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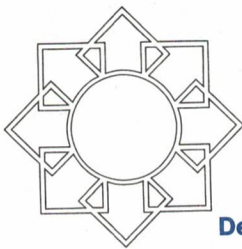
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TO: Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 5, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Nicaragua

In spite of recent and heavy coverage of activities in Central America, 58% of the public still say they have not recently heard or read anything about Nicaragua. In general, familiarity increases with education and age: the better-educated and 35 to 54 year old Americans are most aware of recent events. Even among postgraduates, however, nearly one-third (32%) say they have not heard or read anything "recently" about Nicaragua.

Nicaragua: Rating Ronald Reagan

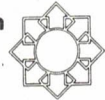
Of those Americans who have recently read or hear something about Nicaragua, 50% approve of the job Reagan is doing and 50% disapprove.

Specifically, respondents were asked:

Have you heard or read anything recently about Nicaragua?
And do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan
is handling the situation in Nicaragua?

	<u>April</u> <u>7-11</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>April</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
No	57%	62%	58%
Yes/Approve	13	17	18
Yes/Disapprove	22	15	19
No opinion	8	6	4

The general lack of awareness is consistent with patterns established in April of this year, the President's total job rating on Nicaragua showing very little change.



Nicaragua
August 5, 1983
Page Two

Men are much more informed on Nicaragua than are women -- 48% of the men have not heard or read anything recently while 67% of the women have not. Reagan's job rating is higher among white Baptists (22% approve), men (26% approve), college graduates (31% approve), other white-collar occupations (25% approve), and base Republicans. In general, those people giving Reagan higher marks on El Salvador, also give him higher marks on Nicaragua.

Why Approve or Disapprove?

The single most common reason given for approval of Reagan's Nicaraguan policy is fear of the spread of communism and a distrust of Soviet intentions in the region (29%). Other reasons mentioned include: "like Reagan" (10%), "think Reagan is doing a good job under the circumstances" (10%), "the U.S. needed to take a stand" (8%), "Reagan knows more than the average American about the situation" (7%), and "Central America needs U.S. help" (6%).

The most frequent reason for disapproval of actions is the fear that a deepening involvement would lead to another Vietnam for the U.S., which parallels the concern expressed by Americans over the possibility of mistakes in El Salvador leading to a Central American Vietnam. Other reasons include: "they should solve their own problems" (12%), "it's none of our business" (11%), disapprove of military involvement (9%), and "don't like Reagan" (5%).

Cuban and Soviet Arms Shipments to Nicaragua

In spite of underlying concern over the U.S. becoming involved in another situation like Vietnam, more than eight in ten Americans would like to see some U.S. action to cutoff communist weapons' shipments to Nicaragua.



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Page Three

Specifically, respondents were asked:

Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries ... do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
No/U.S. should take no action	23%	11%
Yes/U.S. should take action	74	84
No opinion	3	5

The July survey reflects an approval of action increase of ten percent over a year and a half ago when the question was asked. Support for such action is overwhelmingly universal; with rare exception, most Americans want to put a stop to weapons shipments by Cuba and the Soviet Union. The difficult task is finding an effective solution that will be acceptable to as many Americans as possible.

The most acceptable alternatives are increasing economic aid to threatened countries (58%) and sending more military advisors (59%). The least acceptable solution is an air strike on Cuba (15%).

Specifically, respondents were asked:

Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?

Send in more U.S. military advisors?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
Yes	64%	59%
No	31	34
No opinion	5	7



Nicaragua
August 5, 1983
Page Four

Although an increase in military advisors is the most acceptable alternative, it has less support now than in February of 1982. There is no demonstrable pattern of support among key constituencies. Those most supportive of this option are residents of the Deep South (77%), white-collar workers (68%), younger women (67%), 55 to 64 year olds (65%), and base Republicans.

Men are less supportive of this solution than are women, but only among professionals, postgraduates, and senior citizens does support drop below 50%.

Increase our economic aid to such threatened countries?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
Yes	64%	58%
No	34	34
No opinion	6	8

This alternative also has diminished support as a viable plan, although it is still acceptable to a majority of Americans and preferred over other options.

Interestingly enough, this solution is much more acceptable to men than to women (69% and 49% respectively). It is also favored by postgraduates (71%), those with some college (67%), and college graduates (65%). Partisanship is not a factor, nor are age and ethnicity. Support essentially cuts across all the demographic subgroups of the country with only women expressing less than 50% approval.

Increase our shipments of military equipment to the threatened countries?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
Yes	47%	46%
No	46	43
No opinion	7	11



Nicaragua
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Opinions show a fairly even split on sending more military equipment as a solution to the problem in Central America. These opinions are consistent with those in 1982.

Men and women continue to polarize on the issues -- men favor this alternative (60% yes) while women express opposing sentiments (34% yes). Enthusiasm for this option increases among men, those with a higher education, Republicans, and professional/white-collar workers.

Older voters, Democrats, and women are less supportive of this option.

Put a naval blockade around Nicaragua?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
Yes	49%	44%
No	42	41
No opinion	9	15

Americans are more uncertain today about a naval blockade of Nicaragua than they were in 1982. As with sending more military equipment, this issue splits the nation fairly evenly; no clear consensus is apparent. Besides being generally more unpopular among younger people and women, there is no obvious pattern of support or opposition. Fifty percent (50%) of the self-identified Democrats and strong Republicans approve of this alternative. This solution is less palatable among postgraduates (39% yes), 18 to 24 year olds (38%), and independents (30% yes).

Put a naval blockade around Cuba?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
Yes	54%	40%
No	40	46
No opinion	6	14



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Slightly less acceptable than a blockade around Nicaragua is a potential blockade of the arms supplier, Cuba. Americans appear less bellicose towards Cuba than even a year and a half ago when a majority would have supported such action. Now, six percent more oppose a Cuban blockade than favor it, a 20% net change in attitudes.

Men register more favorable attitudes than women toward a blockade, although the gap is only eight percent (44% yes and 36% yes, respectively). Democrats, residents of the Deep South, and older Americans are generally more supportive of this alternative than other Americans.

Support diminishes among younger Americans and with an increase in education. On this issue there is less of a gender gap than an age gap.

Send U.S. troops to backup present governments?

	Feb 13-14 1982	Jul 30-31 1983
Yes	27%	34%
No	66	57
No opinion	7	9

Although more acceptable than in 1982, a clear majority does not consider sending U.S. combat troops a feasible solution to the arms shipments problem in Nicaragua.

As is the case with blockading Cuba, the issue of sending U.S. troops creates an age gap: younger men (41% yes) and younger women (38% yes) are more supportive of this plan than are older men (30% yes) and older women (27% yes). Support also decreases with an increase in education. Interestingly enough, this idea is more popular among minorities (blacks, 54% yes; Hispanics, 49% yes) than among caucasians (30% yes).



Nicaragua
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Send more military aid to the guerrillas now fighting the
Nicaraguan government?

July 30-31, 1983

Yes	32%
No	53
No opinion	15

In general, Americans are less certain about continued aid to the guerrillas in Nicaragua. Of those with an opinion, only one-third actually think this is an action the U.S. should take. This may be, in part, attributable to the criticism that many Democrats leveled at the President's covert aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, and who have since succeeded in getting a bill through the House halting any future aid.

This alternative cuts along sex and partisan lines; men and Republicans are the most supportive. After these groups, support quickly falls off to as low as 20% among women. College graduates (39% yes) and postgraduates (33% yes) are slightly more supportive, although in most cases, a majority would rather not pursue this course of action.

Destroy Cuba's military bases with a quick, massive air
strike?

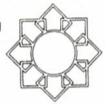
	<u>Feb 13-14 1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>
Yes	16%	15%
No	78	75
No opinion	6	10

A surgical air strike against Cuban military facilities was extremely unpopular in 1982 and remains equally unpopular. Three-quarters of the respondents reject this as an alternative.



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The little support this solution garners comes from residents of the Deep South (25% yes) and Outer South (23% yes), all other support drops quickly to as low as nine percent among postgraduates and six percent among Mountain States residents. Under the current circumstances, Americans unequivocally reject this option.



Reagan Job Rating -- Nicaragua

=====

"Have you heard or read anything recently about Nicaragua? And do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the situation in Nicaragua?"

	<u>April</u> <u>7-11</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>April</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
No	57	62	58
Yes/Approve	13	17	18
Yes/Disapprove	22	15	19
No opinion	8	6	4



Heard Nicaragua / Reagan Job Rating

=====

"Have you heard or read anything recently about Nicaragua? (IF "YES," ASK:) And do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the situation in Nicaragua? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	No (%)	Strong Approve (%)	Smwht Approve (%)	Smwht Disapp (%)	Strong Disapp (%)	No Opin (%)
Aggregate	58	10	9	8	11	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>						
Base Republican	54	16	14	6	4	5
Farm Belt states	75	8	5	4	6	2
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>						
Blue-collar workers	65	9	10	6	7	3
Senior citizens	54	11	7	7	17	4
Women	67	5	7	7	9	5
Catholics	55	11	8	9	12	4
Independents/Leaners	53	11	11	8	12	4
White Baptists	67	8	6	5	6	6



Why Approve of Reagan's Job on Nicaragua

=====

"Why is that?" (Approve)

	<u>Percent</u>
Threat of Communism/Cubans and Russians	29%
Like Reagan/Support Reagan	10
Doing a good job under the circumstances	10
U.S. needs to take a strong stand	8
Promoting peace/Avoiding war	7
Knows more than we do/Good advisors	6
Central/South Americans need help/ They can't do it alone	4
What happens there affects us	3
Solving problems through negotiations	3
General positive	2
Something has to be done	2
Good to send U.S. ships/Troops	2
Support Nicaraguan Rebels/Guerillas	1
Overt force/Confrontation	1
Action should have been sooner	1
Help El Salvador	1
Protect economic/commercial interests	1
Other/No opinion	7

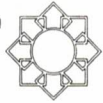


Why Disapprove of Reagan's Job on Nicaragua

=====

"And why is that?" (DISAPPROVE)

	<u>Percent</u>
Threat of War/Another Vietnam	26%
Should not be involved/Solve our own problems	12
Should not be involved/None of our business	11
Disapprove of military involvement	9
Don't like Reagan	5
Don't like foreign policy	4
Solve problems through negotiations	4
Should not be involved/Let them solve their own problems	4
Reagan is not a strong leader/Indecisive	4
Reagan not informed/Poor advisors	4
Not support Nicaraguan rebels/Support government	3
Not hearing truth/Public not informed	3
General negative	3
Solve their economic problems first	1
Too much financial aid	1
Other/No opinion	5



Cuban and Soviet Arms to Nicaragua

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries ... do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?"

	<u>Feb 13-14</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
No/U.S. should take no action	23%	11%
Yes/U.S. should take action	74	84
No opinion	3	5

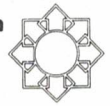


Cuban and Soviet Arms to Nicaragua

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries ... do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?"

	Take No Action (%)	U.S. Take Action (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	11	84	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	8	89	3
Farm Belt states	10	81	8
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	10	86	4
Senior citizens	14	78	8
Women	11	82	6
Catholics	13	83	4
Independents/Leaners	13	83	4
White Baptists	8	87	5



Military Advisors

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Send in more U.S. military advisors.

	<u>Feb 13-14 1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>
Yes	64%	59%
No	31	34
No opinion	5	7

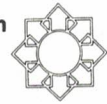


More Military Advisors

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	<u>Yes</u> (%)	<u>No</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	59	34	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	61	30	9
Farm Belt states	57	30	13
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	63	33	4
Senior citizens	48	35	17
Women	62	28	10
Catholics	57	37	7
Independents/Leaners	59	36	5
White Baptists	63	31	6



Increase Economic Aid

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Increase our economic aid to such threatened countries.

	<u>Feb 13-14</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Yes	60%	58%
No	34	34
No opinion	6	8



Increase Economic Aid

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	57	35	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	61	28	11
Farm Belt states	47	42	10
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	55	43	2
Senior citizens	55	26	20
Women	49	40	10
Catholics	66	30	4
Independents/Leaners	60	35	5
White Baptists	44	46	10



Increase Military Equipment

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Increase our shipments of military equipment to the threatened countries.

	<u>Feb 13-14</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Yes	47%	46%
No	46	43
No opinion	7	11



Increase Military Equipment

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	45	43	11
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	53	38	10
Farm Belt states	36	52	12
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	48	45	6
Senior citizens	40	38	22
Women	34	51	15
Catholics	49	41	9
Independents/Leaners	48	42	11
White Baptists	40	45	15



Naval Blockade - Nicaragua

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Put a naval blockade around Nicaragua.

	<u>Feb 13-14 1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>
Yes	49%	44%
No	42	41
No opinion	9	15



Naval Blockade - Nicaragua

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	43	41	16
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	47	41	12
Farm Belt states	29	47	23
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	47	42	11
Senior citizens	41	34	25
Women	38	41	22
Catholics	41	49	10
Independents/Leaners	40	44	16
White Baptists	41	41	19



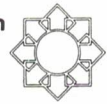
Naval Blockade - Cuba

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Put a naval blockade around Cuba.

	<u>Feb 13-14</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Yes	54%	40%
No	40	46
No opinion	6	14

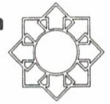


Naval Blockade -- Cuba

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	<u>Yes</u> (%)	<u>No</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	38	47	15
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	41	49	10
Farm Belt states	38	46	16
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	43	44	13
Senior citizens	42	37	21
Women	36	43	21
Catholics	35	54	11
Independents/Leaners	35	50	15
White Baptists	44	43	14



U.S. Troops Backup Governments

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Send U.S. troops to backup present governments.

	<u>Feb 13-14 1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>
Yes	27%	34%
No	66	57
No opinion	7	9



U.S. Troops Backup Government

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	33	57	10
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	37	56	7
Farm Belt states	28	67	5
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	47	47	6
Senior citizens	26	60	14
Women	32	56	12
Catholics	28	67	5
Independents/Leaners	31	59	10
White Baptists	39	47	14



Military Aid to Guerrillas - Nicaragua

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Send more military aid to the guerrillas now fighting the Nicaraguan government.

Yes	32%
No	53
No opinion	15



Military Aid to Guerrillas -- Nicaragua

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	32	53	16
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	41	44	16
Farm Belt states	22	61	17
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	33	55	12
Senior citizens	29	45	26
Women	20	59	20
Catholics	35	55	9
Independents/Leaners	36	51	13
White Baptists	25	49	27



Air Strike - Cuba

=====

"Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

Destroy Cuba's military bases with a quick, massive air strike.

	<u>Feb 13-14 1982</u>	<u>Jul 30-31 1983</u>
Yes	16%	15%
No	78	75
No opinion	6	10

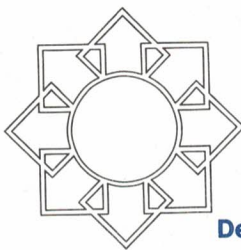


Air Strike -- Cuba

=====

"Just suppose we learned that Cuba and the Soviet Union were giving massive amounts of arms and other military equipment to Nicaragua for the specific purpose of establishing Communist governments in other Central American countries...do you think the United States should do something to prevent this from happening?" (IF "YES," ASK:) Which, if any, of the following specific actions do you believe the United States should take?"

	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	15	74	11
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	19	73	8
Farm Belt states	6	86	8
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	16	78	6
Senior citizens	20	58	22
Women	12	73	15
Catholics	10	82	9
Independents/Leaners	12	79	9
White Baptists	20	67	13



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

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 5, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: El Salvador

Despite the recent news focus on El Salvador, the President's present rating on handling the issue remains stable with one-third approving and one-half disapproving, while one-fifth of the public remains uncertain. Further questioning reveals that one-half of all adult Americans also think that we should leave El Salvador to solve its own problems. The same majority (51%) fear that we are making mistakes similar to those that led to a deepening U.S. involvement in the Vietnam conflict.

El Salvador: Rating Ronald Reagan

As in previous months, Reagan again receives his lowest approval for the job he is doing in El Salvador:

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

	April 27-28 1983	May 27-30 1983	June 25-27 1983	July 30-31 1983
Approve	36%	29%	31%	30%
Disapprove	44	53	49	51
No opinion	20	18	20	19

In spite of all the notoriety accorded El Salvador by the press, fully one-fifth of all adult Americans remain unable to commit themselves either positively or negatively to an opinion on the President's actions. This indicates a high degree of confusion and uncertainty about the issue.



El Salvador
August 5, 1983
Page Two

Of those rating him, the President's support is strongest among base Republicans and the better educated. He also has more support among professionals (41%), residents of the Outer South (37%), and 35 to 44 year olds (34%). As is evident by the numbers, only in the case of his Republican constituency does he garner a majority approval. Men are also more positive about what the President is doing in El Salvador (39%), registering 16 percentage points above women. In general, women have become less supportive over the last month, while support among men has increased. This is also the case among most of the other key constituencies, with levels of approval returning to those found in late May of this year.

El Salvador: Solve Own Problems

Further evidence of the general concern and the lack of a firm U.S. commitment reflects in the 50% of adults who think we should leave El Salvador to its own devices; 44% disagree that the United States should not be involved in El Salvador.

We should let those who live in El Salvador solve their problems without any help from the United States.

Agree strongly	30%
Agree somewhat	20
Disagree somewhat	26
Disagree strongly	18
No opinion	6

In March of this year, fully 57% of the people agreed that we should leave El Salvador to solve their own problems while now 50% agree with non-involvement.

Note that individuals who are most likely to have a better-than-average awareness and understanding of what is happening in the region (the better educated) tend to support U.S. assistance. Americans with a college degree (60%) and those with a postgraduate degree (65%) are much more likely to support some kind of assistance.

Since May, among target constituencies, Farm Belt residents and blue-collar workers are less supportive of U.S. assistance (Farm Belt, 59% agree up 13%; blue-collar workers, 51% agree up 3%). The gap between men and women is also fairly large with the difference between male and female Republicans (15%) greater than the difference between male and female Democrats (7%).



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August 5, 1983
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Mistakes in El Salvador Lead to Another Vietnam?

Consistent with the mixed signals that the public gives off about the solving of El Salvador's problems, the specter of a potential Vietnam is very real for many Americans.

The Reagan Administration is making the same kinds of mistakes in El Salvador that led this country into the Vietnam War in the Sixties.

	Mar 25-29 1981	Jul 30-31 1983
Agree strongly	24%	32%
Agree somewhat	22	19
Disagree somewhat	21	17
Disagree strongly	21	21
No opinion	12	12

More Americans now believe that the Reagan Administration is making mistakes similar to those that led to U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the Sixties. It is also interesting that only two-thirds of the people who feel that we should let El Salvador solve its own problems also feel that the Administration is making the same mistakes that Kennedy and Johnson made.

Not surprisingly, those who give Reagan a poor overall job rating on El Salvador are also more likely to agree that we should leave El Salvador to its own devices, and are particularly adamant that the Reagan Administration is creating another Vietnam in El Salvador.

In general, overall agreement among the various subgroups of the country has increased since this question was asked in March of 1981, although even in 1981 sentiments were evenly split between agreement and disagreement. Americans least pleased with Reagan are also the most likely to think he is leading the country into another Vietnam: blacks (78% agree), Democrats (62%), the less educated (58%), and women (55%). Catholics and Baptists are also more likely to express agreement than are members of Protestant religions.

Fewer women, senior citizens, and Farm Belt residents are able to express an opinion one way or the other. At the same time, 16%



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fewer women disagree with the statement than men. Other key groups, including blue-collar workers (56% agree), residents of the Farm Belt States (52% agree), and the better educated are more likely to agree with the idea of another Vietnam trend, however, none of these groups are overwhelmingly in agreement -- a micro-cosmic reflection of the whole nation.



Reagan Job Rating -- El Salvador

=====

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

	<u>Apr</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Approve	36	29	31	30
Disapprove	44	53	49	51
No opinion	20	18	20	19



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>Strng</u> <u>Apprv</u> (%)	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Apprv</u> (%)	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disap</u> (%)	<u>Strng</u> <u>Disap</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	11	20	18	32	19
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	18	29	18	15	21
Farm Belt states	6	24	16	21	33
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	10	22	16	38	15
Senior citizens	15	12	15	29	29
Women	6	17	20	34	23
Catholics	11	23	18	34	13
Independents/Leaners	10	21	18	32	18
White Baptists	11	17	19	26	27



El Salvador -- Solve Problems

=====

"The problems in El Salvador have been very much in the news recently. I'm going to read you a series of statements others have made about the situation there and our relations with the Salvadoran government. For each statement, again tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said:

We should let those who live in El Salvador solve their problems without any help from the United States."

	Mar 6-9 1981	Mar 25-29 1982	Mar 17-21 1983	Apr 27-28 1983	May 27-30 1983	Jun 25-27 1983
Agree strongly	27	30	33	28	29	*
Agree somewhat	22	21	24	18	23	*
Disagree somewhat	29	24	25	25	25	*
Disagree strongly	17	18	15	25	18	*
No opinion	5	7	3	4	5	*

	July 30-31 1983
Agree strongly	30
Agree somewhat	20
Disagree somewhat	26
Disagree strongly	18
No opinion	6



El Salvador -- Solve Problems

=====

"We should let those who live in El Salvador solve their problems without any help from the United States."

	<u>Strng</u> <u>Agree</u> (%)	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Agree</u> (%)	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disag</u> (%)	<u>Strng</u> <u>Disag</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	31	19	26	18	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	22	19	26	26	7
Farm Belt states	31	28	24	16	2
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	33	18	29	18	3
Senior citizens	39	14	19	18	11
Women	33	21	26	12	8
Catholics	31	20	25	21	3
Independents/Leaners	29	19	28	19	5
White Baptists	40	16	26	15	4



Reagan Mistakes in El Salvador/Vietnam

=====

"Now, here are some statements people have made to us about the country. As I read each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

The Reagan Administration is making the same kinds of mistakes in El Salvador that led this country into the Vietnam War in the Sixties.

	<u>Mar 25-29</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Agree strongly	24%	32%
Agree somewhat	22	19
Disagree somewhat	21	17
Disagree strongly	21	21
No opinion	12	12

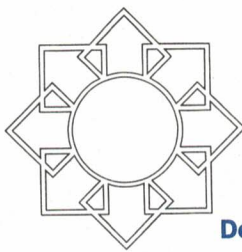


Reagan Mistakes in El Salvador/Vietnam

=====

"The Reagan Administration is making the same kinds of mistakes in El Salvador that led this country into the Vietnam War in the Sixties."

	<u>Strng</u> <u>Agree</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Agree</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disag</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Strng</u> <u>Disag</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> <u>(%)</u>
Aggregate	31	19	17	21	12
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	14	13	21	38	14
Farm Belt states	25	27	14	16	18
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	39	17	15	19	9
Senior citizens	29	14	15	24	18
Women	33	22	15	15	16
Catholics	35	21	16	20	8
Independents/Leaners	30	18	21	21	10
White Baptists	31	13	11	23	22



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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: August 5, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Perceptions of the President

In spite of the recent increase in the U.S. military presence in Central American waters and in Honduras, slightly fewer adults now say that the President "will start an unnecessary war: than did so in June. While about one-half believe that the phrase "has the strong leadership qualities this country needs" is an excellent or good description of the President, only four out of ten give the same rating to the description "really knows what he is doing."

Would you say this is an ... excellent, good, only fair,
or poor description of Reagan?

	Excellent/ Good	Only Fair/ Poor
Is trustworthy	53%	44%
Will start an unnecessary war	25	69
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	48	50
Really knows what he is doing	40	58

Trustworthy

There has been little change in the perception of President Reagan's trustworthiness in the last month. Though a majority (53%) still believe that President Reagan can be trusted, this ranks at the lower end of the range of the 53% - 57% rating given him earlier this year.



Perceptions of the President
August 5, 1983
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The President continues to garner his highest support on the issue of trustworthiness from Republicans, white-collar workers, and college graduates. Both residents of the Farm Belt States and independent/leaners have more trust in Reagan now than a month ago.

On the other hand, blacks, the unemployed, and Democrats continue to rank President Reagan low on "trustworthiness."

Start an Unnecessary War

Even amidst the conflict occurring in Central America, respondents are more confident now than they were in June 1983 that President Reagan will not start an unnecessary war (overall a 7 percentage point decrease). Only one-fourth of the population considers this to be an excellent or good description of Reagan and nearly every subgroup has increased in confidence in the President.

Subgroups showing the highest increases in the President's ability to keep the peace include residents of the Farm Belt States (14% decrease that he will start a war), women (11% decrease), and Catholics (17% decrease).

Strong Leader

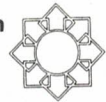
There has been little erosion in the aggregate perception of Reagan's leadership abilities. Attitudes appear to be evenly split on this issue with slightly less than half of the respondents (48%) believing that strong leadership is an excellent or good description of the President.

This characterization fluctuated since the beginning of the year and reached a high of 55% in mid-July. Now these perceptions are where they were at the first of the year.

There has been little change in the subgroups, one exception being a seven-point overall erosion among the opinions of senior citizens.

Knows What He Is Doing

Approximately six in ten respondents continue to question whether President Reagan "really knows what he is doing." However, there has been very little change in this perception over the last month. Base Republicans and college graduates continue to affirm strongly that Ronald Reagan knows what he is doing.



Perceptions of the President
August 5, 1983
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Several constituencies have a less favorable view of Reagan on this dimension now than they did in June: senior citizens (18 point decline), blue-collar workers (7 point decline), and Catholics (5 point decline).

On the other hand, the President receives strongest accolades on this rating among: residents of the Farm Belt States (up 23 points), white Baptists (up 11 points), and independent/leaners (up 6 points).



Reagan's Characteristics -- Excellent/Good

=====
 "Would you say that this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?"

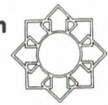
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	32	33	30	30	30	36
Will start an unnecessary war	23	20	22	24	23	27
Effective in getting things done	45	39	44	46	47	49
Really knows what he is doing	40	37	37	38	*	42
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	48	45	45	47	49	48
Is trustworthy	56	54	53	54	*	57
Shows too much business favoritism	*	*	47	49	*	47
Dangerous	*	*	*	22	*	22
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	*	57
Is delivering on what he promised	*	*	*	*	*	39
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 6-11 1983</u>	<u>July 12-17 1983</u>	<u>July 18-23 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>	
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	31	34	31	34	*	
Will start an unnecessary war	29	*	*	*	25	
Effective in getting things done	47	*	*	*	*	
Really knows what he is doing	41	44	40	45	40	
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	49	54	51	55	48	
Is trustworthy	53	56	54	57	53	
Shows too much business favoritism	49	*	*	*	*	
Dangerous	*	*	*	*	*	
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	*	
Is delivering on what he promised	*	*	*	*	*	



Reagan's Characteristics -- Only Fair/Poor

=====
 "Would you say that this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?"

	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	66	67	69	69	69	63
Will start an unnecessary war	73	76	72	73	73	68
Effective in getting things done	53	59	55	53	52	49
Really knows what he is doing	59	60	61	60	*	57
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	51	53	54	52	49	50
Is trustworthy	41	41	44	44	*	39
Shows too much business favoritism	*	*	47	47	*	47
Dangerous	*	*	*	75	*	75
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	*	41
Is delivering on what he promised	*	*	*	*	*	60
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 6-11 1983</u>	<u>July 12-17 1983</u>	<u>July 18-23 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>	
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	68	65	69	65	*	
Will start an unnecessary war	66	*	*	*	69	
Effective in getting things done	51	*	*	*	*	
Really knows what he is doing	58	55	58	54	58	
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	50	45	48	44	50	
Is trustworthy	44	42	44	42	44	
Shows too much business favoritism	45	*	*	*	*	
Dangerous	*	*	*	*	*	
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	*	
Is delivering on what he promised	*	*	*	*	*	



Reagan's Characteristics

=====

"Would you say that this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?"

	<u>Excellent/Good</u>			<u>Only Fair/Poor</u>			
	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u>	<u>% Imprvmnt</u> <u>or (Erosion)</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u>	<u>% Imprvmnt</u> <u>or (Erosion)</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Change</u>
<u>Positive</u> <u>Characteristics</u>							
Really knows what he is doing	41	40	(1)	58	58	0	(1)
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	49	48	(1)	50	50	0	(1)
Is trustworthy	53	53	0	44	44	0	0
<u>Negative</u> <u>Characteristics</u>							
Will start an unnecessary war	29	25	4	66	69	3	7



Trustworthy

=====

"Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	53	44	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	76	21	2
Farm Belt states	58	42	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	50	49	2
Senior citizens	59	37	4
Women	49	48	3
Catholics	52	43	5
Independents/Leaners	57	40	3
White Baptists	55	43	1



Will Start An Unnecessary War

=====

"Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	25	69	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	12	84	5
Farm Belt states	19	67	13
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	26	69	5
Senior citizens	22	70	9
Women	25	69	7
Catholics	15	71	4
Independents/Leaners	26	69	5
White Baptists	29	67	4



Has The Strong Leadership Qualities This Country Needs

=====

"Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	48	50	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	73	26	2
Farm Belt states	49	47	4
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	46	53	1
Senior citizens	50	45	5
Women	42	56	3
Catholics	45	53	1
Independents/Leaners	54	45	1
White Baptists	50	48	3

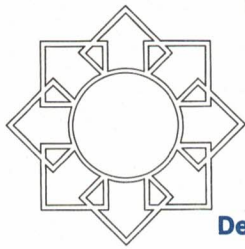


Really Knows What He Is Doing

=====

"Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	40	58	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	68	31	1
Farm Belt states	46	53	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	36	62	3
Senior citizens	49	48	3
Women	37	61	3
Catholics	38	59	3
Independents/Leaners	40	58	2
White Baptists	48	52	0



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

TO: Nancy Reagan
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 9, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Nancy Reagan's Thermometer Rating

Mrs. Reagan's thermometer rating has risen four points since our June survey. Currently the First Lady receives a 55 on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 being the lowest score and 100 being the highest score. Mrs. Reagan's thermometer rating has fluctuated in the range from 50 to 56 in the past year and a half. Her rating continues to follow the same trend as the President's.

Mrs. Reagan's highest scores come from strong Republicans (75), senior citizens (66), those living in the Deep South (65) and older men (62).

Negative scores come from blacks (41) -- a 14-point rise over last survey -- Democratic leaners (45), the unemployed (48) and those living in the Great Lakes area (51).