

SALT, 1979

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/24/79

ham --

enclosed is your caddell
memo, with copies of pages
on which president made
notations/comment inserted
in place of originals.

a copy of those pages (as
a set) has been sent to
jerry rafshoon.

-- *susan*

~~Confidential~~

3-30-73
To: President Carter
From: H. Jode
SALT survey for your info.
W.

Jerry - Prepare
all speeches (incl standard one
for cabinet, etc) accordingly
Cambridge Survey Research
J

Suite 1250 1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20006 Telephone (202) 223-6345

A MEMORANDUM ON CURRENT PUBLIC ATTITUDES ON SALT

FROM PATRICK H. CADDELL

Summary

One fact stands out in the recent survey on SALT -- the American people stand firmly behind the idea of arms limitation and, to the extent they know and understand it, behind the SALT treaty. Support for SALT can be seen in three separate types of questions:

--more than two to one support for the specific SALT treaty among the approximately two-thirds of the population who claim to have heard of it.

--overwhelming support for the general idea of limiting nuclear arms among the whole population, and

--strong support for the SALT treaty when we presented a description of it and both pro and con arguments.

People who support SALT do so out of the hope that it will reduce war and the threat of nuclear holocaust. Furthermore, most people recognize that the failure of SALT will lead to more defense spending and a greater danger of war. Even people who have some doubts about SALT have doubts about what would happen without it.

In many ways support for SALT is both broad and deeper than we would have imagined. One major problem does exist

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though. While people want arms limitation, they want it to be meaningful. The major reason that the current minority opposition to SALT exists as it does is lack of trust in the Russians. That lack of trust extends beyond the current opponents however and thus opposition to SALT has a potential for growth. Indeed, on a question which posed the idea that there was no point in making a treaty because the Russians wouldn't keep it, the American public was virtually evenly divided, coming down on the pro-SALT side by a mere 6-point margin.

Thus, one major task facing the Administration in presenting SALT is not convincing people about the details of the bargain, but instead convincing people that the bargain will be kept. The Administration has to show people that trust plays no part in the enforcement of SALT. It has to show people that the treaty can be policed whatever the Russians do.

More importantly, SALT must be presented to the American people in a larger context. To the extent the public has focused the issue, it is over large issues; war vs. peace, an unlimited arms race, and much greater defense budgets. The public concern over possible nuclear confrontation is much deeper than many would predict. Oddly, in some ways the accident at Three Mile Island may well have intensified that concern.

Another factor that we have seen in our survey work is the uneasiness the public has over prospective clashes with the

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Soviet Union. Despite great support for Human Rights the public becomes skittish when it relates to the Russians, fearing any side issue that could endanger the relative status quo between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and lead to confrontation. Such concerns were in evidence when the problems in the Horn of Africa arose.

In summary, it would seem that the best public strategy should address these larger concerns, emphasizing the rocky road of "waging peace" but pointing out the unknown but possible consequences of not having a SALT treaty. The public is far less concerned with the details or technical issues of the treaty and far more concerned with these larger issues. Finally, attention must be given to the verification/trust question which in great part must be assured by the President.

This memorandum will outline the results of the most recent survey conducted by the Democratic National Committee as it pertained to public attitudes on SALT. The survey was based on personal, in-home interviews with a representative sample of about 1500 registered voters designed to reflect the likely 1980 voting behavior of the United States.

The Basic Question

We began our inquiry by asking respondents to tell us whether they had heard of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and, if so, what they thought about them. As the table shows, almost two-thirds of the voting population have heard enough about SALT to have formed an opinion and they are slightly more than two-to-one favorable in their opinion.

Have you heard of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks — or SALT — with the Russians? [IF YES] Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of such talks?

	<u>Yes, favorable</u>	<u>Yes, unfavorable</u>	<u>Yes, don't know</u>	<u>No, haven't heard</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
Today	46%	18	16	11	8
R17 - 1978 IV	37%	19	17	21	6
R11 - 1977 II	39%	15	24	22	—
R 6 - 1976 I	33%	18	15	21	12
R 3 - 1975 II	37%	13	15	22	13

Looking at the demographic breakdowns on the following pages, we see some interesting points:

- * Democrats and Republicans show equal percentages in favor of SALT. However, Democrats who are not favorable tend to be undecided while Republicans are more likely to have a critical opinion.
- * Liberals are more favorable than conservatives, but it is notable that even a substantial plurality of conservatives favor SALT.
- * Men are more likely to have an opinion -- either favorable or unfavorable -- than women. In any educational effort, women are the most likely to be undecided and thus should be prime targets for persuasion.
- * Not surprisingly, knowledge about SALT increases as both the income and educational level of the respondents increase. Perhaps surprisingly, the ratio of support to opposition also increases steadily with both increasing income and education.
- * The Northeast and Industrial areas are most likely to support SALT; the Pacific and South least likely to back it.

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Have you heard of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks -- or SALT -- with the Russians? [IF YES] Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of such talks?

	Yes, favorable	Yes, unfavorable	Yes, don't know	Haven't heard of talks	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	46%	18	16	11	8
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	47	13	16	13	10
Independent (37)	46	22	17	9	6
Republican (17)	47	24	13	8	8
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	57	13	14	10	6
Moderate (24)	45	14	20	8	12
Conservative (42)	44	25	14	11	7
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	51	12	16	13	8
Unfavorable (39)	42	27	15	8	8
Can't rate (7)	46	15	23	11	6
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	55	18	6	13	8
Good (29)	52	11	16	12	9
Only fair (44)	46	19	18	10	8
Poor (21)	41	27	15	10	7
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	48	15	11	15	11
Lean Carter (12)	40	12	25	9	14
Undecided (17)	43	9	19	16	13
Brown (22)	55	13	17	11	5
Lean Brown (5)	52	17	18	7	7
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	47	14	18	14	8
Lean Kennedy (9)	44	15	20	9	13
Undecided (11)	41	10	16	16	18
Carter (22)	53	13	11	11	12
Lean Carter (5)	49	15	7	18	11

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Opinion of SALT (continued)

		<u>Yes, favorable</u>	<u>Yes, unfavorable</u>	<u>Yes, don't know</u>	<u>Haven't heard of talks</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		46%	18	16	11	8
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	41	15	19	15	11
Male	(50)	52	22	14	7	6
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	48	19	16	10	8
Black	(10)	33	15	23	19	10
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	67	19	7	—	7
White collar	(14)	53	20	18	6	3
White collar clerical	(9)	47	15	21	10	8
Government	(4)*	55	19	18	2	6
Skilled blue collar	(14)	44	23	14	10	9
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	38	16	20	17	9
Retired	(26)	46	19	13	13	10
Self-employed	(6)	54	18	15	6	8
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	52	15	18	9	6
English	(20)	47	25	16	6	7
French	(4)*	42	16	19	18	6
German	(17)	50	18	16	8	8
Italian	(5)	53	14	18	8	7
Eastern European	(7)	54	8	13	13	12
Scandinavian	(4)*	45	31	6	7	11
Spanish	(4)*	35	15	6	31	14
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(10)	35	14	14	27	10
Some high school	(15)	36	15	17	16	16
Graduated high school	(32)	43	18	20	10	10
Technical/vocational	(5)	51	24	12	6	7
Some college	(20)	47	22	19	7	6
Graduated college	(12)	67	18	10	2	3
Graduate/professional	(7)	67	22	7	4	1

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Opinion of SALT (continued)

	Yes, favorable	Yes, unfavorable	Yes, don't know	Haven't heard of talks	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	46%	18	16	11	8
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	44	20	17	10	9
Catholic (30)	50	15	14	12	9
Jewish (4)*	61	4	15	17	4
Other (4)*	39	36	16	8	2
None (4)*	52	17	12	12	7
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	26	24	8	28	15
\$4-6,999 (11)	43	12	16	20	9
\$7-9,999 (11)	39	19	17	14	11
\$10-14,999 (16)	49	16	19	7	10
\$15-19,999 (18)	54	15	18	7	6
Over \$20,000 (29)	53	21	14	6	6
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	56	20	13	7	4
Family member (13)	38	19	21	12	11
No member (70)	46	18	16	11	9
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	52	18	12	12	7
26-35 (17)	41	19	19	12	9
36-45 (17)	46	14	23	8	9
46-55 (18)	51	20	15	8	7
56-65 (17)	49	15	13	13	10
Over 65 (19)	42	23	14	12	9
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	45	19	16	14	7
Suburban (35)	50	18	17	8	8
Rural (20)	44	18	15	10	12
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast (15)	53	15	16	9	7
Industrial (25)	50	15	18	9	8
Midlands (15)	49	19	14	10	9
South (19)	41	17	16	14	12
Central (14)	44	26	13	13	5
Pacific (13)	40	21	20	11	9

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Opinion of SALT (continued)

	<u>Yes, favorable</u>	<u>Yes, unfavorable</u>	<u>Yes, don't know</u>	<u>Haven't heard of talks</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	46%	18	16	11	8
<u>Area II</u>					
California (10)	37	24	15	12	12
West (11)	46	24	19	9	3
New York (8)	50	10	19	13	8
South (13)	40	18	15	16	12
Industrial (28)	49	14	18	10	9
Border (8)	51	17	13	9	10
New England (7)	57	19	14	6	5
Midwest (15)	44	23	15	11	7
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	44	19	15	12	11
Industrial (52)	47	16	17	11	9
Other (24)	48	22	16	9	5

Given that SALT is a specific, and perhaps confusing, issue to many people, we also asked respondents the more general question of whether or not they favored limiting nuclear by agreement with the Soviet Union. As the table shows, respondents are overwhelmingly in favor of this idea.

Do you favor or oppose an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union limiting nuclear weapons?

Favor	> 74%
Don't know	12
Oppose	14

When asked why they took that position, we found that those who supported such an agreement felt it would reduce the chance of war and bring some control to the arms race.

[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE AGREEMENT BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET UNION LIMITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS] Why do you take that position?

FAVOR

Would decrease chance of war	13%
Nuclear war could be the end	10
Need an agreement	7
Limit weapons, limit arms	6
Need to be in control of these weapons, would give us some kind of control	6
No one would have an edge, keep things equal, limit arms for both sides	5
To stop a nuclear war	5
A step toward peace, a step in the right direction	4
Don't believe in nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons are insane	4
Too much is being spent for weapons and defense	4
We already have enough weapons to destroy each other	3
Good if Russians follow or keep their word	3
We have enough weapons	3
Arms race is getting out of hand	2
Good for our country, good idea	2
Good if it can be policed or enforced properly	2
Would decrease weapons	1
Good if we can get equal terms	1
It won't work	1
Other	15
Don't know	3

People who opposed reaching an agreement overwhelmingly cited a lack of trust in the Russians as the major issue

preventing them from supporting the idea of such an agreement. Quite clearly, the whole "verification" issue that has already been raised by people with doubts about the agreement will be a decisive factor in the public debate.

[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE AGREEMENT BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET UNION LIMITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS] Why do you take that position?

OPPOSE

Can't trust the Russians, Soviets can't be trusted, Russians will never keep their word	51%
U.S. would get the short end of the deal, we give too many concessions and get nothing in return	8
It won't work	6
Russia hasn't lived up to what she has said before	5
Can't police the treaty, impossible to check up on what they're doing and to enforce it	3
Bad idea	3
We should not make any deals	2
We have enough weapons	2
Other	18
Don't know	3

To try to gain some notion of how intensely people felt about the question of concluding an arms agreement, we also asked them how important such an agreement was to them personally. As the table shows, a majority rated such an agreement as very important. The number rating it important has remained relatively stable over the last two years.

How important is it to you personally that the U.S. and the Soviet Union reach an agreement limiting nuclear weapons: very important, important, somewhat important or not important at all?

	<u>Very important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Not important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Today	52%	22	11	10	5
CRI7 1978 IV	52%	24	12	7	5
CRI1 1977 II	56%	21	10	7	6

Demographic breakdowns -- in the Appendix to this report -- show that the percentage assigning great importance to the issue is relatively uniform throughout most demographic and political groups.

Aided awareness

The preceding questions rest on what people already know and feel about arms limitation and SALT. No one can doubt that as the public debate heats up after a treaty is actually

signed people will receive much more information about SALT. This new information may very well lead to changes of position as people discover new facts and hear new arguments.

To try and obtain some reading of what might happen in that circumstance, we presented respondents with a relatively long -- though, of course, grossly simplified -- description of SALT and of some arguments pro- and con-. That description is shown below,

SALT DESCRIPTION

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) were begun ten years ago to limit the number and kinds of nuclear weapons possessed by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

President Nixon signed the SALT I agreement in 1972. It provided for a freeze on the construction of new missile systems and banned anti-missile missiles.

In 1974, President Ford signed an agreement at Vladivostok that limited both countries to 2,400 strategic nuclear weapons.

The new agreement would extend this limit to 2,400 strategic weapons including land-based missiles, submarine-based missiles, heavy bombers and cruise missiles.

2250

Those who favor the new agreement say it stabilizes the nuclear arms race and makes war less likely. They argue that we do not have to trust the Russians to observe the treaty since our intelligence, including spy satellites, will enable us to detect any cheating. They say that the treaty will keep us roughly equal, though different. For example, the Russians tend to have bigger rockets while ours are more accurate. We also have more missiles on submarines.

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SALT DESCRIPTION (continued)

Furthermore, they argue that failure to ratify the treaty would set off a new arms race, force increased defense spending and hurt the economy.

Opponents of the treaty say it would leave us behind in overall strength. They argue that the heavier Russian missiles might be able to knock out our land-based "Minuteman" missiles. Furthermore, they claim the Russians might develop more accuracy to complement the larger size of their missiles. Finally, they say that we cannot trust the Russians to obey the agreement anyway and that we shouldn't sign anything unless we can get a better deal.

After this presentation, we asked respondents whether they favored or opposed the treaty as it had been presented. As the table shows, a majority favored the treaty while about one-fifth of the public opposed it.

Having heard all of this, are you strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed or strongly opposed to signing the new SALT treaty?

Strongly in favor	29%	>	67
Somewhat in favor	38		
Somewhat opposed	12	>	21
Strongly opposed	9		
Don't know	13		

Looking at demographic breakdowns of this new question, we see patterns that are, not surprisingly, much like those for the previous question.

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Having heard all of this, are you strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed or strongly opposed to signing a new SALT treaty?

	Strongly in favor	Somewhat in favor	Somewhat opposed	Strongly opposed	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	29%	38	12	9	13
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	29	37	11	7	17
Independent (37)	28	40	11	11	10
Republican (17)	29	36	15	11	9
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	35	36	12	5	12
Moderate (24)	29	43	8	7	13
Conservative (42)	27	36	15	13	10
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	32	40	11	6	11
Unfavorable (39)	24	60 36	13	14	13
Can't rate (7)	27	27	10	8	28
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	38	33	9	7	13
Good (29)	35	40	10	5	10
Only fair (44)	27	37	12	9	14
Poor (21)	21	36	12	15	16
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	29	70 41	9	8	13
Lean Carter (12)	36	35	13	1	15
Undecided (17)	24	23	11	8	34
Brown (22)	30	41	10	7	12
Lean Brown (5)	38	36	16	3	7
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	28	63 35	11	8	19
Lean Kennedy (9)	29	37	10	4	20
Undecided (11)	27	31	14	8	21
Carter (22)	35	44	7	7	7
Lean Carter (5)	32	36	17	3	11

Favorability toward signing of SALT treaty (continued)

		<u>Strongly in favor</u>	<u>Somewhat in favor</u>	<u>Somewhat opposed</u>	<u>Strongly opposed</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		29%	38	12	9	13
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	28	37	12	7	17
Male	(50)	30	38	11	11	10
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	29	38	12	9	12
Black	(10)	25	31	8	11	25
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	30	48	11	5	7
White collar	(14)	34	39	11	9	7
White collar clerical	(9)	27	41	10	11	11
Government	(4)*	35	35	12	10	8
Skilled blue collar	(14)	27	38	14	6	15
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	30	38	8	10	14
Retired	(26)	27	35	12	11	15
Self-employed	(6)	25	41	15	9	9
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	33	39	13	5	11
English	(20)	30	37	13	11	9
French	(4)*	27	41	10	9	13
German	(17)	31	38	10	10	12
Italian	(5)	39	27	12	12	12
Eastern European	(7)	25	40	14	7	14
Scandinavian	(4)*	19	46	19	10	7
Spanish	(4)*	27	42	6	6	18
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(10)	23	30	11	10	27
Some high school	(15)	29	36	11	7	18
Graduated high school	(32)	27	39	11	10	13
Technical/vocational	(5)	33	35	12	12	8
Some college	(20)	27	39	14	10	10
Graduated college	(12)	36	39	10	8	7
Graduate/professional	(7)	36	40	10	8	6

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Favorability toward signing of SALT treaty (continued)

	Strongly in favor	Somewhat in favor	Somewhat opposed	Strongly opposed	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	29%	38	12	9	13
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	27	39	11	9	14
Catholic (30)	31	38	11	8	12
Jewish (4)*	33	35	9	7	16
Other (4)*	20	24	28	16	13
None (4)*	40	32	6	10	12
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	22	27	8	11	32
\$4-6,999 (11)	27	40	11	8	15
\$7-9,999 (11)	27	36	11	13	12
\$10-14,999 (16)	29	39	12	7	13
\$15-19,999 (18)	32	36	10	8	13
Over \$20,000 (29)	31	41	13	9	7
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	34	36	11	12	8
Family member (13)	31	36	12	9	11
No member (70)	27	38	12	9	15
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	36	38	12	7	8
26-35 (17)	25	40	12	8	17
36-45 (17)	27	43	10	8	12
46-55 (18)	28	36	15	10	12
56-65 (17)	28	37	11	9	16
Over 65 (19)	30	33	11	11	14
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	28	38	12	9	13
Suburban (35)	31	37	11	9	14
Rural (20)	27	37	13	9	14
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast (15)	39	27	12	12	11
Industrial (25)	29	38	11	7	16
Midlands (15)	32	38	11	7	13
South (19)	27	64 37	11	11	14
Central (14)	18	42	14	12	14
Pacific (13)	27	42	11	9	11

Favorability toward signing of SALT treaty (continued)

		<u>Strongly in favor</u>	<u>Somewhat in favor</u>	<u>Somewhat opposed</u>	<u>Strongly opposed</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		29%	38	12	9	13
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	28	38	12	11	12
West	(11)	20	49	12	8	11
New York	(8)	48	21	12	9	10
South	(13)	28	35	12	12	15
Industrial	(28)	31	34	12	6	17
Border	(8)	27	45	9	6	13
New England	(7)	29	33	11	14	13
Midwest	(15)	23	43	13	11	10
<u>Area III</u>						
South	(24)	26	40	11	9	14
Industrial	(52)	33	34	11	8	14
Other	(24)	22	42	13	12	11

When we asked people to pick out things on the card that had helped them make up their minds we found that people who favored the agreement tended to go simply to the core issue -- the arms race and the chances of war might be reduced. People also picked the notion that our technology is sufficient to detect cheating.

[IF STRONGLY FAVOR/OPPOSES SALT TREATY] What one thing on the card was most significant to you in helping you decide about the treaty?

STRONGLY FAVOR

Limit arms, limit production of arms	25%
Limit chances of war	21
Balance of nuclear arms	9

What one thing was most significant to you (continued)

STRONGLY FAVOR (continued)

Stabilize arms race	8
We have technology to detect cheating	8
Prevent new arms race	5
Reduce number of arms	3
Can't trust Russians	3
Nothing on the card	3
Don't know	16

SOMEWHAT FAVOR

Limit arms, limit production of arms	16%
Limit chances of war	14
Balance of nuclear arms	13
Stabilize arms race	12
Prevent new arms race	5
Can't trust the Russians	4
Too difficult to police	3
We have technology to detect cheating	2
Nothing	2
Other	19
Don't know	9

People who opposed the treaty, not surprisingly, picked out the idea that we cannot trust the Russians, though many also cited the idea that the U.S. is not getting a good deal.

[IF STRONGLY FAVOR/OPOSE SALT TREATY] What one thing on the card was most significant to you in helping you decide about the treaty?

SOMEWHAT OPOSE

Can't trust the Russians	61%
U.S. not getting a good deal, making more concessions	16
Limit chances of war	7
Other	16
Don't know	--

What one thing was most significant to you (continued)

STRONGLY OPPOSE

Can't trust the Russians	30%
Russians won't obey or abide by treaty	25
U.S. not getting a good deal	23
Nothing on the card	15
Double talk, too confusing, don't understand	7
Other	--
Don't know	--

We also asked people who indicated that they supported "an agreement to limit nuclear arms" on the earlier general question but who oppose this version of the treaty what, if anything, made them switch. About 8% of the total population were in this group and the reason given again centered on a lack of trust in the Russians or a fear that the Russians could grow too powerful. (Remember the figures shown in the table below are percentages of the 8% in the group; not of the whole population. Thus, 25% is actually about 2% of the total population.)

[IF SUPPORTED ARMS AGREEMENT BUT NOW OPPOSE] Earlier you said you favored an agreement to limit nuclear weapons; now you oppose this one. Why did you switch?

Can't trust the Russians	23%
Russia could easily become stronger than the U.S., would give Russia an edge	16
Understood it better after reading card	7
Can't force the Russians to abide by the treaty, have no means of enforcement	6

Why did you switch? (continued)

Terms are better for the Russians than for the U.S., bad deal for the U.S.	5
Can't police the treaty	2
Other	25
Don't know	16

What if no treaty?

One news commentator has recently argued that perhaps the strongest argument the treaty has going for it in the Senate is that no Senator likes to imagine what would happen if we don't have a treaty. In this survey we tried to find out what our respondents felt would happen if we fail to get a treaty.

As the first table shows, about one-third of the public weren't informed enough to even venture a guess on this topic. Another group felt that the status quo would persist. However, most people felt in some way that defense spending would have to increase and a new arms race would be on.

If the Senate of the United States refuses to approve a new SALT treaty, what do you think will happen?

Nothing will happen, status quo	15%
Have to come up with new approach or solution, more negotiations	10
New arms race, an arms race	7
Russians will get ahead, Russians will become stronger than the U.S., throw us behind Russians	6

If the Senate refuses to approve a new SALT treaty (continued)

Increased defense spending	5
Increased weapons production, countries will go crazy building weapons, will build weapons more rapidly, great production of war materials	5
Increased chance of another war	4
Another war	4
Will strain U.S.-Soviet relations	3
Continued weapons production	2
Continued arms race	2
Go on as before, country will continue as before	2
I am not concerned	1
Other	5
Don't know	30

To try to pin down expectations more accurately, we asked respondents if the chances of a nuclear war would increase or decrease in the absence of a treaty. As the table shows, the plurality volunteered the idea that the chances would not really change, but one-third felt they would increase while virtually no one felt they would decrease.

Do you think the chances of a nuclear war will increase or decrease if the Senate refuses to approve the SALT agreement?

Increase	32%
Decrease	5
Stay the same	44
Don't know	19

Demographic breakdowns show that liberals are more likely than conservatives or moderates to see the chances of a nuclear war increasing if the treaty is not passed. Feelings that the chances of nuclear war will increase are otherwise fairly uniform in most demographic groups.

Do you think the chances of a nuclear war will increase or decrease if the Senate refuses to approve the SALT agreement?

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	32%	5	44	19
<u>Party preference</u>				
Democrats (44)	34	6	37	23
Independents (37)	30	5	49	17
Republicans (17)	31	5	50	15
<u>Political ideology</u>				
Liberal (25)	40	6	38	16
Moderate (24)	26	4	51	19
Conservative (41)	31	6	46	17
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>				
Favorable (53)	35	6	41	19
Unfavorable (39)	28	5	49	19
Can't rate (7)	25	5	43	27
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>				
Excellent (4)*	30	19	33	17
Good (29)	37	4	39	20
Only fair (44)	32	5	46	17
Poor (21)	24	5	49	22
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Carter (18)	34	7	37	22
Lean Carter (5)	35	5	37	24
Undecided (7)	24	3	34	39
Brown (9)	40	6	37	16
Lean Brown (2)*	36	6	47	10

The chances of nuclear war (continued)

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	32%	5	44	19
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Kennedy (23)	38	5	34	24
Lean Kennedy (4)*	32	3	40	25
Undecided (4)*	23	7	39	31
Carter (9)	35	10	39	16
Lean Carter (2)*	15	--	55	30
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)	33	4	39	23
Male (50)	30	6	48	16
<u>Race</u>				
White (88)	31	5	45	19
Black (9)	35	10	30	25
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)	31	6	55	9
White collar (14)	33	5	48	14
White collar clerical (9)	31	3	51	15
Government (4)*	27	5	49	20
Skilled blue collar (14)	37	5	41	17
Unskilled blue collar (14)	34	5	39	22
Retired (26)	31	5	41	23
Self-employed (6)	26	7	52	15
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (10)	32	6	45	18
English (20)	32	4	45	18
French (4)*	41	6	37	16
German (17)	29	3	50	17
Italian (5)	34	7	40	19
Eastern European (7)	34	6	45	15
Scandinavian (4)*	37	4	50	8
Spanish (4)*	26	6	31	37
Italian (29)	30	6	41	23

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The chances of nuclear war (continued)

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		32%	5	44	19
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school	(10)	35	6	31	28
Some high school	(14)	31	7	32	30
High school graduate	(32)	31	5	47	17
Technical/vocational	(5)	33	3	45	18
Some college	(20)	33	5	45	17
College graduate	(11)	24	6	55	14
Graduate/professional	(7)	39	2	52	7
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant	(58)	32	4	45	19
Catholic	(29)	31	7	43	19
Jewish	(4)*	38	4	36	22
Other	(4)*	17	8	58	17
None	(4)*	37	8	35	21
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999	(5)	34	3	29	35
\$4-6,999	(11)	37	8	34	21
\$7-9,999	(11)	30	8	40	22
\$10-14,999	(16)	30	8	46	15
\$15-19,999	(17)	33	3	46	18
Over \$20,000	(29)	33	4	50	13
<u>Labor union membership</u>					
Respondent	(17)	37	7	41	15
Family member	(13)	35	4	42	20
No member	(70)	29	5	45	20
<u>Age</u>					
18-25	(12)	41	6	38	14
26-35	(17)	30	7	43	20
36-45	(17)	29	3	51	18
46-55	(18)	28	5	50	17
56-65	(17)	33	5	39	23
Over 65	(19)	30	6	42	22
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban	(46)	30	5	44	20
Suburban	(35)	32	5	46	17
Rural	(20)	33	5	39	22

The chances of nuclear war (continued)

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		32%	5	44	19
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast	(15)	29	5	47	19
Industrial	(25)	34	6	43	17
Midlands	(15)	38	3	40	19
South	(19)	30	6	42	22
Central	(14)	32	7	42	19
Pacific	(13)	23	3	52	22
<u>Area II</u>					
California	(10)	21	4	49	26
West	(11)	32	7	46	16
New York	(8)	24	5	50	22
South	(13)	31	7	41	22
Industrial	(28)	36	5	39	19
Border	(8)	31	5	46	17
New England	(7)	35	4	46	15
Midwest	(15)	34	5	44	17
<u>Area III</u>					
South	(24)	31	7	41	21
Industrial	(52)	31	5	44	20
Other	(24)	33	5	47	16

Interestingly, voters were somewhat more evenly divided on whether the security of the United States will increase or decrease if the treaty is rejected, though again the largest number felt that it would not be affected. This would seem to indicate that at least part of the current high level of support for the treaty is based on "hope" rather than on a firm belief that the treaty will pay off with actually improved security.

Do you think the security of the United States will increase or decrease if the Senate refuses to ratify the SALT agreement?

Increase	21%
Decrease	22
Stay the same	39
Don't know	19

Interestingly, demographic breakdowns show little difference between groups on this question. Women are slightly inclined to feel security will decrease without the treaty; men are slightly inclined the other way. Feelings that failure to pass a treaty will actually hurt security do increase somewhat as educational levels rise.

Respondents are much more in agreement over what will happen to the defense budget if the SALT treaty is not ratified; they believe it will go up.

Do you think the defense budget will increase or decrease if the Senate refuses to ratify the SALT treaty?

Increase	53%
Decrease	10
Stay the same	18
Don't know	19

Demographic breakdowns show that belief the budget will go up is greater among higher income and better educated respondents. However, few political differences can be seen; Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives all see the budget increasing.

One point closely related to this has been raised by a number of observers. That is, that given the mania in the country for reducing government spending and balancing the budget, the defense department is a logical place to look for cuts. The problem of war is an argument frequently raised against the Constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

When we tested this idea with our respondents, however, we found that less than one-fifth found a lot of truth in it. As we have seen in the Cambridge Report analyses over the last four years, support for increasing defense spending has been on the rise while the desire to cut has waned.

Some people say that the only way the U.S. can ever hope to balance its budget and reduce taxes is to cut down the costs of defense spending. Do you think there is a lot of truth, only some truth or hardly any truth to this argument?

A lot of truth	16%
Only some truth	42
Hardly any truth	23
No truth at all	12
Don't know	7

Demographic breakdowns can be found in the Appendix of this report.

Competition with Russia

Obviously, one factor in deciding where you stand on the SALT treaty is deciding where the U.S. stands compared to the Russians. Critics of the treaty paint an apocalyptic picture of mighty Russian power spreading influence and control all around the world. On the other hand, many observers see the Soviet Union as a nation filled with problems and surrounded by enemies and doubtful allies.

We began our inquiry into how the American people see the issue by asking them to tell us whether they felt the U.S. or the Soviet Union had been more successful in world affairs in recent years. As the table below shows, by a modest plurality Americans chose the U.S.

In the last two years, which major power -- the United States or the Soviet Union -- has been more successful in world affairs?

The United States	42%
Don't know	26
The Soviet Union	32

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Demographic breakdowns show that Democrats are slightly more likely than Republicans to choose the U.S., but that pluralities of both chose the U.S. Feelings that the United States has done better also increase if people feel that President Carter has been doing a good job.

Lower income and less educated respondents tend to be more undecided on this question. The idea that the Soviet Union is doing better -- though always a minority sentiment -- actually increases with education and income, despite the fact that higher income and better educated people are, as we have seen, more likely to be treaty supporters.

In the last two years, which major power -- the United States or the Soviet Union -- has been more successful in world affairs?

	<u>The United States</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>The Soviet Union</u>
<u>Overall</u>	42%	26	32
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	45	28	27
Independent (37)	39	22	38
Republican (17)	37	29	33
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	43	25	32
Moderate (24)	39	30	31
Conservative (42)	43	23	35
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	50	26	24
Unfavorable (39)	32	25	43
Can't rate (7)	30	38	32

Cambridge Survey Research

Which major power has been more successful (continued)

	<u>The United States</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>The Soviet Union</u>
<u>Overall</u>	42%	26	32
Carter job performance rating			
Excellent (4)*	59	21	20
Good (29)	54	26	20
Only fair (44)	40	26	34
Poor (21)	26	27	47
Democratic primary for President			
Carter (44)	53	27	20
Lean Carter (12)	49	37	15
Undecided (17)	32	35	33
Brown (22)	41	20	39
Lean Brown (5)	40	27	33
Democratic primary for President			
Kennedy (53)	45	27	28
Lean Kennedy (9)	35	37	29
Undecided (11)	49	28	23
Carter (22)	50	25	25
Lean Carter (5)	43	39	18
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (50)	41	31	28
Male (50)	42	22	36
<u>Race</u>			
White (89)	41	25	34
Black (10)	44	36	20
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	52	22	27
White collar (14)	40	23	37
White collar clerical (9)	46	19	35
Government (4)*	47	13	40
Skilled blue collar (14)	43	28	29
Unskilled blue collar (14)	41	27	32
Retired (26)	41	30	29
Self-employed (6)	34	29	37

Which major power has been more successful (continued)

	<u>The United States</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>The Soviet Union</u>
<u>Overall</u>	42%	26	32
<u>Ethnic background</u>			
Irish (11)	44	23	33
English (20)	42	21	38
French (4)*	42	32	27
German (17)	42	28	30
Italian (5)	36	29	35
Eastern European (7)	39	21	40
Scandinavian (4)*	47	28	25
Spanish (4)*	45	33	21
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (10)	47	35	18
Some high school (15)	42	35	24
High school graduate (32)	40	27	33
Technical/vocational (5)	34	30	36
Some college (20)	45	18	37
Graduated college (12)	38	23	39
Graduate/professional (7)	45	18	37
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	42	28	30
Catholic (30)	42	25	33
Jewish (4)*	32	26	42
Other (4)*	34	25	42
None (4)*	55	13	32
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	29	54	17
\$4-6,999 (11)	43	30	27
\$7-9,999 (11)	40	33	28
\$10-14,999 (16)	46	23	31
\$15-19,999 (18)	43	20	37
Over \$20,000 (29)	43	22	35
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	41	26	33
Family member (13)	46	24	30
No member (70)	41	27	32

Which major power has been more successful (continued)

	<u>The United States</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>The Soviet Union</u>
<u>Overall</u>	42%	26	32
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	45	19	35
26-35 (17)	41	23	36
36-45 (17)	48	26	26
46-55 (18)	38	25	37
56-65 (17)	41	31	29
Over 65 (19)	40	32	29
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	43	26	31
Suburban (35)	40	27	33
Rural (20)	42	27	31
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	29	32	38
Industrial (25)	46	26	28
Midlands (15)	55	22	23
South (19)	38	29	33
Central (14)	44	25	31
Pacific (13)	35	23	42
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	34	24	42
West (11)	44	22	34
New York (8)	24	41	35
South (13)	39	29	32
Industrial (28)	46	27	27
Border (8)	46	24	31
New England (7)	34	23	43
Midwest (15)	50	24	26
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	42	27	32
Industrial (52)	42	27	31
Other (24)	41	24	35

However, when respondents are asked not about success in the world but about nuclear arms development, we see a different picture. A slim plurality of our respondents feel we are behind the Soviets in developing nuclear arms.

Do you think we are currently ahead of or behind the
Russians in nuclear arms development?

Ahead	25%
The same	22
Behind	31
Don't know	22

Of course, many people argue these days that "ahead" and "behind" don't really mean all that much when both sides have enough weapons to destroy each other several times over. When we raised this point, the table shows, people were almost evenly divided with a slim plurality coming down on the side that the distinction did not in fact mean much.

Some people say that we are falling behind the Soviet Union and that we need to build more weapons. Other people say that both we and the Soviet Union have enough weapons to destroy each other totally and, therefore, it is pointless to talk of being ahead or behind. First of all, do you think it means anything to talk about being "ahead" or "behind" these days or not?

Yes	36%
Not sure	19
No	45

When we compare the two questions, however, we find that it is the people who feel the distinction is meaningful who are most likely to feel that we are behind at this time. Thus, the perception of being behind is strongest among those who care.

	<u>Those who feel we are:</u>			
	<u>Ahead</u>	<u>Even</u>	<u>Behind</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
Those who feel it matters	29%	16	42	13
Those who feel it doesn't matter	24%	28	25	23

Looking at the demographic breakdowns of whether people feel we are ahead or behind, we find that Republicans and conservatives are the most inclined of political groups to feel that the U.S. is behind. Less educated respondents are more undecided on the question, but also they are proportionately more likely than the well educated to feel that we are behind.

Regionally, the South and Central areas -- traditionally most conservative -- are most likely to feel that the U.S. is behind Russia.

However, even the people who feel the U.S. is currently ahead of the Soviet Union tend to see the Russians making progress and catching up. As the table shows, two-thirds of those who currently see us as being ahead see the Russians catching up.

[IF AHEAD] Do you think the Russians are catching up, staying about the same distance behind or actually falling farther behind?

Catching up	62%
Staying about the same distance	26
Falling farther behind	5
Don't know	7

All in all, this widespread perception that the Russians are either ahead or gaining on us militarily can only contribute to the unease with which some people view the treaty. Since it appears that "trust" in the Russians is the major obstacle to treaty support in the minds of many opponents, a further growth of the perception of Russian military strength can only hurt chances for ratification.

Arguments pro and con

We also tested reaction to several arguments in the arms control area. The first of these was the idea that the treaty will leave us weaker than the Russians. As the table shows, this is rejected by more than a two-to-one margin, but many people are undecided and could be swayed either way.

The new SALT agreement will leave us weaker than the Russians.

Agree	22%
Don't know	31
Disagree	47

Demographic breakdowns show that even Republicans and conservatives reject the idea that the treaty will leave us weaker, but by smaller margins than other political groups. People favorable to Jimmy Carter are more convinced that the treaty will not leave us weaker than people who dislike him. Indecision is particularly great among women, blacks and poorer, less educated respondents.

Would you agree or disagree: The new SALT agreement will leave us weaker than the Russians.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	22%	31	47
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	20	36	45
Independent (37)	24	26	50
Republican (17)	25	26	50
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	18	30	52
Moderate (24)	16	37	47
Conservative (42)	30	24	46
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	16	31	53
Unfavorable (39)	31	27	42
Can't rate (7)	13	44	43
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	20	30	50
Good (29)	18	29	53
Only fair (44)	19	33	48
Poor (21)	32	29	39
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	20	32	48
Lean Carter (12)	11	41	48
Undecided (17)	21	55	25
Brown (22)	24	24	52
Lean Brown (5)	17	31	52
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	24	33	43
Lean Kennedy (9)	17	37	47
Undecided (11)	12	51	37
Carter (22)	14	31	55
Lean Carter (5)	21	32	47

...SALT will leave us weaker than Russians (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		22%	31	47
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		18	34	48
Male (50)		25	28	47
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		22	29	49
Black (10)		19	48	33
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		16	26	58
White collar (14)		18	25	57
White collar clerical (9)		22	31	47
Government (4) *		28	29	44
Skilled blue collar (14)		26	28	46
Unskilled blue collar (14)		22	31	46
Retired (26)		22	34	43
Self-employed (6)		24	16	60
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		19	30	52
English (20)		23	25	52
French (4) *		19	26	55
German (17)		17	29	55
Italian (5)		26	22	52
Eastern European (7)		19	34	47
Scandinavian (4) *		25	30	46
Spanish (4) *		24	49	27
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		23	45	32
Some high school (15)		24	38	38
Graduated high school (32)		19	31	50
Technical/vocational (5)		25	31	45
Some college (20)		26	25	49
Graduated college (12)		15	27	58
Graduate/professional (7)		20	20	60
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		22	31	47
Catholic (30)		21	30	49
Jewish (4) *		15	40	46
Other (4) *		32	33	35
None (4) *		21	29	50

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...SALT will leave us weaker than Russians (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		22%	31	47
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	22	50	27
\$4-6,999	(11)	15	43	42
\$7-9,999	(11)	25	34	41
\$10-14,999	(16)	23	31	46
\$15-19,999	(18)	21	29	50
\$20,000 or over	(29)	20	22	57
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	25	25	50
Family member	(13)	23	26	52
No member	(70)	21	34	46
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	22	31	48
26-35	(17)	21	31	48
36-45	(17)	18	30	53
46-55	(18)	25	29	46
56-65	(17)	21	33	47
Over 65	(19)	23	33	44
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	22	34	45
Suburban	(35)	21	29	51
Rural	(20)	24	30	46
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	21	36	43
Industrial	(25)	20	27	54
Midlands	(15)	17	32	52
South	(19)	21	36	43
Central	(14)	32	28	40
Pacific	(13)	22	31	48
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	21	33	46
West	(11)	33	25	42
New York	(8)	17	46	37
South	(13)	24	38	37
Industrial	(28)	17	29	54
Border	(8)	20	24	56
New England	(7)	25	26	50
Midwest	(15)	22	32	47

...SALT will leave us weaker than Russians (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	22%	31	47
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	25	32	43
Industrial (52)	18	32	50
Other (24)	26	28	46

A second question tested the idea that one cannot trust the Russians to keep an agreement, so there is no point in having a SALT treaty. Since this is the central point on which most opposition to SALT seems to hinge, it is disturbing to note that agreement -- i.e.: potential opposition to SALT -- is much higher than on the actual SALT questions. As the table shows, while a plurality still back SALT, it is a razor thin six point margin.

There is no point in negotiating a SALT agreement since the Russians won't keep their part of the bargain anyway.

Agree	37%
Don't know	21
Disagree	43

In some ways, it seems to us, this question may represent a better barometer of where people will end up after a long SALT debate than the actual SALT questions we saw earlier. It is, therefore, essential that the Administration clearly

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make the point over and over again that we don't have to trust the Russians to verify SALT.

Looking at the demographic breakdowns, we see surprisingly little difference between Republicans and Democrats. Conservatives actually agree with the statement, while a plurality of liberals reject it. However, it is notable that even one-third of the liberals accept the idea. Disagreement increases with income and education; it is poorer and less educated voters who are least willing to trust the Soviet Union to abide by the treaty. Mistrust also increases as the age of the respondent increases.

Would you agree or disagree: There is no point in negotiating a SALT agreement since the Russians won't keep their part of the bargain anyway?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	37%	21	43
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	41	31	46
Independent (37)	38	16	46
Republican (17)	40	15	45
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	31	22	48
Moderate (24)	30	26	44
Conservative (42)	44	17	40
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	31	20	49
Unfavorable (39)	46	19	35
Can't rate (7)	29	36	34

Current public attitudes on SALT
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...since the Russians won't keep their part of the bargain (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	37%	21	43
Carter job performance rating			
Excellent (4)*	37	17	46
Good (29)	28	22	50
Only fair (44)	38	19	43
Poor (21)	46	23	31
Democratic primary for President			
Carter (44)	32	25	44
Lean Carter (12)	37	25	37
Undecided (17)	40	35	25
Brown (22)	33	21	46
Lean Brown (5)	41	26	34
Democratic primary for President			
Kennedy (53)	37	26	37
Lean Kennedy (9)	27	26	47
Undecided (11)	36	41	24
Carter (22)	27	20	53
Lean Carter (5)	53	17	29
Sex			
Female (50)	34	23	43
Male (50)	40	19	42
Race			
White (89)	36	19	45
Black (10)	39	39	23
Occupation			
Professional (5)	25	10	65
White collar (14)	30	18	52
White collar clerical (9)	32	22	47
Government (4)*	37	18	46
Skilled blue collar (14)	40	22	39
Unskilled blue collar (14)	31	25	45
Retired (26)	47	19	35
Self-employed (6)	39	14	47

...since the Russians won't keep their part of the bargain (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		37%	21	43
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	36	21	43
English	(20)	37	13	50
French	(4)*	38	18	44
German	(17)	35	19	45
Italian	(5)	39	19	42
Eastern European	(7)	36	21	43
Scandinavian	(4)*	36	15	49
Spanish	(4)*	38	41	22
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	49	21	30
Some high school	(15)	39	27	34
Graduated high school	(32)	38	22	40
Technical/vocational	(5)	31	26	43
Some college	(20)	35	20	45
Graduated college	(12)	28	14	58
Graduate/professional	(7)	28	12	60
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant	(58)	37	20	42
Catholic	(30)	36	22	42
Jewish	(4)*	31	34	35
Other	(4)*	47	13	40
None	(4)*	34	16	50
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	48	29	23
\$4-6,999	(11)	41	25	34
\$7-9,999	(11)	43	21	36
\$10-14,999	(16)	35	18	47
\$15-19,999	(18)	34	21	46
\$20,000 or over	(29)	31	18	52
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	37	19	45
Family member	(13)	30	25	46
No member	(70)	38	21	41

...since the Russians won't keep their part of the bargain (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	37%	21	43
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	32	20	48
26-35 (17)	30	27	44
36-45 (17)	32	23	45
46-55 (18)	36	20	44
56-65 (17)	37	17	46
Over 65 (19)	49	18	33
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	34	26	40
Suburban (35)	39	17	45
Rural (20)	40	16	44
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	39	23	38
Industrial (25)	31	18	51
Midlands (15)	30	22	48
South (19)	40	25	36
Central (14)	48	17	35
Pacific (13)	37	20	44
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	39	21	41
West (11)	40	19	41
New York (8)	33	36	31
South (13)	44	22	35
Industrial (28)	30	21	49
Border (8)	29	24	47
New England (7)	44	10	46
Midwest (15)	42	18	41
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	39	23	38
Industrial (52)	33	22	45
Other (24)	43	16	42

Finally, we tested the idea that even if we don't have a SALT agreement we should take some steps on our own to reduce the arms race. While over one-third of the people accepted this, a plurality of respondents rejected it. It seems crystal clear that most people are not, at the moment, in a trusting or disarming mood.

Would you agree or disagree with the following statement:
Even if we can't reach an agreement with the Russians, we
should take some unilateral steps to reduce arms to show
that we really want peace.

Agree	38%
Don't know	15
Disagree	48

Demographic breakdowns in the appendix show the same general patterns as other questions in this section.

Conclusion

This survey clearly shows that the American people at this time support a SALT agreement and want it ratified. However, much of that support is shaky and laced with mistrust. Nonetheless, support seems deeper than we might have imagined. The essential issue for most Americans does not appear to have anything to do with the details of the agreement itself; it boils down to the essential question: can we trust the Russians to keep the treaty?

As we see, current opponents of the treaty almost universally cite this as at least one reason for opposition. Even many current treaty supporters, however, are doubtful.

In presenting the treaty to the American people, therefore, supporters have to demonstrate that "trust" is not an element of the treaty. They must show that the U.S. can monitor and respond to any cheating before any serious damage or threat of damage arises.

The President will have to carry the argument on this point. It seems clear that with the exception of this point that support due to fear of nuclear war and an arms race is quite great and should be maintainable.

SALT APPENDIX

SALT

Do you think the defense budget will increase or decrease if the Senate refuses to ratify the SALT treaty?

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	53%	10	18	19
<u>Party preference</u>				
Democrats (44)	49	11	16	23
Independents (37)	58	10	19	13
Republicans (17)	54	9	21	16
<u>Political ideology</u>				
Liberal (25)	58	14	13	14
Moderate (24)	54	5	23	19
Conservative (41)	54	11	19	16
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>				
Favorable (53)	53	11	16	20
Unfavorable (39)	55	8	21	16
Can't rate (7)	46	12	22	20
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>				
Excellent (4)*	49	11	22	18
Good (29)	52	9	19	20
Only fair (44)	57	11	15	16
Poor (21)	51	8	22	19
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Carter (19)	44	12	19	24
Lean Carter (5)	56	3	19	22
Brown (9)	58	16	14	13
Lean Brown (2)*	43	21	13	23
Undecided (7)	50	7	10	33
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Kennedy (23)	51	11	15	23
Lean Kennedy (4)*	46	11	20	23
Carter (9)	49	14	18	19
Lean Carter (2)*	53	4	17	25
Undecided (4)*	46	10	15	28
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)	51	10	19	21
Male (50)	56	11	18	16
<u>Race</u>				
White (88)	55	10	18	17
Black (9)	43	11	18	28

SALT

Defense budget if SALT not ratified (continued)

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional	(5)	65	15	8	12
White collar	(14)	61	9	20	10
White collar clerical	(9)	55	7	24	14
Government	(4)*	52	13	18	17
Skilled blue collar	(14)	55	14	15	16
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	44	15	20	21
Retired	(26)	50	7	19	23
Self-employed	(6)	62	7	16	15
Other	(9)	50	5	15	29
<u>Ethnic background</u>					
Irish	(11)	52	10	21	17
English	(20)	59	8	16	17
French	(4)*	61	7	16	16
German	(17)	51	12	19	17
Italian	(5)	56	17	16	11
Eastern European	(7)	71	6	12	12
Scandinavian	(4)*	59	14	16	11
Spanish	(4)*	38	13	25	25
Italian	(29)	47	10	20	24
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school	(10)	46	13	11	30
Some high school	(15)	44	13	17	26
High school graduate	(32)	50	11	21	17
Technical/vocational	(5)	56	7	17	20
Some college	(20)	59	7	19	15
College graduate	(11)	68	7	15	10
Graduate/professional	(7)	57	10	23	10
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant	(58)	50	9	21	20
Catholic	(29)	55	12	16	17
Jewish	(4)*	75	4	9	11
Other	(4)*	52	10	16	22
None	(4)*	70	10	12	8

SALT

Defense budget if SALT not ratified (continued)

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999	(5)	38	6	18	38
\$4-6,999	(11)	48	15	14	23
\$7-9,999	(11)	49	8	19	23
\$10-14,999	(16)	56	13	16	15
\$15-19,999	(17)	58	7	20	16
Over \$20,000	(29)	59	11	18	12
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent	(17)	56	10	18	16
Family member	(13)	55	13	16	16
No member	(70)	52	9	19	20
<u>Age</u>					
18-25	(12)	68	11	11	10
26-35	(17)	51	11	20	19
36-45	(17)	54	12	19	16
46-55	(18)	55	12	16	17
56-65	(17)	47	9	22	22
Over 65	(19)	49	8	20	24
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban	(45)	57	10	14	19
Suburban	(35)	53	11	21	15
Rural	(20)	45	8	23	24
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast	(15)	67	3	15	15
Industrial	(25)	46	17	19	18
Midlands	(15)	55	10	19	16
South	(19)	47	6	22	25
Central	(14)	58	13	14	15
Pacific	(13)	54	8	17	21
<u>Area II</u>					
California	(10)	52	9	18	21
West	(11)	62	10	15	13
New York	(8)	74	1	11	14
South	(13)	46	8	21	25
Industrial	(28)	45	16	20	19
Border	(8)	59	6	15	19
New England	(7)	58	5	23	15
Midwest	(15)	54	10	18	18

SALT

Defense budget if SALT not ratified (continued)

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		53%	10	18	19
<u>Area III</u>					
South	(24)	52	7	19	22
Industrial	(52)	51	12	19	18
Other	(24)	60	9	16	15

SALT

Do you think the security of the United States will increase or decrease if the Senate refuses to ratify the SALT agreement?

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	21%	22	39	19
<u>Party preference</u>				
Democrat (44)	20	22	35	23
Independent (37)	23	21	41	14
Republican (17)	18	23	40	20
<u>Political ideology</u>				
Liberal (26)	21	25	38	17
Moderate (24)	16	22	43	19
Conservative (42)	23	23	38	17
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>				
Favorable (54)	21	25	35	19
Unfavorable (39)	20	19	43	19
Can't rate (7)	17	15	42	26
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>				
Excellent (4)*	29	24	36	11
Good (29)	22	25	32	20
Only fair (44)	19	23	41	17
Poor (21)	21	15	44	21
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Carter (44)	21	22	37	21
Lean Carter (12)	22	27	29	22
Undecided (17)	14	16	30	40
Brown (22)	21	26	37	16
Lean Brown (5)	28	25	40	7
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Kennedy (53)	20	23	33	24
Lean Kennedy (9)	19	24	37	20
Undecided (11)	26	19	26	29
Carter (22)	18	22	43	17
Lean Carter (5)	17	15	43	25

SALT

The security of the United States (continued)

		Increase	Decrease	Stay the same	Don't Know
<u>Sex</u>					
Female	(50)	19	24	34	23
Male	(50)	23	19	43	15
<u>Race</u>					
White	(89)	20	22	40	19
Black	(10)	27	19	29	25
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional	(5)	21	36	33	10
White collar	(14)	23	21	44	13
White collar clerical	(9)	14	23	50	14
Government	(4)*	20	20	42	18
Skilled blue collar	(14)	24	22	38	16
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	26	21	29	24
Retired	(26)	17	22	39	22
Self-employed	(6)	25	19	40	16
<u>Ethnic background</u>					
Irish	(11)	19	22	39	20
English	(20)	20	25	40	15
French	(4)*	27	26	29	18
German	(17)	17	21	42	20
Italian	(5)	24	26	37	14
Eastern European	(7)	25	20	42	13
Scandinavian	(4)*	23	25	37	15
Spanish	(4)*	25	9	34	33
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school	(10)	18	24	25	33
Some high school	(15)	22	16	34	28
Graduated high school	(32)	22	20	43	16
Technical/vocational	(5)	15	29	39	17
Some college	(20)	23	24	35	18
Graduated college	(12)	21	22	45	11
Graduate/professional	(7)	11	27	51	10
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant	(58)	19	22	39	20
Catholic	(30)	22	23	37	18
Jewish	(4)*	20	21	40	19
Other	(4)*	22	22	39	17
None	(4)*	26	18	35	21

The Security of the United States (continued)

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999	(5)	17	22	21	41
\$4-6,999	(11)	18	22	37	22
\$7-9,999	(11)	26	18	33	23
\$10-14,999	(16)	20	24	39	17
\$15-19,999	(18)	21	23	38	18
\$20,000 or over	(29)	22	24	43	12
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent	(17)	21	21	43	15
Family member	(13)	21	24	33	22
No member	(70)	21	21	38	20
<u>Age</u>					
18-25	(12)	25	27	35	14
26-35	(17)	25	19	38	18
36-45	(17)	18	23	43	16
46-55	(18)	20	19	42	19
56-65	(17)	20	24	36	19
Over 65	(19)	16	21	37	27
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban	(46)	22	20	40	18
Suburban	(35)	21	21	40	18
Rural	(20)	16	27	33	24
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast	(15)	23	16	40	22
Industrial	(25)	22	23	39	16
Midlands	(15)	15	32	36	17
South	(19)	19	19	36	25
Central	(14)	27	19	37	17
Pacific	(13)	17	20	44	19
<u>Area II</u>					
California	(10)	18	20	42	21
West	(11)	25	21	39	15
New York	(8)	23	11	40	26
South	(13)	20	19	35	26
Industrial	(28)	20	26	36	18
Border	(8)	19	25	39	17
New England	(7)	21	21	42	17
Midwest	(15)	20	23	41	17
<u>Area III</u>					
South	(24)	21	20	37	22
Industrial	(52)	20	23	38	19
Other	(24)	22	21	41	16

SALT

Do you think we are currently ahead of or behind the Russians in nuclear arms development?

	<u>Ahead</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Behind</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	25%	22	31	22
<u>Party preference</u>				
Democrat (44)	26	20	28	25
Independent (37)	27	23	31	19
Republican (17)	18	26	40	16
<u>Political ideology</u>				
Liberal (26)	30	21	28	20
Moderate (24)	25	27	25	23
Conservative (42)	23	20	38	19
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>				
Favorable (54)	28	22	27	24
Unfavorable (39)	22	21	39	18
Can't rate (7)	19	29	20	32
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>				
Excellent (4)*	38	22	20	19
Good (29)	30	21	27	22
Only fair (44)	25	24	29	23
Poor (21)	17	20	44	19
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Carter (44)	34	15	27	24
Lean Carter (12)	18	35	19	28
Undecided (17)	17	19	36	27
Brown (22)	24	24	28	24
Lean Brown (5)	28	17	27	28
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Kennedy (53)	25	18	31	26
Lean Kennedy (9)	23	37	21	19
Undecided (11)	24	20	24	33
Carter (22)	33	17	26	25
Lean Carter (5)	25	29	21	25

SALT

Ahead or behind Russians in development (continued)

		<u>Ahead</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Behind</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		25%	22	31	22
<u>Sex</u>					
Female (50)		21	21	32	26
Male (50)		29	23	31	18
<u>Race</u>					
White (89)		25	22	33	21
Black (10)		25	20	23	33
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional (5)		24	25	32	19
White collar (14)		29	24	30	17
White collar clerical (9)		31	28	23	19
Government (4)*		28	19	36	17
Skilled blue collar (14)		21	24	35	20
Unskilled blue collar (14)		24	27	27	23
Retired (26)		25	17	35	23
Self-employed (6)		20	14	40	26
<u>Ethnic background</u>					
Irish (11)		21	22	31	26
English (20)		28	20	33	19
French (4)*		29	18	36	17
German (17)		19	26	35	21
Italian (5)		31	25	20	24
Eastern European (7)		31	25	25	19
Scandinavian (4)*		33	6	40	21
Spanish (4)*		29	23	25	23
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school (10)		21	15	32	32
Some high school (15)		27	20	24	29
Graduated high school (32)		23	25	32	21
Technical/vocational (5)		24	30	25	21
Some college (20)		27	21	36	17
Graduated college (12)		25	25	32	18
Graduate/professional (7)		33	16	33	18
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)		25	19	34	22
Catholic (30)		24	27	29	20
Jewish (4)*		36	21	22	21
Other (4)*		16	30	26	28
None (4)*		35	13	27	25

SALT

Ahead or behind Russians in development (continued)

		<u>Ahead</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Behind</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		25%	22	31	22
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999	(5)	17	20	33	30
\$4-6,999	(11)	23	20	32	25
\$7-9,999	(11)	27	16	29	28
\$10-14,999	(16)	27	25	29	18
\$15-19,999	(18)	26	22	32	20
\$20,000 or over	(29)	26	23	32	19
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent	(17)	31	23	26	21
Family member	(13)	21	27	30	22
No member	(70)	24	21	33	22
<u>Age</u>					
18-25	(12)	27	23	30	21
26-35	(17)	24	24	30	22
36-45	(17)	21	26	32	22
46-55	(18)	26	20	31	23
56-65	(17)	25	18	36	22
Over 65	(19)	27	21	29	23
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban	(46)	27	22	30	20
Suburban	(35)	23	24	31	22
Rural	(20)	22	19	33	26
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast	(15)	24	18	26	32
Industrial	(25)	25	30	28	17
Midlands	(15)	32	20	26	22
South	(19)	23	17	35	26
Central	(14)	21	18	43	19
Pacific	(13)	25	24	32	19
<u>Area II</u>					
California	(10)	25	25	32	19
West	(11)	24	17	43	17
New York	(8)	27	20	18	35
South	(13)	25	12	39	25
Industrial	(28)	26	28	28	18
Border	(8)	20	27	28	25
New England	(7)	22	19	33	27
Midwest	(15)	27	22	29	22

SALT

Ahead or behind Russians in development (continued)

	<u>Ahead</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Behind</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	25%	22	31	22
<u>Area III</u>				
South (24)	23	18	34	25
Industrial (52)	26	25	27	21
Other (24)	24	19	37	21

SALT

Do you favor or oppose an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union limiting nuclear weapons?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	74%	12	14
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	75	13	12
Independent (37)	74	11	15
Republican (17)	69	12	19
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	76	13	11
Moderate (24)	77	12	10
Conservative (42)	73	9	18
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	77	13	10
Unfavorable (39)	69	11	21
Can't rate (7)	72	19	9
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	77	9	13
Good (29)	81	12	8
Only fair (44)	73	13	14
Poor (21)	67	11	22
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	78	12	9
Lean Carter (12)	73	14	14
Undecided (17)	67	18	15
Brown (22)	77	8	15
Lean Brown (5)	77	13	10
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	75	13	12
Lean Kennedy (9)	69	18	13
Undecided (11)	67	14	19
Carter (22)	83	8	9
Lean Carter (5)	72	14	14

SALT

Agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union limiting nuclear weapons
(continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		74%	12	14
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		72	16	12
Male (50)		75	9	16
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		75	11	14
Black (10)		64	22	15
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		73	11	16
White collar (14)		83	7	10
White collar clerical (9)		78	10	12
Government (4)*		73	11	16
Skilled blue collar (14)		73	12	15
Unskilled blue collar (14)		73	14	13
Retired (26)		70	13	17
Self-employed (6)		75	7	18
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		76	10	14
English (20)		77	8	15
French (4)*		77	2	21
German (17)		74	12	14
Italian (5)		85	3	13
Eastern European (7)		72	22	7
Scandinavian (4)*		86	7	8
Spanish (4)*		60	24	16
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		65	19	16
Some high school (15)		67	20	13
Graduated high school (32)		76	11	13
Technical/vocational (5)		73	11	17
Some college (20)		74	10	17
Graduated college (12)		84	7	9
Graduate/professional (7)		77	8	15
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		72	13	15
Catholic (30)		76	12	12
Jewish (4)*		78	17	6
Other (4)*		72	5	23
None (4)*		77	14	9

SALT

Agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union limiting nuclear weapons (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		74%	12	14
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	63	25	12
\$4-6,999	(11)	74	16	11
\$7-9,999	(11)	68	15	17
\$10-14,999	(16)	76	11	13
\$15-19,999	(18)	76	10	14
\$20,000 or over	(29)	81	8	12
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	75	11	15
Family member	(13)	72	13	15
No member	(70)	74	13	14
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	79	11	10
26-35	(17)	69	16	15
36-45	(17)	76	12	12
46-55	(18)	75	11	14
56-65	(17)	75	13	12
Over 65	(19)	72	11	18
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	74	13	13
Suburban	(35)	75	11	14
Rural	(20)	71	13	17
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	71	14	15
Industrial	(25)	73	14	13
Midlands	(15)	82	9	9
South	(19)	72	14	15
Central	(14)	73	9	18
Pacific	(13)	72	13	15
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	66	16	18
West	(11)	79	8	13
New York	(8)	70	16	14
South	(13)	68	15	18
Industrial	(28)	75	14	11
Border	(8)	77	11	12
New England	(7)	73	11	17
Midwest	(15)	78	7	15

SALT

Agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union limiting nuclear weapons
(continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	74%	12	14
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	71	14	15
Industrial (52)	74	14	12
Other (24)	77	7	17

SALT

How important is it to you personally that the U.S. and the Soviet Union reach an agreement limiting nuclear weapons: very important, important, somewhat important or not important at all?

	Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Not important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	52%	22	11	10	5
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	52	24	11	8	6
Independent (37)	53	20	12	11	3
Republican (17)	49	22	11	14	3
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	56	20	12	8	4
Moderate (24)	57	17	10	11	5
Conservative (42)	48	25	12	12	4
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	57	19	13	8	4
Unfavorable (39)	45	26	11	14	4
Can't rate (7)	55	23	6	11	5
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>					
Excellent (4) *	69	7	13	8	3
Good (29)	58	19	10	8	5
Only fair (44)	49	24	13	10	4
Poor (21)	46	27	9	15	4
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	57	20	11	6	6
Lean Carter (12)	50	19	11	13	7
Undecided (17)	43	29	7	11	9
Brown (22)	46	30	13	7	5
Lean Brown (5)	60	24	10	3	4
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	52	22	12	8	7
Lean Kennedy (9)	59	29	2	5	6
Undecided (11)	44	28	11	6	11
Carter (22)	52	24	12	7	6
Lean Carter (5)	46	23	11	21	--

SALT

Importance of U.S. and Soviet Union reaching an agreement (continued)

		Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Not important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		52%	22	11	10	5
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	51	25	10	8	6
Male	(50)	52	19	13	13	3
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	52	23	12	10	4
Black	(10)	52	13	11	15	9
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	51	20	19	8	1
White collar	(14)	54	21	14	9	3
White collar clerical	(9)	51	23	10	13	4
Government	(4)*	54	25	11	9	2
Skilled blue collar	(14)	50	24	12	10	4
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	51	24	8	11	6
Retired	(26)	53	20	10	12	5
Self-employed	(6)	48	30	14	7	1
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	46	29	10	8	7
English	(20)	50	25	12	10	3
French	(4)*	62	13	8	13	4
German	(17)	59	20	10	8	3
Italian	(5)	50	18	19	9	4
Eastern European	(7)	52	22	13	9	4
Scandinavian	(4)*	67	19	2	8	4
Spanish	(4)*	38	20	10	20	12
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(10)	50	23	8	10	10
Some high school	(15)	48	23	11	10	8
Graduated high school	(32)	52	21	13	10	4
Technical/vocational	(5)	47	25	11	15	1
Some college	(20)	57	19	11	11	3
Graduated college	(12)	50	24	13	10	3
Graduate/professional	(7)	54	23	11	11	2
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant	(58)	52	22	11	10	5
Catholic	(30)	51	23	12	10	4
Jewish	(4)*	55	17	17	9	2
Other	(4)*	46	25	9	20	—
None	(4)*	47	23	12	13	5

SALT

Importance of U.S. and Soviet Union reaching an agreement (continued)

		Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Not important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		52%	22	11	10	5
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(5)	53	24	6	8	10
\$4-6,999	(11)	55	18	12	8	7
\$7-9,999	(11)	50	19	12	17	2
\$10-14,999	(16)	54	21	9	10	6
\$15-19,999	(18)	51	24	10	11	4
\$20,000 or over	(29)	53	23	14	8	3
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(17)	56	18	9	15	3
Family member	(13)	51	26	9	9	4
No member	(70)	51	22	13	9	5
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(12)	53	21	14	8	4
26-35	(17)	44	17	14	18	7
36-45	(17)	50	24	14	8	4
46-55	(18)	55	23	10	9	3
56-65	(17)	53	25	12	7	3
Over 65	(19)	55	22	7	11	6
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(46)	53	20	11	11	5
Suburban	(35)	51	22	13	9	4
Rural	(20)	50	27	8	11	5
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	46	18	11	17	7
Industrial	(25)	51	23	15	8	3
Midlands	(15)	63	18	6	11	3
South	(19)	51	22	11	9	7
Central	(14)	50	27	13	9	1
Pacific	(13)	49	24	11	11	6
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	49	20	14	11	7
West	(11)	52	26	9	11	2
New York	(8)	44	17	13	17	9
South	(13)	52	20	8	10	10
Industrial	(28)	59	18	12	7	4
Border	(8)	44	34	15	7	1
New England	(7)	49	20	10	17	5
Midwest	(15)	48	27	12	13	1

SALT

Importance of U.S. and Soviet Union reaching an agreement (continued)

	<u>Very</u> <u>important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>important</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>important at all</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	52%	22	11	10	5
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	48	26	12	8	6
Industrial (52)	53	20	12	10	5
Other (24)	53	23	9	13	2

SALT

Some people say that the only way the U.S. can ever hope to balance its budget and reduce taxes is to cut down the costs of defense spending. Do you think there is a lot of truth, only some truth or hardly any truth to this argument?

	<u>A lot of truth</u>	<u>Only some truth</u>	<u>Hardly any truth</u>	<u>No truth at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	16%	42	23	12	7
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	18	40	21	11	9
Independent (37)	16	44	24	12	4
Republican (17)	10	41	28	16	5
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	26	43	19	6	6
Moderate (24)	15	47	21	12	6
Conservative (42)	10	38	29	17	6
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	16	45	21	11	7
Unfavorable (39)	15	40	28	13	5
Can't rate (7)	16	36	13	18	17
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	21	38	28	5	8
Good (29)	16	45	19	12	8
Only fair (44)	16	43	25	11	5
Poor (21)	15	37	25	17	7
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	16	41	22	12	9
Lean Carter (12)	15	49	17	9	10
Undecided (17)	27	37	10	12	14
Brown (22)	16	38	30	9	7
Lean Brown (5)	24	31	34	11	--
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	20	39	21	10	10
Lean Kennedy (9)	21	37	20	11	12
Undecided (11)	17	39	16	19	9
Carter (22)	15	40	26	10	9
Lean Carter (5)	10	56	23	10	--

SALT

Only way to balance budget is to cut down the cost of defense spending (continued)

		A lot of truth	Only some truth	Hardly any truth	No truth at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		16%	42	23	12	7
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	17	42	21	10	10
Male	(50)	15	42	25	14	4
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	15	42	24	13	7
Black	(10)	26	41	19	4	11
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	16	43	28	7	6
White collar	(14)	17	46	26	10	1
White collar clerical	(9)	22	44	18	10	6
Government	(4)*	19	46	12	23	—
Skilled blue collar	(14)	15	44	24	9	8
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	15	40	26	9	10
Retired	(26)	15	39	22	16	8
Self-employed	(6)	6	45	32	12	5
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	15	38	29	10	8
English	(20)	11	40	27	16	6
French	(4)*	11	37	35	11	5
German	(17)	15	42	25	13	6
Italian	(5)	19	46	20	7	8
Eastern European	(7)	27	47	18	6	2
Scandinavian	(4)*	10	56	18	10	7
Spanish	(4)*	14	44	9	17	16
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(10)	17	37	22	12	13
Some high school	(15)	16	38	24	14	8
Graduated high school	(32)	15	46	21	10	8
Technical/vocational	(5)	12	39	27	14	9
Some college	(20)	15	39	28	13	4
Graduated college	(12)	19	41	27	12	1
Graduate/professional	(7)	20	52	11	13	4
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant	(58)	14	41	25	13	7
Catholic	(30)	17	44	21	11	7
Jewish	(4)*	40	40	13	4	4
Other	(4)*	10	43	27	13	6
None	(4)*	20	44	21	9	5

SALT

Only way to balance budget is to cut down the cost of defense spending (continued)

		A lot of truth	Only some truth	Hardly any truth	No truth at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		168	42	23	12	7
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(5)	14	36	20	15	15
\$4-6,999	(11)	22	34	24	11	8
\$7-9,999	(11)	21	41	20	12	7
\$10-14,999	(16)	14	49	21	10	7
\$15-19,999	(18)	12	47	23	13	6
\$20,000 or over	(29)	16	42	27	13	3
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(17)	19	39	27	12	3
Family member	(13)	18	43	22	8	10
No member	(70)	15	42	23	13	7
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(12)	23	47	17	7	5
26-35	(17)	21	44	23	8	5
36-45	(17)	14	42	24	12	8
46-55	(18)	13	42	26	12	7
56-65	(17)	11	44	24	15	5
Over 65	(19)	17	35	23	16	10
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(46)	18	42	21	11	8
Suburban	(35)	17	43	23	12	5
Rural	(20)	9	39	29	15	9
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	25	36	17	9	14
Industrial	(25)	16	47	23	9	4
Midlands	(15)	17	45	22	12	5
South	(19)	12	34	30	16	9
Central	(14)	10	45	25	13	7
Pacific	(13)	16	44	22	13	5
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	17	41	23	14	5
West	(11)	12	47	25	13	4
New York	(8)	29	29	20	6	16
South	(13)	10	32	32	17	10
Industrial	(28)	16	46	24	10	5
Border	(8)	14	46	21	13	7
New England	(7)	20	44	15	11	11
Midwest	(15)	16	45	21	12	6

SALT

Only way to balance budget is to cut down the cost of defense spending (continued)

	<u>A lot of truth</u>	<u>Only some truth</u>	<u>Hardly any truth</u>	<u>No truth at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	16%	42	23	12	7
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	11	39	28	14	8
Industrial (52)	18	42	23	11	6
Other (24)	16	44	20	13	7

SALT

Some people say that we are falling behind the Soviet Union and that we need to build more weapons. Other people say that both we and the Soviet Union have enough weapons to destroy each other totally and, therefore, it is pointless to talk of being ahead or behind. First of all, do you think it means anything to talk about being "ahead" or "behind" these days or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	19	45
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	35	22	44
Independent (37)	38	14	48
Republican (17)	38	16	45
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	31	16	53
Moderate (24)	34	19	48
Conservative (42)	42	16	42
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	35	19	46
Unfavorable (39)	39	16	45
Can't rate (7)	32	24	44
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	22	21	57
Good (29)	37	22	42
Only fair (44)	35	17	48
Poor (21)	41	16	43
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	35	22	43
Lean Carter (12)	31	19	50
Undecided (17)	38	28	33
Brown (22)	31	20	49
Lean Brown (5)	34	11	55
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	37	19	44
Lean Kennedy (9)	20	28	52
Undecided (11)	33	35	32
Carter (22)	33	21	46
Lean Carter (5)	41	14	46

SALT

Ahead or behind the Soviet Union (continued)

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>		36%	19	45
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		32	22	46
Male (50)		40	16	45
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		37	17	46
Black (10)		30	25	45
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		38	18	44
White collar (14)		41	10	49
White collar clerical (9)		30	14	55
Government (4)*		31	14	55
Skilled blue collar (14)		35	20	45
Unskilled blue collar (14)		29	22	48
Retired (26)		39	22	39
Self-employed (6)		39	14	48
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		33	17	50
English (20)		41	16	43
French (4)*		37	13	51
German (17)		36	17	47
Italian (5)		33	16	51
Eastern European (7)		36	17	47
Scandinavian (4)*		49	18	33
Spanish (4)*		25	37	39
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		33	30	38
Some high school (15)		31	31	39
Graduated high school (32)		35	19	46
Technical/vocational (5)		35	13	52
Some college (20)		36	13	50
Graduated college (12)		43	11	47
Graduate/professional (7)		48	9	43
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		39	20	42
Catholic (30)		33	17	51
Jewish (4)*		27	21	53
Other (4)*		35	13	52
None (4)*		27	23	50

SALT

Ahead or behind the Soviet Union (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	19	45
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	37	25	38
\$4-6,999 (11)	30	26	44
\$7-9,999 (11)	36	20	44
\$10-14,999 (16)	39	17	44
\$15-19,999 (18)	35	17	49
\$20,000 or over (29)	38	12	50
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	35	14	52
Family member (13)	31	23	47
No member (70)	37	19	44
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	31	22	47
26-35 (17)	32	18	50
36-45 (17)	37	12	51
46-55 (18)	37	20	43
56-65 (17)	41	14	45
Over 65 (19)	37	25	38
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	36	18	46
Suburban (35)	38	17	46
Rural (20)	34	23	43
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	35	24	42
Industrial (25)	32	14	54
Midlands (15)	39	19	42
South (19)	40	17	43
Central (14)	40	19	42
Pacific (13)	33	24	44
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	31	25	44
West (11)	38	19	44
New York (8)	31	31	38
South (13)	43	15	42
Industrial (28)	33	17	50
Border (8)	31	18	51
New England (7)	37	16	47
Midwest (15)	42	17	41

SALT

Ahead or behind the Soviet Union (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	19	45
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	39	16	45
Industrial (52)	34	20	46
Other (24)	38	18	44

SALT

Would you agree or disagree: Even if we can't reach an agreement with the Russians, we should take some unilateral steps to reduce arms to show that we really want peace?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	38%	15	48
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	39	19	42
Independent (37)	38	10	51
Republican (17)	33	10	58
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	45	15	40
Moderate (24)	38	17	46
Conservative (42)	34	11	55
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	40	16	44
Unfavorable (39)	34	12	54
Can't rate (7)	44	16	40
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	44	15	41
Good (29)	40	16	44
Only fair (44)	39	13	48
Poor (21)	32	14	55
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	38	18	44
Lean Carter (12)	42	25	33
Undecided (17)	35	29	36
Brown (22)	42	13	45
Lean Brown (5)	39	11	51
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	40	18	42
Lean Kennedy (9)	41	22	38
Undecided (11)	31	24	45
Carter (22)	41	17	41
Lean Carter (5)	29	26	45

SALT

Even if we can't reach an agreement with the Russians..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		38%	15	48
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	39	16	45
Male	(50)	36	13	51
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	37	13	50
Black	(10)	42	27	31
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	46	7	47
White collar	(14)	39	11	50
White collar clerical	(9)	41	12	47
Government	(4)*	26	9	65
Skilled blue collar	(14)	44	16	40
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	34	19	47
Retired	(26)	38	14	49
Self-employed	(6)	27	10	63
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	40	14	46
English	(20)	32	11	57
French	(4)*	37	7	56
German	(17)	39	9	52
Italian	(5)	44	19	37
Eastern European	(7)	41	19	39
Scandinavian	(4)*	36	17	47
Spanish	(4)*	36	23	41
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	34	25	42
Some high school	(15)	38	23	38
Graduated high school	(32)	38	13	48
Technical/vocational	(5)	40	10	50
Some college	(20)	37	10	54
Graduated college	(12)	43	11	46
Graduate/professional	(7)	28	13	59
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant	(58)	35	15	50
Catholic	(30)	40	16	44
Jewish	(4)*	49	11	40
Other	(4)*	41	9	50
None	(4)*	44	14	42

SALT

Even if we can't reach an agreement with the Russians (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	38%	15	48
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	40	28	32
\$4-6,999 (11)	39	20	41
\$7-9,999 (11)	45	16	39
\$10-14,999 (16)	36	14	50
\$15-19,999 (18)	33	15	51
\$20,000 or over (29)	39	8	53
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	38	14	48
Family member (13)	39	14	47
No member (70)	38	15	47
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	51	16	33
26-35 (17)	36	17	47
36-45 (17)	36	16	49
46-55 (18)	36	14	50
56-65 (17)	36	12	53
Over 65 (19)	38	14	49
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	39	15	45
Suburban (35)	37	15	49
Rural (20)	35	14	51
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	36	19	45
Industrial (25)	41	14	45
Midlands (15)	43	14	43
South (19)	31	18	51
Central (14)	39	7	54
Pacific (13)	36	15	49
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	32	15	53
West (11)	43	11	47
New York (8)	41	27	32
South (13)	25	18	57
Industrial (28)	41	14	45
Border (8)	45	17	39
New England (7)	29	12	59
Midwest (15)	41	9	50

SALT

Even if we can't reach an agreement with the Russians (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	38%	15	48
Area III			
South (24)	33	18	49
Industrial (52)	40	16	44
Other (24)	37	9	54

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

15 May 79

FILE

Hamilton Jordan
Anne Wexler
Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
your information.

Rick Hutcheson

The original has been given
to stripping for mailing.

cc: Stripping

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1979

To President Spencer Kimball

As you know, our country is now completing seven years of negotiations on a SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union. It is now planned that the treaty will be signed next month in Austria by me and President Brezhnev.

Because of the active role that ~~Mormons~~ play in the life of our country and because of your historic commitment and contribution to world peace, I would personally welcome the opportunity - if you deem it appropriate - to provide a briefing to your church leadership on SALT II and its importance to our nation and to the cause of peace.

Respectfully,

Jimmy Carter