

SMG:cr

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
ACTING GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MWE MARJORIE W. EMMONS/JOSHUA MCFADDEN

DATE: AUGUST 27, 1987

SUBJECT: MUR 2212 - COMPREHENSIVE INVESTIGATIVE REPORT
SIGNED AUGUST 25, 1987

The above-captioned matter was received in the Office of the Secretary of the Commission Tuesday, August 25, 1987 at 4:42 P.M. and circulated to the Commission on a 24-hour no-objection basis Wednesday, August 26, 1987 at 11:00 A.M.

There were no objections received in the Office of the Secretary of the Commission to the Comprehensive Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

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SENSITIVE

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	MUR 2212
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial	)	
Committee	)	
Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer	)	

COMPREHENSIVE INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

On December 2, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, had violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report costs of certain surveys and advertising tests as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee and by undervaluing other, similar in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling '86 Committee. The Commission also found reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, had violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report, and by undervaluing, the same in-kind contributions from the NRSC. Subpoenas to produce documents and orders for answers to questions were approved and sent to the respondents. Responses were received, together with requests for conciliation prior to findings of probable cause to believe which were declined by the Commission on February 18, 1987.

In response to the Commission's subpoena and orders, the respondents produced well over 500 pages of documents and other materials. A thorough analysis of these responses has left unresolved certain discrepancies in information contained both in

initial responses to the complaint in this matter and in the more recent responses themselves. Staff of this Office will be meeting with counsel at his suggestion in hopes of resolving the discrepancies and of obtaining additional needed information; this meeting should take place within the next two weeks. Following that meeting, this Office will further report to the Commission concerning this matter.

Lawrence M. Noble
Acting General Counsel

5/26/87
Date

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

11091

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: **LARRY M. NOBLE**
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: **LEE ANN ELLIOTT** LAE
COMMISSIONER

DATE: **OCTOBER 13, 1987**

SUBJECT: **MUR 2212**

Please circulate to the Commission a copy of the Snelling Committee's and the Republican National Senatorial Committee's 1987 responses to our interrogatories. I understand there are approximately 1000 pages of attachments, so please circulate only their responses and any short analysis they provided.

cc: Commissioners

39040761170

SENSITIVE

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
87 OCT 14 PM 1:03

October 14, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Commission

FROM: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

SUBJECT: Responses received in MUR 2212

Pursuant to the request of COmmissioner Lee Ann Elliott dated October 13, 1987, we are circulating to all Commissioners copies of the responses received from the Snelling '86 Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee to the Commission's findings of reason to believe and its subpoenas and orders.

Attachments

Response of Snelling '86 Committee
Response of National Republican Senatorial Committee

EXECUTIVE SESSION
OCT 20 1987

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BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF	X	
SNELLING '86 COMMITTEE	X	
and	X	MUR 2212
DUNCAN F. BROWN, AS TREASURER	X	

RESPONSE OF SNELLING '86 COMMITTEE
TO COMMISSION REASON TO BELIEVE DETERMINATION
AND TO SUBPOENA AND ORDER

By letter dated December 9, 1986, the Federal Election Commission ("Commission" or "FEC") notified the respondents, the Snelling '86 Committee and its Treasurer, Duncan F. Brown, that the Commission had found reason to believe that the respondents had violated the Federal Election Campaign Act ("The Act") in regard to the reporting and valuation of certain surveys and advertising tests paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC"). The Commission's letter invited a response to this finding and also included a subpoena for documents and an order to submit answers to a list of questions.

While the respondents are happy to submit the documents and answers that the Commission had requested, and do so in the next two succeeding sections of this response, they also maintain that they have not violated the Act and, for the reasons stated herein, that the Commission should so find.

Response to Subpoena to Produce Documents

Introduction

In an attempt to assure their good-faith compliance with the Commission's documentary request, the respondents caused a complete search to be made of the office and files of the Snelling '86 campaign. As a result of that search, all documents and materials which were found that are responsive to the request are being provided. Where respondents know of the existence of a document, but do not have it in their possession -- either because they never had it or because they did not retain it --they have sought to assure that it would be provided by the NRSC. This is particularly so as to the questions and data relating to the four polls that are the Commission's apparent focus.

Finally, the respondents assert a personal confidentiality and proprietary interest in all of the documents provided and formally request that their confidentiality be maintained by the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, returned at the conclusion of this investigation. In the event that the Commission were to receive a request pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act, or otherwise, for the disclosure of any document provided herewith, or were to consider such disclosure on its own, the respondents request 10 days' advance notice of any release contemplated by the Commission so that they might assert their rights under law. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.21.

Responses

1. All questions included in the following opinion surveys conducted wholly or in part for NRSC by either Market Opinion Research, Inc., ("MOR"), or Decision Making Information, Inc., ("DMI") in the State of Vermont in 1985 and 1986.

a. Survey conducted by MOR on June 14-17, 1986.

b. Survey conducted by DMI in December, 1985, pursuant to commission by the Republican National Committee and shared in by NRSC.

c. Survey conducted by MOR on April 5-9, 1986.

d. Survey conducted by MOR on June 26-29, 1986.

RESPONSE:

a. The respondents believe that there is a typographical error in the request and that the Commission, in fact, is seeking a copy of the MOR "benchmark" survey done in June of 1985. However, the respondents are not in possession of this document, which was prepared at the direction and for the benefit of the NRSC before Governor Richard A. Snelling had decided to become a candidate for the Senate. On information and belief, the "benchmark" survey was undertaken as part of the NRSC's own recruitment efforts, and the NRSC, which is in possession of the questions sought by the Commission, will provide them as part of its response in this MUR.

b-c. The respondents were unable to locate copies of the complete survey questions, or the surveys themselves, but

have been assured that the NRSC will be providing them in its response in this MUR.

d. Although they cannot determine when the document was received, respondents are in possession of a draft of the questions of the MOR June 26, 1986 poll. A copy of this document is attached at Tab A.

2. All documents and materials concerning written or oral communications between NRSC and Richard Snelling, and between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee in 1985 and 1986 on the subject of the surveys cited in Item #1 above, including, but not limited to, all documents and materials concerning surveys being planned, surveys carried out, and analysis of data collected in such surveys.

RESPONSE:

The documents responsive to subpoena request No. 2 are included in the attachments hereto at Tab B. We note, however, that the request is a broad one, calling for documents and materials relating in any way to the four surveys described in subpoena request No. 1. The fact that the documents provided may "concern" the planning or results of a survey should not be taken by the Commission to mean that everything on a document, e.g., various handwritten notes, relates to or derives from one of the surveys that is the subject of this MUR. Many of the notes and documents also relate to publicly-available surveys and non-survey-based information. Moreover, unless a date is specifi-

cally shown on a document, the respondents are not aware of when they received the document or when the document was annotated.

3. All documents and materials concerning written and oral communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of portions of the expenditures made by NRSC to MOR and DMI for the surveys cited in Item #1 above, and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

All such "documents and materials" are provided in the attachments hereto at Tab C.

4. Copies of all advertisements involved in all focus group advertising tests conducted in Vermont for NRSC by MOR on May 27, 1986.

RESPONSE:

The focus-group advertising was, on information and belief, provided solely in videotape form, and respondents are not, and never have been in possession of a copy of the tape that was used by MOR on behalf of the NRSC. We are aware that the NRSC has obtained a copy of the tape and provided it to counsel in connection with its own response in this MUR. It will, therefore, be provided for the Commission's examination.

5. All documents and materials concerning the advertising tests cited in Item #4 above, including, but not

limited to, plans for such tests, the carrying out of such tests, and analysis of the data obtained, both general and specific.

RESPONSE:

Respondents had received one document responsive to this request and originated another. Both are provided at Tab D of the attachments hereto.

6. All documents and materials concerning communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of a portion of the expenditures made by NRSC to MOR for the advertising tests cited in Item #4 above, and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

The requested documents and materials are attached hereto at Tab E.

Responses to Interrogatories

1. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in July or August, 1985, attended by Richard Snelling and representatives of NRSC and MOR.

RESPONSE:

A comprehensive review of the records both of the Snelling '86 campaign and of Governor Snelling himself reveals that there was no meeting that took place in July or August of

1985 at which Governor Richard A. Snelling and representatives of both NRSC and MOR attended.

2. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

There was no such meeting. See response to Interrogatory No. 1, supra.

3. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in April, 1986, attended by representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, NRSC, and MOR.

RESPONSE:

There was one such meeting, and the attendees were Governor Richard A. Snelling; James E. Murphy, Jr., a NRSC Deputy Political Director; Alex Gage, a representative of MOR; Charles Black, of Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, a consultant to the campaign; and Jan van Lohuizen, the NRSC's Director of Survey Research.

4. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

April 14, 1986

5. Please identify all persons involved in every telephone conference call in 1985 and 1986 in which Richard Snelling and/or representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, plus representatives of MOR and NRSC, took part.

6. Please provide the exact dates of these telephone conference calls.

RESPONSE:

5-6. The respondents do not have complete records of telephone conference calls for the referenced period. However, upon consultation with various parties to such conversations, the respondents list the following telephone conference calls which took place in 1986 in which they believe that either Governor Richard Snelling or a representative of Snelling '86 and both representatives of MOR and NRSC took part. They know of no such conference call involving each of these categories of parties which took place in 1985.

Date	Participants
July 2, 1986	Governor Snelling, James E. Murphy, Jr., Alex Gage, Greg Stevens, a media consultant employed by Snelling '86, and Jan van Lohuizen.
August 29, 1986	Messers. Snelling, Murphy, Gage, van Lohuizen and Charles Black and Rey Post, the Campaign Manager of Snelling '86.
September 25, 1986	Messrs. Snelling, Murphy, van Lohuizen, Black, Post and Robert Teeter, an official of MOR.
October 2, 1986	Same participants as previous call.

In addition, the records of Snelling '86 show that a call was scheduled for July 17, 1986, among Messrs. Snelling, Black, Post, Murphy and van Lohuizen. An inquiry among the prospective parties to that call suggests that it did not take place.

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ARGUMENT

The Commission Should Find That Snelling '86 and its Treasurer Have Not Violated the Act.

In their initial response memorandum, the respondents set forth their basic legal position, which is unchanged with this filing. Pending the Commission's review of the documents submitted by these and the other respondents in this MUR, Snelling '86 and its treasurer reserve the right to submit an additional brief on the merits. Several matters, however, are worthy of present discussion.

In determining that the respondents failed adequately to account for and report the cost of certain surveys and advertising tests paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the Commission (as evidenced by its subpoena and document request, has centered upon five items:

1. A survey conducted by MOR in mid-June 1985, which the NRSC has called its "benchmark" survey;

2. A survey conducted by DMI in December 1985 at the initiation of the NRSC;

3. A survey conducted by MOR in early April 1986, again at the initiation of the NRSC;

4. A survey conducted by MOR in late June 1986, also at the behest of the NRSC; and

5. A "focus group" advertising test conducted by the MOR and the NRSC in May 1986.

In assigning value to information resulting from these polls when data derived from them eventually were provided to the

Snelling campaign, and consequently in reporting contributions and expenditures to the Commission, (or in deciding that a contribution had not been received and therefore that no reporting was required), the respondents relied completely upon the advice and instructions of the NRSC. The respondents believed, and still believe, that the NRSC's advice was accurate and, as we shall discuss, that the decisions made on the basis of it were correct.

A. The June 1985 "Benchmark Survey"

The June 1985 "benchmark survey," was undertaken entirely at the insistence of the NRSC. Governor Snelling had nothing to do with the formulation of the inquiries or in the approach taken in conducting the poll, which was carried on as part of the NRSC's recruitment function.

There was no Snelling campaign when the benchmark survey was conducted because Governor Snelling not only had not formed it, but because he had not even decided that he wanted to be a candidate for the Senate. Nor was the survey a "testing-the-waters" activity of Governor Snelling; he wasn't testing anything. Compare 11 C.F.R. S 100.7(b)(1).

The NRSC has a legitimate role as a national party committee in identifying and recruiting candidates. The nature of the benchmark poll and the way that it was used are indicative of that recruitment role. As the Commission should be able to determine from a review of the documents provided at Tab B, the benchmark poll was derivative of the NRSC's function, but was

largely irrelevant to the subsequent Snelling campaign, which did not accept the poll but instead formulated a lengthy campaign plan (see attachments) that was not essentially based upon data, other than certain other information which by the time of the plan's formulation was available from newspaper polls and other public sources.

B. Surveys During the Campaign

Of the three mid-campaign surveys with which the Commission is concerned, appropriate allocations were made against the direct or coordinated expenditures that the NRSC is entitled to make on behalf of the campaign committee as to two of them (the DMI poll of December 1985, and the MOR poll of April 1986). These were based upon the 60-day depreciation level set forth in the Commission's regulations. The third survey (the MOR poll which respondents understand was conducted in June 1986) was not presented to the campaign and so, we are informed, no allocation was made or bill presented by the NRSC.

As the documents attached at Tab B illustrate, the campaign was well aware that polling data would not be given to it, if at all, for 60 days. This rule was honored. At the same time, however, it was entirely proper (and did not create an allocable event) for various persons, including representatives of the NRSC, to discuss different campaign issues with the candidate and his staff, even if those issues peripherally involved polling trends.

As the attachments also show, there were many informational sources available to the campaign including public newspaper polls which were quite consistent in detail and result to the MOR and DMI polls with which we are here concerned. Through these sources, the campaign was able to put together a fairly detailed, though often erroneous, statistical profile of its position, without obtaining polling data that would have resulted in a contribution in kind by the NRSC.

The Commission's regulations are not particularly detailed in describing what constitutes receipt of polls, and perhaps this would be an appropriate topic for a future rulemaking provision. For the present, the respondents submit that their conduct was not inconsistent with the few governing precedents and that the discounted allocations that were made were accurate and proper.

C. The "Focus Group" Test

As the documents included at Tab D show, at least some of the information derived from the "focus group" advertising test conducted in May 1986 was shared with the Snelling campaign soon after the information was received. And, as the documents included at Tab E demonstrate, the campaign paid the sum of $3,600 to the NRSC on the day that the bill was received. Respondents, who paid what the NRSC informed them was due, without prior consultation on the amount, believe that the payment was appropriate, reasonable and entirely consonant with Commission regulations.

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It is the respondents' understanding that the focus group studies had a dual purpose. Plainly, they were intended to be of benefit to the Snelling campaign which used some of the data in selecting television advertising spots. However, we understand that the survey, which was initiated by the NRSC and was conducted through MOR, but with the participation of an NRSC expert in advertising, had a far more extensive purpose. That purpose had nothing to do with the Snelling campaign or with Vermont. Instead, the NRSC has been studying the effect of television advertising, particularly so-called "negative" political advertising. That study is broad and ongoing, and the information derived in the focus group testing is central to its conduct.

As to the $3,600 actually paid by respondents for the survey, we respectfully submit that this amount is a significant one and that it fairly reflects the cost of the information provided and its fair-market value in terms of the use made of it in the Vermont campaign.

Conclusion

For all of the foregoing reasons, as well as those that respondents have reserved the right to present at a later time, the respondents respectfully submit that the Commission should determine that they have not violated the Act and have fairly and accurately reported the disbursements made for the information received as the result of polling conducted by the NRSC.

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Respectfully submitted,

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.

By: Stuart M. Gerson
Stuart M. Gerson

1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 861-0900

Attorneys for the Respondents

January 20, 1987

87040763183

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF	X	
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE	X	
and	X	MUR 2212
RODNEY A. SMITH, AS TREASURER	X	

RESPONSE OF NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL
COMMITTEE TO COMMISSION REASON
TO BELIEVE DETERMINATION AND TO SUBPOENA AND ORDER

By letter dated December 9, 1986, the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission" or "FEC") notified the respondents, the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and its Treasurer, Rodney A. Smith, that the Commission had found reason to believe that the respondents had violated the Federal Election Campaign Act ("The Act") regarding the reporting and valuation of certain surveys and advertising tests paid for by the NRSC and relevant, at least in part, to the recently-concluded Senatorial campaign in Vermont. The Commission invited a response to this finding and also subpoenaed various documents and ordered the respondents to answer a list of questions.

In the two sections of this Response that immediately follow, the respondents provide their answers to the documentary request and interrogatories. They then set forth their legal position that the Commission should find that the respondents have not violated the Act.

Response to Subpoena to Produce Documents

Introduction

The respondents are providing herewith all material documents in its possession that their employees were able to obtain after a complete and good faith search of the NRSC's files. The respondents wish the Commission to note that they assert a proprietary interest in all of the documents provided and formally request that their confidentiality be maintained by the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, returned at the conclusion of this investigation. In the event that the Commission were to receive a request pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act or, otherwise, for the release of any document provided herewith, the respondents request 10 days' advance notice of any release contemplated by the Commission so that they might assert their rights under law. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.21.

Responses

1. All questions included in the following opinion surveys conducted wholly or in part for NRSC by either Market Opinion Research, Inc. ("MOR"), or Decision Marketing Information, Inc., ("DMI") in the state of Vermont in 1985 and 1986.

   a. Survey conducted by MOR on June 14-17, 1986.

   b. Survey conducted by DMI in December, 1985, pursuant to commission by the Republican National Committee and shared in by NRSC.

   c. Survey conducted by MOR on April 5-9, 1986.

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d. Survey conducted by MOR on June 26-29, 1986.

RESPONSE:

a. The respondents believe that there is a typographical error in the request and that the Commission, in fact, is seeking a copy of the MOR "benchmark" survey done in June of 1985. The questions sought are part of the survey itself, a copy of which is provided as an attachment hereto at Tab A. Although only the questions are requested in this section of the subpoena, the remainder of the document comes within the broad compass of subpoena request No. 2, inasmuch as they "concern" the referenced communications. The survey is, therefore, provided.

b. For the reasons stated as to Section a, a copy of the DMI survey of December 1985 is provided at Tab B.

c. For the reasons stated as to Section a, a copy of the MOR survey of April 1986 is provided at Tab C.

d. For the reasons stated as to Section a, a copy of the MOR survey of June 1986 is provided at Tab D.

2. All documents and materials concerning written or oral communications between NRSC and Richard Snelling, and between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee in 1985 and 1986 on the subject of surveys conducted in Vermont in 1985 and 1986 wholly or in part for NRSC by MOR and DMI, including, but not limited to, all documents and materials concerning surveys being planned, surveys carried out, and analysis of data collected in such surveys.

RESPONSE:

Additional documents responsive to subpoena request No. 2 are included in the attachments hereto at Tab E. Respondents note that the request, calling for documents and materials relating in any way to the four surveys described in subpoena request No. 1. The fact that the documents provided may "concern" the planning or results of a survey should not be taken by the Commission to mean that everything in or on a document is derived from or relates to one of the surveys that is the subject of this MUR. Indeed, some of these documents are, or relate to, publicly-available surveys and non-survey based information. Moreover, unless a date is specifically shown on a document, the respondents are not aware of when they received, prepared or transmitted the document or any portion thereof.

Additionally, the NRSC notes that it does not view materials prepared by, or at the direction of its staff counsel relating to the NRSC's answer to the complaint in this MUR as coming within the bounds of this request, inasmuch as such documents are inherently privileged and the Commission is already in possession of the answer itself.

3. All documents and materials concerning expenditures made to MOR and DMI by NRSC for surveys conducted in Vermont in 1985 and 1986 wholly or in part for NRSC, including, but not limited to, account statements, invoices, billing forms, checks, and other negotiable paper, and receipts.

RESPONSE:

All such "documents and materials" are provided in the attachments hereto at Tab F.

4. All documents and materials concerning the process of determining the allocable portion of the expenditures cited in Item #3 above to be reported by NRSC as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee.

RESPONSE:

The NRSC relied upon the Commission's regulations in determining the allocable portions of the expenditures referenced in request No. 3. The respondents know of no other document or material which concerns the allocation determinations except for the August 5, 1986 memo appended at Tab G, which was prepared in anticipation of the NRSC's response to the filing of the complaint in this MUR, but which is unprivileged, and a memorandum dated August 11, 1986, from Maryanne Preztunik, an NRSC employee, to James K. Wholey, Esquire, the NRSC's in-house attorney concerning the allocations that are the subject of this MUR. The document was prepared at Mr. Wholey's instruction to assist him in responding to the complaint, and the NRSC asserts its attorney-client and attorney work-product privileges as to it.

5. All documents and materials concerning written and oral communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of portions of the expenditures cited in Item #3 above

and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

Copies of all such documents that were retained by the NRSC are appended at Tab H.

6. Copies of all advertisements involved in all focus group advertising tests conducted in Vermont for NRSC by MOR on May 27, 1986.

RESPONSE:

The requested advertisements are in videotape form, and a copy of the tape (in the VHS mode) containing all of these advertisements is appended hereto as a separate attachment.

7. All documents and materials concerning the advertising tests cited in Item #6 above, including, but not limited to, plans for such tests, the carrying out of such tests, and analysis of the data obtained, both general and specific.

RESPONSE:

Those documents and materials that relate to the referenced advertising tests are appended hereto at Tab I. Respondents note, however, that, in terms of its ongoing use of these materials, they cannot be viewed in isolation in the context of Vermont and the 1986 campaign. For example, beginning in December 1986, the staff of the NRSC has begun a comprehensive study of the nature and effect of so-called "negative advertising." The Vermont materials are an integral part of that study, along with a variety of materials from many additional sources.

8. All documents and materials concerning expenditures made to MOR for the focus group advertising tests cited in Item #6 above, including, but not limited to, account statements, invoices, billing forms, checks and other negotiable paper, and receipts.

RESPONSE:

Those materials in the possession of the NRSC are attached at Tab J.

9. All documents and materials concerning the process of determining the portion of the expenditures cited in Item #8 above to be allocable to the Snelling '86 Committee.

RESPONSE:

See response to subpoena request No. 4, supra.

10. All documents and materials concerning communications between NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee on the subjects of the allocation by NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee of a portion of the expenditures cited at Item #8 above, and of the resulting reporting responsibilities of the Snelling '86 Committee regarding the receipt of in-kind contributions.

RESPONSE:

Those materials called for which are in the possession of the NRSC are attached at Tab K.

Responses to Interrogatories

1. Please identify the representative(s) of the NRSC responsible for authorizing and coordinating the conducting of opinion surveys in Vermont in 1985 and 1986.

RESPONSE:

Jan van Lohuizen, the NRSC's Director of Survey Research.

2. Please identify the representative(s) of the NRSC responsible for determining when and in what form results of opinion surveys conducted in Vermont on behalf of NRSC would be shared with Richard Snelling and/or the Snelling '86 Committee.

RESPONSE:

James E. Murphy, Jr., who is an NRSC Deputy Political Director, and Mr. van Lohuizen.

3. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in July or August, 1985, attended by Richard Snelling and representatives of NRSC and MOR.

RESPONSE:

Respondents are unaware of any meeting that took place in July or August of 1985 at which Governor Richard A. Snelling and representatives of both NRSC and MOR attended.

4. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

There was no such meeting. See response to Interrogatory No. 3, supra.

5. Please identify all persons present at the meeting or meetings in April, 1986, attended by representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, NRSC and MOR.

RESPONSE:

There was one such meeting and the attendees were Governor Snelling, Mr. Murphy, Mr. van Lohuizen, Alex Gage, a representative of MOR and Charles Black of Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, a consultant to the campaign.

6. Please provide the exact date of this meeting.

RESPONSE:

April 14, 1986.

7. Please identify all persons involved in every telephone conference call in 1985 and 1986 in which Richard Snelling and/or representatives of the Snelling '86 Committee, plus representatives of MOR and NRSC, took part.

8. Please provide the exact dates of these telephone conference calls.

RESPONSE:

7-8. The respondents do not have complete records of telephone conference calls for the referenced period. However, upon consultation with various parties to such conversations, the respondents list the following telephone conference calls which took place in 1986 in which they believe that either Governor Richard Snelling or a representative of Snelling '86 and both representatives of MOR and NRSC took part. They know of no such

conference call involving each of these categories of parties which took place in 1985.

Date	Participants
July 2, 1986	Governor Snelling, James E. Murphy, Jr., Alex Gage, Greg Stevens, a media consultant employed by Snelling '86, and Jan van Lohuizen.
August 29, 1986	Messers. Snelling, Murphy, Gage, van Lohuizen and Charles Black and Rey Post, the Campaign Manager of Snelling '86.
September 25, 1986	Messrs. Snelling, Murphy, van Lohuizen, Black, Post and Robert Teeter, an official of MOR.
October 2, 1986	Same participants as previous call.

In addition, the respondents are aware that the records of Snelling '86 show that a call was scheduled for July 17, 1986, among Messrs. Snelling, Black, Post, Murphy and van Lohuizen. An inquiry among the prospective NRSC parties to that call suggests that it did not take place.

ARGUMENT

The Commission Should Find That the NRSC and its Treasurer Have Not Violated the Act.

The NRSC's response letter of September 15, 1986 sets forth a lengthy and detailed explanation of the allocations and billings made concerning the receipt by the Snelling '86 campaign committee of the certain of the results of various polls conducted under the auspices of the NRSC during the 1986 senatorial campaign. There is no need to repeat those arguments here, although the respondents expressly reserve the right to offer

additional legal analysis to the Commission at a later time. For present purposes, respondents merely wish to call the Commission's attention to certain matters that are amplified by the accompanying subpoena responses.

Given the fact that the undersigned counsel is representing all of the parties who are respondents in this MUR, it is obvious that the NRSC and the Snelling campaign are cognizant of each other's positions here and that there is no conflict of interest between them. In view of the foregoing, the Commission should be aware that the NRSC subscribes to the statement of the Snelling campaign that, in terms of the surveys and studies that are at issue in this case, all of the allocation and billing decisions were made by the NRSC, and the Snelling '86 committee merely relied upon them, paying bills as they were submitted. We submit, however, that all of the allocations and billings were correctly made by the NRSC, and that the Commission should find that none of the parties has violated the Act.

A review of the Commission's subpoena and interrogatories demonstrates that there are five matters with which it is concerned: 1) a June 1985 survey conducted by MOR for the NRSC; 2) a December 1985 survey conducted by DMI for the NRSC; 3) an April 1986 survey conducted by MOR for the NRSC; 4) a June 1986 survey conducted by MOR for the NRSC; and 5) an advertising test conducted jointly by the NRSC and MOR in May 1986. As we shall show, no allocations or billings were made by NRSC to the Snelling campaign as to the June 1985 survey, which was conducted

for internal NRSC purposes, and as to the June 1986 survey, which was not shared with the Snelling campaign.

As to the December 1985 and April 1986 surveys, appropriate allocations were made in view of the fact that the results of the polls were not transmitted until after 60 days had elapsed from the acquisition of the information. And, as to the May 1986 test, which has become known as the "focus group" study, the Snelling campaign was billed (and paid) a substantial sum, accurately reflective of the fair market value of what it received.

A. The June 1985 Survey

National party committees, such as the NRSC, have well-recognized responsibilities in promoting the interests, policies and persons identified with their parties. See FEC v. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 454 U.S. 27 (1981); 11 C.F.R. 110.1(b)(2)(ii). Among the most important of these responsibilities is the identification of issues and the recruitment of effective candidates. The June 1985 "benchmark survey" was undertaken by the NRSC solely in conjunction with and in support of its national duties and goals.

When the benchmark poll was conceived and conducted, Governor Richard Snelling was not a candidate (announced or unannounced) for the United States Senate. Indeed, there was no candidate who had emerged as a likely contender to the Democratic incumbent in Vermont. The benchmark poll was developed by the NRSC to ascertain issues upon which the incumbent might prove

vulnerable and to identify a candidate who might be able to exploit that vulnerability while carrying the Republican banner.

We believe that the poll itself, which is an attachment hereto, amply demonstrates that party purpose. So does the internal NRSC memorandum of June 25, 1986, which is included within the attachments at Tab E. The poll was not a testing-the-waters effort by Governor Snelling; it was a recruitment tool by which the NRSC ultimately sought to persuade Governor Snelling to run.

Respondents believe that the documents submitted by the Snelling campaign also show that the benchmark poll was not the foundation for the ultimate campaign plan, which was formulated from other sources, most of them publicly available, and few of them data-centered.

For these reasons, the respondents submit that the entire expense of this poll properly was the NRSC's, whose internal purposes the poll served, and that no contribution in kind resulted to the Snelling campaign.

B. The Campaign Polls

The documents submitted by the various respondents amply demonstrate that although there was frequent discussion between the national party committee and the campaign, there was very little discussion involving representatives of pollsters (and none at all involving DMI). Additionally, the range of discussions that were held covered a broad variety of issues, among which polling was only one.

Included in the immense array of issues were discussions concerning the nature of advertising, advocacy research, focus upon women and interest groups, fundraising, media and scripts, relations with political action committees, state party matters, advocacy research on issues, campaign and staff organization, FEC report compliance, scheduling and appearances by public figures. Within these discussions, as the submitted documents make clear, the parties took particular care in not disclosing actual polling data until after 60 days had expired so that, pursuant to Commission rules, their value could be depreciated substantially.

Plainly, there was some discussion of certain broad-based matters raised by various NRSC-conducted surveys, but those communications had to do with ranges and broad-based developments, not specific data themselves. Moreover, those discussions took place within the context of the public availability of a number of newspaper polls (copies of which have been supplied to the Commission in the attachments) which are surprisingly consistent with the commercial polls that are the subject of this MUR.

Through these discussions, coupled with the substantial political experience of the participants in the State of Vermont, it was entirely possible for the campaign to construct statistical ranges of information without having access to the results of the polls themselves, and therefore without occasioning a contribution or campaign committee expenditure until the poll

data actually were released. It should be noted, however, that while the campaign's officials often were correct in their documented estimations, they also were in error on a great many occasions. They also made a number of suggestions as to future polling and campaign needs that never were adopted by the NRSC. However, the survey results themselves certainly had ultimate operative value to the campaign which desired the actual data. Thus, on the two occasions where the data ultimately were given to the Snelling campaign by the NRSC (both after 60 days had elapsed), the regulation scrupulously and literally was followed and the depreciated cost of the polls were billed against coordinated campaign expenditures.

1. The December 1985 DMI poll: pursuant to 11 C.F.R. 106.4(g), the proper percentage of the initial cost of the poll was allocated to the Snelling campaign upon the release of the polling data after 60 days.

2. The April 1986 MOR poll: a similar percentage allocation was made upon release of the data from this poll after 60 days.

3. The June 1986 MOR poll: the data from this poll were never given to the Snelling campaign or otherwise disclosed to it. No allocation therefore was made.

C. The "Focus Group" Advertising Study

In May of 1986, MOR, at the NRSC's behest, and with the active participation of an NRSC analyst, conducted an advertising test with a Vermont "focus group" of selected individuals. The

purpose of this study was twofold: to assist the Snelling campaign in the selection of television advertising spots to be broadcast; and, of broader, long term importance, to serve as the basis for a detailed, ongoing study by the NRSC of the nature and effectiveness of what has become known as "negative" campaign advertising. This study is presently underway, and the NRSC believes that it will be both definitive and of vast nationwide importance in determining its advice to future campaigns.

Data from the focus group survey were made available to the Snelling campaign almost immediately upon their receipt by the NRSC. This fact is reflected in the allocation and billing by the NRSC to the campaign of $3,600, an amount which fairly reflects the market value of what the Snelling committee received and the relative value of that distribution compared to its even greater utility to the NRSC study. This delineation is entirely consistent with Commission regulations which do not impose any valuation method other than reasonableness.

Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, as well as those that respondents may present in the future to the Commission, the respondents respectfully submit that the Commission should determine that they have not violated the Act in connection with the surveys that are the subject of the Matter Under Review.

Respectfully submitted,

EPSTEIN BECKER BORSODY & GREEN, P.C.

By: Stuart M. Gerson
Stuart M. Gerson

1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 861-0900

Attorneys for the Respondents

January 20, 1987

SENSITIVE

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
87 OCT -9 AM 11:27

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	MUR 2212
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial	)	
Committee	)	
Richard S. Nelson, as treasurer	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

On December 2, 1986, the Commission found reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer,1/ had violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report costs of certain surveys and advertising tests as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee and by undervaluing other, similar in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling '86 Committee. The Commission also found reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, had violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), and (4) and (6) by failing to report, and by undervaluing, the same in-kind contributions from the NRSC. Subpoenas to produce documents and orders for answers to questions were approved and sent to the respondents. Responses were received, together with requests for conciliation prior to findings of probable cause to believe which were declined by the Commission on February 18, 1987.

Thorough examination and analysis of the documents and answers to questions provided by the respondent committees has

1/ On February 19, 1987, the NRSC amended its Statement of Organization to show Richard G. Nelson as treasurer.

revealed the need for follow-up questions on such issues as former Governor Richard Snelling's commitment to a campaign at the time of the first NRSC-funded poll, the involvement of the Snelling '86 Committee in the formulation of later polling questions, and the extent of the NRSC's publication of the results of the June, 1986, poll. Such areas of inquiry can be most thoroughly and expeditiously explored by means of oral depositions. This Office proposes to depose former Governor Snelling and James E. Murphy, Jr., the latter being a former NRSC Deputy Political Director and the representative of the NRSC most closely involved with Governor Snelling and the Snelling campaign.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Approve and send attached letters and subpoenas for depositions to be served upon Richard Snelling and James E. Murphy, Jr.

10/8/87
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments
Subpoenas for Depositions (2)
Letters (2)

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
ACTING GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/JOSHUA MCFADDEN

DATE: OCTOBER 14, 1987

SUBJECT: OBJECTION TO MUR 2212 - General Counsel's Report Signed October 8, 1987

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Tuesday, October 13, 1987 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 Josefiak	X
Commissioner McDonald	
Commissioner McGarry	
Commissioner Thomas	X

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for October 20, 1987.

Please notify us who will represent your Division before the Commission on this matter.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
ACTING GENERAL COUNSEL

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Please notify us who will represent your Division before the Commission on this matter.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	MUR 2212
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial	)	
Committee	)	
Richard A. Nelson, as treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Mary W. Dove, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on October 20, 1987, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 5-0 to take the following actions on MUR 2212:

> Authorize the taking of a deposition of the National Republican Senatorial Committee in accordance with the discussion held in the meeting.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision. Commissioner McDonald did not cast a vote.

Attest:

10-21-87
Date

Mary W. Dove
Mary W. Dove
Administrative Assistant

pcm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

30 October 1987

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein, Becker, Borsody, and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

RE: MUR 2212
National Republican Senatorial Committee
Richard G. Nelson, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Gerson:

On December 9, 1986, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission had found reason to believe the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4), a provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

Pursuant to its investigation of this matter, the Commission has issued the attached subpoena requiring James E. Murphy, Jr. to appear and give sworn testimony on November 12, 1987, which will assist the Commission in carrying out its statutory duty of supervising compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

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. Your client will be given a check for the witness fee and mileage at the time of the deposition.

If you have any questions, please direct them to Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Subpoena

9 0 4 0 7 0 1 2 0 6

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
) MUR 2212
)
)
)

SUBPOENA

TO: James E. Murphy, Jr.
c/o Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein, Becker, Borsody, and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas you to appear for deposition with regard to MUR 2212. Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken on November 12, 1987, in Room 657 at 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., beginning at 10:00 a.m.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., this 29th day of October, 1987.

Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

Thm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

January 5, 1988

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein, Becker, Borsody
and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

Re: MUR 2212
National Republican
Senatorial Committee

Dear Mr. Gerson:

We are writing to request additional information concerning one aspect of the above-cited matter, namely the allocation to the Snelling '84 Committee by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") of $3,600 out of the $13,800 paid by the NRSC for "focus group" advertising surveys conducted in Vermont on May 27, 1986. Given the direct relationship of the advertising being tested to the Snelling campaign, a detailed explanation is requested regarding the allocation of only 26% to the Snelling committee.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne R. Weissenborn at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

3 7 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 1 0

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26 January 1988

Federal Election Commission
ATTN: Ms. Anne A. Weissenborn, Attorney
999 E Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Deposition of JAMES E. MURPHY, JR.,
Washington DC, 18 December 1987.
MUR 2212.

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed is the Original copy of the above-entitled deposition, which has been read and signed by the Deponent. The following corrections are noted in this transcript:

Page 27,	line 4:	Change "and" to "any".
34	14	Change "where" to "aware".
52	21	Change "on" to "no".

Sincerely,

Edwin G. Crowley
Deposition Supervisor

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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

ORIGINAL

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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In the Matter of: :
MUR 2212 :
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DEPOSITION OF JAMES E. MURPHY, JR.

Washington, D. C.

Friday, December 18, 1987

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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In the Matter of: :
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MUR 2212 :
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DEPOSITION OF JAMES E. MURPHY, JR.

Washington, D. C.

Friday, December 18, 1987

Deposition of JAMES E. MURPHY, JR., called for examination pursuant to notice, at the Federal Election Commission, 999 E Street, N.W., Conference Room, at 10:00 a.m. before LOUIS P. WAIBEL, a Notary Public within and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

ANNE A. WEISSENBORN, ESQ.
Attorney
THOMAS J. WHITEHEAD, ESQ.
Assistant General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463
On behalf of the Federal Election Commission.

STUART M. GERSON, ESQ.
Epstein, Becker, Borsody & Green, P.C.
1140 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
On behalf of the Witness.

-- continued --

APPEARANCES: (Continued)

BENJAMIN L. GINSBERG, ESQ.
Legal Counsel
National Republican Senatorial
Committee
440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D. C. 20001
On behalf of the Witness.

1 C O N T E N T S

2

WITNESS	EXAMINATION
James E. Murphy, Jr. by Ms. Weissenborn	4

5 E X H I B I T S

DEPOSITION EXHIBITS	IDENTIFIED
Exhibit 1	14
Exhibit 2	16
Exhibit 3	20
Exhibit 4	24
Exhibit 5	27
Exhibit 6	30
Exhibit 7	32
Exhibit 8	38
Exhibits 9 and 10	41
Exhibit 11	43
Exhibit 12	45
Exhibit 13	47
Exhibit 14	51

P R O C E E D I N G S

(10:00 A.M.)

Whereupon,

JAMES E. MURPHY, JR.

was called as a witness and, having first been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Would you state your name and address?

A James E. Murphy, Jr. My home address is Unit 230, 10819 Hamptonville Terrace, Rockville, Maryland 20852.

Q What is your present position?

A I am the director of field operations for the Dole For President Committee.

Q Have you ever been deposed before?

A No.

Q I am going to ask a series of questions, and if you have any questions yourself or you don't understand what I am asking and so forth, please say so.

A Sure.

Q And I will try to rephrase it.

You are represented by counsel here?

LOUpv

A I guess sort of.

Q Sort of?

A I guess I am here as a former agent of the NRSC.

MR. GERSON: I will note for the record that Mr. Murphy was identified pursuant to discussion Ms. Weissenborn and I had, who is a person who could represent the NRSC and is familiar with the facts at the time they occurred or who could come and represent in a comprehensive way the NRSC's interests, perhaps along the lines of, say, a 30(B)(6) witness in the normal civil case, and that's what led to Mr. Murphy's being here.

I am here as counsel for the NRSC and hence indirectly representing him.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Would you identify yourself.

MR. GERSON: I am Stuart Gerson, and Benjamin Ginsberg to my right, as counsel for the NRSC.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Where were you employed, Mr. Murphy, during 1985 and 1986?

A At the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Q What were your responsibilities during that period?

BOUpv

A I was a deputy political director, and my responsibilities were divided up by States and my States were Indiana, Ohio, Maryland, New York, Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire.

Q And with regard to those States, what were you expected to do? What were your responsibilities within those areas?

A Varied greatly from State to State. Principally, I would describe my role, say, principal point of contact between the Senate committee of the candidates for campaigns running in those States.

Q In terms of Vermont, you mentioned that as one of your States. What were your particular efforts or responsibilities in that State?

A No different than the others. Again, just basically to take whatever interest the committee had an represent those interests in that State with those candidates' campaigns as time went on.

Q Taking, say, 1985, beginning, say, January and going up to maybe September, what was your role in terms of the candidacy in Vermont?

MR. GERSON: His personally?

MS. WEISSENBORN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I'm sorry, did you say in '85?

MS. WEISSENBORN: In '85. Right.

THE WITNESS: My role in Vermont was principally, I'd say, two-fold. First, as it was, I didn't know Vermont. I had never done anything there; so, just to try to get a handle on the State, principally as any political person would. And secondly, we were trying to recruit the candidates to run against Leahy.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q What did you do in terms of this recruitment?

MR. GERSON: Again, you are asking about him personally as opposed to the Senatorial committee generally?

MS. WEISSENBORN: Right.

THE WITNESS: What did I personally do?

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Yes.

A Well, with respect to the first major thing that I did, basically I tried to immerse myself in all material relating to Vermont political history, the Almanac, Leahy's record, things like that. And with respect to recruiting, my best recollection is that sometime in March -- it may

have been April -- but sometime around there I made a field trip up to Vermont, spent three or four days traveling through the State to assess the situation and speak to the people active in the Republican Party. That's basically what I did.

Q Speaking to them about what in terms of a candidate?

A Who would be good, who was interested, what could we do to help, an assessment of the race, an assessment of Leahy, what his strengths were, what his weaknesses were.

Q Did you meet with former Governor Snelling during that period?

A Yes, I did.

Q And can you tell us generally what the tenor of your conversation was in terms of did you approach him as to other possible candidates?

A Yes. It was an introductory meeting. I had never met the Governor, and I basically had called his office to state that I was going to be in the State and I wanted to stop by and pay a courtesy call. That was the purpose of that visit.

Q How would you characterize his reaction to his

visit? Maybe I should start again.

Did you pose the question of whether he would consider running at that point?

A Yes. In an indirect way I said that we thought he would be a very strong candidate and I would hope he would consider running. And he indicated to me at that time that he had no plans for running. He was very cordial, and we didn't really get into the whole issue a whole lot. At that time it was more an introductory meeting, and I had set it up as that.

Q What was the next time you met with him that you recall?

A I don't have a specific recollection of the second meeting. I know I met with him again. I would have to say I don't know if it was in Washington or in Vermont. I don't know. But as the recruiting process went on, I don't know if it was Vermont or D.C., to be honest. I don't have as clear a memory of the second meeting as the first.

Q Who else at the NRSC was involved in this recruitment process in Vermont?

A I'm not -- do you mean --

Q Who besides yourself would have been in direct

LOUpv

contact with potential candidates? Who attended meetings?

A Griscom would be the executive director. I would say he would be the other principal person in touch.

Q And his first name?

A Tom. Tom Griscom. He would be the other principal person. He was the executive director of the committee and the person to whom I answered on this.

Q Could you elaborate on what you meant by the recruitment process? What did the NRSC do to encourage a candidate in Vermont?

A Specifically, I would say, just try to make the case that there was a need for a strong candidate. As you well know, control of the Senate was a big issue at the time, and we viewed Vermont as a State where we had an opportunity to pick up a seat, if you will.

So, principally, I would say that the thrust of our recruiting was to convince -- it turned out to be Snelling because he was, in our professional judgment, so head and shoulders in terms of name, ID, and his being Governor, that this was a race that he should make and that he could do very well in. That was the thrust of what we were trying to do in Vermont.

Q So, what kind of activities did you engage in to encourage him to say yes?

A We tried to first, frankly, just -- again, it gets into Snelling -- but the first thing was the need to educate him as to the other Senate races and how the balance was up in the air, sort of like ideological partisan Republican cause type argument. We definitely spent a lot of time on that because as many of the candidates are, he didn't have sort of a national perspective on things.

And secondly, we tried to give him an assessment of what it would take, what the race would be like, what resources could be available to him, and just tried to give him an answer to the obvious questions that candidates have about what this might be like if I get into it, and the resources that would be available.

Q How would you characterize his reactions, say, through the spring and summer of 1985?

A He was very much inclined to not run, is our feeling at the time. The best that I was able to do was at least continue the dialogue, though I wasn't sure that he would run. At least, he wasn't wildly interested in it. I mean, he was definitely being a reluctant suitor, and so I

bOUpv

1 would say that was sort of his inclination, although he was
2 willing to go through the process of exploring it.
3 Q Did the NRSC commission a telephone voter survey
4 to be carried out in Vermont by Market Opinion Research in
5 June of 1985?
6 A Yes. I think it was June. Yes.
7 Q What was the purpose of that survey, do you
8 remember, from the NRSC's viewpoint?
9 A Well, to get a baseline look at the State to see
10 where Leahy stood relative to the other Democratic
11 incumbents, relative to our incumbent, stuff like that,
12 basically, get a lay of the land.
13 And secondly, obviously at the time Snelling was
14 our principal person, but whether he or whoever we knew that
15 was likely, in order to get a strong candidate in the race,
16 we would need a survey to try and help recruit a candidate.
17 Q To your knowledge, was Governor Snelling informed
18 that you were going to undertake that survey -- you meaning
19 NRSC -- prior to its taking place?
20 A I believe he was, yes.
21 Q Do you remember whether he made any suggestions
22 as to questions to be asked, or did he make any suggestions?

LOUpv

A Not directly, no. I'd say in my conversations with him, having been a Governor, he was a seasoned pro. I mean, I knew that. No, I would say he did not make any specific stuff.

Q He didn't raise areas of concern that he would like to have covered?

A Not with respect to the questionnaire, no.

Q To your knowledge, did he do so to Market Opinion Research?

A No. To my knowledge, he did not.

Q Did anyone representing -- let me rephrase that.

Did you always deal directly with Governor Snelling himself, or were there other persons who served as his representatives during this process?

A At that time, I dealt directly with him. He had no staff. I mean, a secretary. But on the recruitment process, I dealt straight with Snelling.

Q So, is it correct there was no one else representing him who would have made suggestions as to the survey?

A Not to my knowledge.

MS. WEISSENBORN: I would like to ask the

1 reporter to mark the first document as Exhibit 1.

2 (Deposition Exhibit

3 No. 1 identified.)

4 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

5 Q This document purports to be an affidavit of

6 Robert M. Teeter, of Market Opinion Research, which was

7 submitted in response to the complaint in this matter.

8 Have you seen this document before?

9 (Pause.)

10 A This morning. No, I have not seen it before this

11 morning.

12 Q I would like to ask you to read paragraph 6,

13 particularly the first sentence.

14 (Pause.)

15 A Yes.

16 Q And as you will see, in the first sentence he

17 says that, "MOR, at the request of the NRSC, attended two

18 meetings with the NRSC, one in the summer of 1985, at which

19 Governor Snelling was present."

20 Were you present at such a meeting, do you

21 recall?

22 A Yes, I was.

BOUpv

Q Would you tell us about that meeting in terms of the survey and information that may have been discussed as a result of it?

A Well, my recollection, as I stated earlier, we did this poll, and at this meeting we made a pitch to Snelling based on the poll. I mean, it was a discussion of the survey results.

Q What do you mean by results when you use that word?

A In this meeting, I mean, the whole content of the poll. In other words, we went through the whole poll, discussing every aspect of it. As surveys are, it was an interchange based on the data of what did this result mean and is that normal. It was a discussion of a survey. It was a survey report.

Q So, you had the actual percentage figures that came out of the data: the answers to the various questions and the percentage of persons who had answered in certain ways and so forth?

A Yes.

Q And he was given that information?

A Yes. At that meeting, yes.

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Q What was Governor Snelling's reaction at that point to the numbers and to the meaning of the survey?

A I would describe his reaction as not surprised. There had been public polls published not long ago that essentially showed the same thing, and I would say he was not surprised by it.

Q Did he seem more inclined to seriously consider the candidacy as a result?

A I would say no. I don't think that poll did anything one way or the other to influence him to run. I think it confirmed what he already thought, and so I think when it was over he remained, to my dismay, a reluctant suitor.

MS. WEISSENBORN: I would like to go to the next exhibit and ask that it be marked as Number 2.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 2 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q This exhibit consists of a two-page memorandum from Charlie Black to Governor Richard Snelling and Jim Murphy, dated August 15, 1985, and titled "In regard to Draft of Vermont Campaign Plan," followed by 52 pages of

1 what is entitled "How Governor Richard Snelling can be
2 elected to the United States Senate from Vermont in 1986."
3 I believe I have seen references to this second
4 document as the Vermont campaign plan. Does this sound
5 accurate? Can we call it that?
6 A Not really, no. I mean, it's sort of a misnomer,
7 but it is referred to that, yes. I don't know what other
8 documents you have seen referred to.
9 Q Have you seen this before?
10 A Oh, yes.
11 Q Can you identify this?
12 A Yes.
13 Q Who initiated the idea of having Black, Manafort,
14 Stone & Atwater prepare this plan?
15 A Well, the Senatorial committee. I can't remember
16 who specifically. It had come out of discussions by the
17 staff of the Senatorial committee. I can't remember whose
18 idea it was originally. It was the Senate committee.
19 Q To your knowledge, did Governor Snelling initiate
20 the idea with NRSC?
21 A No. Let me tell you how this came about. It did
22 not come from Snelling. After the survey report, as I

1 mentioned earlier, he was still not convinced, and he was
2 interested -- I mean, his line of reasoning was at that,
3 "Okay, that's good, but how would this play out?" And this
4 document was sort of the next step in our recruiting
5 process, based on my assessment of what his mind frame was,
6 where we were trying, using the poll as a starting point,
7 play out, if you will, for him, as I mentioned earlier, you
8 know, he was interested in what would a campaign be like,
9 and this was the next step to help him work through what a
10 campaign would be like.
11 So, again, maybe it was Tommie's idea. I don't
12 know whose. But Charlie is a very well respected political
13 consultant in Republican circles.
14 MR. GERSON: Charlie is Charlie Black?
15 THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. Charlie Black.
16 MR. WHITEHEAD: And Tommie is Griscom?
17 THE WITNESS: Yes, it is.
18 And so we decided to retain Black to come up with
19 a document that we could get Snelling to sort of go through
20 those what-ifs, and that's how this came about.
21 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:
22 Q Did Governor Snelling know it was going to be

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prepared?

A Yes. We came up with the idea, and I told him we were going to do this.

Q Did he have any suggestions as to what he would like to see covered in it?

A No, not specifically. As I said earlier, I just knew in general that he was looking for a what-if.

Q As far as you know, did he communicate -- was the only communication about this, before it was formulated, with you or did he have direct communication with Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater?

A I don't know. I can't remember. I don't remember that he would have. He didn't have much input beforehand, no. But I can't say for sure they didn't talk, but I don't have any recollection of that. I don't know.

Q Who paid Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater for preparing this play?

A The Senate committee.

Q Do you remember how much it was more or less?

A No, I don't. Sorry, I don't.

Q When did Governor Snelling make up his mind? When did he tell the NRSC that he had decided to become a

3 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 3 1

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1 candidate?

2 A It was in October. Don't hold me to that. I

3 believe the date was on or about -- I think he went to the

4 -- has anyone got calendar? I could tell you by the

5 calendar. I think he said to Vermont he was running on the

6 19th, so my best guess would be around the 15th or 16th of

7 October.

8 Q So, mid-October?

9 A Mid-October is when he said that he would run.

10 MS. WEISSENBORN: Now we move on to the period

11 after he has declared. And I would like to have the next

12 exhibit marked, please.

13 (Deposition Exhibit

14 No. 3 identified.)

15 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

16 Q Exhibit 3 purports to be a memorandum from

17 Governor Snelling to yourself, Jim Murphy, dated November 4,

18 1985. Do you recall seeing this memorandum before?

19 (Pause.)

20 A There's been a lot. I mean, I've seen it from

21 Stuart. I don't have a specific recollection of this, but,

22 yes, I'm sure. This was to me.

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Q I would like to draw your attention to the first sentence, and I will read it. It says, "I am afraid that a more comprehensive poll than we have been thinking about has become necessary as a result of external events."

Is it correct that I can assume from this that there were prior discussions about the need for another poll that he is referring to; is that right?

A That sentence would lead you to believe that yes, there would be. I cannot remember a specific discussion at that time about a particular poll.

Q The paragraph beginning with "In any event," I will just ask you to go ahead and read that.

MR. GERSON: There are two paragraphs that begin with "In any event."

MS. WEISSENBORN: The first one. The larger one.

THE WITNESS: Snelling used that phrase a lot.

(Pause.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q I have some questions about that. One is, what is the Becker poll he refers to?

A I believe the Becker poll would have been a poll conducted -- I don't remember who it was conducted for, but

3 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 3 3

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1 that was released up in -- I can't remember when it was. It
2 was the Rutland Herald poll at some point, and I think it's
3 Becker Associates. He does polls, I believe, in the New
4 England region. Don't hold me to that. But it would be
5 some kind of public poll. I don't have a specific memory of
6 it, but I do recognize the name Becker, and that's what my
7 best recollection is.
8 Q In the next line it talks about he says, "We
9 might have to get ORC to do it." Do you know what ORC is?
10 A I don't know. I was wondering about that myself.
11 Q And then he goes on to say, "Since the data for
12 the June poll is more under our control." Could he have
13 possibly been referring to MOR?
14 A I do not know. I don't know what he would mean
15 by --
16 MR. GERSON: We can stipulate that none of us
17 knows what ORC is, nor has NRSC ever hired anybody by that
18 name.
19 THE WITNESS: I don't know if that's a typo or
20 what it is.
21 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:
22 Q In the next sentence -- well, go ahead and read

8 2 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 3 4

that.

(Pause.)

A Yes.

Q Where he says, "By just trailering on someone else's poll." What does he mean by that, do you know? What does the term "trailering" mean generally?

A I have never heard trailering. I can only guess what he is referring to is piggybacking. What I would call piggybacking.

Q And did the NRSC conduct a poll in December -- or commission a poll, I should say -- to be carried out in Vermont?

A In December, my recollection -- I don't have this stuff in front of me -- that's when the RNC did a poll, and I think we bought some of the questions.

Q In other words, piggyback? Is that the term?

A Correct. The RNC had their own schedule of polling, and I think whenever -- I think it was pretty common whenever they went in, we did joint stuff with them.

Q Do you remember who was hired to do that particular poll by the RNC?

A In December, the DMI.

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Q Would you spell it?

A What does it refer to?

Q Right.

MR. GERSON: We can stipulate it was Decision Management, Inc.

THE WITNESS: Yes, who did most, but not all, of the survey work for the RNC at the time.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Do you remember approximately when that poll was taken?

A Just December, from looking at this. I don't have a specific recollection.

MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, let's move on to the next exhibit.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 4 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q This exhibit is titled "Memorandum to Polling File." It is dated January 6, 1986, and it's not signed, although at the bottom it has an "RAS/mmm," and it was produced in response to a subpoena.

MR. GERSON: We can stipulate I produced it.

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MS. WEISSENBORN: Okay.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q The first sentence discusses or mentions a December 12 or 13 -- I assume 1985 -- meeting in Charlie Black's office. Do you remember being present at such a meeting?

A Yes, I do.

Q Who else was there, do you remember?

A Obviously, Snelling, Charlie, me. There were a lot of people in and out. This was a big, day-long thing. I think we were the three people there for all of it, and other people came in and out.

Q Okay. In the second part of that first sentence, the writer says, "I got some insight into some polling data gathered by the RNC." What is he referring to at that meeting?

A The DMI poll.

Q What exactly was Governor Snelling given in terms of the poll at that meeting?

A At this meeting he was given a briefing by Jan van Lohuizen.

Q Who is he?

3 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 3 7

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A He was our survey guy. I guess his title was director of survey research for the Senatorial committee.

Q So, he gave Governor Snelling what in terms of the poll?

A He gave him a briefing on the results.

Q To be more specific, what do you mean by briefing? What would he have given him?

A At this time, Snelling and, you know, we knew that Snelling could not be given the poll data, any of the numbers, but that he was allowed to be given a briefing on the general findings of the survey. And so Jan conducted that briefing and basically told him, to the extent he was allowed to, the findings of the poll.

Q You said "allowed to." Did the NRSC have a policy as to what could be given and what could not in terms of poll results?

A Yes.

Q Would you elaborate upon that policy?

A I can elaborate on my understanding of it because it was Jan who worked that out with the lawyers and stuff. But my understanding of it was that, whether it was 60 days or whatever, that no numbers from the poll, no books, none

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of the data, none of the cross-tabs, none of the numbers, the poll numbers, were allowed to be given to the candidate or any of his or her agents.

But short of numbers ~~and~~ ANY analysis or findings or trends or observations, whatever, anything else could be imparted to the candidate or his or her agent. That was my understanding of it.

Q Would you define a finding as including percentages?

A No. No numbers. No actual data. No numbers from tex poll could be divulged to the candidate.

Q Was this a written policy?

A I have no recollection of seeing anything written. I don't know if there was or not. Again, it was pretty much Jan and the lawyers. I just sort of had a working knowledge of it. And that was my understanding of the law or policy, whatever, what we should do.

MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, I would like to have this marked as the next exhibit, please.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 5 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

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Q This exhibit is entitled at the beginning "A Telephone Survey of Registered Voters in the State of Vermont, Prepared for the Republican Senatorial Committee, December 1985," furnished by Decisionmaking Information. Are you familiar with this document?

(Pause.)

A I am familiar with the poll. I haven't seen this.

Q Beginning on the eighth page in after this --

MR. GERSON: Since we have some of these blank pages, let's just go off the record for a second and make sure we're looking at the same page.

(Discussion off the record.)

MR. GERSON: Okay, we're looking at the same page.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q This is apparently what we're looking at, the first page of the interview schedule, which includes not only the questions but in this version has percentages.

For example, beginning with all of the questions, there are percentages given. Am I correct in assuming those are the results that had been added, that had been

1 incorporated into the schedule?

2 A Yes, I would assume so.

3 MR. GERSON: Is what you're asking did somebody

4 take the questionnaire and then tabulate the results on

5 them?

6 MS. WEISSENBORN: Right.

7 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

8 Q And that's what this is; is that correct?

9 A It would appear to me that way. Again, I haven't

10 seen this. I don't think I have. No, I haven't. It would

11 appear to me that these are the results, yes.

12 Q Now, at the meeting you had at Mr. Black's office

13 in December, would Governor Snelling has seen this document?

14 A No.

15 Q Did the NRSC commission a poll to be carried out

16 in Vermont in April of 1986?

17 A We did, yes.

18 Q Who was hired to undertake that poll?

19 A MOR, I believe. Yes.

20 Q Who was instrumental in determining what

21 questions should be posed in that April survey?

22 A Principally, Jan. As it was in all surveys we

LOUpv

1 did, I'd say principally Jan van Lohuizen.

2 Q Did you have input into the questions?

3 A Yes.

4 Q What about Governor Snelling?

5 A Indirectly, I would say my conversations with him

6 -- by that point I was talking to him quite a bit, and he

7 obviously knew that we were going to be taking polls and

8 stuff, and from time to time he would say, "What about this?

9 What about that?" But it was basically Jan and myself who

10 in the end would decide what was the questionnaire.

11 MS. WEISSENBORN: Okay, I would like to introduce

12 the next exhibit, please.

13 (Deposition Exhibit

14 No. 6 identified.)

15 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

16 Q Exhibit 6 purports to be a letter, which is not

17 signed, from Governor Richard A. Snelling to Charles Black,

18 dated March 21, 1986, with a copy to Jim Murphy, at the

19 bottom. Do you remember seeing this?

20 (Pause.)

21 A Again, I have no specific recollection, but I

22 don't doubt it came to me.

LOUpv

Q Prior to March 21 had there been discussion about the need for a poll to be taken?

A There were ongoing discussing throughout the campaign about polling, so I would assume yes. But I can't remember a specific discussion or poll.

Q Did you have a chance to read the contents of this memo?

A I just glanced through it. You want me to read it?

Q Would you, please?

(Pause.)

A I have read it.

Q Am I correct if I characterize the content of Governor Snelling's desire for a poll question regarding the importance of maintaining a Republican majority?

A That is correct.

Q Did you remember having discussions with Mr. Black about this request after this came up?

A No, I do not.

Q Do you recall a meeting with Governor Snelling at which Governor Snelling was present on April 1 of 1986?

A No.

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MR. GERSON: When you say April 1, that's opposed to the meeting on April 14?

MS. WEISSENBORN: Right.

MR. GERSON: Which we will agree took place. You're not asking about the April 14th meeting. You're asking about a meeting on April 1.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Right. Or a discussion. It could have been a telephone discussion.

THE WITNESS: I had so many meetings and so many discussions, I honestly can't speak to it. I have no specific recollection of a meeting on April 1, no, I do not.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Do you recall whether Governor Snelling received a draft of poll questions before they were finalized?

A I don't.

MS. WEISSENBORN: I would like to introduce the next exhibit.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 7 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q This exhibit is entitled "Vermont Statewide Data Prepared for the National Republican Senatorial Committee"

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1 by Market Opinion Research, and it's dated April 1986.

2 Can you identify it?

3 A Again, I have no specific memory, but I'm sure

4 this was it.

5 Q I would like to draw your attention to two

6 questions. The first is number 8 on page 5, and the second

7 is number 85 on page 26. If you can just glance at those.

8 A Yes.

9 Q Am I correct in summarizing these by saying they

10 both deal with the majority question? I will back up.

11 MR. GERSON: I will stipulate you are asking

12 about the generic issue of the importance of retaining a

13 Republican majority in the Senate.

14 MS. WEISSENBORN: Right. Exactly.

15 MR. GERSON: We will stipulate both of those

16 questions, say that.

17 MS. WEISSENBORN: All right.

18 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

19 Q Do you remember discussions about this particular

20 issue when questions were being formulated?

21 MR. GERSON: With Snelling or generally with the

22 NRSC?

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Generally with the NRSC or with MOR.

A MOR I didn't really talk to. It would have been rare that I talked to them, because Jan was the person I spoke with. But I'm sure I talked to Jan about this questionnaire.

Q What was the role of Mr. Black in setting up this particular polling enterprise?

MR. GERSON: Which poll are you talking about?

MS. WEISSENBORN: The preparation of the survey instrument.

MR. GERSON: Mr. Black had several roles.

THE WITNESS: Marginal. How would I describe Charlie's role? He would have been AWARE ~~where~~ we were taking a poll?

MS. WEISSENBORN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: But as far as getting involved in the questions and stuff like that, that was not Charlie's role.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Could you elaborate on what his roles were at this point in the campaign?

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A He was a general consultant to Snelling and, as such, he had the overall responsibility for the campaign effort.

Q Paid by the Snelling committee?

A Yes. There was a contract, yes, to the best of my knowledge.

Q From your point of view, can we assume that Governor Snelling commented upon and added to the questions that were going to be posed in this poll, in the April '86 poll?

MR. GERSON: I will note an objection to it. You can answer it to the extent you know the answer.

THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. Can it be assumed that the --

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Is it correct to say that Governor Snelling had input into the questions?

MR. GERSON: You mean all the questions or just the two you asked about?

MS. WEISSENBORN: Into questions.

MR. GERSON: Hold it a second. I just want to make sure we know what the question is.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Into some questions going beyond those two. Generally in the poll.

MR. GERSON: Well, I object, but if you know the answer, you can answer it.

THE WITNESS: I'm not aware that Snelling talked to Jan or MOR or anybody. I have no knowledge that he had -- if that's what you mean by input into the questionnaire -- to my knowledge, no, he had none.

MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, that's what I am asking.

THE WITNESS: Direct to Jan or MOR, to the best of my knowledge. He would not have had that kind of input, no.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Was there actually a poll taken in April?

A To the best of my knowledge. Now we're getting into the heat of the campaign.

Q According to information supplied to the Commission by the Snelling committee, there was a meeting on April 14 attended by yourself and Governor Snelling. April 14, 1986. In other words, after the poll.

Do you remember such a meeting?

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A No, I honestly don't. I'm sure it took place, but I can't remember this one.

Q All right. Is it correct, then, in May of 1986 the NRSC commissioned MOR to conduct tests of proposed Snelling advertising in Vermont using what are called focus groups?

A Yes, I think it was around then, yes.

Q What are focus groups?

Q Well, I'm not a pollster, but as I understand it, it's groups of voters, small in size -- I don't know, 20-30 people -- who view advertising and are asked their reaction to it.

Q Were you involved in the idea of undertaking such a test in Vermont?

A Marginally. Again, sort of as part of my account rep function in the committee, I was involved in it.

Q What did you understand to be the purpose of those tests?

A The committee had that -- I don't know if we're back to the '82 cycle -- but they did testing from cycle to cycle to determine what types of advertising worked and didn't work.

We sort of had an institutional interest in testing ads. Just the political advertising. There's a lot of money spent on that. And again, I don't know when it originated, but I know in the '84 cycle it did. So, that was one. Two, for us to see what types of approaches in Vermont would work in terms of advertising. So, I would say it was a two-fold purpose.

Q So, the first purpose you viewed as beyond just Vermont?

A The committee did, yes.

Q I'm sorry, I mean the NRSC.

A Yes.

Q Whose idea was it to undertake these tests: the NRSC's or Governor Snelling's?

A Oh, definitely ours.

MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, let's introduce the next exhibit.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 8 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Exhibit 8 is apparently a memorandum from Paul Curcio to Tom Griscom and Scott Cottington regarding

1 "Vermont Advertising Test Analysis."

2 A Yes.

3 Q Can you identify this document? Have you seen

4 it?

5 A I think this is the first time I have ever seen

6 it. But, yes, this wold appear to me to be that.

7 Q Who was Paul Curcio? What role did he play?

8 A Again, I don't know his exact title. He was an

9 ad testing guy. I don't know, director of advertising. I

10 really don't remember his title, but he was the person -- he

11 had been at this committee I know in the '84 cycle as well,

12 and I think he is still there, but he was an ad guy.

13 Q And Scott Cottington, who was he?

14 A Political director.

15 Q To your knowledge, was a copy of this memorandum

16 sent to the Snelling campaign?

17 A I'm not aware that it was given to him. I have

18 no direct personal knowledge that it was given.

19 Q Whether or not they received this particular

20 memorandum, was the Snelling campaign informed of the

21 results of the advertising test?

22 A Yes. My recollection of what I do remember -- I

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can't remember exactly when, but sometime after this was conducted, I remember a conference call where Curcio went through the results. I do have a recollection of that.

Q Do you know who was the person being called or persons involved in it?

A Again, the best I can remember, I know I was on it. I know Curcio was on it, and I know Snelling was on it. That's all I could testify for sure that was on it. I would guess that Ray Post might have been on it, the manager. Jan might have been on it, but that's all I can tell you was on it. I really can't remember who else was on it.

Q Manager of --

A The Snelling campaign.

Q Ray Post?

A Yes.

Q In terms of the conference call, what did Curcio tell them generally?

A Again, I would say I don't have a distinct memory of it. I would say generally he imparted the results of the test on the ad, the focus group study.

Q Which ads would be good and which not?

A I'm sure we talked about that, yes.

LOUpv

1 MR. GERSON: We can stipulate on this and save
2 you a little time. The position we take on this survey is
3 certainly different from the other data. And you know
4 because you got it from two places that Snelling at some
5 point or other got a copy of this document. There is no
6 need to hedge about any of this.
7 THE WITNESS: And to my recollection, we just
8 went through it, and like most Snelling meetings, it just
9 went on and on and on.
10 MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, let's go on to the
11 next exhibit.
12 (Deposition Exhibit
13 No. 9 identified.)
14 MS. WEISSENBORN: Exhibit 9 is apparently a bill
15 sent to the National Republican Senatorial Committee from
16 Market Opinion Research for the Vermont ad test in the
17 amount of $13,800.
18 Then if we could immediately the next one.
19 (Deposition Exhibit
20 No. 10 identified.)
21 MS. WEISSENBORN: Exhibit 10 is a letter from
22 Maryanne E. Preztunik of the National Republican Senatorial

0Upv

1 Committee, dated September 26, 1986, which states that the
2 following should be considered as an invoice for the ad test
3 and requesting the amount of $3600.
4 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:
5 Q To your knowledge, what was the basis of
6 allocating this $3600 to the Snelling committee or asking
7 for payment of only that amount?
8 A I don't know.
9 Q You were not involved in the --
10 A I knew that since he was given data, that a chunk
11 of the cost would have to be -- you know, he would have to
12 pay. But how that number was arrived at I do not know. I
13 was not involved in it.
14 Q Who at the NRSC would have been involved?
15 A Maryanne and Jim Wholey.
16 Q Jim Wholey is?
17 A Is our legal counsel. They would have worked
18 that out.
19 Q Is this form of advertising testing done in other
20 States that you know of?
21 MR. GERSON: I would object to that. But you can
22 answer the question if you know the answer.

LOUpv

THE WITNESS: I'm sure -- I don't know what other States -- I'm sure it was done.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q All right, let's move on to the next poll. Did the NRSC in Vermont commission a poll to be carried out in June of 1986?

A Yes, we did.

Q What firm was involved in that?

A MOR.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Would you mark this, please.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 11 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Exhibit 11 is entitled "Vermont Statewide Number 2, a Draft Questionnaire." Are you familiar with this document?

A Generally. Again, I am aware of it.

Q And would it be correct to say that this document contains questions that were proposed to be included to be asked for the end of June?

A It would appear to be that way, yes. Whether this was actually the questionnaire in the field I don't

1 know.

2 Q To your knowledge, did Governor Snelling submit

3 any suggestions, advice, or language to be included in the

4 questionnaire?

5 A He and I would have conversations about things he

6 was interested in knowing about, whether issues or Leahy or

7 this or that and that, and in that sense indirectly, if I

8 agreed with him or Jan and I agreed with the assessment. He

9 would have inputs in that way. But I am not aware of any

10 that are particularly Snelling's or not Snelling's.

11 Q In the NRSC response to interrogatories posed by

12 the Commission, it was stated that there was a conference

13 call on July 2, 1986, which Governor Snelling, Alex Gage,

14 Greg Stevens, Jan van Lohuizen, and yourself participated.

15 Do you recall such a call?

16 A Again, there were many, so I can't remember July

17 2nd as opposed to any other. If the records will show that,

18 I'm sure it took place.

19 Q Who is Alex Gage?

20 A He works for Market Opinion Research.

21 Q And Greg Stevens?

22 A Greg was an associate of Charlie Black's.

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Q Do you remember during any conference call or any other communication that any information gleaned from this, the June call, was passed on to Governor Snelling?

MR. GERSON: What do you mean by information included?

MS. WEISSENBORN: Results.

MR. GERSON: By results, do you mean data? Numbers?

MS. WEISSENBORN: I mean, percentages, information, trends.

THE WITNESS: Again, to repeat, at no time was this survey would he have been given numbers, data. Sure, he was given a briefing.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Okay, let's have the next one marked.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 12 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Exhibit 12 is entitled "PACGram from the National Republican Senatorial Committee," dated July 14, 1986.

A Yes.

Q And subtitled "Vermont Update." Are you familiar

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with this?

A I remember this, yes. I remember when this happened.

Q I draw your attention to the bottom paragraph, starting "In early June." Would you look at that?

A Yes.

Q It states, "A Market Research opinion poll released on July 3 now shows Snelling only 17 points back." What is meant by "released," to your knowledge?

A I don't know specifically about released on July 3. I do know that what we did with this in general was let out the head-to-head to the PAC community because we at the time -- the perception was that the race was not going so hot, and so we wanted to get this number out to show there was progress.

I have no specific knowledge about what "released on July 3" would refer to. I can assume. My recollection was it was a PAC meeting. It may have been a PAC lunch or something like that. I don't know specifically what that was, though.

Q Do you know what was released, how much?

A To the PAC?

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Q The entire poll result?

A No. It would only allow a head-to-head.

Q When you say head-to-head, what do you mean?

A Leahy versus Snelling.

Q And is a good example of that at the bottom of the page what you mean?

A Yes, exactly.

Q In addition to the head-to-head results, was other information gleaned from this particular poll ever made public; do you remember?

A It's possible, but I don't know. I mean, at this time both Jan and I would have been conducting sort of informal briefings for the press and/or PAC people. It's possible, but I have no specific recollection, and frankly it probably would have been done without me -- I mean, Jan might have. I do not know.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Let's mark the next exhibit, please.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 13 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Exhibit 13 is entitled "Vermont Statewide Number

0Upv

1 2 Study, Prepared for the National Republican Senatorial
2 Committee," from Market Opinion Research, dated June 1986.
3 Can you identify this? Have you seen this
4 document?
5 A I must have.
6 Q I draw your attention to question 10. It's on
7 the fourth sheet. Is that what you would consider a head-
8 to-head question?
9 A Yes.
10 Q "Which way do you lean today?" And then giving
11 them a choice.
12 A Yes. It's a choice between two candidates.
13 Q Am I correct if I state that the survey contained
14 a number of other questions besides the head-to-head
15 question?
16 A Yes.
17 Q To your knowledge, was Governor Snelling or his
18 committee ever provided with information contained from this
19 poll going to the other questions besides the head-to-head?
20 MR. GERSON: You mean ever, or within 60 days of
21 this?
22 MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, let's say within 60

LOUpv

1 days.

2 MR. GERSON: I don't care which question you put.

3 Just make sure he understands.

4 BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

5 Q Let's start with the 60 days.

6 A Would you repeat the question for me?

7 Q Was Governor Snelling or his committee ever

8 provided with the results of these other questions, besides

9 the head-to-head one we have noted, within 60 days of the

10 poll being taken?

11 A Define "results."

12 Q Given percentages.

13 A No. Again, he was not given actual numbers or

14 data from this survey before 60 days.

15 Q Was he given such information after the 60 days?

16 A I don't know. On some of these, I think, after

17 60 days the committee got it and reported it as a

18 contribution. I don't know. I would have to look at the

19 notes to know if this was one that they got after 60 days.

20 Q We talked about this a little bit before. But

21 could you reiterate or expand on how you distinguish between

22 the term "results" and the term "data"? Your understanding

20Upv

of --

MR. GERSON: He didn't distinguish between the two. I mean, you're asking --

MS. WEISSENBORN: All right. I'm sorry.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Are you saying that results -- tell me what you mean by the two.

A Data, narrowly, to me what I mean is numbers. Numbers from the survey to me is data.

Q And results are?

A When I said that, I meant like trends or -- trends, observations.

Q Would that include approximate percentages? Ballpark figures?

A It is not numbers. It would include observations about trends, yes.

Q What kind of observations? Can you give me just a hypothetical example?

A I'm not going to try to recreate a briefing.

MR. GERSON: He told you what his understanding of the policy was, and you are now asking for his own opinion.

OUpv

MS. WEISSENBORN: Yes.

MR. GINSBERG: You're asking for a legal conclusion.

MS. WEISSENBORN: No. His own opinion.

MR. GERSON: I will object. To the extent he has one, I don't know if it's of any consequence at all, but I will have him provide it.

THE WITNESS: I don't know what the question is.

MR. GERSON: She is trying to ask you to distinguish between that which the committee policy wouldn't allow to be released; in other words, the data results, the sort of thing you described and the general trends that you felt you were allowed to describe within the 60-day period, because they didn't constitute results.

THE WITNESS: That's how I differentiate. I can't do better than that for you. There were numbers, and there weren't numbers.

MS. WEISSENBORN: All right, let's start by numbering the next exhibit.

(Deposition Exhibit No. 14 identified.)

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

OUpv

Q Exhibit 14 is a memorandum from Alex Gage to the Snelling campaign group regarding a draft questionnaire for August poll, dated August 13, 1986.

And I will preface my question by saying that we understand that this particular poll was not mentioned in the legal and factual analysis that went to the NRSC when reason to believe was found by the Commission in this matter nor was it mentioned in the request for documents and so forth.

But this particular memorandum came in as a result of the request for documents from --

MR. GERSON: You asked for every document.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Right. Exactly.

MR. GERSON: And we gave it to you.

MS. WEISSENBORN: In case there was a fifth poll, apparently, and so I would just like to pose a few questions about what is apparently a fifth one.

BY MS. WEISSENBORN:

Q Is it correct that there was a fifth survey in Vermont carried out by MOR in August of 1986?

A I have ~~on~~ no specific recollection, but there must have been.

OUpv

Q To your knowledge, did NRSC commission this poll?

A Yes, I would assume so.

Q To your knowledge, did NRSC pay for the poll?

A To my knowledge, yes.

Q To your knowledge, was any amount allocated to the Snelling committee either as an in-kind contribution or something they were asked to pay?

A I can't remember, without looking at the documents, which ones were allocated and which ones weren't, no.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Can we take a two-minute break.

(Recess.)

MS. WEISSENBORN: Let's go back on the record.

That concludes all the questions that I have for today. We really don't believe that we would be asking you to return. However, just in case, we would like to keep the deposition open.

Do you want to waive signature, or would you like to see the transcript?

MR. GERSON: My advice is that you should review it. You have the right to review the transcript and sign it before it's submitted.

oUpv

MS. WEISSENBORN: Make minor changes.

MR. GERSON: Corrections.

THE WITNESS: Sure.

MR. GERSON: That's a right that you should assert.

THE WITNESS: Yes, I would like to assert that right.

MS. WEISSENBORN: Fine.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a.m., the taking of the deposition was concluded.)

James E. Murphy, Jr.

James E. Murphy, Jr.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of January, 1988

Karen Brown Arnold
Notary Public

My Commission Expires 1/1/89

CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC & REPORTER

I, LOUIS P. WAIBEL, 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 in shorthand and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me or under my direction; 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 hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Louis P. Waibel
Notary Public in and for the
District of Columbia

My Commission Expires
9/30/92

EXHIBIT 1 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD SEPTEMBER 16, 1986.

8904076326B

EXHIBITS 2,3,4, AND 6 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD
JANUARY 20, 1987 (SNELLING 86 COMMITTEE - PART B)

8 7 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 6 7

EXHIBIT 5 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD JANUARY 20, 1987
(NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - PART B)

89040762270

EXHIBIT 7 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD JANUARY 20, 1987
(NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - PART C)

39040763271

EXHIBIT 8 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD JANUARY 20, 1987
(SNELLING 86 COMMITTEE - PART D)

8 7 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 7 4

EXHIBIT 9 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD JANUARY 20, 1987
(NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - PART J)

39047652 7

EXHIBIT 10 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD JANUARY 20, 1987
(NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - PART K)

2 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 7 4

EXHIBIT 11 CAN BE FOUND WITH THE LTR DTD JANUARY 20, 1987
(SNELLING 86 COMMITTEE - PART A)

8 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 7 5

PAC Gram

from the National Republican Senatorial Committee

Senator John Heinz
Chairman

John Thomas Sheehan
PAC Director

TO: PAC REPRESENTATIVES
FM: JOHN SHEEHAN

July 14, 1986

VERMONT UPDATE

SNELLING TURNS UP THE HEAT

POLL SHOWS THE THAW BEGINS

Former Governor Dick Snelling has devoted the first 90 days of his Senate campaign to re-building the organization that elected him Governor of the Green Mountain state a record 4 times.

During the same period Snelling presented position papers on the major issues of the 1986 campaign.

In June, after re-establishing himself, Snelling took off the gloves and began to challenge some common misconceptions about Leahy's record.

Snelling's media addresses these areas:

* Leahy voted for $977 billion of additional deficits
* Leahy is not a champion of Vermont agriculture - having missed 23 of 23 full committee hearings. He also missed 17 of 19 sub-committee hearings in the 98th Congress.
* Leahy is not the independent Vermonter he claims to be; in fact, he is one of the most partisan members of the Senate.

Did Snelling's plan of action work? We look to the numbers.

In early June, a Rutland Herald poll reported that Snelling trailed by 25 points. A Market Opinion Research (MOR) poll released on July 3rd now shows Snelling only 17 points back, a move of 8 points in under 30 days.

	Rutland Herald	MOR
SNELLING	32%	37%
Leahy	57%	54%

- more -

While 17 points is still a gap, the MOR survey shows that the ads dealing with Leahy's record are very effective.

Don't forget that Leahy started his 1980 re-election campaign with a 40 point lead over Republican Stewart Ledbetter, and that lead melted away steadily during the summer and fall. Leahy barely escaped defeat, with a margin of only 1.2 percent.

The Snelling campaign is on track, and we remain convinced that Dick Snelling's campaign offers one of our best opportunities to capture a Democratic seat.

Snelling for Senate
P.O. Box 1986
Shelburne, Vermont 05482
(802) 985-9471

For additional information on Vermont or any Senate race please call: (202) 224-2351 or (800) 368-5675.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

VERMONT STATEWIDE #2 STUDY

Prepared for:

National Republican Senatorial Committee

Not to be released without joint permission of
Market Opinion Research
and
National Republican Senatorial Committee

June 1986
P86110

PENGAD-Bayonne, N.J.
DEPOSITION EXHIBIT
13

3 4 0 4 0 7 6 5 2 7 4

Vermont Statewide Study #2

*Q1. 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 Right direction
1 Wrong track

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 16-18

---

*Q2. 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)?

4 Strongly approve
3 Somewhat approve
2 Somewhat disapprove
1 Strongly disapprove

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 19-21

As you know, there will be elections this fall...

*Q3. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senate was being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today -- toward (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

2 Republican
1 Democrat

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

PP. 7-9

Thinking ahead to the 1986 elections...

*Q9. If the 1986 election for Governor were being held today and (ROTATE: Peter Smith was the Republican candidate and Madeleine Kunin was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Smith or Kunin)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Smith, the Republican, or Kunin, the Democrat)?

2 Peter Smith
1 Madeleine Kunin

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 13-15

---

*Q10. If the 1986 election for U.S. Senator was being held today and (ROTATE: Richard Snelling was the Republican candidate and Patrick Leahy (LAY-HE) was the Democratic candidate), would you be voting for (ROTATE: Snelling or Leahy)?

Qa. Which way do you lean as of today, toward -- (ROTATE: Snelling, the Republican, or Leahy, the Democrat)?

2 Richard Snelling (GO TO Q11)
1 Patrick Leahy (GO TO Q11)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q12)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q12)

pp. 1-6

---

*Q11. Have you made up your mind or do you think you might change your mind between now and election day?

1 Made up mind
2 Might change between now & election day

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp. 4-6

Q15. Have you read, seen or heard anything about Richard Snelling during the past several weeks?

2 Yes (GO TO Q16)
1 No (GO TO Q18)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Q18)
F9 Refused/NA (GO TO Q18)

pp 31-33

Q16. (IF YES, ASK:) What have you read, seen or heard about him? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

Q17. (IF YES, ASK:) Has what you read, seen or heard made you more or less likely to vote for him?

3 More likely
2 No difference (VOLUNTEERED)
1 Less likely

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA

pp 31-33

For each one of the following statements, please tell me which ones you feel are trueand which ones you feel are not true. (IF TRUE, ASK:) Is that important or not important?

(RANDOMIZE Q22 TO Q27)

Q22. Since 1975, Patrick Leahy has voted for spending increases that have added nearly a trillion dollars to the federal deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp 46-48, 55-57

Q23. The Congressional Record shows that Patrick Leahy is one of the U.S. Senate's biggest spenders.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 46-48, 55-57

Q24. The National Taxpayer's Union has rated Patrick Leahy as one of the Senate's biggest spenders.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp 49-51, 55-57

Q25. Patrick Leahy has a poor attendance record at meetings of the full Senate Agriculture Committee.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 49-51, 55-57

Q26. When Dick Snelling left office, he left a $35 million deficit.

3 True, important
2 True, not important
1 Not true

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused/NA
pp. 52-57

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes. . .

QD1. **(PARTYID)** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

1 Republican (GO TO Qa)
2 Democrat (GO TO Qa)
3 Independent (GO TO Qb)
4 No preference (GO TO Qb)
5 Other (GO TO Qb)

F8 Don't know (GO TO Qb)
F9 Refused (GO TO Qb)
pp 61-63

Qa. **(INTENSE)** Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
pp 61-63

Qb. **(LEAN)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

1 Republican
2 Democratic
3 Neither

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused
pp 61-63

QD2. **(VOTETYPE)** 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)

01 Straight Democratic
02 Mostly Democratic
03 A few more Democrats than Republicans
04 About equally for both parties
05 A few more Republicans
06 Mostly Republican
07 Straight Republican

08 Other (SPECIFY)_____
09 Never voted

98 Don't know
99 Refused/NA
pp 67-69

QD9. **(EDOFR)** What is the last grade of school you completed?

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

F9 Refused

pp. 76-78

QD21. **(RELIGION)** Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

1 Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)
2 Roman Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other Christian
5 Other non-Christian/Unspecified
6 Agnostic/Atheist
7 None

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp 79-81

QD25. **(INCOME)** Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1985 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

0 Under $10,000
1 $10,000-$15,000 (14,999)
2 $15,000-$20,000 (19,999)
3 $20,000-$25,000 (24,999)
4 $25,000-$30,000 (29,999)
5 $30,000-$40,000 (39,999)
6 $40,000-$50,000 (49,999)
7 $50,000 and over

F8 Don't know
F9 Refused

pp 82-84

Additional Data Tables | Page No.

Special Table: Combined Demographics — pp. 88-90

Special Demographic Variables: Status Groups/Historic Tracer Groups — pp 91-93

Area: Voter-type Within Political Region — pp 100-105

Date of Interview — pp. 106-108

Special Variable - Leahy Support Index — pp. 10-12

Special Variable: Candidate Information Flow Index — pp. 34-36

Special Variable: Candidate Advertising Index — pp. 43-45

Special Demographic Variable: Party Identification with Leaners / Party Identification Scale - Normal Vote — pp 64-66

Area - Political Strata - A.D.I. - Type of Place — pp. 94-96

Area - Supplemental Strata by County — pp. 97-99

MEMORANDUM

TO: Snelling Campaign Group
FROM: Alex Gage
RE: Draft questionnaire for August Poll
DATE: 8/13/86

Enclosed is a copy of the last Vermont poll. It is our feeling that the next poll should be a subset of this one, plus any new comparative questions that should be added. Pay particular attention to questions 22 to 27. Should any of these be cut? Are there more that should be added?

Our timing on this is an August 23rd field start, preliminary numbers on the 27th, data breaks on the 28th, and a conference call on the 29th.

I will get in touch with you next week to get your comments, revisions, etc.

encl.

CCout
truthfulness
Cares about people
The Snelling record

} pull up for old surveys

PENGAD-Bayonne, N.J.
DEPOSITION EXHIBIT

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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88 MAR 21 PM 1:33

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ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314-3132*
(703) 684-1204

March 21, 1988

HAND DELIVER

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2212
National Republican Senatorial Committee
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer,
Respondents

88 MAR 21 PM 3:15

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed is a Declaration of Counsel which responds to the staff's remaining questions in this MUR. As you will recall, we agreed that this format would be acceptable in synthesizing the views of the now-disbursed people who had considered the matter contemporaneously.

With apologies for my delay, I am

Sincerely,

Stuart M. Gerson

Stuart M. Gerson

SMG:gj
Enclosure

cc: Benjamin Ginsburg, Esquire

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF	X	
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE	X	MUR 2212
and	X	
FREDERICK W. BASSINGER, AS TREASURER	X	

DECLARATION OF COUNSEL

STUART M. GERSON, as attorney for the respondents, states as follows:

1. Following various investigative activities by the staff of the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"), the respondents were requested to provide additional information concerning the allocation by the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") to the Snelling '86 Committee of $3,600 of the $13,800 paid by the NRSC for "focus-group" advertising surveys conducted in Vermont in May of 1986.

2. In making this request, the General Counsel suggested that "[g]iven the direct relationship of the advertising being tested to the Snelling campaign, a detailed explanation is requested regarding the allocation of only 26% to the Snelling Committee."

3. Staff counsel also asked informally for the NRSC to provide information concerning any allocation made as to an August 1986 poll, a matter never previously mentioned in this MUR.

4. Because the composition of complete and accurate answers required the interviews of several persons, some of whom are no longer employed by the NRSC, the FEC staff attorney agreed that it would be appropriate for the undersigned counsel to conduct such interviews and to utilize this format to describe the NRSC's allocation rationales. This declaration is based upon such interviews and the statements contained herein are true and correct to the best of the declarant's knowledge and belief.

5. So-called "negative" advertising has been an expanding phenomenon for some time and, in its role as a national party committee, the NRSC thought it useful and proper for it to gain an understanding of such advertising and its techniques and effects. Accordingly, since the 1984 election cycle, the NRSC has been gathering and synthesizing information about political advertising generated in both parties' campaigns throughout the country.

6. In particular, the NRSC has conducted a systematic ongoing study of "negative" television advertising. It has gathered literally hundreds of recordings and scripts of such advertising and has undertaken various forms of analysis of those materials. Furthermore, the NRSC has established a computerized data base concerning its study results and has described certain norms and conditions for such advertising relating to such factors as the utility of various intensities of attack, the impact of various types of claim validation and the effectiveness of response to attacks.

7. This data base is essentially used for internal NRSC decision-making, although it also furnishes the substantive basis for various NRSC party presentations such as its biennial post-election conferences. However, the data themselves are never shared with candidates or anyone outside of the NRSC. In advising candidates or in making broader presentations, the NRSC only discloses its syntheses and analyses. That stricture was imposed in the case of the Vermont focus-group study at issue here.

8. The data and assembled research on negative advertising have ongoing utility, and the NRSC is continuing its research on the subject.

9. The focus-group survey at issue in this MUR had an intended dual usage: it provided an extremely valuable laboratory for the NRSC's ongoing study; and it also was a vehicle for assistance to the 1986 Republican senatorial campaign in Vermont.

10. The survey, which was conducted on or about May 27, 1986, involved the showing to a sample population group of certain tapes of both parties' senatorial-race advertising in Vermont, and then obtaining, organizing and synthesizing the group members' responses to a series of prepared questions designed to elicit their reactions to the ads.

11. As the FEC is aware from respondents' earlier submissions, the NRSC immediately shared certain specific results of the focus-group survey with the Republican candidate. It did

not, however, disclose information related to its ongoing study of negative advertising.

12. Nevertheless, the exchange of focus-group information was materially different from the matters relating to the polling information also at issue in this MUR as to which the data and results were not immediately shared with the candidate (or were not shared at all). Accordingly, the NRSC understood that it would have to make a prompt and reasonable allocation to the candidate's campaign of a percentage of the cost of the focus-group survey.

13. In determining the amount to allocate from this shared activity, the NRSC viewed the focus-group information as it would have any thing of value that had to be reasonably apportioned, but there were several reasonable bases upon which the NRSC could have premised its allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee.

14. For example, the information disclosed by the NRSC was essentially a subjective analysis of the discussion among the focus-group members. That analytical material amounted to a very small percentage of the information accumulated; the overwhelming majority of the material (as much as 95 percent) went into the NRSC's data base and was not disclosed to the candidate.

15. The NRSC also believed that it could have justified a very-small allocated amount on the basis of the long-term, multiple uses that would be made of the data in advising various campaigns and in continuing its general study. Nevertheless,

believing that a 20 percent allocation was entirely reasonable, the NRSC decided to err, if at all, on the side of caution and so added a rounded amount equivalent to about five percent increase.

16. As has been documented, the NRSC billed the campaign as soon as it received the requested administrative information from the vendor, and the NRSC's activities and the payment by the campaign were fully and promptly reported.

17. Regarding the August 1986 poll, the NRSC paid for it in its entirety and never allocated any of its cost because it never shared or discussed any of the polling results. The NRSC elected this course because it found that the August polling results were virtually identical to those received from the previous Vermont poll the cost of which had been allocated on a time-discounted basis to Snelling '86. Seeing no benefit to disclosing any of the results, the NRSC simply absorbed the cost.

Conclusion

The foregoing is true and correct to the best of the undersigned's knowledge and belief.

Respectfully submitted,

Stuart M. Gerson

STUART M. GERSON

Epstein Becker & Green, P.C.
Suite 900
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 861-0900

Attorney for Respondents

March 21, 1988

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF	X	
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE	X	MUR 2212
and	X	
FREDERICK W. BASSINGER, AS TREASURER	X	

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4. Because the composition of complete and accurate answers required the interviews of several persons, some of whom are no longer employed by the NRSC, the FEC staff attorney agreed that it would be appropriate for the undersigned counsel to conduct such interviews and to utilize this format to describe the NRSC's allocation rationales. This declaration is based upon such interviews and the statements contained herein are true and correct to the best of the declarant's knowledge and belief.

5. So-called "negative" advertising has been an expanding phenomenon for some time and, in its role as a national party committee, the NRSC thought it useful and proper for it to gain an understanding of such advertising and its techniques and effects. Accordingly, since the 1984 election cycle, the NRSC has been gathering and synthesizing information about political advertising generated in both parties' campaigns throughout the country.

6. In particular, the NRSC has conducted a systematic ongoing study of "negative" television advertising. It has gathered literally hundreds of recordings and scripts of such advertising and has undertaken various forms of analysis of those materials. Furthermore, the NRSC has established a computerized data base concerning its study results and has described certain norms and conditions for such advertising relating to such factors as the utility of various intensities of attack, the impact of various types of claim validation and the effectiveness of response to attacks.

7. This data base is essentially used for internal NRSC decision-making, although it also furnishes the substantive basis for various NRSC party presentations such as its biennial post-election conferences. However, the data themselves are never shared with candidates or anyone outside of the NRSC. In advising candidates or in making broader presentations, the NRSC only discloses its syntheses and analyses. That stricture was imposed in the case of the Vermont focus-group study at issue here.

8. The data and assembled research on negative advertising have ongoing utility, and the NRSC is continuing its research on the subject.

9. The focus-group survey at issue in this MUR had an intended dual usage: it provided an extremely valuable laboratory for the NRSC's ongoing study; and it also was a vehicle for assistance to the 1986 Republican senatorial campaign in Vermont.

10. The survey, which was conducted on or about May 27, 1986, involved the showing to a sample population group of certain tapes of both parties' senatorial-race advertising in Vermont, and then obtaining, organizing and synthesizing the group members' responses to a series of prepared questions designed to elicit their reactions to the ads.

11. As the FEC is aware from respondents' earlier submissions, the NRSC immediately shared certain specific results of the focus-group survey with the Republican candidate. It did

not, however, disclose information related to its ongoing study of negative advertising.

12. Nevertheless, the exchange of focus-group information was materially different from the matters relating to the polling information also at issue in this MUR as to which the data and results were not immediately shared with the candidate (or were not shared at all). Accordingly, the NRSC understood that it would have to make a prompt and reasonable allocation to the candidate's campaign of a percentage of the cost of the focus-group survey.

13. In determining the amount to allocate from this shared activity, the NRSC viewed the focus-group information as it would have any thing of value that had to be reasonably apportioned, but there were several reasonable bases upon which the NRSC could have premised its allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee.

14. For example, the information disclosed by the NRSC was essentially a subjective analysis of the discussion among the focus-group members. That analytical material amounted to a very small percentage of the information accumulated; the overwhelming majority of the material (as much as 95 percent) went into the NRSC's data base and was not disclosed to the candidate.

15. The NRSC also believed that it could have justified a very-small allocated amount on the basis of the long-term, multiple uses that would be made of the data in advising various campaigns and in continuing its general study. Nevertheless,

believing that a 20 percent allocation was entirely reasonable, the NRSC decided to err, if at all, on the side of caution and so added a rounded amount equivalent to about five percent increase.

16. As has been documented, the NRSC billed the campaign as soon as it received the requested administrative information from the vendor, and the NRSC's activities and the payment by the campaign were fully and promptly reported.

17. Regarding the August 1986 poll, the NRSC paid for it in its entirety and never allocated any of its cost because it never shared or discussed any of the polling results. The NRSC elected this course because it found that the August polling results were virtually identical to those received from the previous Vermont poll the cost of which had been allocated on a time-discounted basis to Snelling '86. Seeing no benefit to disclosing any of the results, the NRSC simply absorbed the cost.

Conclusion

The foregoing is true and correct to the best of the undersigned's knowledge and belief.

Respectfully submitted,

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March 21, 1988

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	MUR 2212
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
	)	
National Republican	)	
Senatorial Committee	)	
Frederick W. Bassinger,	)	
as treasurer	)	

SENSITIVE
EXECUTIVE SESSION
JUN 21 1988

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

On December 2, 1986, the Federal Election Commission, in response to a complaint filed by the Leahy for Senate Committee and to recommendations of the Office of the General Counsel, found reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("the NRSC"), and Rodney A. Smith, as treasurer, had violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report the costs of certain surveys and advertising tests undertaken in 1985 and 1986 as in-kind contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee, and by undervaluing other, similar, in-kind contributions reported as made to the Snelling '86 Committee. The Commission also found reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report the costs of surveys paid for by the NRSC as in-kind contributions and by undervaluing in-kind contributions reported as received from the NRSC. On September 15, 1987, the NRSC filed an amended Statement of Organization designating Frederick W. Bassinger as treasurer.

This Office did not make a recommendation at the time of the above determinations regarding the possible violation by the NRSC of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) which establishes a $17,500 limitation per election cycle on contributions by the Republican and Democratic

Senatorial Campaign Committees to candidates for election to the United States Senate. Nor was there a recommendation concerning a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) on the part of Snelling '86 for accepting such excessive contributions.

Included with the notifications of the Commission's findings of reason to believe sent to the NRSC and to Snelling '86 were subpoenas to produce documents and orders to answer questions. Extensive responses were received from both respondents. (Attachments 1 and 2). These responses included requests for pre-probable cause conciliation; however, on February 18, 1987, the Commission declined to enter into such conciliation at that time.

On October 20, 1987, the Commission authorized the taking of the deposition of a former employee of the NRSC, James E. Murphy, Jr. This deposition was taken on December 18, 1987. On the basis of the information obtained during its investigation this Office submits the following report and recommendations.

II. ANALYSIS

1. June, 1985 Survey

a. Facts

On June 10-18, 1985, Market Opinion Research ("MOR") of Detroit, Michigan, carried out in Vermont a telephone survey of potential voters which had been commissioned by the NRSC. The survey (See Attachment 3) was composed of 10 statistical questions and of 86 substantive questions, 70 of which dealt with prospective candidates and issues related to the 1986 election for the Office of United States Senator in that state, and almost 40 of which asked specifically about reactions to former Governor Richard A.

Snelling. The NRSC made a payment to MOR of $20,000 for this survey on July 5, 1985, and reported the expenditure as an operating expense, not as an expenditure on behalf of a candidate.

After the survey was taken, a meeting was held in late June or July attended by, inter alia, James Murphy, then deputy political director of the NRSC, a representative of MOR, and Richard Snelling. According to information supplied by Mr. Murphy at his deposition, Mr. Snelling was presented at that time with the results of the June survey, results which included every aspect of the poll including the actual percentages of persons who responded in certain ways to the survey questions.

Later, on August 15, 1985, specific results of the June survey were cited in a 52-page document entitled "How Governor Richard Snelling Can be Elected to the United States Senate from Vermont in 1986" which had been prepared by Charles Black of Black, Manafort, Stone and Atwater for submission to Governor Snelling and James Murphy. (Attachment 4, page 3). According to a stamped date on the cover memorandum from Charles Black, the Snelling committee received the proposed plan on August 20, 1985.

Richard Snelling filed a Statement of Candidacy with the Commission on November 4, 1985. The first report of financial activity filed by the Snelling '86 Committee covered the period from October 15, 1985, through December 31, 1985.

The respondents in this matter assert that the June, 1985, survey was part of the NRSC's effort to recruit a candidate for the U.S. Senate in Vermont, with former Governor Snelling being neither a candidate nor involved in testing-the-waters at the time of the survey. (See Attachment 1, pages 12-13 and Attachment 2,

page 10.) According to the NRSC's response to the Commission's finding of reason to believe, "[a]mong the most important of [a national party's] responsibilities is the identification of issues and the recruitment of effective candidates. The June 1985 'benchmark survey' was undertaken by the NRSC solely in conjunction with and in support of its national duties and goals." (Attachment 1, page 12).

During his deposition Mr. Murphy described his activities in Vermont beginning in early 1985 with regard to the recruitment of a Republican candidate to oppose Senator Patrick Leahy in 1986; those early activities included a meeting with former Governor Snelling. According to Mr. Murphy, Governor Snelling at that time "indicated . . . that he had no plans for running."

When asked what the NRSC did to encourage a candidate in Vermont, Mr. Murphy replied,

> Specifically, I would say, just try to make the case that there was a need for a strong candidate. As you know, control of the Senate was a big issue at the time and we viewed Vermont as a state where we had an opportunity to pick up a seat, if you will.
>
> So, principally, I would say that the thrust of our recruiting was to convince - it turned out to be Snelling because he was, in our professional judgement, so head and shoulders in terms of name, ID, and his being Governor, that this was a race that he should make and that he would do very well in.

Mr. Murphy went on to state that the NRSC's approach to Mr. Snelling was first "to educate him as to the other Senate races and how the balance was up in the air," and, second, "to

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give him an assessment of what it would take, what the race would be like, what resources could be available to him . . . ." Regarding Mr. Snelling's reactions through the spring and summer of 1985, Mr. Murphy stated that "[h]e was very much inclined not to run . . . . The best I was able to do was to at least continue the dialogue, though I wasn't sure that he would run."

Mr. Murphy's descriptions of Mr. Snelling's reluctance to become a candidate, and of the necessity for NRSC persuasion, are supported by a memorandum dated June 25, 1985, from Jan van Lohuizen, the NRSC's Director of Survey Research, to Senator John Heinz, then NRSC chairman, which discussed the results of the June, 1985, MOR survey. This memorandum, apparently prepared in anticipation of the meeting with Governor Snelling held early that summer, was written in terms of what approaches should be taken with Governor Snelling, what facts he would want, i.e., persuasive arguments designed to encourage his candidacy. (Attachment 5).

By at least August, however, it appears that Governor Snelling was himself actively pursuing the feasibility of candidacy; i.e., was "testing-the waters." The cover memorandum from Charles Black accompanying the campaign plan submitted to Governor Snelling that month indicates that a meeting with Governor Snelling was planned for a date in the near future for purposes of discussing the draft plan. (Attachment 4). It also strongly suggests prior communication between Governor Snelling and Charles Black regarding its content; for example, the second page contains the sentence, "You asked me to comment on what would make this race different from any other Senate races we have seen."

The draft plan itself (Attachment 4) reflects at the least a testing-the-waters purpose. Based upon the data derived from the June survey, the plan analyzes the political attitudes of Vermont voters, discusses the profiles of both Senator Leahy and Governor Snelling, and sets out themes and strategy for a Snelling campaign. Although conditional language is employed at several points, the assumption of an eventual candidacy pervades the document. For example, on page 17 there appears the statement, "The purpose of this plan is to identify what will work politically, within the context of the way he [Governor Snelling] wants to approach the race." (Emphasis added).

b. The Law

2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i) and 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1) define contribution to include "any gift, . . . or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(iii), defines "anything of value" to include all in-kind contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) require the reporting of all contributions made to other political committees, of all contributions received together with their dates and amounts, and of all expenditures to meet operating expenses, including the name of each person that has received a disbursement in excess of $200. 11 C.F.R. § 104.13(a)(1) and (2) require that in-kind contributions be reported as contributions and as expenditures.

11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) exempts from the definition of contribution "[f]unds received solely for the purpose of determining whether an individual should become a candidate," with examples including the conducting of a poll. However, only funds

permissible under the Federal Election Campaign Act may be used for this purpose and, if the individual does become a candidate, such funds must be reported as contributions. "Funds received" include in-kind contributions. See Advisory Opinion 1985-40 and Advisory Opinion 1981-32.

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) provides that the combination of the purchase of an opinion poll by an unauthorized political committee and "the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate . . . is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser to the candidate . . . and an expenditure by the candidate . . . ." This regulation refers to 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) regarding testing-the-waters polling, with the result that such polls paid for by unauthorized committees are to be deemed contributions if the individual benefited eventually becomes a candidate.

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b), a determination of whether an eventual candidate has "accepted" poll results depends upon whether one of three criteria has been met. These are (1) the candidate requested the poll results before receiving them, (2) the candidate used the poll results; or (3) the candidate did not notify the contributor that he or she was refusing the results.

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e) provides four alternative methods for determining the amount of any contribution in-kind attributable to a candidate-recipient or political committee-recipient of poll results. One of these acceptable methods provides for the division of the overall cost of a poll equally among candidates or committees receiving the results. (See 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e)(2)). A second method looks to the proportion of the overall cost of the poll which is equal to the proportion of

the number of question results received by a candidate to the total number of questions received by all candidates and committees. (See 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e)(3)). The third method looks to the cost allocation formula of the polling firm while the fourth simply permits use of any other reasonable method. (See C.F.R. § 106.4(e)(1) and (4).

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(f) and (g) provide for adjustments to the allocable amounts determined pursuant to Section 106.4(e) depending upon the timing of receipt of the poll results. If the results passed on to a particular candidate or committee are received within 15 days of their receipt by the initial recipient, the later recipient must report 100% of its share of the allocable costs. If the results are received between 16 and 60 days after receipt by the purchaser, the candidate's or committee's share is 50% of the share of the costs attributable to that recipient. If the candidate or committee receives the results between 61 and 180 days after the initial recipient, the former's share is 5% of the allocated amount. If the results are received after 180 days, no amount must be allocated to the later recipient.

c. Factual and Legal Analysis

As noted above, it has been the position of the NRSC and of the Snelling '86 Committee that at the time the June, 1985, survey was taken and the results discussed, Governor Snelling was neither a candidate nor was he testing-the-waters for a campaign. Rather, it is argued that he was, in the words of James Murphy, "a reluctant suitor." NRSC was assertedly working to recruit him to run for the United States Senate. It is argued that the survey was a means of convincing him to become

a candidate, and that therefore the NRSC's payment for the poll could not be considered a "testing-the-waters" expenditure.

Implicit in counsel's argument is the assumption that, unless an individual has made a commitment to test-the-waters, no activities by an unauthorized committee should be construed to be testing-the-waters on his or her behalf, even if those activities in fact fulfill the same testing function as they would if conducted by the individual. In other words, it is apparently being argued that there is an ongoing status called "testing-the-waters" which must be achieved as a prerequisite to the necessity for reporting as in-kind contributions testing activities by an unauthorized committee. Counsel also argues that it is an important function of party committees to recruit candidates, with the apparent assumption that anything done with the intention of convincing an individual to run could not, by definition, be deemed "testing-the-waters."

It has been the position of the Commission that the proper focus for determining what is "testing-the-waters" is upon the activities themselves, rather than upon the status claimed by the potential candidate at a particular moment. For example, in Advisory Opinion 1986-6, the Commission addressed proposed activities of the Fund for America's Future, a political action committee with which Vice President George Bush was, at the time of the request, closely associated. Vice President Bush had not become a candidate for the Office of President, nor had he established a "testing-the-waters" committee or authorized the Fund to undertake testing-the-waters activities for him. The basic issue raised in the advisory opinion request was whether

expenditures by the Fund in support of 1986 Federal candidates, and, in particular, Mr. Bush's involvement in those expenditures, would be treated as expenditures made for purposes of influencing his own election and thus made on behalf of a future Bush candidacy.

The proposed Fund activities outlined in the request were all described as not involving references to the possibility of a Bush candidacy. The advisory opinion clearly stated that so long as this absence of references to candidacy was maintained the expenditure would not be attributable to any potential candidacy, unless it was made after candidacy had been established. Thus, whether Mr. Bush considered himself to be testing-the-waters was not to govern the designation of the Fund's expenditures as attributable or not; rather, it was to be the nature and context of the Fund's activities themselves which would determine their potential attributability to a future candidacy.

Further, it is the opinion of this Office that recruitment and testing-the-waters are not mutually exclusive activities; rather, an undertaking such as polling may well serve both purposes either simultaneously or consecutively. Otherwise the possibilities for testing in the name of recruitment would be limitless. Evidence that testing-the-waters has in fact occurred would include, inter alia, whether an activity served as a substitute for something which the prospective candidate would probably otherwise undertake in order to decide whether to enter a race, and the use made by the potential candidate of the activity once he or she ceased to be only a passive recipient of recruitment efforts.

As is recognized by the Commission's regulations, polling is one of the most common activities undertaken to determine whether a particular individual should become a candidate. Such polling may be furnished by an unauthorized entity.

In the present matter, the poll taken by MOR in June, 1985, was intended to show the relative strengths of potential candidates for the U.S. Senate, in particular former Governor Snelling, as well as to entice him to become a candidate. Respondents acknowledge that Governor Snelling received the results of this poll, including actual percentage figures, such receipt having taken place apparently in late June or early July of that year.

The June survey results were also used later as the basis for a detailed draft campaign plan forwarded in August, 1985, to both the NRSC and Governor Snelling by Charles Black.[1/] Further, as will be discussed below, the survey results were used by Governor Snelling as "benchmarks" to which references were made in later

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1/ In counsel's response to the Commission's reason to believe determination and subpoena and order, he states, "Respondents believe that the documents submitted by the Snelling Campaign also show that the benchmark poll was not the foundation for the ultimate campaign plan, which was formulated from other sources, most of them publicly available, and few of them data-centered." It is the understanding of this Office that the "ultimate campaign plan" to which referral is made was not the August 1985 draft plan cited above, but, rather, a later plan the draft of which was sent to Governor Snelling and to the NRSC on January 27, 1986. Nevertheless, whether or not the August draft plan became the final plan, there is no doubt that it was of utility in Governor Snelling's decision to enter the race.

According to counsel, the August draft campaign plan was paid for by the NRSC. Black was not, however, paid a specific amount; rather, the cost of the plan was considered to be included in a general consulting retainer paid by the NRSC.

Snelling documents concerning later polls. Thus the June, 1985 poll clearly served testing-the-waters functions for Governor Snelling, as well as a recruitment purpose, by providing him with extensive information upon which to base his decision to run or not to run. Later it served as a yardstick against which to measure his progress. Clearly, Governor Snelling used the results of the survey himself.

It is the position of this Office that the June 10-18, 1985 poll conducted by MOR for the NRSC became a testing-the-waters expenditure by NRSC on behalf of Governor Snelling as of the meeting in late June or early July, 1985, at which Governor Snelling was given the results of the poll. Applying the allocation method described at 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e)(2), the NRSC and the Snelling '86 Committee, as the recipients of the survey results, should have divided the $20,000 costs equally. Snelling '86 received the results no later than the 16-60 day period permitting a 50% adjustment of its $10,000 share. Therefore the NRSC violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) and Snelling '86 violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report an NRSC expenditure of at least $5,000 (50% of 1/2 of $20,000) as an in-kind contribution made and received. 2/

2. December, 1985 Survey

a. Facts

According to a memorandum produced by the Snelling Committee, on November 4, 1985, Governor Snelling wrote to James

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2/ Because the NRSC allocated no amount of its $20,000 expenditure for this survey to the Snelling '86 Committee, it did not choose from among the permissible allocation methods at 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e) in this instance. However, as will been seen below, with regard to two later surveys the NRSC did elect to apply the allocation method at 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(e)(2) and thus that same method has been applied to the June, 1985, survey.

Murphy stating his belief "that a more comprehensive poll than we have been thinking about has become necessary . . . ." He also posed the question of "whether we can learn what we need to learn about direction by just trailing on someone else's poll." (Attachment 6).

Later, on December 3-5, 1985, Decision Making Information ("DMI") conducted a telephone survey in Vermont which had been initially commissioned by the Republican National Committee ("RNC") but for which the NRSC paid a $4,750 share in February, 1986. The NRSC in turn allocated 5% of 1/2 of its payment, or $118.75, to Snelling '86 in February on the basis that the Snelling campaign received the results of the survey more than sixty days after those results were received by the NRSC. Snelling '86 paid its allocated share on March 12, 1986.

The overall survey was composed of 50 questions: the results furnished the NRSC covered 26 questions, six statistical and 20 substantive. Of the 20 substantive questions, all were apparently deemed allocable to Snelling '86. (Attachment 7).

Included in the documents produced by the Snelling '86 Committee were three pages of hand-written notes which appear to contain the results of certain portions of the December survey. (Attachment 8). These notes were apparently taken by Governor Snelling himself as witness the statement, "as people age - support for <u>me</u> declines." (Emphasis added.)

The first page of the notes contains a comparison of the June and December head-to-head results of a Snelling/Leahy race by geographic area of Vermont and by party. Figures in the

notes representing poll results are very similar to, or, in certain instances, identical with, the actual poll results.

For example, a comparison between the figures by party for the December results contained in the notes and the actual figures produces the following:

	Notes	Actual
Republicans		
Snelling	66%	68%
Leahy	33%	30%
Independents		
Snelling	35%	32%
Leahy	61+%	63%
Democrats		
Snelling	13%	12%
Leahy	84%	83%

Page two of the handwritten notes covers the results of a number of the issue questions in the survey. According to the notes, half of those interviewed strongly supported nuclear disarmament while 1/3 supported it "somewhat"; the actual survey result percentages were 48% for those who strongly supported the concept and 20% for those who were opposed. The notes indicate that 90% found verifiability and equality to be necessary requirements of a nuclear arms agreement; the actual figures were 88% and 90%.

The following is a comparison between the handwritten notes and the actual results regarding answers to questions about factors "people may take into consideration" in making their voting decisions:

		Notes	Actual
Importance of serving in Senate	Extremely Important	10%	9%
	Very Important	25%	25%
Born in Vermont	Extremely Important	10%	11%
	Very Important	20%	20%

		Notes	Actual
Chairman of Agriculture Committee	Extremely Important	10%	10%
	Very Important	30%	30%
Experience in reducing deficit	Extremely Important	25%	22%
	Very Important	50%	51%
Willing to limit spending in campaign	Extremely Important	20%	19%
	Very Important	40%	39%
Strongly committed to work for disarmament	Extremely Important	25%	23%
	Very Important	40%	40%
More likely to vote for candidate			
a.) Born in Vermont		16%	16%
Chose to live in Vermont		16%	15%
b.) Who would voluntarily limit campaign spending		66%	65%
c.) Who feels it's okay to spend total amount can ethically raise		10%	10%
Under Dick Snelling the total state debt declined by 31%	True	25%	25%
	Not True	40%	43%
When Dick Snelling left office, he left a 35 million dollar deficit	True	39/40%	39%
	Not True	25%	28%
Dick Snelling created the spending plan that will pay off entire state debt	True	30%	30%
	Not True	40%	42%

A comparison of all the actual results of the survey with the figures in the notes reveals that 10 figures are identical, 13 are within one point, 9 are within 2 points, six within three points, and 3 are within 5-7 points. Two others are accurate approximations, one is not very accurate and one is unclear.

According to a "Memorandum to Polling File" dated January 6, 1986, bearing the initials "RAS/mmm" at the bottom, and written in the first person, a meeting apparently attended by Governor Snelling was held in the office of Charles Black on December 12 or 13, 1985. (Attachment 9). At his deposition, James Murphy testified that he had attended that meeting at which Governor Snelling was given a "briefing on the general findings of the survey" by Jan Van Lohuizen, the director of survey research for the NRSC.

The January 6 memorandum states, ". . . I got some insight into some polling data gathered by the RNC. Under the law, no data can be provided to me for 60 days, but I did gather some conclusions from some very vague statements." The memorandum then goes on to compare the December results with the June, 1985 poll's results, albeit with the caveat that "I am only guessing." It also discusses particular findings.

The survey results cited in the memorandum in five out of eight paragraphs come within one or two percentage points of the actual results. The remaining statements are generally accurate when compared with the survey results, with the possible exception of one dealing with apparent declining support by age.

The January 6, 1986, memorandum appears to have been based upon the handwritten notes discussed above, as witness the third paragraph of the memorandum which cites declining support with age and the need to "use older voices in our ads." The latter concept also appears on page three of the notes. Therefore, it can be concluded that the handwritten notes were taken at the December 12-13 meeting in Charles Black's office.

b. The Law

As stated above, 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) provides that the combination of the purchase of an opinion poll by an unauthorized political committee and the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate . . . is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser to the candidate . . . ." Also, as noted, a determination of whether an eventual candidate has "accepted" poll results depends upon whether one of three criteria has been met; i.e., upon whether (1) the candidate requested the poll results before receiving them, (2) the candidate used the poll results; or (3) the candidate did not notify the contributor that he or she was refusing the results. 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(g) establishes allocation percentages depending upon the timing of the receipt of poll results.

c. Factual and Legal Analysis

As is evident from the information outlined above, Governor Snelling expressed his desire for a poll and was briefed on the results of the December, 1985, DMI poll on December 12 or 13. The NRSC allocated only 2.5% of its share of the polling costs to the Snelling '86 Committee on the basis that Governor Snelling had not received the "results" of the poll until more than sixty days after receipt by the NRSC.

Counsel for Snelling '86, in his response to the Commission's reason to believe determination, states that "the campaign was well aware that polling data would not be given to it, if at all, for 60 days. This rule was honored. At the same time, however, it was entirely proper (and did not create an allocable event) for various persons, including representatives

of the NRSC, to discuss different campaign issues with the candidate and his staff, even if those issues peripherally involved polling trends." Counsel also argues that "there were many informational sources available to the campaign including public newspaper polls which were quite consistent in detail and result to the MOR and DMI polls . . . . Through these sources, the campaign was able to put together a fairly detailed, though often erroneous, statistical profile of its position, without obtaining polling data that would have resulted in a contribution in-kind by the NRSC." (Attachment 2, pages 11 and 12).

In responding for the NRSC, counsel states that within discussions of issues, "the parties took particular care in not disclosing actual polling data until after 60 days had expired so that, pursuant to Commission rules, their value could be depreciated substantially." Counsel went on to state, "Plainly, there was some discussion of certain broad-based matters raised by various NRSC-conducted surveys, but those communications had to do with ranges and broad-based developments, not specific data themselves. Moreover these discussions took place within the context of the public availability of a number of newspaper polls . . . which were surprisingly consistent with the commercial polls that are the subject of the MUR." (Attachment 1, page 14). 3/

3/ In support of the argument that the Snelling '86 Committee had access to other poll results upon which decisions were based, the respondents produced survey questions and results for two polls taken during the same general period as the December DMI poll, i.e., between October, 1985 and January/February, 1986. A poll (continued)

The basic issue raised by the information apparently received by Governor Snelling at the meeting on December 12 or 13, 1985, is whether it constituted the "results" of the poll at issue. It is the position of the respondents that in order for them to have benefited from the polling cost depreciation formula contained in the Commission's regulations, "data" or numbers could not have been revealed to the candidate while trends could have been. When asked to elaborate upon the NRSC's policy in this regard, James Murphy testified during his deposition that it was his understanding that "no numbers from the poll, no books, none of the data, none of the cross-tabs, none of the numbers, the poll numbers, were allowed to be given to the candidate or

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(Footnote 2 continued)
conducted for the Rutland Herald/Times Argus on October 26-27, 1985, contained only seven substantive questions directly related to the 1986 Senatorial race, including a question measuring approval of Senator Leahy, a head-to-head question requiring a choice between Senator Leahy and Governor Snelling, two questions measuring the strengths of support for each Senatorial candidate, a question about the importance of Senator Leahy's twelve years in the Senate, one concerning the deficit remaining at the close of Governor Snelling's term and one concerning Governor Snelling's beard. The Herald poll covered far fewer questions of significance to a Senate race than did the DMI poll. Therefore, while the head-to-head results were close (Leahy 50.3%, Snelling 38.6% with the Herald poll and Leahy 58%, Snelling 38% with the DMI poll), the earlier poll would not have served as a substitute for the DMI survey.

The second poll cited by the NRSC was one undertaken by the Becker Institute on December 12-14, 1985. This poll was even more limited in scope than the Herald poll with regard to the Senate race as it measured only the favor/disfavor in which voters held Richard Snelling and Patrick Leahy, in addition to a head-to-head question the results of which were analyzed according to a number of factors such as sex, age, party, geographic location, etc. The only issue apparently raised was that of blame for the state's deficit. Thus, even though the DMI and Becker Institute polls were taken at virtually the same time, the latter did not provide nearly as much information as did the former.

any of his or her agents. But short of the numbers an analysis or findings or trends or observations, whatever, anything else could be imparted to the candidate or his or her agent." When asked if a finding would include percentages, Mr. Murphy replied, "No. No numbers. No actual data. No numbers from the poll could be divulged to the candidate." Later Mr. Murphy stated, "There were numbers, and there weren't numbers."

The investigation in this matter has produced no evidence that Governor Snelling saw either the raw data from the December survey or a written compilation of that data. He did, however, receive a briefing on the survey which included figures which were, with few exceptions, identical to, or within one or two percentage points of, the actual totals. This information clearly went beyond generalized trends or, as characterized by Governor Snelling, "vague statements." In addition, according to the apparently related handwritten notes the briefing was thorough in its coverage of the survey questions asked.

As discussed above, former Governor Snelling both requested that a poll be taken and received information about the outcome of the poll within a week to ten days after it was completed. It is the opinion of this Office that the depth and breadth of the information which Governor Snelling received regarding the outcome of the December, 1985, poll constituted receipt of the "results" of this survey within fifteen days of their receipt by the NRSC. Therefore, pursuant to the Commission's regulations, 50% of the NRSC's share of the cost of this poll, or $2,375, was allocable to the Snelling '86 Committee.

By allocating only $118.75 to the Committee, the NRSC violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) by failing to report $2,256.25 as an in-kind contribution made to the Snelling '86 Committee in the form of the latter's remaining share of the cost of the survey, and the Snelling '86 Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by failing to report the same amount as an in-kind contribution from the NRSC.

3. April 1986 Survey

a. Facts

From April 4-9, 1986, another telephone survey paid for by NRSC was carried out in Vermont. The contractor was MOR. NRSC paid $25,000 for this survey on May 6, 1986 and allocated 2.5% of that amount, or $625, to Snelling '86 as an in-kind contribution on June 19, 1986. The survey covered 16 statistical questions and 90 substantive questions, with 75 of the latter citing Governor Snelling or Senator Leahy or otherwise referring to the Senate race. (Attachment 10).

Included in documents produced by the Snelling Committee was an unsigned letter dated March 29, 1986, from Governor Snelling to Charles Black in which Mr. Snelling expressed his desire to test in a poll questions about the importance of a Republican majority in the Senate. (Attachment 11). Later there apparently took place a discussion about polling in which Governor Snelling took part, as witness three pages of handwritten notes with the headings, "Poll" and "Discussion of 4/1/86." (Attachment 12). Under "Poll" is written, "Need to find out if there is any gain for me in strong defense, negotiate from strength, use caution in negotiating, accept burdens of freedom, give Pres. a chance to

represent us in foreign policy." The final poll contained, at #7 and #8, questions on these two themes. (Attachment 10).

The first page of the handwritten notes dated 4/1/88 also includes references to "41% question 33" and "deficit question #35." The actual poll contained at question 35 a query as to the truth of the statement, "Under Dick Snelling, the total state debt declined by 41%," while at question #36 respondents were asked whether it was true and/or important that "[w]hen Dick Snelling left office, he left a $35 million deficit." Thus, while the question numbers cited in the notes and the actual numbers were not exactly the same, it seems clear that Governor Snelling saw a draft of the polling instrument on or before April 1.[3/]

The documents produced by Snelling '86 also included ten pages of handwritten notes dated April 14, 1986 and headed "NRSC - Black, [illegible], Murphy, [illegible], [illegible], Alex." (Attachment 13). The first line reads, "oblique, vague references to poll - not available to us til 4/25."

Further down the first page of the April 14 notes is the statement, "RAS negatives increased to high 20's. June 73-18. DMI 72-20 now 3 out of 10." The reference to June cites the figures for positive versus negative reactions to Governor Snelling in the results of the MOR poll taken in June, 1985,

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3/ The second page of the handwritten notes provides more examples of prior consultation, as witness the words "no probe of seniority vs majority" and the following discussion of the consequences of a Leahy versus a Snelling victory on Senate committee and subcommittee chairmanships. The actual question at #85 included a choice of preferred outcomes regarding such (continued)

while the DMI figures are the same as those in the final results of the December DMI poll discussed above. The actual result of the April, 1986, MOR poll regarding favorable versus unfavorable reactions to Governor Snelling was 60% to 30%, or three out of 10 unfavorable. The notes go on to state that the shift to unfavorable "comes from Dems., ticket" and gives past percentage figures of 87-5 for Republicans, 73-23 for ticket-splitters, and 59-29 presumably for Democrats in comparison to new figures of 80-15 for Republicans and "now nearly 50% unfav." for Democrats, (The new figure for ticket-splitters is illegible). The actual favorable versus unfavorable results from the June, 1985 poll as compared to the actual April, 1986 results were:

	June '85	April '86
Reps.	89%- 5%	79%-14%
Ticket-splitters	70%-22%	57%-32%
Dems.	59%-29%	42%-47%

The second page of the April 14 handwritten notes cites strengths and weaknesses by income, education, "soft and hard demos", and occupation. "Those who have fav. impression of me -but vote Leahy - middle and upper income, higher education, 'soft demos'." "Who dislikes me . . . low education, teacher, hard demos, farmers." The actual survey results showed a 62%-31% favorable versus unfavorable rating for Governor Snelling from

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(footnote 3 continued)
chairmanships. The handwritten notes also cite question #73 as using the figure 52 billion, which is included in the actual question #77 with reference to a vote for an increase in government spending. Finally, the notes cite question #74 with apparently suggested language, "has not authored any sig. leg. passed into law," language which appears verbatum in question #78 of the actual survey.

high income respondents, and a head-to-head vote of 47% Democratic and 43% Republican for that group. Under the heading "Intell.," the actual favorable versus unfavorable ratings for Snelling were 62%-27% while the head-to-head choice is 49% Democratic to 37% Republican. Governor Snelling's actual favorable versus unfavorable ratings were 42%-38% with "lower end" (of income), 58%-42% with teachers, and 61%-32% with farmers.

On page three of the handwritten notes are results of several issue questions. For example, the first question in the survey asked whether the respondent believed "things in this county are generally going in the right direction." According to the notes, the results were "half and half." The actual survey results were 52% for "right direction" and 36% for "wrong track," with 11% "don't know."

Page five of the handwritten notes begins with question #24 on the best way to handle the federal deficit. The results as given in the notes are:

1. "cut however nec." - 25%
2. "whatever tax increase nec. - 11%
3. "some of both" - mid-40's
4. "growth only" - 13%

The actual figures were 24%, 11%, 45% and 13%.

Questions 25 asked whether the respondent favored or opposed a tax increase. The notes show 4 of 10 in favor, opposition in mid-50's. The actual figures were 40% and 55%. Question 26 assumed the impossibility of sufficient spending cuts

and asked if the respondent would be willing to raise taxes. The notes give a figure of 60% for those willing for taxes to be raised, those opposed 25%. The actual figures were 62% and 26%. Question 27 asked about preferences for an increase in taxes or for further spending cuts to protect programs for the poor. The notes show half in favor of protecting the poor and 40% in favor of further cuts. The actual figures were 52% and 40%.

Question 32 asked about approval or disapproval of the way Governor Snelling handled his job as governor. According to the written notes, 40% strongly approved, 33% somewhat approved, 10% somewhat disapproved, and 10% strongly disapproved. The actual figures were 39%, 33%, 10% and 10%. Regarding the rating of the overall financial condition of the Vermont state government at question #33, the notes show "Excellent" - 5%, "Good" - 50%, "Fair" - 33%, and "Poor"- 5%. The actual figures were 6%, 50%, 32% and 5%.

Page six of the notes reflects questions calling for answers of "true and important," "true but unimportant," or "untrue." A comparison of the notes' figures and the actual figures is as follows:

		Notes	Actual
#35-Under Dick Snelling the total state debt declined by 41%	True, Important	33%	32%
	True, Not Important	4%	3%
	Not true	25%	26%
#36-When Dick Snelling left office, he left a $35 million deficit	True, Important	35%	35%
	True, Not Important	9%	8%
	Not true	25%	24%

		Notes	Actual
#37-Dick Snelling created a spending plan that will pay off the entire deficit of the state of Vermont by 1986	True, Important	30%	29%
	True, Not Important	4%	3%
	Not True	37%	33%

On a series of questions in which the respondent had to state whether a statement best described Richard Snelling or Patrick Leahy, the handwritten figures and the actual figures are as follows:

	Snelling		Leahy		Both	
	Notes	Actual	Notes	Actual	Notes	Actual
#56-Has a solid record of accomplishments	33%	31%	37%	36%	25%	24%
#57-Believes in reducing state govt.	50%	50%	25%	27%		40%
#58-Cares about avg. citizen	29%	24%	50%	50%		17%
#59-Wields clout and influence	30%	29%	46%	44%		13%
#60-Gets results on difficult problems	37%	37%	37%	37%	13%	13%
#61-Can be trusted to do right thing	33 1/3%	32%	40%	40%	16%	18%
#62-Shares same views and opinions as most Vermonters on tax and spending issues	40%	40%	36%	36%		8%
#63-Shares same views and opinions of most Vermonters on foreign policy and national defense issues	25%	26%	50%	48%		9%

	Snelling		Leahy		Both	
	Notes	Actual	Notes	Actual	Notes	Actual
#64-Willing to make tough decisions	37%	36%	37%	37%	16%	17%
#65-Qualifications and experience to make a good Senator	25%	25%	45%	45%	25%	22%
#66-Exaggerates his accomplishments	33%	34%	20%	20%	12%	12%
#67-Agrees with Reagan on foreign policy issues	42%	42%	16%	18%		3%
#68-Agrees with President Reagan's views on taxes and spending issues	45%	44%	16%	10%		1%

Altogether, 73 of the numbers included in the handwritten notes as survey results are identical to the actual poll results, while another 74 are within one percentage point and still another 25 are within two percentage points.

c. The Law

The law applicable to the April 1986 survey expenditures is the same as that discussed above as to the December 1985 survey.

d. Factual and Legal Analysis

The above figures taken from the handwritten notes and the actual poll results provide strong evidence that Governor Snelling was briefed in detail about the results of the April, 1986, poll as early as April 14, 1986. While he apparently was not given the actual data nor copies of the actual results, he was given percentages which in many cases matched or came within one

percentage point of the true figures.

The arguments presented by counsel with regard to the December, 1985, poll also apply to the April, 1986, poll. In response this Office again notes that Governor Snelling was actively involved in the formulation of questions to be included in the April poll as witness the March 29 letter and the April 1 notes, and that he received results on April 14 that were identical with, or very close to, the actual percentage results. Thus, Snelling '86 should have been apportioned 50% of the NRSC's expenditure of $25,000 or $12,500. 4/ Because the survey results were received by Snelling '86 within 15 days of their receipt by the NRSC, there is no further reduction applicable.

By allocating only $625 to the Snelling '86 Committee as an in-kind contribution, the NRSC underreported by $11,875 its contribution to the Snelling Committee in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4). The Snelling '86 Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) by underreporting the amount of the in-kind contribution received.

4/ Documents produced by the Snelling committee included a memorandum dated April 28, 1986, from Alex Gage of MOR to "The Snelling Group". (Attachment 14). The memorandum contained an analysis of Governor Snelling's standings at that point in the campaign, and addressed specific voter perceptions and issues where Governor Snelling had a particular advantage or disadvantage. The perceptions and relative standings discussed were taken directly from the April MOR poll (compare the discussions on page 2 of the memorandum with the questions at pages 18 and 19 of the survey at Attachment 10), although they were presented as descriptive statements rather than mathematical results. Given the evidence of actual percentages received by the Snelling Committee in April, it is not necessary to determine whether the statements contained in this memorandum constituted "results" of a poll.

4. Advertising Tests

On May 27, 1986, MOR conducted tests of nine television commercials, seven produced by the Snelling campaign and two by the Leahy campaign. The tests, conducted in Burlington, Vt., involved approximately 80 voters not strongly committed to a Senatorial candidate, and consisted of the filling out of questionnaires after reviewing each advertisement, plus participation in a "focus-group" discussion. The NRSC paid MOR $13,800 on July 8, 1986, for conducting and analyzing these tests, and then billed the Snelling '86 Committee for an allocated share of $3,600 on September 26, 1986. The Snelling committee's payment was also made on September 26 and was reported in its 1986 October Quarterly Report.

Information provided to the Commission by both NRSC and the Snelling committee included copies of a memorandum dated May 30, 1986, from Paul Curcio of the NRSC to Tom Griscom and Scott Cottington, also of the NRSC, analyzing the results of the Vermont tests. The copy provided by the Snelling Committee indicates that it was received via wire transmittal that same day. (Attachment 15). Attached to the Snelling copy were two pages of handwritten notes dated May 30, 1986, which appear to include before and after results of a poll taken of persons participating in the advertising tests ("10% of Leahy people were converted"), and comments on specific ads. (Attachment 16).

According to a Declaration of Counsel received by this Office on March 21, 1988, (Attachment 17), the allocation of $3,600 to the Snelling committee represented 20% of the cost of

the survey plus a rounded amount equal to about five percent. Counsel explains that the Vermont focus-group survey was part of "a systematic ongoing study of 'negative' television advertising" begun during the 1984 election cycle, and that the NRSC has established a computerized data base of results of such studies "and has described certain norms and conditions for such advertising relating to such factors as the utility of various intensities of attack, the impact of various types of claim validation and the effectiveness of response to attacks." The NRSC then uses this information as a basis for its own decision-making and for party presentations at post-election conferences. The data is assertedly never shared with candidates; such candidates receive syntheses and analyses only. Counsel also asserts that the data and research on negative advertising is of ongoing utility.

Counsel acknowledges that in the case of the Snelling campaign NRSC shared specific results of the Vermont focus group survey, but states that it did not disclose information on the ongoing study of negative advertising. Counsel argues that it would have been reasonable to have allocated as little as 5% to Snelling '86 since "the overwhelming majority of the material gathered went into the data base and was not disclosed." Counsel also argues that the long-term multiple uses of the data would also have justified a very small allocation to the Snelling campaign.

b. <u>The Law</u>

11 C.F.R. § 106.1(a) states that as a general rule

expenditures made on behalf of more than one candidate are to be allocated according "to the benefit reasonably expected to be derived." 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(c) excepts from allocation overhead, general administrative and other "day-to-day" costs of a committee unless they are made on behalf of a clearly identified candidate and can be directly attributed to that candidate.

c. Factual and Legal Analysis

All of the television advertising included in this survey was directly related to the 1986 Vermont Senate campaign, a fact not denied by the respondents. Rather, respondents argue that the value of the survey went far beyond any benefit to the Snelling campaign. Given counsel's explanation of the utility of the Vermont focus-group survey to the NRSC, this Office believes that it was not unreasonable for the NRSC to have allocated approximately 75% of the cost of the survey to itself and approximately 25% or $3,600 to Snelling '86, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 106.1. The latter committee reported an expenditure of $3,600 to NRSC for the survey within the reporting period in which it was made. Therefore there appears to have been no violation of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3),(4) or (6) as regards this particular expenditure by the NRSC or by Snelling '86.

5. June, 1986 Survey

a. Facts

Documents produced by Snelling '86 include a draft of a questionnaire proposed to be used in Vermont on June 26, 1986. No source is given on the draft itself; however, other documents produced by the respondents confirm that a state-wide

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survey was undertaken by MOR in Vermont on June 26-27, 1986. (Attachment 14). The NRSC paid for 100% of this survey.

The June, 1986, poll consisted of 29 substantive questions, 25 of which were directly related to the race for the Senate. The Snelling committee asserts that this survey "was not presented to the campaign and so, we are informed, no allocation was made or bill presented by the NRSC. (Attachment 1, page 11). The NRSC in turn asserts that "the data from this poll was never given to the Snelling campaign or otherwise disclosed to it. No allocation therefore was made." (Attachment 1, page 11.)

Newspaper articles dated July 19, 1986 attached to the complaint contained quotations attributed to Governor Snelling which cite the June MOR poll and give specific points by which that poll showed the contest between Senator Leahy and Governor Snelling to have narrowed. In the NRSC response to the complaint, it was noted that the head-to-head results of the June poll were "released to the public" in a "PAC GRAM" newsletter dated July 14, 1986, and that this information appeared in news accounts in Washington and Vermont on July 15 and 16 and thus before the date of Governor Snelling's quoted reference to those findings.

The PAC GRAM provided only the head-to-head results, not other results of the June survey. No evidence has been found during the investigation in this matter that Governor Snelling received other information derived from the June, 1986, poll as either data or in other, more general, forms.

b. <u>The Law</u>

11 C.F.R. § 106.4(c) provides that acceptance by a

candidate of poll results which have already been made public is not to be treated as an in-kind contribution to that candidate by the purchaser of the poll.

c. Factual and Legal Analysis

In the present instance it appears that the candidate received the head-to-head results of the June survey after they had been made public via the PAC GRAM, thus taking those particular figures out of the category of in-kind contributions. As noted, no evidence has been found that other results of the June, 1986 survey were shared with Governor Snelling or his committee. Thus, it does not appear that the NRSC was required to allocate to Snelling '86 all or a portion of the cost of this survey, nor to report as a contribution the portion of that cost which was not reimbursed or paid directly by Snelling '86.

6. Conclusion

It is the position of the Office of the General Counsel that the Snelling '86 Committee and the NRSC failed to report $5,000 paid by NRSC for the June, 1985, survey, $2,256.25 of the $4,740 paid by NRSC for the December, 1985, survey and $11,875 of the $25,000 paid by NRSC for the April, 1986, survey as in-kind contributions from the NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee, for a total of $19,131.25 in unreported contributions. The respondents reported $15,625.00 in other contributions made by the NRSC to the Snelling campaign. The addition of $19,131.25 to this latter figure places the NRSC in excess of the $17,500 limitation established at 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) by $17,256.25.

In 1986 the national party committee's coordinated expenditure limitation for Vermont and the state party committee's expenditure limitation, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d), were $43,620 each. The NRSC reported $87,202 in expenditures on behalf of the Snelling campaign, indicating that the state party's limitation had been assigned to the national party committee. Thus, only $38.00 remained from the combined Section 441a(d) limitations for application to the NRSC contributions at issue in the present matter.

In summary, the NRSC made excessive contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee totaling $17,218.25 in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) and the Snelling '86 Committee accepted such excessive contributions from the NRSC in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). 5/

III. DISCUSSION OF CONCILIATION PROVISIONS AND CIVIL PENALTIES

At stated above, the respondents requested that the Commission enter into pre-probable cause conciliation in response to notification of the Commission's reason to believe determinations in December, 1986. These requests were declined in February, 1987. In response to an inquiry from this Office, counsel for the respondents recently expressed his clients continued interest in pre-probable cause conciliation, including conciliation of any new Commission determinations.

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IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h).

2. Find reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

3. Enter into conciliation prior to findings of probable cause to believe with the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick M. Bassinger, as treasurer, and with the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer.

4. Approve the attached letters and conciliation agreements.

6/2/88
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Response of NRSC
2. Response of Snelling '86
3. June, 1985 survey questions and results
4. Cover memorandum and draft campaign plan
5. June 25, 1985 memorandum from Jan van Lohuizen to Senator John Heinz
6. November 4, 1985 memorandum from Richard Snelling to James Murphy
7. December, 1985, survey questions and results
8. Handwritten notes (3 pages)
9. January 6, 1986, Memorandum to Polling File
10. April, 1986, survey questions
11. March 21, 1986, letter from Richard Snelling to Charles Black
12. Handwritten notes (3 pages) dated April 1, 1986

13. Handwritten notes (10 pages) dated April 14, 1986
14. Memorandum from Alex Gage to The Snelling Group
15. Memorandum from Paul Curcio to Tom Griscom and Scott Cottington
16. Handwritten notes (2 pages) dated May 30, 1986
17. March 21, 1988 Declaration of Counsel
18. June, 1986 survey questions
19. Letters (2) and conciliation agreements (2)

Staff Person: Anne Weissenborn

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
	)	
National Republican Senatorial Committee	)	MUR 2212
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session of June 21, 1988, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 4-2 to take the following actions in MUR 2212:

1. Find reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h).

2. Find reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

3. Enter into conciliation prior to findings of probable cause to believe with the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick M. Bassinger, as treasurer, and with the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer.

(continued)

4. Approve the letters and conciliation agreements attached to the General Counsel's report dated June 7, 1988,

Commissioners Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioners Aikens and Elliott dissented.

Attest:

6/22/88
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1988

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein Becker and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

RE: MUR 2212
National Republican Senatorial Committee
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Gerson:

On December 2, 1986, and June 21 , 1988, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h). At your request, on June 21, 1988, the Commission determined 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 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 Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1988

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein Becker and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

RE: MUR 2212
Snelling '86 Committee
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Gerson:

On December 2, 1986, and June 21, 1988, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3) (4) and (6) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). At your request, on June 21, 1988, the Commission determined 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 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 Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT

89 AUG -2 AM 11:23

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SENSITIVE

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
National Republican Senatorial Committee	)	MUR 2212
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. **BACKGROUND**

Attached is a conciliation agreement which has been signed by counsel for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, and for the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer.

The attached agreement contains no changes from the agreement approved by the Commission on June 27, 1989. A check for $2,000 of the $5,000 civil penalty has been received; the remainder should be forthcoming in the near future.

II. **RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. Accept the attached conciliation agreement with the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, and with the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer

2. Close the file.

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3. Approve the attached letter.

Date 8/1/87

Lawrence M. Noble

Attachments

1. Conciliation Agreement
2. Letter to counsel
3. Letter to complainant

Staff Assigned: Anne Weissenborn

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 2212
National Republican Senatorial Committee	)	
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on August 4, 1989, the Commission decided by a vote of 5-1 to take the following actions in MUR 2212:

1. Accept the conciliation agreement with the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, and with the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, as recommended in the General Counsel's Report dated August 1, 1989.

2. Close the file.

3. Approve the letter as recommended in the General Counsel's Report dated August 1, 1989.

Commissioners Aikens, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision. Commissioner Elliott dissented.

Attest:

8-4-89
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Office of Commission Secretary: Wed., Aug. 2, 1989 11:23
Circulated on 48 hour tally basis: Wed., Aug. 2, 1989 4:00
Deadline for vote: Fri., Aug. 4, 1989 4:00

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
	)	MUR 2212
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	
National Republican Senatorial Committee	)	
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer	)	

SENSITIVE

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

On June 2, 1988, the Commission authorized the commencement of conciliation with the Respondents in the above-captioned matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe. The Office of General Counsel has concluded that an extension of the conciliation period by an additional thirty days would facilitate the conclusion of a satisfactory settlement with the Respondents.

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

8/8/88
Date

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Staff Assigned: A. Weissenborn

8 9 0 0 2 0 7 6 5 3 4 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

August 10, 1989

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
1110 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 2212

Dear Mr. Bauer:

This is in reference to the complaint filed by your client, William Gray, Campaign Director, Leahy for U.S. Senate Committee, with the Federal Election Commission on July 29, 1986, concerning the Snelling '86 Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

After conducting an investigation in this matter, the Commission found that there was probable cause to believe that the above respondents and their treasurers violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(3),(4) and (6) and 441a(f) and (h), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. On August 4 1989, a conciliation agreement signed by the respondent was accepted by the Commission, thereby concluding the matter. Accordingly, the Commission closed the file in this matter on August 4, 1989. A copy of this agreement is enclosed for your information.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne Weissenborn the Assistant General Counsel assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

8 9 0 4 0 7 0 6 3 4 3

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 10, 1989

Stuart M. Gerson, Esquire
Epstein, Becker and Green, P.C.
1140 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-6601

RE: MUR 2212
National Republican
Senatorial Committee
Frederick W. Bassinger, as
treasurer
Snelling '86 Committee
Duncan F. Brown, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Gerson:

On August 4, 1989, the Federal Election Commission accepted the signed conciliation agreement and civil penalty submitted on your clients' behalf in settlement of violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b(3),(4) and 441a(f) and (h), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. Accordingly, the file has been closed in this matter. 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.

89040763344

Enclosed you will find a copy of the fully executed conciliation agreement for your files. If you have any questions, please contact Anne Weissenborn, the Assistant General Counsel, assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Enclosure
Conciliation Agreement

8 9 0 4 0 7 6 5 3 4 5

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
	)	
National Republican Senatorial Committee	)	MUR 2212
Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer	)	
	)	
Snelling '86 Committee	)	
Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer	)	

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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CONCILIATION AGREEMENT

This matter was initiated by a signed, sworn, and notarized complaint by the Leahy for Senate Committee. The Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") found reason to believe that the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC"), and Frederick W. Bassinger, as treasurer, and the Snelling '86 Committee and Duncan F. Brown, as treasurer, ("Respondents") violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and (h).

NOW, THEREFORE, the Commission and the Respondents, having participated in informal methods of conciliation, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, do hereby agree as follows:

I. The Commission has jurisdiction over the Respondents and the subject matter of this proceeding, and this agreement has the effect of an agreement entered pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(A)(i).

II. Respondents have had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.

III. Respondents enter voluntarily into this agreement with the Commission.

IV. The pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:

A. Respondents NRSC and Snelling '86 Committee are political committees within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. § 431(4).

B. Respondent Bassinger is the treasurer of the NRSC and Respondent Brown is the treasurer of the Snelling '86 Committee.

C. Richard A. Snelling filed a Statement of Candidacy on November 4, 1985, stating his intention to seek the Office of United States Senator from the State of Vermont and designating the Snelling '86 Committee as his principal campaign committee.

D. 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(1) exempts from the definition of contribution contained in 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i) and 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(iii) funds received by a political candidate to determine if he should become an actual candidate. However, such funds must come from sources permissible under the Federal Election Campaign Act, and, if the individual becomes a candidate, such funds received by him must be reported as contributions.

E. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3), (4) and (6), and 11 C.F.R. § 104.13(a)(1) and (2) require that in-kind contributions be reported as contributions and expenditures; and 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) provides that the contribution of the purchase of an opinion poll and the subsequent acceptance of the poll results by a candidate is a contribution in-kind by the purchaser and an expenditure by the candidate. Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b), acceptance of poll results requires a candidate's request for the results, a candidate's use of the results, or a candidate's failure to notify the contributor that he is refusing the results.

F. 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(g) provides that if the results of a poll are received by a candidate or political committee within 15 days of their receipt by the initial recipient, the candidate or political committee shall be allocated 100 percent of its share of the allocable costs. If the results are received by a candidate or political committee between 16 and 60 days after receipt by the initial recipient, the former's share is 50 percent of the share of the costs attributable to that candidate or political committee.

G. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) limits to $17,500 the amount which the NRSC may contribute to a candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to the United States Senate during an election year.

H. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) prohibits a candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

I. The NRSC contends that it was acting within the normal recruitment function of a national political committee when it contracted with Market Opinion Research for a telephone survey of potential voters in Vermont on June 10-18, 1985. The NRSC received the results of this survey on or about June 25, 1985. This survey was composed of a series of statistical and substantive questions, the vast majority of which dealt with the prospective candidates and issues relating to the 1986 election to the office of United States Senator from Vermont.

J. The June 1985 survey was composed of 96 questions, 10 of which were statistical and 86 of which were substantive. 70 of the latter dealt with prospective candidates and issues related to the 1986 election for the office of United States Senator from Vermont, and approximately 40 of those questions cited Snelling. Based on the record in this matter, at the time of the survey Richard Snelling was not a candidate for office, and that he had not formed or declared any interest in running for office or in "testing the waters" for a senatorial race.

K. On or about July 15, 1985, the June survey was conveyed to Snelling by the NRSC. Respondents contend that this was part of an ongoing effort to convince Snelling to run for the Senate in order to demonstrate to him that he was the best Republican challenger for the seat in question and that he stood a reasonable probability of success.

L. The NRSC paid the $20,000 cost of June 1985 survey directly to MOR, made no allocation of costs to the Snelling '86 Committee, billed nothing to the Snelling '86 Committee, and assertedly made no representation to Snelling or his Committee that any allocation to it was required or appropriate. Later, before and after Snelling became a candidate, he made some use of the survey, in conjunction with other materials, in deciding to become a candidate and in formulating his campaign strategy. At the time he became a candidate, however, no allocation of costs was made by the NRSC, or by Snelling, who had not been instructed to do so. The Commission has found reason to believe that a portion of the

cost of the June survey should have been allocated to the Snelling '86 Committee. Because Snelling received results of the survey within 60 days of their receipt by the NRSC, the appropriate allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee is at least $4,000.

M. The NRSC arranged for the inclusion of 20 substantive questions in a survey carried out by Decision Making Information ("DMI") in Vermont on December 3-5, 1985, pursuant to a contract DMI had with the Republican National Committee. All of the 20 questions concerned the 1986 election for the office of United States Senator from Vermont. The NRSC paid DMI $4,750 for its share of the December 1985 survey, and received the results thereof on or about December 13, 1985.

N. On or about December 13, 1985, Snelling attended a meeting at which, Respondents assert, representatives of the NRSC informed him of trends and other information derived from the December 1985 survey, and how it compared with data that Snelling previously had received relating to the 1986 Vermont senatorial race. Respondents contend that the NRSC did not give him the specific numerical polling data at that time. The Snelling '86 Committee contends that it received the numerical data from the NRSC more than 60 days thereafter, and paid the amount of $118.75 allocated to it by the NRSC for that survey. The Commission has found reason to believe that a portion of the cost of that survey should have been allocated as of December 13, 1985. Because Snelling received results of the survey within 15 days of their receipt by the NRSC, the appropriate allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee is $2,375.

O. The NRSC contracted with MOR for a telephone survey carried out in Vermont on April 4-9, 1986. The survey was composed of 106 questions, 16 statistical and 90 substantive; 75 of the latter dealt with the 1986 election for the office of United States Senator from Vermont. The NRSC paid $25,000 for the April 1986 survey, and received the results thereof on or about April 14, 1986.

P. On or about April 14, 1986, Snelling attended a meeting at which, Respondents assert, representatives of the NRSC informed him of trends and other information derived from the April 1986 survey, and how it compared with data that Snelling previously had received relating to the 1986 Vermont senatorial race. Again, Respondents contend that the NRSC did not give him the specific numerical polling data at that time. The Snelling '86 Committee contends that it received the polling data more than 60 days thereafter, and paid the amount of $625.00 allocated to it by the NRSC for that survey. The Commission has found reason to believe that a portion of the cost of that survey should have been allocated as of April 14, 1986. Because Snelling received results of the survey within 15 days of their receipt by the NRSC, the appropriate allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee is at least $10,000.

Q. Snelling and the Snelling '86 Committee contend that, at all times relevant to this matter, they acted upon the instructions and advice of the NRSC concerning the appropriateness of disclosure of information derived from polling, and timing thereof, and the amounts required to be paid by the Snelling '86 Committee.

They contend that there were no prior discussions or agreements as to the allocations made and amounts billed or charged, and that each amount billed or charged was timely paid by the Snelling '86 Committee.

R. The NRSC reported $15,625 in direct contributions to the Snelling '86 Committee.

V. The expenditure by the NRSC for the June, 1985, survey was an expenditure on behalf of Richard A. Snelling reportable as a contribution by the NRSC in the amount of at least $4,000.

VI. Richard A. Snelling received results of the December, 1985, survey within 15 days of their receipt by the NRSC, thereby requiring the allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee of $2,375.

VIII. Richard A. Snelling received results of the April, 1986 survey within 15 days of their receipt by the NRSC, thereby requiring the allocation to the Snelling '86 Committee of at least $10,000.

VIII. By failing to report an in-kind contribution of at least $4,000 by the NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee for the June, 1985, survey, by failing to report $2,256.25 of the cost of the December, 1985, survey as an in-kind contribution by the NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee, and by failing to report at least $9,375 of the cost of the April, 1986, survey as an in-kind contribution by the NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee, the Respondents violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

IX. The $15,631 in unreported in-kind contributions, together with $15,625 in other contributions made by the NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee, resulted in approximately $13,756 in

contributions by the NRSC to the Snelling '86 Committee in excess of the NRSC's $17,500 statutory limitation, placing the Respondents, respectively, in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). Respondents contend that these violations were not knowing and willful and no such violation has been charged in this MUR.

X. A civil penalty will be paid to the Federal Election Commission in the amount of Five Thousand Dollars ($5,000), pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(A).

XI. 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.

XII. This agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

XIII. Respondents 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.

XIV. 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 enforceable.

FOR THE COMMISSION:

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Date 8/9/89

FOR THE RESPONDENTS:

Stuart M. Gerson
(Name)
(Position) Authorized as Counsel to National Republican Senatorial Committee and Spelling '86 Committee

Date July 19, 1989

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 2212

DATE FILMED 9-12-89 CAMERA NO. 4

CAMERAMAN AS

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTATION IS ADDED TO

THE PUBLIC RECORD IN CLOSED MUR 2212.

4/9/92

9204090111 21

National Republican Senatorial Committee

SENATOR PHIL GRAMM
CHAIRMAN

JEB HENSARLING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 16, 1992

Anne Weissenborn, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 2212

92 MAR 17 PM 3:27

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $3000 payable to the Commission to cover the balance of the amount described in the conciliation agreement for the above-referenced matter.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Jay

Jay Velasquez
Legal Counsel

92040901122

RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN CENTER
425 SECOND STREET, N.E. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002 • (202) 675-6000

PAID FOR AND AUTHORIZED BY THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE.

OGC 442c
folder copy

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 17, 1992

TWO WAY MEMORANDUM

TO: Virginia Whitted
OGC, Docket

FROM: Philomena Brooks PB
Accounting Technician

SUBJECt: Account Determination for Funds Received

We recently received a check from Nat'l Republican Senatorial Cmte, check number 55138, dated March 13, 1992, and in the amount of $3,000.00. Attached is a copy of the check and any correspondence that was forwarded. Please indicate below the account into which it should be deposited, and the MUR number and name.

TO: Philomena Brooks
Accounting Technician

FROM: Virginia Whitted
OGC, Docket

In reference to the above check in the amount of $3,000.00, the MUR number is 2212 and in the name of NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CMTE. The account into which it should be deposited is indicated below:

__ Budget Clearing Account (OGC), 95F3875.16

XXXX Civil Penalties Account, 95-1099.160

__ Other: _____

Virginia Whitted
Signature

March 24, 1992
Date

92 HAR 17 PM 3:27
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OGC

9204090123

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55138

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE
425 SECOND STREET, NE.
WASHINGTON, DC 20002

SIGNET BANK
VIENNA, VA
68-406/560

DATE	CONTROL NO.	AMOUNT
03/13/92	055138	*****$3,000.00

PAY TO THE ORDER OF ******3,000 DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
999 E STREET NW
ATTN: ANNE WEISSENBORN
WASHINGTON DC 20463

James L. Hagen

⑈00055138⑈ ⑆056004089⑆ 651⑈71729 27⑈

92 MAR 17 PM 3:27