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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Commission on Central America

Headed by Dr. Henry Kissinger

Letters will be answered that come to
MKD under the signature of

Amb. Harry Shalaudeman

Dr. Kissinger's Number.....632-5285

Amb. Harry Shalauderman 632-5894
Room 1004
Dept. of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
Sent the letters to RAY WALSER

He is incharge of information and correspon-
dence.....

BEFORE SENDING make a copy for our files

121 Oakwood Dr.
Franklin, Virginia 23851
July 26, 1983

Mr. Michael K. Deever
Assistant to The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deever:

After listening to President Reagan tonight on TV I feel compelled to write to offer my services in any way I can to help in making the American people aware of the seriousness of the situation in Central America.

I have a very personal stake in Central America. I was born in Nicaragua (am now a naturalized citizen, married to an American and have three children born in the United States), still have family members there, and for fifteen years was employed by the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C.

It is most frustrating not only to realize that our people are misled by well intentioned people, but that our leaders in both political parties are hesitant to take stands in a situation that will plague us for many years if the proper steps are not taken at this point. How can the average person be expected to understand what is happening in Central America if the leaders and members of the Congress are not in agreement.

Thank you for reading this. Please let me know if there is anything I can do to help. I have friends and relatives in Miami who have recently left Nicaragua and are aware of what is happening there.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Bruce A. Baker

Send to State
8/05/83

July 25, 1983

Mr. Michael Deaver
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Deaver,

First of all I am writing to you because you and I served in the same Air Force Reserve unit, the 631st, years ago and I felt that this letter might get through to you.

The reason for the letter is to bring to your attention and to whomever is responsible for the new Commission on Central America's attention a person that is very close to me and who has served in that region for over 20 years as a Peace Corps volunteer and as a representative of C.A.R.E. He has held the top position in several countries as Program director for C.A.R.E., e.g. Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Columbia, and Equador. He is very familiar with the Politics of the area as well as the needs of the people. He has worked with the ruling parties and the peasants at the same time. I believe he is someone to be heard from.

I am enclosing a copy of a portion of a letter I recently received from him. You can see by his comments that he is quite concerned. You can also see that he is about to be transferred to Africa and will be a long ways away if someone wants to get his views on the Central American problems.

I usually don't write letters like this, but, in this instance felt that it might be worth someones time to talk to a person who has a long experience in an area that seems to be crucial to our interests.

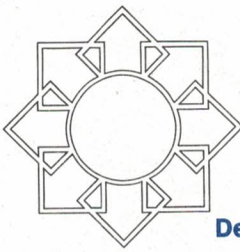
The person's name is JAMES PUC CETTI. He can be contacted at PSC Box 27, PO Miami, 34002, or through the C.A.R.E. office in New York. He will be in the States soon as he is going to visit his parents in Santa Rosa within the next few weeks. Their number is (707) 528-2486.

I hope that this will not be taken lightly as I really believe Mr. Puccetti could be of assistance.

Kindest regards,


Michael Mc Cormac

sent to
State
8/05/83



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6803 Poplar Place, Suite 300, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

TO: Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 13, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Central America

Central America

With rumors circulating of a potential meeting between U.S. special envoy Richard Stone and Salvadoran rebels, the apparent presence of missile sites under construction in Nicaragua for Soviet-made surface to air missiles, and mixed in with the death -- a month ago -- of the first American military advisor in El Salvador, Reagan's job rating on El Salvador remains negative.

In regard to Central America as a whole, the issues of greatest concern are the possibility of a mass influx of refugees -- whether two million or ten million -- if Central America and Mexico fell to the Communists. Other areas of concern are the potential for the involvement of U.S. combat troops in El Salvador, Communist takeover of South America endangering the United States economy and threats by Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua that they intend to take over every country in Central America.

El Salvador: Rating Ronald Reagan

Of all the things Reagan is doing for the nation, he receives his lowest marks for his work on El Salvador:

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the situation in El Salvador?

	<u>April</u> <u>27-28</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u>	<u>June</u> <u>25-27</u>
Approve	36%	29%	31%
Disapprove	44	53	49
No opinion	20	18	20



Central America
 July 13, 1983
 Page Two

Even among his base Republican support group Reagan does not receive a majority approval. His support among key constituencies is lowest among women (26%) -- 11% lower than men. Among a majority of these key groups, only about one-third actually approve of what he is doing in El Salvador. There is, however, a positive side. Most of these groups approve in higher numbers than did so during May (Farm Belt States +12%), (blue-collar workers +5%), (senior citizens +6%), (Catholics +4%), and (white Baptists +6%).

Ten Million Refugees

There is high concern over the possibility of a large influx of refugees -- "feet people" -- from Central America.

Ten million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fell to the Communists.

Great deal of concern	84%
Some concern	12
Not much concern at all	4
No opinion	0

There is, however, confusion and mixed emotions as to whether public support for Reagan's policies would increase or decrease with a large influx of refugees.

More likely	48%
Less likely	43
No difference	4
No opinion	5

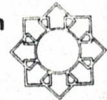
There is, without exception, uniform concern among all Americans over possible mass immigration of displaced persons. Even men and women see eye to eye on this issue (men 86% great deal of concern, women 83%).

Two Million Refugees

As with ten million "feet people", the prospect of only two million refugees is equally as frightening to Americans.

Two million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America fell to the Communists.

Great deal of concern	73%
Some concern	17
Not much concern at all	5
No opinion	1



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July 13, 1983
Page Three

However, in either case, support for Reagan's policies would be mixed and confused.

More likely	48%
Less likely	43
No difference	4
No opinion	5

Whether two million or ten million, the intensity of concern remains very high. Americans are worried about such an eventuality. No particular element or geographic location of the country ventures even 10% of the time to say that they don't have much concern at all.

United States Combat Troops in El Salvador

Consistent with the attitudes in April and May, Americans fear a potential "Viet Nam type" involvement in Central America and are therefore greatly disturbed by the prospect of U.S. troops battling Salvadoran guerrillas.

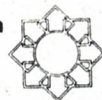
United States troops were sent to El Salvador to fight the guerrillas.

Great deal of concern	77%
Some concern	17
Not much concern at all	5
No opinion	1

An overwhelming majority of all subgroups express a great deal of concern over potential U.S. combat troop involvement. Women are more concerned (81% great deal of concern) than men (73% great deal of concern). At this point in time, Americans would not be very supportive of the idea of direct U.S. combat involvement in El Salvador.

Communist Takeover Endanger U.S. Economy

Both in terms of support for the President and general concern, this hypothetical threat to the U.S. Economy strikes a sensitive nerve.



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A Communist takeover of more countries in South America would endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area.

Great deal of concern	74%
Some concern	19
Not much concern at all	6
No opinion	1

Support President's policies:

More likely	57%
Less likely	33
No difference	4
No opinion	6

There is very little variance in concern among the key elements of the population; however, support of the President's policies exhibits several extremes. Those most supportive are men, Republicans, conservatives, middle to upper-income Americans and senior citizens. Particularly interesting is the difference between men and women; although women are equally as concerned about a takeover damaging the economy, they nonetheless are much less likely to support the President's policies than are men -- a 16% difference.

Marxist Revolutionaries Take Over Every Country

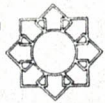
This threat by the insurgents concurrently causes a great deal of concern among Americans and generates more support for the President's policies in Central America.

Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua said they intend to take over every country in Central America.

Great deal of concern	73%
Some concern	18
Not much concern at all	8
No opinion	1

Support for the President's policies:

More likely	59%
Less likely	29
No difference	5
No opinion	7



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Once again, the concern is uniformly expressed by the entire nation, but support for the President's policies varies. As is the case on many of the other statements, support remains strongest among men, Republicans and upscale voters. The difference between men and women is even more pronounced: 76% of the men are more likely to support Reagan while only 48% of the women are more likely to support his policies taking this threat into consideration.

Communist Government in Mexico

Concern and support are also high over the possibility of a communist government on our borders in Mexico.

The Marxist guerrillas in Central America set up a communist government in Mexico.

Great deal of concern	72%
Some concern	18
Not much concern at all	8
No opinion	2

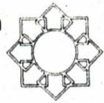
Support for the President's policies:

More likely	57%
Less likely	35
No difference	4
No opinion	4

Concern varies more on the idea of a communist government in Mexico. Those most concerned about such a possibility are men (75%), Republicans (81%), conservatives (75%), the more affluent and Farm Belt States residents (81%). The states bordering Mexico are also very sensitive about a communist government in their backyards. Democrats, liberals, and women are both less concerned and less likely to support Reagan's policies over this issue.

Soviet Nuclear Missiles in Nicaragua

Although less intense, the concern over Soviet missiles is very real. Along with this concern goes a high level of support for Reagan's Central American policies if Soviet nuclear missiles are located in Nicaragua. Reports are circulating that there are, in fact, Soviet surface-to-air missile sites currently under construction in Nicaragua validating the argument for potential nuclear missile placements in Central America.



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Marxist government officials in Nicaragua said they are willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country.

Great deal of concern	68%
Some concern	24
Not much concern at all	7
No opinion	1

Support President's policies:

More likely	59%
Less likely	33
No difference	4
No opinion	4

Concern remains high among the whole demographic spectrum, running slightly lower among women and Democrats. Consistent with previously exhibited patterns, support for Presidential policies breaks more along partisan, socioeconomic lines, with women again significantly less supportive than men.

Communists Troops in Nicaragua

On the hypothetical involvement of troops from other communist countries, concern is only moderately high, but support for Reagan's policies is the strongest on this subject:

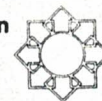
Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea and other communist countries recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua.

Great deal of concern	65%
Some concern	25
Not much concern at all	9
No opinion	1

Support for the President's policies:

More likely	65%
Less likely	28
No difference	4
No opinion	3

There remains little change in concern from one subgroup to another; intensity remains fairly constant. However, Reagan's



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support again varies widely along socioeconomic and partisanship lines. Those most likely to support Reagan under such an eventuality are males (78%), Republicans (68%) and the more affluent. There remains a large rift between men and women.

Nicaragua Persecuting Religion

There exists less intense concern and only lukewarm support for Presidential policy in Central America over the restricting and persecution of religion in the area.

The Sandinista government of Nicaragua persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country.

Great deal of concern	60%
Some concern	29
Not much concern at all	10
No opinion	1

Support for President's policies:

More likely	45%
Less likely	35
No difference	12
No opinion	8

In general, Americans express greater anxiety when they perceive a real or potential threat to the United States. They tend to voice less concern over and support for events more indigenous to Central America alone. The exception is Catholics who express a much greater probability to feel intense concern about religious persecution.

El Salvador Closer to Texas

In general, Americans aren't as concerned about the geographic proximity of El Salvador. Nor does this elicit a great deal of support for the President's policies.

El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City.

Great deal of concern	49%
Some concern	26
Not much concern at all	22
No opinion	3



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Support for the President's policies:

More likely	46%
Less likely	32
No difference	13
No opinion	9

Although not quite as close as Cuba, El Salvador is a backyard problem. Although there is real concern, by itself, this argument does not instill concern in the nation like some of the other statements do. Perhaps taken in conjunction with the other statements, the geographic location of El Salvador might become more sensitive.

Interestingly, concern is higher among women, Democrats, and lower-income voters.

Concentration Camps

As with the other less tangent arguments, Americans are not as concerned or prone to support Reagan's policies over the existence of concentration-type camps in Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan government set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskito Indian tribe.

Great deal of concern	46%
Some concern	34
Not much concern at all	18
No opinion	2

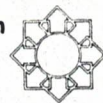
Support for the President's policies:

More likely	43%
Less likely	40
No difference	9
No opinion	8

There is very little change, both in terms of concern and support throughout the different subgroups of the country.

Increase Economic Aid to El Salvador

Increasing U.S. economic aid to El Salvador does not generate intense concern, but nonetheless, 82% of the country is concerned to some degree about increased economic aid.



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That the United States increased its economic aid to El Salvador.

Great deal of concern	41%
Some concern	41
Not much concern at all	16
No opinion	2

In general, women, the less well-to-do, and blue-collar workers express slightly higher concern. In most cases, concern is fairly evenly split between a great deal of concern and only some concern.

Killings by Rightist in El Salvador

Concern diminishes slightly over who is doing the killing, although support for the President's policies does not change a great deal knowing this.

Most of the killings in El Salvador was done by extreme rightists.

Great deal of concern	37%
Some concern	42
Not much concern at all	16
No opinion	5

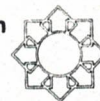
Support for President's policies:

More likely	48%
Less likely	35
No difference	7
No opinion	10

As was evident in the May study, there is a great deal of confusion about who is largely responsible for the killings. White Baptists express more concern about such a notion while senior citizens are more intensely concerned (49% a great deal of concern). Support for Reagan after such a revelation would not be as strong; particularly among women, Democrats, liberals and low-income respondents.

Government of El Salvador Does Not Have Popular Support

Interestingly, one of the arguments meriting the lowest concern is the idea that the government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorans. Though this possibility



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Page Ten

concerns most Americans, it does not concern them with the same intensity as other developments might.

The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorans.

Great deal of concern	27%
Some concern	44
Not much concern at all	26
No opinion	3

Support of the President's policies:

More likely	38%
Less likely	48
No difference	6
No opinion	8

Even among his strongest supporters, Reagan does not receive more than 50% who would be more likely to support his policies knowing that the government in El Salvador was highly unpopular.

Central America Does Not Want United States Involvement

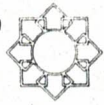
Last month, the nation was somewhat divided on whether they felt that the U.S. should let El Salvador solve its own problems. A further reflection on this subject is the relative lack of concern over whether the average person in Central America wants us in the region or not. The highest (34%) "not much concern at all" is elicited with this thought.

The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs.

Great deal of concern	24%
Some concern	39
Not much concern at all	34
No opinion	3

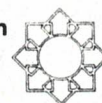
Support for the President's policies:

More likely	42%
Less likely	47
No difference	5
No opinion	6



Central America
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As is the case with a lack of popular support for El Salvador's government, the average American is less likely to support Reagan's policies in Central America if he/she knows that the region doesn't want U.S. involvement. This is somewhat balanced, however, by the relative indifference towards this particular statement compared with some of the others tested.



Reagan Job Rating: El Salvador

=====

"Now a little more specifically. I am going to read you a list of issues. For each, I would like you to tell me whether you strongly approve ... somewhat approve ... somewhat disapprove ... or strongly disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling each of these issues:"

	<u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	31	49	20
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	48	32	20
Small business	32	49	19
Farm Belt states	33	51	16
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	34	50	16
Senior citizens	30	42	28
Women	26	49	25
Catholics	32	52	16
Independents/Leaners	29	52	19
White Baptists	38	43	19



Central America -- Concern
(N=814)

=====

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all."

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opin (%)
Ten million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fell to the Communists.	84	12	4	0
Two million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America fell to the Communists.	78	17	4	1
United States troops were sent to El Salvador to fight the guerrillas.	77	17	5	1
A Communist takeover of more countries in South America would endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area.	74	19	6	1
Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua said they intend to take over every country in Central America.	73	18	8	1
The Marxist guerrillas in Central America set up a communist government in Mexico.	72	18	8	2
Marxist government officials in Nicaragua said they were willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country.	68	24	7	1
Cuba, the Soviet Union, East German, North Korea and other communist countries recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua.	65	25	9	1

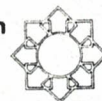


Central America -- Concern
(Continued)
(N=814)

=====

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all."

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opin (%)
The Sandinista government of Nicaragua persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country.	60	29	10	1
El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City.	49	26	22	3
The Nicaraguan government set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskita (miss-KEY-tow) Indian tribe.	46	34	18	2
That the United States increased its economic aid to El Salvador.	41	41	16	2
Most of the killings in El Salvador were done by extreme rightists.	37	42	16	5
The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorians.	27	44	26	3
The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs.	24	39	34	3

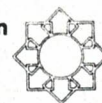


Central America -- Reagan's Policies
(N=386)

=====

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America."

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opin (%)
Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea and other communist countries have recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua.	65	28	4	3
Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua intend to take over every country in Central America.	59	29	5	7
Marxist government officials in Nicaragua say they were willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country.	59	33	4	4
The Marxist guerrillas in Central America intend to set up a communist government in Mexico.	57	35	4	4
A Communist takeover of more countries in Central America will endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area.	57	33	4	6
More than three-fourths of the United States' assistance to El Salvador is economic aid, not military aid.	54	38	4	4
The problems in Central America are not due to the Communists. They are the result of a long history of poverty and exploitation.	51	36	6	7
Ten million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fall to the Communists.	48	43	4	5
Two million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America falls to the Communists.	48	43	4	5

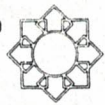


Central America -- Reagan's Policies
(Continued)
(N=386)

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"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America."

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opin (%)
Most of the killings in El Salvador have been done by extreme rightists.	48	35	7	10
El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City.	46	32	13	9
The Nicaraguan government has set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskita (miss-KEY-tow) Indian tribe.	43	40	9	8
The Sandinista government of Nicaragua has persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country.	45	35	12	8
The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs.	42	47	5	6
The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorians.	38	48	6	8



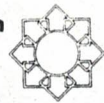
Central America: Ten Million Refugees from Central America-Mexico

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"Ten million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fell to the Communists." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	84	12	4	0
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	86	11	3	0
Small business	87	11	2	0
Farm Belt states	86	10	4	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	84	15	1	0
Senior citizens	84	8	8	1
Women	83	13	4	1
Catholics	86	10	4	1
Independents/Leaners	84	13	3	0
White Baptists	91	7	2	0



Central America: Ten Million Refugees From Central America-Mexico

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"Ten million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fall to the Communists." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	48	43	4	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	61	29	2	7
Small business	44	40	5	11
Farm Belt states	31	61	3	5
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	43	49	1	7
Senior citizens	54	34	8	4
Women	41	48	5	6
Catholics	44	49	1	6
Independents/Leaners	51	37	5	7
White Baptists	45	43	3	9



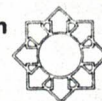
Central America: Two Million Refugees from Central America

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"Two million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America fell to the Communists." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	78	17	4	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	79	16	5	0
Small business	81	15	4	0
Farm Belt states	83	14	3	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	82	16	2	0
Senior citizens	77	16	6	1
Women	76	18	5	1
Catholics	79	16	4	1
Independents/Leaners	78	17	6	0
White Baptists	85	14	1	0



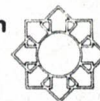
Central America: Two Million Refugees from Central America

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

Two million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America falls to the Communist." (N=386)

	<u>More Likely</u> (%)	<u>Less Likely</u> (%)	<u>No Difference</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	48	43	4	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	60	30	2	7
Small business	38	50	4	8
Farm Belt states	43	53	5	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	47	48	1	4
Senior citizens	54	32	7	8
Women	42	47	5	6
Catholics	40	50	3	6
Independents/Leaners	45	40	5	10
White Baptists	45	45	2	7



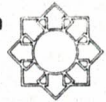
Central America: U.S. Troops Sent to El Salvador

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"United States troops were sent to El Salvador to fight the guerrillas." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	77	17	5	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	71	25	4	1
Small business	77	20	2	1
Farm Belt states	75	16	9	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	74	22	3	0
Senior citizens	80	10	9	1
Women	81	14	4	1
Catholics	80	14	5	1
Independents/Leaners	78	15	6	1
White Baptists	79	17	4	1



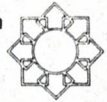
Central America: Communist Takeover Will Hurt Us Economically

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"A Communist takeover of more countries in South America would endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	74	19	6	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	77	17	5	1
Small business	72	22	6	0
Farm Belt states	85	9	5	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	73	23	4	1
Senior citizens	80	11	8	1
Women	75	18	6	1
Catholics	80	15	3	1
Independents/Leaners	72	21	6	1
White Baptists	76	19	5	0



Central America: Communist Takeover Will Hurt Us Economically

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"A Communist takeover of more countries in Central America will endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area." (N=386)

	<u>More Likely</u> (%)	<u>Less Likely</u> (%)	<u>No Difference</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	57	33	4	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	65	23	2	9
Small business	50	38	4	8
Farm Belt states	49	42	10	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	56	38	1	6
Senior citizens	68	19	7	5
Women	51	38	5	7
Catholics	51	37	6	7
Independents/Leaners	58	29	4	8
White Baptists	59	34	0	6



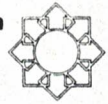
Central America: Marxist Takeover

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua said they intend to take over every country in Central America." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	73	18	8	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	79	17	3	1
Small business	72	18	9	0
Farm Belt states	75	25	0	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	72	20	8	0
Senior citizens	74	16	9	1
Women	74	18	8	1
Catholics	74	18	7	1
Independents/Leaners	68	21	20	1
White Baptists	81	17	2	0



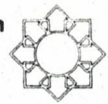
Central America: Marxist Revolutionaries Takeover

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua intend to take over every country in Central America." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	59	29	5	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	64	25	3	8
Small business	54	38	3	5
Farm Belt states	57	38	5	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	64	28	4	4
Senior citizens	65	17	9	9
Women	48	38	8	8
Catholics	58	29	4	10
Independents/Leaners	64	22	3	11
White Baptists	66	23	5	6



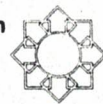
Central America: Communist Government in Mexico

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"The Marxist guerrillas in Central America set up a communist government in Mexico." (N=814)

	<u>Great Deal Of Concern</u> (%)	<u>Some Concern</u> (%)	<u>Not Much Concern At All</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	72	18	8	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	82	15	3	0
Small business	78	15	7	0
Farm Belt states	81	6	0	13
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	72	23	5	0
Senior citizens	76	12	8	3
Women	69	19	8	3
Catholics	74	18	6	2
Independents/Leaners	73	19	7	1
White Baptists	77	15	6	2



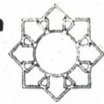
Central America: Communist Government in Mexico

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"The Marxist guerrillas in Central America intend to set up a communist government in Mexico." (N=386)

	<u>More Likely (%)</u>	<u>Less Likely (%)</u>	<u>No Difference (%)</u>	<u>No Opinion (%)</u>
Aggregate	57	35	4	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	65	29	1	6
Small business	53	27	5	5
Farm Belt states	45	50	5	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	52	41	5	2
Senior citizens	66	25	4	4
Women	51	41	4	4
Catholics	51	36	6	7
Independents/Leaners	60	28	5	7
White Baptists	58	29	6	6



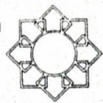
Central America: Nuclear Missiles Acceptable in Nicaragua

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"Marxist government officials in Nicaragua said they were willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	68	24	7	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	72	23	5	0
Small business	70	24	6	0
Farm Belt states	65	16	8	11
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	67	28	5	0
Senior citizens	66	22	10	1
Women	64	27	7	2
Catholics	72	21	5	2
Independents/Leaners	74	19	7	1
White Baptists	70	26	5	0



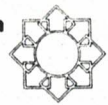
Central America: Nuclear Missiles Acceptable in Nicaragua

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"Marxist government officials in Nicaragua say they were willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	59	33	4	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	66	24	2	8
Small business	58	31	5	6
Farm Belt states	58	33	10	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	61	34	2	3
Senior citizens	62	30	4	4
Women	52	41	3	4
Catholics	58	30	6	5
Independents/Leaners	63	27	5	6
White Baptists	63	29	0	8



Central America: Communists Sent Troops to Nicaragua

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"Cuba, the Soviet Union, East German, North Korea and other communist countries recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	65	25	9	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	76	20	3	0
Small business	63	26	12	0
Farm Belt states	73	25	2	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	65	27	7	0
Senior citizens	79	13	7	1
Women	66	25	7	2
Catholics	67	22	10	1
Independents/Leaners	67	23	10	1
White Baptists	63	29	7	2



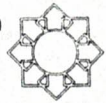
Central America: Communists Sent Troops to Nicaragua

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea and other communist countries have recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers into Nicaragua." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	65	28	4	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	68	25	2	5
Small business	67	25	3	5
Farm Belt states	55	35	10	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	62	32	2	3
Senior citizens	68	18	10	4
Women	56	35	6	4
Catholics	60	34	4	3
Independents/Leaners	69	22	4	4
White Baptists	66	26	0	8



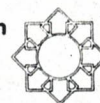
Central America: Scandinistas Shout Down Pope

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"The Sandinista government of Nicaragua persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	61	29	10	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	62	30	8	0
Small business	56	32	12	1
Farm Belt states	58	19	23	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	64	28	8	0
Senior citizens	65	24	10	1
Women	66	25	7	2
Catholics	77	18	4	1
Independents/Leaners	62	28	9	1
White Baptists	55	38	6	1



Central America: Scandinistas Shout Down Pope

=====

Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"The Sandinista government of Nicaragua has persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	45	35	12	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	56	31	10	4
Small business	45	39	9	6
Farm Belt states	55	24	18	3
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	45	39	7	9
Senior citizens	57	14	18	10
Women	43	35	12	10
Catholics	45	40	10	5
Independents/Leaners	37	39	12	11
White Baptists	46	34	8	11

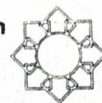


Central America: El Salvador Closer to Texas

Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City."
(N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	49	26	22	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	47	34	17	2
Small business	45	28	25	2
Farm Belt states	49	29	22	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	51	27	20	3
Senior citizens	54	22	19	5
Women	53	26	16	5
Catholics	50	25	20	4
Independents/Leaners	46	24	26	3
White Baptists	53	31	15	1



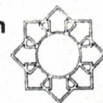
Central America: El Salvador Closer to Texas

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City."
(N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	46	32	12	9
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	56	28	10	6
Small business	43	38	11	8
Farm Belt states	56	36	8	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	51	38	5	7
Senior citizens	47	20	19	15
Women	42	37	12	9
Catholics	46	32	10	12
Independents/Leaners	46	32	11	11
White Baptists	45	33	13	9



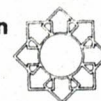
Central America: Nicaraguan Concentration Camps

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"The Nicaraguan government set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskita (miss-KEY-tow) Indian tribe." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	46	34	18	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	45	43	10	2
Small business	45	32	21	2
Farm Belt states	61	13	26	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	45	38	16	2
Senior citizens	45	30	21	4
Women	47	35	14	4
Catholics	51	31	14	4
Independents/Leaners	46	31	19	4
White Baptists	53	32	15	0



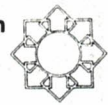
Central America: Nicaraguan Concentration Camps

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"The Nicaraguan government has set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskita (miss-KEY-tow) Indian tribe." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	43	40	9	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	50	37	6	6
Small business	42	37	11	11
Farm Belt states	39	44	18	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	43	46	4	7
Senior citizens	58	0	27	15
Women	38	43	8	11
Catholics	42	40	7	10
Independents/Leaners	46	29	12	12
White Baptists	45	46	4	5



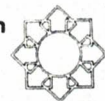
Central America: Increase Economic Aid to El Salvador

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"That the United States increased its economic aid to El Salvador."
(N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	41	41	15	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	35	48	16	1
Small business	46	40	13	1
Farm Belt states	45	29	23	2
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	40	47	11	1
Senior citizens	32	39	26	3
Women	42	44	11	3
Catholics	40	41	16	3
Independents/Leaners	41	42	15	3
White Baptists	42	42	15	1



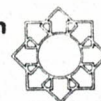
Central America: Three-Fourths U.S. Aid is Economic

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"More than three-fourths of the United States' assistance to El Salvador is economic aid, not military aid." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	55	38	4	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	64	24	3	9
Small business	53	37	4	6
Farm Belt states	50	41	10	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	48	47	1	4
Senior citizens	60	31	4	4
Women	50	41	5	4
Catholics	55	34	4	7
Independents/Leaners	56	35	3	6
White Baptists	59	33	0	8



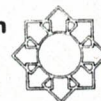
Central America: Killings Done By Rightists

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"Most of the killings in El Salvador were done by extreme rightists."
(N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	37	42	16	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	36	43	13	8
Small business	33	45	16	6
Farm Belt states	37	42	16	6
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	31	47	17	5
Senior citizens	49	25	14	13
Women	39	42	12	7
Catholics	37	44	13	6
Independents/Leaners	36	44	17	4
White Baptists	41	44	11	4



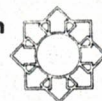
Central America: Killings Done by Rightists

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"Most of the killings in El Salvador have been done by extreme rightists." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	48	35	7	10
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	58	30	3	10
Small business	46	39	5	11
Farm Belt states	51	37	10	3
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	51	34	6	8
Senior citizens	44	24	9	23
Women	43	37	8	13
Catholics	48	36	7	9
Independents/Leaners	52	28	8	12
White Baptists	49	36	5	10



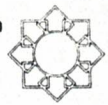
Central America: Government of El Salvador Does Not Have Popular Support

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorans." (N=814)

	<u>Great Deal Of Concern</u> (%)	<u>Some Concern</u> (%)	<u>Not Much Concern At All</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	27	44	26	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	26	50	21	3
Small business	23	47	28	2
Farm Belt states	35	39	18	8
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	24	44	29	3
Senior citizens	37	29	30	4
Women	26	45	25	5
Catholics	29	42	24	4
Independents/Leaners	27	40	29	4
White Baptists	34	43	21	2



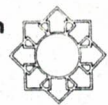
Central America: Government of El Salvador Does Not Have Popular Support

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorans." (N=386)

	<u>More Likely</u> (%)	<u>Less Likely</u> (%)	<u>No Difference</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	38	48	6	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	45	42	4	9
Small business	38	46	8	9
Farm Belt states	42	44	10	5
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	34	54	4	8
Senior citizens	47	38	10	5
Women	33	53	6	8
Catholics	40	45	6	9
Independents/Leaners	33	51	6	10
White Baptists	46	38	6	10



Central America: Don't Want U.S. Involvement

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all.

"The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs." (N=814)

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	24	39	23	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	30	42	25	3
Small business	15	46	37	1
Farm Belt states	24	36	28	12
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	19	47	34	1
Senior citizens	41	30	26	3
Women	24	37	35	3
Catholics	27	36	36	1
Independents/Leaners	21	41	37	1
White Baptists	24	41	35	0



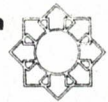
Central America: Don't Want U.S. Involvement

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Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	42	47	5	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	44	43	6	7
Small business	45	42	6	6
Farm Belt states	38	57	5	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	55	41	1	2
Senior citizens	42	40	10	8
Women	39	50	6	5
Catholics	37	52	5	6
Independents/Leaners	39	47	5	9
White Baptists	51	37	2	11



Central America: Problems Due to Poverty

Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America.

"The problems in Central America are not due to the Communists. They are the result of a long history of poverty and exploitation." (N=386)

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	51	36	6	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	50	31	7	11
Small business	49	38	5	8
Farm Belt states	44	46	10	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	51	38	5	6
Senior citizens	51	31	6	12
Women	49	38	7	6
Catholics	45	46	3	6
Independents/Leaners	53	38	4	5
White Baptists	49	38	3	10