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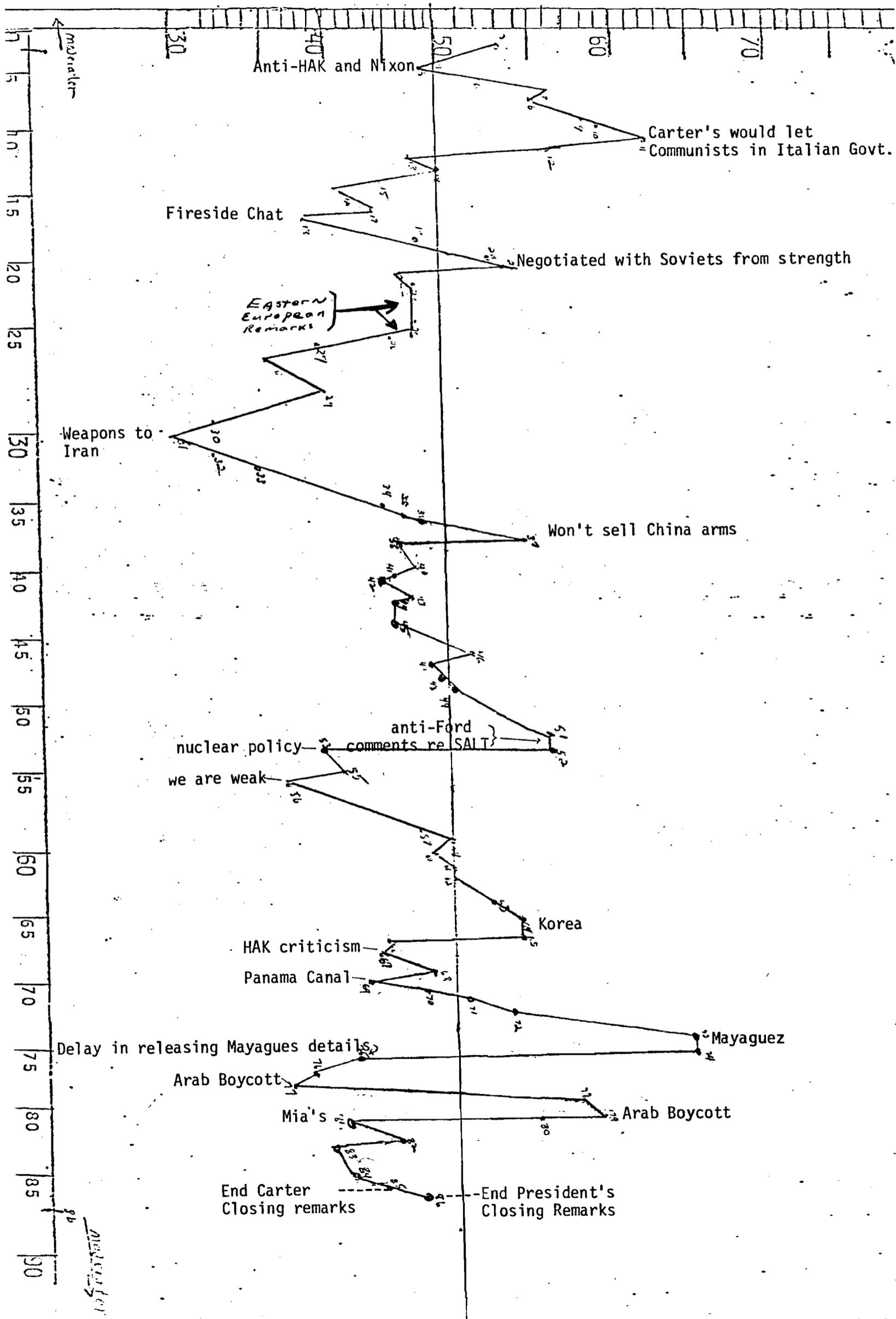
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SECOND DEBATE



PRO CARTER

PRO FORD



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 1, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL  
FROM: FOSTER CHANOCK *FC*  
SUBJECT: Polling Information on Foreign Policy/  
National Defense

Teeter Polls from Market Opinion Research

1. Foreign Policy and National Defense are low priority issues.
2. The President enjoys a 5:3 advantage over Carter on the ability to handle foreign policy and defense matters.
3. The President's advantage is due to incumbency and experience. People do not offer a positive reason for preferring the President. Therefore, it is to our advantage to make this area an issue if we can articulate accomplishments which give people a reason to support the President.
4. Republicans traditionally receive higher ratings in this area.
5. By a 5:3 margin, people are against defense cuts. But, if asked to cut the budget, people agree that about 8% could be cut without jeopardizing our security. Forty percent cannot place the President on the defense spending issue. Sixty percent cannot place Carter on the defense spending issue.
6. The public disapproves of the general foreign policy by a slight plurality. Those who approve have no reason. Disapprovers cite :  
Kissinger.....10%  
Isolationist reasons.....25%  
Interventionist reasons.....10%

7. In the priority states, we are doing below our normal vote with people in the Midwest and West who cite foreign policy as an important issue. Those same people do not like Kissinger.
8. The public wants us to be number one and wants to see evidence that detente benefits us.
9. Those who disapprove of Kissinger are on the ideological extremes. The public wants to see evidence of the President's running foreign policy, not Kissinger.
10. The President should not be an apologist for our international situation -- Congress is responsible for our defense cuts; the Russians are responsible for inflaming the trouble spots in the world.

National Yankelovich Poll on Foreign Policy

1. Half of the public see detente benefiting the Russians more.  
Half of the public see detente benefiting both parties equally.
  
2. The public strongly agrees that:
  - A) We should not get involved in a country's internal affairs.
  - B) We should not aid countries just because they are anti-Communist.
  - C) We should withhold aid from countries supporting our enemies.
  - D) We should not aid corrupt regimes where aid does not reach the people.
  - E) Our domestic needs should take priority over the needs of people in foreign countries.
  - F) We need more cooperation on food, energy, and economic problems.
  
3. The public less strongly agrees that:
  - A) We should work more closely with our allies.
  - B) Our foreign policy should be more moral (consistent with American values).
  - C) The United Nations is ineffective.
  - D) We should work more closely with Peking without abandoning Taiwan.
  - E) We must end our dependence on foreign countries for raw materials.
  - F) We must learn to "get along" better with countries different than our own.

4. The public is strongly divided on the subject of arms sales:
  - A) They favor sales because of job creation and increased international influence.
  - B) But, they fear sales which might get us involved in another Vietnam and which encourage military governments.
  - C) Vietnam is viewed as a dark moment in American history and we should never have been there (by 70%).
5. Seventy percent of the people are worried because the U. S. is losing power and respect in the world.
6. The public will compromise morality for self-interest but they don't want to.
7. The public classifies themselves as:

Interventionists	44%
Moderates	33%
Isolationists	23%

Potomac Associates National Poll

1. The general public sees the world situation facing the country and the prospects for peace as slightly worsening.
2. Confidence in our armed forces has risen as has a willingness to maintain the U.S. in a dominant military position.
3. The public sentiment for defense spending and military bases abroad has increased while military aid, economic aid and UN support are decreasing. Those against military spending and bases tend not to be our constituents (liberals, blacks, union members, and under 30). Our constituents do fear that the Russians are getting stronger at a faster rate than we are.
4. Although a large majority agree we should improve relations with Russia (trade, SALT, other cooperative agreements), few people trust them.
5. More people think that our alliances are improving in the last two years, but they find that they could be stronger.

## Conclusions

The average voter is best described as a cautious internationalist. He is uneasy about the present and the future, and therefore, supportive of being as strong as possible militarily. Vietnam left a bad taste which on the one hand encourages a desire to be strong and respected while on the other hand a reticence to become involved. There is no cause in the world which Americans would lay down their lives at present.

The electorate favors more cooperation in the areas of food, energy, and economic planning. They want to see us once again standing for what's right in the area of human values. But, they want us to be more selfish in our decision-making.

We are on the right side of the major issues in foreign policy and defense but people need a reason to be proud of their country and their President's leadership. We must be strong and we must be right. Our policy must first protect ourselves and then strive to achieve goals for other people which we set for ourselves, which ultimately benefits ourselves as well.

Carter's thematic approach restores a moral tone which people are longing for; to be friendlier with our allies, to stand up for what's right, to be tougher on our enemies, and not to get involved where it's unnecessary.

We must level with the people in the debate:

1. We must be strong enough to keep the peace.
2. We must cooperate with other countries where it benefits the United States.
3. We must stand up for human rights wherever we can so people can be proud again.
4. We must face the fact that it is a hostile and difficult world where we must often settle for less than perfection to protect the safety of our nation.

HARRIS POLL (10/4)

Positive

- A narrow, 43 to 38 percent, plurality reject Carter's proposal to cut defense spending \$5-7 billion.
- A 61 to 23 percent majority want our defense preparation to be better than any other country even if this means increasing defense spending.
- A 73 to 16 percent majority want the U.S. to continue to try to achieve detente.
- A 80 to 10 percent majority support efforts to get a SALT agreement.
- By 50 to 25 percent the public rejects the suggestion that agreements with Russia and China be slowed down.
- A 63 to 19 majority want the U.S. to strengthen military security arrangements with our allies.

Negative

- A 56 to 26 percent (2 to 1) majority favors the U.S. cutting back on our arms sales abroad even if other countries continue to sell. Voters fear that these sales will trigger small wars that will ultimately involve the U.S.

- A 79 to 9 percent majority wants the Administration to consult more with Congress and bring the public more into the foreign policy process.
- A 62 to 19 percent majority favors the U.S. insisting that some of our allies -- such as South Korea -- end corruption and repression in their countries.

Opportunity

- A 74 to 14 percent sizable majority would favor the U.S. taking the lead setting up an international police force to crack down on hijackers and terrorists.