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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

August 16, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT TEETER *RT*

We conducted a national telephone poll on Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings (8/12-8/14) to measure five Vice Presidential possibilities. The results are attached and several conclusions can be drawn.

General Election Implications

1. Carter has clearly been losing ground since the Democratic Convention. Some of this is normal and would be expected, but he has lost more than normal which indicates a portion of his support is soft and he has possibly made a mistake in staying in Plains as he has.

	Gallup (Immediately after Democratic Conv.)	Gallup (8/6- 8/9)	MOR/Teeter (8/12-8/14)
Carter:	62 (33)	56 (23)	48 (15)
Ford:	29	33	33
Undecided:	9	11	19

2. Our campaign is beginning to gain momentum and it is critical that the Convention end on the upswing so that we can continue

to gain momentum into the active campaign period this Fall. We cannot afford to lose whatever momentum we are beginning to pick up now.

3. There is every reason to believe that we can start the active campaign period after Labor Day no more than 12 to 15 points behind. Making up that ground will be tough, but is certainly within range.
4. 46% of the voters vote for you at least once out of five times they possibly could in the poll. This is essentially the same number who sometimes vote for Carter and means at this point we have as large a pool of potential voters to draw from as he does.

Vice Presidential Implications

1. 27% of the voters vote for you with at least one of the Vice Presidential choices, but do not vote for you with all five. This is a very large number of voters who appear to be affected by your Vice Presidential selection and includes 41% of those voters under 35 years of age. This number may be slightly exaggerated because of the news coverage surrounding your selection during the time we were interviewing.
2. You run the best with Baker, by small margins, in virtually every region and with every voter type. The only exception to this is you run slightly better with Reagan in the deep South.
3. The differences between the five candidates tested are not great. I think we can continue to assume you would run better alone than with any specific individual.
4. The only candidates who have a significant negative attached to them are Connally, Rockefeller and Reagan.

5. Ruckelshaus and Scranton appear to be the least known of the five tested.

Attachments

Assuming President Ford is the Republican candidate for President, is there anyone in particular you would like to see him pick to run with him for Vice President?

[8/14/76]

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%	Male 100%	Female 100%
Howard Baker	4%	5%	2%	5%	4%	3%	8%	2%	5%	4%
Ronald Reagan	4%	9%	4%	1%	2%	4%	3%	6%	5%	3%
John Connally	4%	6%	4%	2%	3%	1%	5%	5%	4%	3%
N. Rockefeller	2%	2%	3%	1%	2%	3%	4%	0%	3%	2%
Charles Percy	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	4%	1%	0%	1%	1%
E. Richardson	1%	1%	2%	0%	3%	2%	0%	0%	2%	1%
Barry Goldwater	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	2%	0%
Anne Armstrong	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.....

Assuming President Ford is the Republican candidate for President, is there anyone in particular you would not like to see him pick to run with him for Vice President?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%	Male 100%	Female 100%	
John Connally	13%	12%	14%	14%	14%	14%	13%	9%	14%	12%	
Ronald Reagan	7%	3%	6%	12%	6%	10%	5%	9%	0%	7%	8%
N. Rockefeller	7%	8%	9%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	11%	7%	7%
Barry Goldwater	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Anne Armstrong	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%

If the election for President were today,
 how would you be voting as of today?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Ford/Baker	33%	74%	38%	11%	29%	33%	34%	38%
Carter/Mondale	48%	16%	41%	78%	48%	50%	48%	46%
Refused	2%	0%	2%	1%	2%	1%	4%	0%
Undecided	16%	10%	19%	11%	20%	15%	14%	16%

If the election for President were today,
 how would you be voting as of today?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Ford/Conally	29%	71%	28%	10%	26%	24%	32%	36%
Carter/Mondal	55%	21%	54%	80%	56%	62%	50%	50%
Refused	3%	0%	4%	1%	5%	2%	3%	0%
Undecided	13%	8%	14%	9%	12%	12%	15%	14%

If the election for President were today,
 how would you be voting as of today?

	Total 100%	Republicans 100%	T-S 100%	Democrats 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Ford/Scranton	30%	67%	32%	10%	30%	26%	31%	33%
Carter/Mondale	53%	16%	49%	81%	54%	57%	48%	51%
Refused	2%	1%	2%	1%	3%	2%	3%	0%
Undecided	15%	16%	17%	9%	13%	14%	18%	16%

If the election for President were today,
 how would you be voting as of today?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Ford/Reagan	31%	70%	31%	12%	24%	29%	35%	38%
Carter/Mondale	51%	21%	47%	79%	55%	56%	48%	44%
Refused	3%	0%	3%	1%	4%	2%	7%	0%
Undecided	15%	9%	19%	9%	17%	14%	12%	18%

If the election for President were today,
 how would you be voting as of today?

	Total 100%	Republicans 100%	T-S 100%	Democrats 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Ford/Ruckelshaus	25%	63%	27%	6%	22%	24%	26%	30%
Carter/Mondale	51%	19%	45%	82%	52%	54%	50%	47%
Refused	2%	0%	2%	0%	2%	1%	4%	0%
Undecided	22%	18%	25%	12%	24%	21%	20%	23%

Is your general impression of Gerald Ford
favorable or unfavorable?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Favorable	42%	66%	46%	20%	42%	41%	46%	34%
Unfavorable	38%	22%	32%	57%	38%	42%	33%	40%
Undecided	21%	12%	21%	24%	21%	17%	21%	27%

Is your general impression of Jimmy Carter
favorable or unfavorable?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%
Favorable	52%	30%	48%	69%	47%	56%	56%	43%
Unfavorable	24%	46%	24%	12%	26%	21%	17%	37%
Undecided	25%	25%	29%	18%	28%	23%	27%	20%

Do you agree or disagree that the following characteristics would be good qualities for President Ford's running-mate to have?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%	Male 100%	Female 100%
Should be under 50 Years of age:										
Agree	46%	41%	48%	46%	50%	44%	42%	48%	45%	47%
Disagree	20%	29%	19%	19%	17%	21%	18%	28%	19%	21%
No Preference	34%	30%	32%	35%	33%	36%	40%	24%	37%	32%
Someone not connected with Washington Politics:										
Agree	43%	44%	44%	39%	43%	39%	42%	50%	42%	43%
Disagree	29%	27%	34%	27%	30%	31%	27%	27%	32%	26%
No Preference	28%	28%	22%	34%	27%	30%	31%	23%	26%	31%
Someone who is more liberal than Ford:										
Agree	44%	32%	48%	51%	52%	44%	39%	43%	46%	42%
Disagree	29%	49%	30%	19%	25%	27%	30%	35%	31%	26%
No Preference	27%	19%	22%	30%	23%	29%	31%	23%	23%	32%

Do you agree or disagree that the following characteristics would be good qualities for President Ford's running-mate to have?

	Total 100%	Republican 100%	T-S 100%	Democrat 100%	East 100%	Midwest 100%	South 100%	West 100%	Male 100%	Female 100%
Someone who has held elective office before:										
Agree	65%	75%	67%	61%	64%	68%	68%	57%	68%	62%
Disagree	13%	12%	14%	13%	13%	12%	10%	19%	12%	14%
No preference	22%	12%	19%	26%	22%	20%	22%	24%	20%	24%
Someone who is more conservative than Ford:										
Agree	25%	38%	23%	25%	24%	21%	27%	29%	26%	24%
Disagree	46%	38%	53%	44%	50%	45%	44%	46%	48%	44%
No Preference	29%	25%	24%	31%	26%	35%	29%	25%	26%	32%
Should not be a woman:										
Agree	33%	43%	34%	27%	31%	27%	38%	35%	34%	32%
Disagree	43%	33%	42%	47%	44%	47%	37%	43%	35%	50%
No Preference	25%	24%	23%	26%	26%	26%	25%	22%	31%	18%